

**ACQUISITION OF AGRICULTURAL KNOWLEDGE AND
NEGOTIATION OF GENDER POWER RELATIONS BY
WOMEN COMMERCIAL FARMERS IN ZIMBABWE:
IMPLICATIONS FOR ADULT EDUCATION TRAINING AND
DEVELOPMENT**

**Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Doctor of
Education in the Faculty of Arts and Design at the Durban University of
Technology**

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***‘Power is Fluid’* (Michel Foucault, 1980)**

ABSTRACT

This study examined how women commercial farmers who got land during the Zimbabwe Fast Track Land Reform Programme (ZFTLRP) accessed new farming knowledge, applied and integrated it with their traditional knowledge. The study also analysed how these women farmers managed traditional gender power dynamics in the process of accessing knowledge and utilising their farm land.

Kolb's experiential learning theory was used to illuminate this study in terms of how the women acquired new farming knowledge and how indigenous knowledge and modern farming knowledge could illustrate farmer learning as experiential and/or self-directed. Foucault's post-structuralist theory was used as a lens to explore how the women managed issues of gender and power relations during the process of owning and managing land.

The study was qualitative and employed a life history research design. It relied on focus group discussions, individual interviews and observation for data collection from ten women farmers who were purposively sampled. Data were collected during an eight-month agricultural season from January 2016 to August 2016.

The study revealed that the women went through Kolb's experiential learning cycle in the process of acquiring knowledge. The women's learning cycle, however, included a fifth stage of social interaction at some point, which Kolb did not emphasize. Social interaction is often referred to as a core feature of learning in African contexts (Ntseane, 2011) and it reflects the way in which Indigenous Knowledge (IK) had traditionally been learned. Women experienced non-formal and informal learning, with most of the latter being self-directed in nature. The range of learning sources included friends, neighbours, experts and media. Women complemented indigenous knowledge with modern farming methods and adopted more modern methods and fewer indigenous methods as soon as they had knowledge and resources. Occasionally they used indigenous knowledge when it was affordable, readily available and sustainable.

Women farmers were happy to own land, but their husbands and males in the community did not support them and resisted the new discourse of women empowerment. The clash between

the traditional discourse that women are not expected to be autonomous and the new discourse created gender power tensions. Women employed a variety of power techniques to enable them to farm. Initially they used the strategy of 'reverse discourse,' negotiating and manipulating people into accepting their new status. The women also used accepted power differentials to accommodate their own subjugated status through using a third party to resolve conflicts. Women also exhibited different forms of agency and self-determination to get accepted. This included employing 'resistant discourse' whereby the women demanded what was theirs and asserted their authority, especially with their workers. The use of economic rationales was another discursive strategy used by women, whereby they used their farm income to support other community members, and demonstrated financial outcomes that acted as a persuasive force for acceptance of their new status and role. A third form of agency was exhibited by working hard to achieve good yields and profits from their farms. Women demonstrated success stories which in turn helped them to improve the life styles of their families and re-invest into their farming business. They thus managed to create an autonomous identity for themselves. Women showed that they had progressed from the initial 'disciplinary power' behaviours in which they were passive and submissive, moving to a process of 'reverse discourse' where they achieved what they wanted through manipulation. But the women then showed agency and determination. Some did this through resistant discourse and others through demonstrating they could work hard. The success stories have seen them creating a new 'regime of truth' that women are capable people, although this achievement took several years. These findings demonstrated that making land available to these women was a positive act, but in order to help them succeed more effectively and quickly they needed gender-sensitive training.

The study's training recommendations include the need for both access to agricultural and business knowledge, and also the management of gender power relations.

DECLARATION

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Education in the School of Education, Faculty of Arts and Design at the Durban University of Technology.

I, **TABETH KAZIBONI**, declare that:

The research reported in this thesis, except where otherwise indicated, is my original research. This thesis has not been submitted for any degree or examination at any other university.

This thesis does not contain other persons' data, pictures, graphs or other information, unless specifically acknowledged as being sourced from other persons.

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This thesis does not contain text, graphics or tables copied and pasted from the Internet, unless specifically acknowledged, with the source being detailed in the thesis and in the References section.

Student Name

Tabeth Kaziboni

Name of Supervisor

Professor Julia Preece

Signature

.....

Signature

DEDICATION

This Thesis is dedicated to Baba na Mai Chombo, Chiminya, my dear late parents who taught me to cherish Education.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Many writers use the body as an analogy of how different parts contribute to the full and efficient functioning of one unit. This has resonated with me the more so in the past four years as I saw this analogy come to life during my academic journey.

To the dear commercial women farmers who participated in this study, your stories inspired me in more ways than one. Your resilience is unmatched and your determination is commendable. Victory is certain.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Women in Africa have been marginalized and have had little power or control over land (Ismail et al., 2015; Sintim Adasi & Anima Frempong, 2014; Matondi, 2012). This study analyses how women commercial farmers who benefited from the Zimbabwe Fast Track Land Reform Programme (ZFTLRP) acquired farming knowledge and negotiated gender power relations. The purpose of the study is to understand how the women farmers accessed new farming knowledge and applied and integrated this with their traditional knowledge. The study also analyses how women farmers negotiated traditional gender power relations in the process of accessing knowledge and utilising their farm land. This, it was hoped, would lead to a better understanding of the training needs of the farmers. The women in this study benefitted from land allocations during the ZFTLRP of 2000. This programme provided land to women who apparently had inadequate experience and training to manage and farm A2 model farms, which are supposed to be operated along business lines and contribute meaningfully to the economy of the country (Matondi, 2012; Scoones et al., 2012).

This chapter presents the statement of the study, research questions, and justification. It then analyses the socio-political context of the study and the position of women in the pre-colonial through to colonial and post-colonial eras. The chapter also discusses the Zimbabwean land acts during those eras, exploring women's land rights as spelled out by these acts. Agricultural extension services provided in the three eras are also discussed. The rise of women and the state's position on women's empowerment is outlined. Before concluding, the chapter explains the researcher's interest in the study. The chapter concludes with the outline of the thesis.

Women constitute more than 50% of the world's human population, yet they have been firmly anchored in second place when it comes to education and training (Apusigah, 2009). In Africa in general and Zimbabwe, specifically, women constitute about 52% of the population, yet they have not contributed proportionally to the economic development of the nation (Chingarande, 2009; Mbilinyi & Shechambo, 2009). Zimbabwean women have, to a large extent, been marginalized for quite a long time in areas which involve decision making and the ownership of assets, including land (Matondi, 2012; Shumba, 2011; Chinyemba et al., 2006). Women in Zimbabwe have always struggled to liberate themselves, initially from

racial and subsequently from sexual discrimination (Chogugudza, 2009; Chinyemba et al., 2006). During the pre- and colonial eras, women in Africa in general, and Zimbabwe in particular, could not inherit or own property, nor could they participate fully in public life or in decision-making processes within their immediate communities (Ismail et al., 2015; Matondi, 2012; Mutopo, 2011). During the pre-independence era, men held positions of power while women held subservient positions where most decisions were made for them (Sintim Adasi, 2014; Chingarande, 2009; Mbilinyi & Shechambo, 2009).

Women played a central role in the Zimbabwe Liberation War where land was at the centre of the struggle. Women received meaningful recognition and were allocated land after Zimbabwe won the protracted liberation war and attained independence in 1980 (Chogugudza 2009; Chingarande, 2009). The new status of land ownership brought about new roles and responsibilities that gave rise to new gender power relations. Issues of how women farmers made the transition from indigenous knowledge to the inclusion of modern knowledge and how they managed gender power relations were central to this study. Women have faced challenges in farming and learning in the midst of conflict about gender equality and cultural expectations. Women continue to suffer gender power differentials which still have some impact on their ability to manage their farms and access inputs and markets. It is in view of these disadvantages faced by women that this study was conceived and undertaken. A deeper understanding of how women learn new knowledge and use existing knowledge within existing gender power relations is needed in order to provide a basis for recommending relevant training programmes for women farmers.

The study addressed the following questions:

- 1 How have women learned and applied modern farming knowledge since their land allocation?*
- 2 How have women applied their indigenous knowledge in the context of their commercial farms?*
- 3 How have women navigated gender power dynamics in order to access land and manage their farms?*
- 4 What are the implications of these findings for future adult education training programmes in Zimbabwe?*

As will be seen from the background information to follow, the government which came into power in Zimbabwe in 1980 reacted positively to women's cries against gender discrimination, and this response saw women owning land. In this regard, the Government of Zimbabwe (GoZ) committed both financial and material resources to uplifting women through making available to them a valuable resource in the form of land. This upliftment brought about changes in gender power relations as women became farm owners and farm managers in their own right, roles which demanded that they make decisions at family, community and national levels. It is therefore essential to explore these changes in gender power relations in order to understand their influence on women as farmers.

Land allocation also made demands for farming knowledge on women farmers. It is important for women farmers to have adequate, relevant farming knowledge for them to farm and manage their lands effectively (Chingarande, 2008). Extension knowledge is necessary if these new farm owners and managers are to improve their production and contribute to the economy of the nation as expected (Matondi, 2012; Mudukuti & Miller, 2002). Women in developing countries who are actively involved in agriculture urgently need assistance to improve their farming practices through extension education (Ismail et al., 2015; Chinyemba et al., 2006). Failure to provide education and training for women farmers could lead to poor production levels (Mbilinyi & Shechambo, 2009). Investing in training is an instrument which will lead to economic development. This notion is supported by Chingarande (2008), who asserts that extension programmes assist farmers through educational interventions.

Armed with appropriate agricultural knowledge and skills and an understanding of gender power relations, women farmers should be able to maximize production at their farms. This should benefit not only the farmers, but Zimbabwe as a whole, as farmers produce for local and export markets, thereby contributing to revenue income for the country (Scoones et al., 2012).

1.2 THE SOCIO-POLITICAL CONTEXT OF GENDER IN THE PRE-COLONIAL ERA

This section presents a historical account of land issues in Zimbabwe from pre-colonial through colonial to post-colonial eras. The section also analyses gender disparities in relation to land, its use and the control of resources as these affect African woman. Because other

African women and Zimbabwean women have common experiences in this respect, the discussion from time to time refers to women in Africa as a whole, and Zimbabwe specifically.

1.2.1 Strong kinship systems

Before the colonial era, many traditional African societies operated along strong kinship systems which dictated people's relations at work and their economic, social and political positions (Ismail et al., 2015; Chinyemba et al., 2006; Apusigah, 2009; Mumbi, 1985). The household was self-reliant, with men and women having well-defined but different roles. The traditional culture viewed men as heads of families and the main decision makers. Boys were portrayed as potential heads and socialised to be providers and controllers of the production system (Apusigah, 2009). The man's major role was to protect and provide for the family. He was the main bread-winner, while the woman was expected to be more active in the reproductive and nurturing role (Sintim Adasi & Anima Frempong, 2014; Apusigah, 2009; Cheater, 1986). Women were socialised into playing subordinate positions, to be controlled by and to rely on males. The woman's main role included feeding the family, which entailed growing, preparing and cooking a variety of foodstuffs (Ismail et al., 2015; Shumba, 2011; Mbilinyi & Sechambo, 2009). African women played a major role in their communities through ensuring the reproduction and maintenance of the labour force, yet their efforts were largely unacknowledged by society (Ismail et al., 2015; Sintim Adasi & Anima Frempong, 2014; Skapa, 2005).

1.2.2 Women and decision-making on land issues

While women were involved in agriculture and craft and had some control over grain stores, they did not control the means of production, but provided the needed labour (Skapa, *ibid.*). Women were excluded from decision making and access to land in their own right, but had use rights (Ismail et al., 2015; Sintim Adasi & Anima Frempong, 2014; Mbilinyi & Sechambo, 2009). Shumba (2011) asserts that during the pre-colonial era, the authority to allocate land rested with the chief who, according to Cheater (1986), gave the right to the headman to distribute land in the family name and as necessary to the male members of the lineage. It was up to the chief to consider the male non-lineage members. The chief could re-allocate a piece of land depending on the need. A person could, for example get extra land if the family had become too big (Rukuni, 2006; Cheater, 1986). These practices, very visible in

traditional Zimbabwe, have to some extent been mitigated by the colonial era and post-independence legislation which this chapter discusses later (Taiwo, 2010; Rukuni, 2006).

Furlong (2003) asserts that before the arrival of the European settlers in the 18th century, the two main Zimbabwean ethnic groups, the Shona and the Ndebele, lived in small groups, each consisting of a few hundred people under a chief and practising mainly subsistence farming. Women provided most of the farm labour but had access to land as subordinates to men, who had the right to subdivide land to women as wives or inherited widows (Chinyemba et al., 2006; Gaidzanwa, 2011; Cheater, 1986). There was neither equality land entitlement, nor justice for women, nor did they have political representation, let alone participation (Furlong, 2003; Gaidzanwa, 2011). The participation of Zimbabwean women in the distribution of land and political authority during this time was limited to their linkages with male members of the family, namely husband, father, brother or son (Chinyemba et al., 2006; Cheater, 1986). As a result of this, women, even today, put their hope in the bearing of male children who could perhaps someday hold authority as land owners (Mbilinyi & Shechambo, 2009; Chingarande, 2009; Gaidzanwa, 1988).

Traditionally, a woman was given some land called *tsewu* by her husband to use for the production of food. Women provided labour for the bigger fields, which belonged to the men, for cash crops (Apusigah, 2009; Mbilinyi, 1972). Women were expected to find time to cultivate their personal piece of land to produce subsistence crops such as maize and groundnuts for the family (Shumba 2011; Apusigah, 2009; Kaziboni, 1998). In the event of the death of the husband, the rights to use the piece of land would be withdrawn and given to the husband's male relatives (Ismail et al., 2015; Shumba 2011; Gaidzanwa, 2011).

1.2.3 Patriarchy

The patriarchal system, which was and still is prevalent in parts of Africa, including Zimbabwe, is characterised by the domination of women by men. The subordination of women has been driven by a number of factors, among them tradition, culture and religion (Ismail et al., 2015; Sintim Adasi & Anima Frempong, 2014; Chinyemba et al., 2006; Skapa, 2005). As already mentioned, in Africa, gender oppression is rooted in the kinship systems where the exchange of women takes place between men (Sintim Adasi, 2014; Skapa, 2005). Marriage is the most basic form of exchange. Women as gifts are made powerless, while men are powerful beneficiaries. Thus men are given power to organize women. Before marriage,

women are under the control of their fathers/brothers, and upon marriage, power is transferred to the husband (Mumbi, 1985). In Africa in general, and Zimbabwe in particular, one of the major reasons for the exclusion of women from direct control of the means of production and the family produce lies in the payment of *lobola* (bride price), which not only transfers the rights of a woman's labour and reproductive capacity from her own family to that of her husband, but also indemnifies her family for their loss (Tsikita, 2009; Kaziboni, 1998 & Cheater, 1986). Mumbi (1985) further argues that the wife's husband's kin in the past considered the woman a stranger until she proved herself by being faithful and hardworking and, above all, by producing many fine children, especially sons, for her husband. When the man died, his eldest son or his brother inherited the household leadership along with land rights, cattle and all other material possessions, as well as inheriting the female dependants, including the wife (Ismail et al., 2015; Mbilinyi & Sechambo, 2009; Mumbi, 1985). The identity of the woman was always attached to someone - like John's wife, Mary's daughter in-law, Tawanda's mother, or the farmer's wife. It is interesting to observe that the woman herself had no identity of her own and often struggled to create a good name for her father or husband (Apusigah, 2009; Kaziboni, 1998; Mumbi, 1985).

1.2.4 Women and leadership

Aside from describing the negative circumstances for women, Apusigah (2009) and Cheater (1986) also present the positive side of being an African woman. They argue that although African women were often portrayed as second class citizens, they played some critical leadership roles in the development of various African societies. Even though the patriarchal system, characterized by the domination of women by men, is still prevalent to some extent in Africa today, African women in the pre-colonial era possessed some power that bound society together (Falola, 2017; Cheater, 1986). Women could hold powerful positions such as queen mother, first wife and queen (Apusigah, 2009). African women have performed various leadership roles in the development of their communities that need to be acknowledged (Taiwo, 2010). The contributions of women in the development of African societies were evident in varied fields including education, religion, economy and politics (Skapa, 2005).

1.2.5 Gender roles

In traditional African society, every individual had a role to play both in the family as well as in the larger society (Ismail et al., 2015; Cheater 1986). Each individual, male or female, had

a role in the development of the society. In other words, the position of women was seen as complementary to that of men. Although Taiwo (2010) and Cheater (1986) argue that there was no gender discrimination in traditional Africa, the fact that each gender, male or female, had specific roles to perform, meant that roles were not identical and thus could have constituted gender inequality. African women had formerly possessed power that bound society together and educated children in moral values, ethical issues and proper behaviour. Taiwo (2010) upholds the claim that indigenous women in Africa held vital knowledge of herbs and medicines that ensured the survival of their societies. As herbalists, women exercised power and gained respect from their communities (Cheater, 1986). During the pre-colonial era in Zimbabwe, Shona women had authority, especially as mothers over daughters; as *vatete* (aunts), mainly over the customary education and marriage of their brother's children; and as ancestors, over the reproductive capacity of their female descendants (Taiwo, 2010; Cheater, 1986). Women also organised themselves into groups and, with the aid of a spokesperson, brought their grievances or contributions to village authorities. Although men had the final say, women's contributions received the utmost consideration (Skapa, 2005).

Women in Zimbabwe were also participants fulfilling such roles as traditional healers, spirit mediums and traditional midwives during the pre-colonial period, and even today, though to a small extent (Chinyemba et al., 2006). For example, Mbuya Nehanda was a spirit medium who played a very active role during the 1886-1917 Liberation War (Chogugudza, 2009; Gaidzanwa, 1995). She gave instructions and decisions to the leaders of the war. Women in Zimbabwe could also be ordained as chiefs and headwomen, though the role was mostly accorded to men.

Although Cheater (ibid.) and Taiwo (2010) conclude that not much gender stereotyping of women existed in traditional Africa, it can be argued that stereotyping, which relates to creating perceptions about particular characteristics, occurred because, even though women played significant roles, those roles were still typically women's roles.

1.3 SOCIAL POSITION OF WOMEN

During the first part of the 20th century, education in Africa was fostered in many churches through missionaries. The emphasis was on educating boys and men, who were seen as the leadership group and as family providers (Gordon, 2010). In addition, cultural practices such as inheritance influenced most parents to invest in the education of the boy child at the

expense of the girl child (Gordon, *ibid*; Apusigah, 2009; Mumbi, 1985 and Mbilinyi, 1972). The belief was that the boy child, who was the carrier of the family name, needed education so that he could provide for the family. The future role of the girl was that of the wife and mother, and the training she needed was from her mother and female relatives (Chinemana, 1990). Reading and writing were considered skills not relevant to a woman. The Asian saying, “Educating a girl is like watering a plant in your neighbour’s garden” was once a firmly-held adage (Kaziboni, 1998, p. 12). Educating a girl child was considered an unwise investment and was viewed as a loss, as it only benefited the husband’s family (Suen, 2013; Gordon, 2010; UNICEF, 2007).

1.3.1 Women’s subordination

One of the consequences of colonialism was the erosion of complementary gender relationships which had characterized traditional African society (Taiwo, 2010; Apusigah, 2009). The beginning of colonial rule at the end of the 19th century brought to Africa the European notion that the woman’s place was in the home (Mudope, 1997). Taiwo (2010), in support of this claim, argues that African people found themselves in contact with Europeans, who had different norms and values from their own. The European perspective of gender roles was fundamentally that women were subordinate to men and that their roles were less important because they were confined within the family unit (Apusigah, 2009; Duncan, 2002). Men had the decision-making power, the wisdom and knowledge to build their communities. Colonial rule thus began to change the role of African women by means of legislation, restricting women and focusing colonial economies on men (Apusigah, 2009; Gaidzanwa, 2016; Cheater, 1986).

1.3.2 Women’s oppression

The face of African society in terms of gender equality changed owing to the influence of colonialism. Women began to suffer more oppression from men. Colonialists imposed laws, customs, religions and attitudes that forced women to play ‘second fiddle’ to men (Ismail et al., 2015; Sintim Adasi & Anima Frempong 2014; Taiwo, 2010). Women who could in the past hold powerful positions such as queen mother, first wife and queen lost their power. The greatest threat to the influence and privileges of women took place during the 20th century when patriarchy, combined with colonial changes, altered gender relations. The position of female chiefs declined in importance (Falola, 2017; Cheater, 1988). Male chiefs and British colonial administrators collaborated in the collection of taxes and governing. Women were

pushed to the background and performed roles of the production of subsistence crops (Falola, 2017; Cheater, 1988). In the typical Zimbabwean family, women were and are constantly under the surveillance and control of the husband and/or his relatives, strengthening further the dependence of women on men. In fact, women were mainly relegated to the lowest rung of social and political ladders. What this indicates is that western influence restricted women's participation in Africa's socio-economic and political affairs (Taiwo, 2010). Women thus had relatively little opportunity to make meaningful decisions or even to own property.

1.4 HISTORICAL LAND ACTS

When Zimbabwe was colonised in 1890, the tax demands of the British South African Company (BSAC) forced many African men into wage labour in mines and farms (Gaidzanwa, 1988). The famines and insect plagues of 1895 increased the push for men to go into wage labour to get money for grain (Cheater, 1986). This left women overburdened with all the agricultural and household work.

1.4.1 Disproportional access to land

When European settlers realised that gold deposits were not as large as they had expected, they turned to farming and took possession of more and more land, pushing Africans to areas which were arid and had poor soils (Apusigah, 2009; Rukuni, 2006; Gaidzanwa, 1988). The first land commission was the Lippert Concession of 1889 whose purpose was for European settlers to acquire land rights from native Zimbabweans (Rukuni, 2006). The Native Reserves Order by Council of 1898 created Native Reserves in the face of land appropriation by European settlers. This saw African people being moved to those areas which were considered unsuitable for European settlement. Native reserves which became known as Communal Areas were in dry remote parts of the country (Rukuni, *ibid*; Gaidzanwa, 2011). This policy guaranteed European economic dominance and African poverty during the colonial period (Rukuni, 2006).

The 1930 Land Apportionment Act (LAA) formalised the dual agrarian structure which separated land between Africans and European settlers (Gaidzanwa, 2011; Rukuni, 2006). The rich potential areas became large-scale, privately-owned European farms (Gaidzanwa, 1988). Those African blacks who decided to rent land from European settlers had to pay high rents and grazing fees for the use of the land. African black males also found themselves

having to work on the farms of the settlers to fend for their families, because the poor soils on their own farms did not yield much and could not sustain their families (Rukuni, 1994).

In 1951, the Native Land Husbandry Act (NLHA) was passed. This act enforced private ownership of land and destocking in communal areas (Rukuni, 1994). It divided the land into 50% for European settlers and 50% for Africans, but all the land for Africans was in poor, sandy and arid regions (Rukuni, 2006). The great need for land by the majority of Africans, coupled with their ability to farm and produce surplus for the market, obliged the colonial government to introduce small-scale farms for farmers, particularly for those to whom the government had awarded Master Farmer Certificates (Gaidzanwa, 2011).

For over 90 years, the European settlers developed large-scale agriculture on the basis of ruthless land dispossession (Labour and Economic Development Research Institute, Zimbabwe (LEDRI), 2012). By 1980, agriculture stood out as one of the most developed sectors of the economy. The government had provided subsidised bank loans for agriculture only to European and thus the European settlers became successful farmers (LEDRI, 2012; Rukuni, 2006). Commercial farming in colonial days benefitted immensely from the farming skills and culture of hard work that the Zimbabwean black population provided through their labour on the farms belonging to European settlers (LEDRI, 2012; Scoones et al., 2012).

1.5 WOMEN'S LAND RIGHTS (1889 – 1980)

One of the most important effects of colonial rule in Africa was the change that a cash economy brought about in traditional structures (Apusigah, 2009; Duncan, 2002; Mumbi, 1985). In the 1950s and 1960s, men as bread-winners migrated to towns, mines and European settlers' farms in search of jobs, while women remained in the rural areas fulfilling their usual roles and those of the men (Apusigah, 2009; Mbilinyi & Shechambo; Mumbi, *ibid*). The Zimbabwe Land Apportionment Act of 1930 viewed women in the Reserves under communal tenure as dependants of husbands, fathers or male guardians, in spite of the fact that a lot of men were labour migrants who spent most of their time away from the Reserves (Gaidzanwa, 1988). Married women were *de facto* managers of households and made decisions over production, especially where their husbands worked in distant towns without good communication.

1.5.1 Grazing land rights

The Land Husbandry Act of 1951 passed by the colonial government curtailed those minimal women's rights to land that had existed (Gaidzanwa, 1988; Cheater, 1986). The act took cognisance of the registered land holders, who were the husbands and fathers of women. The secondary rights of women to land were not registered (Rukuni, 1994). The standard area allocated and registered was based on a man and his wife, so that divorced, widowed and polygamous married people were viewed as deviations from the nuclear-type household assumed by the regime to be the norm (Gaidzanwa, 1995). The grazing rights of women were not registered in the names of the women who owned the livestock. The livestock was registered in the names of the husbands or the fathers of the stock-owning women (Rukuni, 2006). In cases of litigation or destocking, to satisfy agronomic criteria, the livestock of women were usually assumed to be owned by the men in whose names they were registered (Chingarande, 2009).

1.5.2 Land rights and marital status

The criteria for granting grazing rights under the NHLA discriminated against women more than against men. Married men of whatever age were entitled to grazing rights, whereas married women were only eligible for grazing rights if their husbands had abandoned them or were living outside the country. Widows and widowers were equally eligible for grazing rights (Rukuni, 1994). It is, however, important to mention that widows did encounter problems with their husbands' kin. If the widow refused to be 'inherited' by her late husband's kinsman, she could be refused access to grazing and arable land and be evicted from the home where she was living (Rukuni, 2006; Cheater, 1986). Male divorcees were eligible for grazing rights, whereas female divorcees could only be granted grazing rights if they had custody of their children. NLHA land rights discriminated against married women, whereas married men had automatic rights to farming land. Under customary law, a divorced woman could not gain custody of her children over the age of six if the ex-husband had paid the bride price to the woman's parents' home (birth home), where she was expected to stake claims for any land rights (Rukuni, 1994; Gaidzanwa, 2011). Eligibility for grazing rights presumed that a person possessed livestock, which most women did not (Gaidzanwa, *ibid*). Elderly women with married daughters were the only mothers likely to possess livestock, but the NLHA restricted the conditions under which they could obtain grazing rights for their livestock. Women in all marital statuses had fewer chances of owning livestock than men in comparable categories (Rukuni, 1994; Cheater, 1986).

Unmarried males over twenty-one were entitled to farming rights, whereas their female counterparts had to be over the age of twenty-five (Chingarande, 2008; Rukuni, 2006). Polygamous males were issued an additional one-third of the standard area for each additional wife after the first, on condition that the total area should not be greater than the standard area. Thus, the wives of a polygamist could be used by their husband to acquire more land over which the women had little control, since the rights were granted to and registered in the name of the male (Chingarande, 2008; Gaidzanwa, 2011). Thus, the Act benefitted and sponsored polygamous men.

1.5.3 Patriarchy and land inheritance

The majority of farm owners in the Native Purchase Areas (NPA) were men. The majority of African women on these farms participated as wives, daughters and kin of the farm owners (Gaidzanwa, 1988). In the Msengezi purchase area, four out of 301 farmers were females. These women had been recommended by the agricultural personnel of the colonial regime and this was how they managed to buy farms in their own right (Rukuni, 2006; Gaidzanwa, 2011). Among the few women who had cash, traditional inheritance laws could be problematic in the event of the death of the female land owner, since women did not have rights to land that they could pass on to their children (Chingarande, 2009). Most husbands would feel threatened by a land-owning wife as it was possible that her patrilineage could argue that the farm should devolve to them, rather than to her husband and children (Apusigah, 2009; Rukuni, 2006). If the wife who owned the farm nominated her husband as heir, it was also possible for her husband to allocate the farm to his own brothers rather than give it to the woman's children at his death. This is still a problem in Zimbabwe because of the dual inheritance system (Customary Law and General Law) which currently prevails (Chingarande, 2008).

1.6 POST-COLONIAL LAND ACTS, 1980 TO 1999

By 1980, over 6,600 European farmers occupied 15.5 million hectares of prime land, while about 7 million African blacks were crowded into infertile arid areas constituting 16,4 million hectares that would not support a decent livelihood. Many were thus forced into low-wage employment (Rukuni, 2006; Chingarande, 2009; Scoones et al., 2012; LEDRIZ, 2012). This dual enclave agrarian structure formed the basis for the 2nd Chimurenga war, which ended in 1979, and the 3rd Chimurenga war which erupted in 2000 (Chingarande, 2009 & Rukuni,

2006). The liberation war in Zimbabwe ended in 1979 with the signing of the Lancaster House Agreement. One of the terms of the agreement was that the landless Zimbabwean black masses would get land based on certain conditions.

The new Zimbabwean Government inherited a dual and enclave agricultural sector at independence in 1980. A large-scale commercial agricultural sector dominated by European farmers existed alongside small-scale communal agriculture, which was largely subsistence-based and carried out by Africans (Matondi, 2012). The new government protected the large-scale commercial farming sector as one of the conditions of the 1979 Lancaster House Agreement between Zimbabwe and Britain which stipulated that during the first ten years, land redistribution could take place only on a 'willing buyer, willing seller' basis (Moyo, 2004; Matondi, 2012; Scoones et al., 2012).

1.6.1 Redressing uneven land ownership

Many acts were passed after 1980 to address uneven land ownership resulting from colonial policies. The first act was the Communal Lands Act of 1981 which changed the Tribal Trust Land to Communal Areas (Rukuni, 1994). This act changed land authority from traditional leaders to district councils. The Land Acquisition Act of 1985 gave the government 'first right' to purchase large-scale farms for resettlement. The new Zimbabwean Government's main aim in instituting resettlement programmes was to relieve pressure on the overpopulated reserves and/or communal areas, extend and improve the base for productive agriculture in the peasant farming sector and improve the standard of living in the largest and poorest sector of the Zimbabwean population (Matondi, 2012; Rukuni, 2006). In addition, the government aimed to ameliorate the plight of people adversely affected by the war and rehabilitate them. The aim was to provide opportunities for those people without land and employment, and bring abandoned and underutilised land into full production, thus enhancing the equitable redistribution of land (Scoones et al., 2012; Rukuni, 1994). The Land Acquisition Act had little impact on the resettlement programme because the European farmers either did not make their farms available for purchase by the government, or offered farms at such exorbitant prices that the government could not afford them (Scoones et al., 2012; Rukuni, 2006).

1.6.2 Resettlement through Model A and Model B

The 1990 Land Acquisition Act enabled the government to acquire five million hectares of land for resettlement (Rukuni, 2006). Under this act, minor progress was made to resettle people, but the rate was slow considering the number of black Africans that needed land (LEDRITZ, 2012). There were different types of resettlement schemes that were initiated under this act to facilitate land re-distribution, but this discussion focuses only on the Model A and Model B schemes. The Model A scheme allocated people arable holdings on a family basis, so families would have some communal grazing land (Scoones et al., 2012; Moyo, 2004). All African settlers have residential plots within the village, where water and vegetable gardens are provided. Priority in this scheme was given to refugees and those people who had been moved to concentrated villages during the war, landless people from the commercial and communal farming areas, and those people with insufficient land for subsistence (Moyo, *ibid*; Rukuni, 1994). Waged people were excluded from these schemes. People in the 25 to 50 years' age group who were married or widowed and had dependents were preferred. Land rights were registered in the names of the men, who were viewed as the heads of households (Matondi, 2012; Scoones et al., 2012).

Model B schemes were designed to assist those people with very limited resources to establish themselves in agriculture by tilling the land, procuring credit, stock and equipment, and marketing produce cooperatively. The settlement pattern was intensive, with communal living and cooperative farming (Rukuni, 2006; Gaidzanwa, 1995). All property, land and equipment were supposed to be held cooperatively. Housing could be private or cooperative and livestock could be owned privately (Rukuni, 2006). Young people with some experience in cooperative living and enterprise during the liberation war were supposed to be more suited for this kind of scheme (Scoones et al., 2012; Mashavave et al., 2013).

1.6.3 Women's land rights during the post-colonial era

The resettlement policy that was adopted immediately after independence, besides being very slow, largely excluded women, as it was steeped in customary practices (Rukuni, 2006; Moyo, 2004). Preference was given to landless married black men with dependants, and permits were issued in their names (Moyo, 2004; Rukuni, 1994). Conditions were and are still attached to the allocation of land to women. A woman has to be widowed, divorced, or unmarried with dependants (Chingarande, 2008; Rukuni, 1994).

1.6.4 Access to land by married women under resettlement models A and B

In the Model A scheme of resettlement, the registration of land rights was and is done in the names of men, who are viewed culturally by the patriarchal system as the heads of households. Gaidzanwa (1995) reports that surveys of communal areas such as Wedza, Mangwende, Honde and Pungwe Valleys show that the percentage of female heads of household resettlement areas surveyed by the Ministry of Lands, Resettlement and Rural Development in 1984 ranged between 2% and 15%. The only exception was Dombodema with 28% of its households being female-headed. Chingarande (2008) asserts that a national survey of Model A in 1995 revealed that 98% of permits given for crop and grazing lands on Model A schemes were held by husbands against a mere 2% by wives. When a husband dies in a resettlement scheme, the land is left to the resettlement officer, who in most cases is a man. He decides whether the widow and her children will continue to reside on and farm the land. In the majority of cases, the widow is allowed to continue farming the land as long as the household has enough labour to farm the land allocated to it. Women who separate from their husbands or divorce after settlement, usually leave the scheme in order to re-join their maiden patrilineage (Chingarande, 2009).

Women in the Model B scheme suffer some disadvantages. Women's rights to land in these schemes are based on their participation as co-operators on a commercial basis. The majority of female co-operators join this scheme as wives of male co-operators (Rukui, 1994; Gaidzanwa, 2011). Thus, the land rights for both males and females are based not on land use rights, but on labour inputs and participation in agricultural life (Matondi, 2012; Rukuni, 1994). This entails a reorganisation of the relations and the organisation of production in agriculture. Although Model B schemes accept divorced, widowed and single people, it is clear from a survey of the Model B scheme that women co-operators follow their husbands to whichever cooperative the men join (Gaidzanwa, 2011). African culture dictates that a wife joins her husband wherever he determines the domicile of the couple should be (Skapa, 2005). Thus, married women in the Model B scheme may be impeded in their adaptation to a system where land is held by the state and status is determined by participation in agriculture as an individual co-operator rather than as a wife (Chingarande, 2009). The single, divorced or widowed co-operators may be able to adapt better and make use of their land use rights as co-operators rather than as wives in the model B scheme (Chingarande, *ibid*; Gaidzanwa, 2011).

1.7 ZIMBABWE FAST TRACK LAND REFORM PROGRAMME (ZFTLRP)

Landless African people led by the war veterans reacted to the slow rate of land redistribution and took it upon themselves to occupy some farms in 2000 (Scoones et al., 2012; Matondi, 2012). The government then moved in later in 2000 and introduced a parliamentary amendment to previous acts to legitimise the invasions (Masiwa, 2004). The Zimbabwean Fast Track Land Reform Programme (ZFTLRP) thus formally emerged in 2000; 20 years after Zimbabwe had attained independence. It continued for almost eight years (Scoones et al., 2012).

Two models of land redistribution in the form of A1 and A2 models emerged in 2000. The A1 model consisted of small farms of between five and 30 hectares each (Moyo, 2004). It was meant for the poor and landless (Masiwa, 2004; Matondi, 2012). The A2 model, which this study is concerned with, were to be operated along business lines (Moyo, 2004; Scoones et al., 2012). The farms in this model ranged from 50 hectares, for those in crop farming, to as many as 1 000 hectares for those in ranching areas.

1.7.1 *The politics of the Zimbabwe Fast Track Land Reform Programme of 2000*

Statistics indicate that by 2003, women constituted about 18% of those allocated land under the A1 Model and about 12% of those under the A2 Model, despite the fact that the Presidential Land Review Committee had recommended that a quota of 40% of the land should be allocated to women (Masiwa, 2004; Scoones et al., 2012; LEDRIZ, 2012). Table 1 below provides a summary of land allocation by gender per province which is skewed in favour of men. Land allocations have continued, though at a very slow rate, especially where allocations to women are concerned (Chingarande, 2009).

Table 1: Summary of Provinces: Patterns of A1 and A2 Land Allocation by Gender

Province	Total	A1 Male Farmers	A1 Male Farmers %	A1 Female Farmers	A1 Female Farmers %
Midlands	17998	14800	82%	3198	18%
Masvingo	22690	19026	84%	3664	16%
Mash C	14756	12986	88%	1770	12%
Mash W	18052	12782	71%	5270	29%

Mash E	16959	12967	76%	3992	24%
Mat S	8923	7754	87%	1169	13%
Mat N	9409	7919	84%	1490	16%
Manica	11762	9572	81%	2190	19%
Total	120549	97806	81%	22743	19%
	Total	A2 Male	A2 Male %	A2 Female	A2 Female %
Midlands	355	338	95%	17	5%
Masvingo	773	709	92%	64	8%
Mash C	1684	1469	87%	215	13%
Mash W	2003	1777	89%	226	11%
Mash E					
Mat S	271	215	79%	56	21%
Mat N	695	574	83%	121	17%
Manica	1058	961	91%	97	9%
Total	6839	6043	88%	796	12%

(Source: The Presidential Land Review Committee Report (TPLRCR, 2003). Statistics for A1 and A2 farmers who were allocated land in Mashonaland East were not available.

KEY:

Mash E: Mashonaland East.

Mash W: Mashonaland West

Mash C: Mashonaland Central

Mat N: Matabeleland North

Mat S: Matabeleland South

Zimbabwean men and women who were allocated land under the A2 model were expected to operate along business lines, produce high yields and contribute to the economy of the country (Scoones et al., 2012; Masiwa, 2004). As the Government implemented the ZFTLRP, there were high expectations that African beneficiaries would perform at the same level as the former European commercial farmers (Matondi, 2012). However, the programme has been heavily criticised for low yields owing to the lack of resources and inadequacy of farming knowledge and skills, especially within the A2 model (Matondi, *ibid*; Moyo, 2004). For the full utilisation of commercial land, there is a need to harness resources through knowledge and skills development (Chingarande, 2008). The Government initially provided opportunities for farmers to get inputs such as seed, fertilizers, weed chemicals and pesticides on loan through the Grain Marketing Board (GMB) (Scoones et al., 2012). This, however,

was inadequate because of the huge numbers of farm beneficiaries. The programme was also not sustainable as some of the farmers who benefitted from the loans were unable to service and repay the loans. Some farmers would side-market their produce to private buyers to evade GMB loan repayments.

1.7.2 Negative aspects, challenges and problems

The FTLRP had challenges and problems (LEDRIZ). The programme was associated with violence and poor planning. Several structures were involved in allocating land, resulting, at times, in multiple claimants to the same piece of land (Scoones et al., 2012; Moyo, 2004). Most rules, processes and administrative mechanisms were not followed because they were seen to be a hindrance towards achieving the objectives of the programme, which were to allocate as much land as possible to the landless African black masses (Matondi, 2012). As a result, the programme provided minimal consistent inputs to the new land owners, and no agricultural farming skills training was provided (Chingarande, 2009). It was also evident that the ZFTLRP lacked monitoring and correction, thereby encouraging corruption (Matondi, 2012; Scoones et al., 2012). There was no security of tenure, and the land could not be used as collateral for borrowing funds (Goebel, 2005). This also, therefore, implied that land allocations were reversible (LEDRIZ, 2012). The above problems presented challenges to land beneficiaries, who included women, and hindered their farming activities. The problem was exacerbated among women farmers as banks demanded assets as collateral for loan security, which women did not have (Chingarande, 2009).

The ZFTLRP contributed to a decline in the performance of the Zimbabwean economy which went down in the early years, notably in the agricultural sector (Scoones et al., 2012). Agricultural performance declined drastically, both in quantity and quality, and literally dragged the rest of the economy into depression (Matondi, 2012; LEDRIZ, 2012; Scoones et al., 2012). In addition to those setbacks, potentially arable land was largely underutilized owing to beneficiaries' lack of skills (Moyo, 2004). The most conspicuous production losses were in tobacco, which was a major foreign-currency earner, and maize, which is the country's staple food (LEDRIZ, 2012; Scoones et al., 2012). As a result, Zimbabwe experienced food deficit in the first six or so years of the fast track programme (Matondi, 2012).

1.7.3 Positive aspects of ZFTLRP

On a positive note, however, some beneficiaries have shown a lot of commitment in terms of ensuring high yields and boosting the economy of the country, especially in the later years of the ZFTLRP (Scoones et al., 2012). Tobacco production has gradually improved from an annual production of 64,000 tonnes in the 2008 to 2009 season, to 140,000 tonnes in the 2011 to 2012 season, 160,000 tonnes in the 2012 to 2013 season, 230,000 tonnes in the 2014 to 2015 season, and 213,000 tonnes in the 2015 to 2016 season (Tobacco Industry Management Board (TIMB) report, 2017). The production is not very low when compared to 245,000 tonnes, the highest annual yield from the European farmers before the ZFTLRP (TIMB, *ibid.*). The production of crops such as maize, cotton and soya beans also improved as farmers became more experienced (Scoones et al., 2012). It is argued that the yields, which are still below what the European farmers used to achieve before the ZFTLRP, could be improved to the levels expected if the issues of lack of resources and inadequate farming knowledge and skills were addressed (Matondi, 2012; Scoones et al., 2012).

1.7.4 Gender politics in the ZFTLRP

A significant number of women became land owners in the ZFTLRP in both A1 and A2 models, though the numbers fell short of expectations. Some women farmers relied on men as dominant partners and this defeated the purpose of the policy intended to promote gender equality (Masiiwa, 2004; Matondi, 2012). This is particularly the case regarding A1 farmers as compared to A2 farmers. The A1 farmers, especially women, are subjected to a series of social controls at community levels as they fall under chiefs and interact with men who control most agricultural institutions, such as the Grain Marketing Board (GMB) and the Agricultural Extension (AGRITEX) Department. A2 female settlers tend to resist such control because they regard these social controls as a threat to commercial production and, by virtue of their type of settlement, are not really under the control of traditional leaders but have to fight for their rights in male-headed agricultural institutions (Scoones et al., 2012; Rukuni, 2006; Geobel, 2005).

The new women A1 and A2 farmers are exploring new forms of relationships as they are now farm owners and farm managers, working side by side with their male counterparts, who were once above them socially, economically and politically (Chingarande, 2009; Masiiwa, 2004). In the process, women farm beneficiaries are breaking cultural barriers at family, community and national levels, although there is severe resistance by men who seek to

impose norms adopted from traditional systems to maintain the status quo. For example, men continue to be viewed as heads of families, breadwinners and sole decision makers (Shumba, 201; LEDRIZ, 2012). Men in general consider the empowerment of women and change of power relations as a threat to culture (Ismail et al., 2015; Matondi, 2012). This study examines how women farmers are managing the change in gender power relations which emerges from their new status as owners and managers of land.

1.7.5 Women's inadequate access to land during ZFTLRP

Matondi (2012) asserts that many factors limited women's access to land and the performance of those who benefitted from the program. Women had no say in the decision-making process in the various land management institutions dominated by men, where land allocation decisions were made. Even when provided with land in their own right, women world-wide face difficulties in accessing key means of production such as finance, labour, inputs and equipment (Apusigah, 2009; Chingarande, 2008). Women who benefitted from ZFTLRP compete with men for access to resources and loans. While a few are able to compete equally, the majority of women are unable to do so owing to cultural constraints which classify that kind of behaviour by women as being rebellious and showing a lack of respect (Scoones et al., 2012; Chingarande, 2008; Goebel, 2005).

Women farm beneficiaries thus find themselves trapped between policies of women empowerment and expectations that they ought to comply with some traditional practices that place them under the control of men (Matondi, 20012; Apusigah, 2013; Chinyemba et al., 2006). Chinyemba et al. (ibid) go on to argue that women have multiple roles as mothers, wives, labourers and breadwinners. This role overload inhibits them from performing well, and this makes it difficult for them to compete with men. Chingarande (2008) concludes that even if they get land allocated to them, women find themselves in a dilemma where husbands take over the management of farms, making all the decisions without their wives getting involved. Men in Zimbabwe view women's empowerment and the change of power relations as a threat to culture, and they fear losing authority and control (Matondi, 2012; Chingarande, 2009; Mbilinyi & Sechambo, 2009).

Land reform programmes in Southern Africa reveal processes of exclusion, deepening social divisions and class formulation. Most of the programmes have failed to mainstream the interests of women. Gender disparity in terms of the ownership of property, including land,

contributes to gender inequalities in terms of economic well-being, social status, and empowerment (Mbilinyi & Sechambo, 2009; Chinyemba et al., 2006). In Zimbabwe, very few women have independent rights of ownership or access to or control of land (Chingarande, 2009; Chinyemba et al., 2006; Moyo, 2004). This exclusion also extends to other resources like inputs, social support, education and finance for agriculture (Moyo, *ibid*). While women constitute the majority of ‘farmers’ in Zimbabwe and contribute immensely to the agricultural labour force, they rarely control land for agriculture and rarely own land in their own right (Chingarande, 2008). Under the ZFTLRP, women received barely 20% of the distributed land in their own right.

This is a common trend in Africa where the needs of women in land reform programmes are not a priority. The needs and interests of women tend to be overlooked during land reform programmes, and this reinforces women’s traditional and current subordinate role (Ismail et al., 2015; Apusigah, 2009; Chingarande, 2009). This is in spite of the strong representation of women in development activism, argues Chingarande (2009). Women’s organisations have encountered a number of challenges emanating from patriarchal culture and tradition as they try to empower women through various initiatives (Mbilinyi & Sechambo, 2009).

1.7.6 Unfair power relations

The constraints faced by women include unfair gender power relations where women have few decision-making powers and are unable to access critical resources such as land, education, agricultural loans, agricultural inputs and agricultural information (Ismail et al., 2015; Chingarande, 2009; Chinyemba et al., 2006). This study aimed at obtaining insight into how women farmers who benefitted from the ZFTLRP acquire farming knowledge and manage gender power relations. When this insight has been gained, it should be possible to recommend steps to be taken to address issues of gender power relations and farming knowledge.

1.8 THE RISE OF WOMEN AND GoZ’s ROLE ON WOMEN’S EMPOWERMENT

The last half of the 20th century saw the independence of African nations from the bondage of colonialism, witnessing dramatic improvements in the lives of African people in general, and of women in particular (Chingarande, 2009; Gaidzanwa, 1997). Parents now appreciate the importance of educating both boys and girls. Early marriages have been drastically reduced

and women practice every profession, as we boast of female professors, doctors, judges, engineers, lawyers and many others (Kaziboni, 2002; Mupawaenda, 1995).

Zimbabwean women over the years have not remained passive. They have organised themselves into various advocacy and lobby organizations (Gaidzanwa, 1997). Many Non Governmental Organisations (NGOs) have provided gender and civic education to women in Zimbabwe. Women's movements have played a critical role in making the voices of women heard in politics and business (LEDRIZ, 2012). In 1980, the new government initiated free mass education to eradicate educational inequalities (Gordon, 2010; Gaidzanwa, 1997). During the first decade of independence, policy statements emphasized the need for equity and development. The government adopted policies to address gender disparities by affording the girl child more opportunities to access education (Gordon, 2010; Kaziboni, 2000). Despite government efforts, however, by 2000 literacy rates in Zimbabwe remained lower for women than for men (Maphosa et al., 2002).

1.8.1 Women's capability to endure liberation hardships

Zimbabwean women demonstrated their capability to endure hardships when they participated alongside men in the liberation struggle which ended in 1979 (Chogugudza, 2009; Gaidzanwa, 1995). As already highlighted, when the new government came into power in 1980, it committed itself to addressing the gender disparity that had existed through passing different acts and creating a Ministry of Gender. Zimbabwe has its own National Gender Policy which advocates for gender mainstreaming in all sectors of the economy, including agriculture. Other conventions signed by Zimbabwe are the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948; the International Convention on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights of 1966 (Article 3 commits states to ensuring that men and women enjoy equal economic, social and cultural rights); the African Charter on Human and People's Rights of 1982; and the Southern African Development Community (SADC) Gender Declaration of 1997 (Zimbabwe Human Rights Document, 1998).

However, efforts to increase gender equality initially met resistance, as men who occupied decision-making positions felt this was a threat to their positions and made decisions which in many cases were not in favour of women (Matondi, 2012; Chinyemba et al., 2006; Chingarande, 2008). The women often did not claim what was theirs owing to their lack of

confidence and low education. They also feared being viewed as rebels (Mbilinyi & Sechambo, 2009, Chinyemba et al., 2006; Kaziboni, 2002). Culture and colonialism had socialised African women to be dependent, conservative, hard-working, submissive, and 'well-mannered' by not challenging men, and to accept suffering with resignation (Apusigah, 2009; Mbilinyi & Sechambo, 2009). Men were expected by society to be independent, ambitious, brave, aggressive, without emotions, and economically empowered (Ismail et al., 2015; Sintim Adas & Anima Frempong, 2014).

1.8.2 GoZ effort towards women empowerment and constraints encountered

In 1980 the Zimbabwean Government, in an effort to empower the African black people after attaining independence, made land available to the landless, including women. Thus, as discussed earlier, some women became farm owners and farm managers (Chingarande 2009; Masiwa 2004). In contemporary Africa in general, and Zimbabwe in particular, the traditional care-giving, home-making and nurturing roles of women as mothers and wives is slowly changing, leading to new roles and new identities outside the home (Taiwo, 2010; Matondi, 2012). In addition to the traditional roles, women find themselves overburdened as they take on new roles that society had not accorded them in the past (Apusigah, 2009; Kaziboni, 2002).

The use of a dual legal system comprising customary and general laws continues to limit gains that women obtain from policy reforms. These laws contradict each other in terms of women's rights. This could be interpreted as a lack of commitment on the part of the State in addressing gender disparity. The involvement of traditional authorities in land allocation during the ZFTLRP worsened the position of women. Most decision-making positions in the allocation of resources are occupied by males whose commitment to women's rights is not absolute (Chinyemba et al., 2006; Goebel, 2005). Goebel (ibid.) argues that this shows that the state does not fully recognise women as having rights to land, nor does it recognise them as producers in their own right. Thus the state supports and commits itself to ensuring women's rights at international and national debates, but lacks commitment to enforcing these rights, especially at national levels. This approach signals the state's retreat from a programme of gender justice, thereby raising serious questions about the role of the state as a vehicle in support of women's land rights (Chingarande, 2009; Chinyemba et al., 2006; Goebel, 2005). Gender power dynamics and farming knowledge are critical for women farmers. The two stand out as being in particular need of further investigation. Women

farmers were empowered through accessing land, but they need education on modern farming methods and knowledge on how to manage gender dynamics if they are to be effective on their farms.

1.9 EDUCATION AND TRAINING IN AGRICULTURE

Agricultural extension is the process of transmitting agricultural knowledge and skills to farmers to enhance their farming regarding production, marketing and decision making, and involves the exchange of information between farmers and researchers (Pazvakavambwa & Hakutangwi, 2006). The agricultural industry largely depends on the transfer of knowledge to the farming community. Agricultural extension is one of the major forces responsible for the growth and provision of agricultural technology to farmers in order to strengthen the national economy (Mashavave et al., 2013; Pazvakavambwa & Hakutangwi, 2006).

1.9.1 Extension work in Zimbabwe: pre- and post-independence

The establishment of agricultural extension in Zimbabwe is closely linked to the political and economic history of the country. The discriminatory and oppressive political and development strategies pursued by colonial governments from the turn of the 20th century until independence in 1980 were also implemented in the provision of services in the agricultural sector (Kujeke, 1998).

Discriminatory extension work

The European authorities in what was then called Rhodesia developed two separate Agricultural Extension entities, one for the large-scale commercial farming sectors, utilised exclusively by European farmers and which was well funded, and the other for the smallholder African black farmers in the then Tribal Trust Lands (TTLs) (now communal areas), which was poorly funded (Hanyani-Mlambo, 2000). This discriminatory strategy was supported by a comprehensive array of legislative and policy measures in which race and gender were the predominant determinants of access to and use of the country's resources (Kujeke, 1998).

In 1949, the Department of Conservation and Extension was established to run a well-organized extension service for whites in large scale commercial farms, and provide limited support to a few small-scale commercial farmers in African Purchase Areas. Its task was to provide agricultural advisory services to the farmers and it worked in conjunction with the

Department of Research and Specialist Services (Kujeke, 1998). The focus was on tobacco and maize production on large, European-owned plantations. Agricultural extension services among white farmers were well-funded. The farmer to extension worker ratio was 1:6. Because of this intensive coverage, commercial farmers enjoyed an almost personal service from the Department of Conservation and Extension, which boosted the level of performance amongst white farmers. There were strong research extension linkages that ensured farmers were provided with the latest research (Pazvakavambwa & Hakutangwi, 2006). There was a high rate of adoption of technologies and a significant improvement in the cropped area and its productivity. Between 1965 and 1980, yields of maize, cotton and tobacco are estimated to have increased by 31%, 48% and 42% respectively (Tawonezwi, 1995). For livestock, new technologies like pen feeding and protein supplementation were widely adopted in high-potential mixed farming areas, thus establishing the country as a major high-quality beef producer (Kujeke, 1998).

Agricultural extension work for black farmers

The earliest efforts at agricultural extension work for smallholder black farmers began with the start of organized agriculture among rural communities. This was during 1900 when organized agriculture began in colonized Rhodesia. There were no meaningful agricultural extension efforts for the African black farmers until around 1920. Organized agricultural extension in African areas was started in Chipinge in the district of Manicaland in 1921 by an American missionary called Emory Alvord. He promoted the use of manure and crop rotation to increase soil fertility and yields (Kujeke, 1998). As a result, demonstration plots began to spring up all over Chipinge. The training of agricultural demonstrators began at Domboshava and Tjolutjolo (Pazvakavambwa, 1994). Alvord undertook his extension efforts in order to help feed poor African people who had been forced to leave after Europeans took away the richest lands for their own use (Pazvakavambwa, *ibid*).

Extension services, especially among the blacks, were not well-funded, and fully trained personnel were not always used (Hanyani-Mlambo, 2000). Besides poor funding, the approach to extension services was not well received by the farmers, as most of it was in the form of instruction, which does not support adult education practices. In addition, overstocking and land degradation led to heavy soil erosion in most tribal trust land areas, and this led to the passing of a series of legislative measures to address the growing problems

(Pazvakavambwa & Hakutangwi, 2006). The Land Apportionment Act was promulgated in 1931 and the Land Husbandry Act in 1951.

In later years, land protection measures, mainly in the form of contours and destocking (*madhunduru* and *nhimhura*), were introduced to Africans under penalty of law so as to reduce land degradation in the tribal areas (Kujeke, 1998). These measures were very unpopular and opposition and resistance began to emerge. Farmers were sometimes required by law to undertake certain activities, like cattle dipping, without adequate understanding or awareness of the benefits of such activities (Kujeke, *ibid.*). The small-scale commercial farmers, though serviced by the Department of Conservation and Extension, did not enjoy the same level of extension service as that received by white farmers. The extension personnel had inadequate funding for transport and other resources (Pazvakavambwa & Hakutangwi, 2006).

One successful programme was the Master Farmers Training Scheme, which targeted progressive farmers in the tribal trust lands for the promotion of better farming methods (Pazvakavambwa & Hakutangwi, 2006; Kujeke, 1998). Those who succeeded were promoted to occupy small-scale commercial farms (referred to as Purchase Areas). Although an insignificant number were allocated farms, the programme attracted many smallholder farmers who were keen to improve their agricultural knowledge and skills (Hanyani-Mlambo 2000).

Positive efforts in extension work

Despite the shortcomings discussed above, there were some achievements. Rampant soil erosion was reduced. Technical innovations, such as the use of improved seeds and fertilizers and rotation, were introduced, greatly benefitting the tribal areas (Pazvakavambwa, 1994). A sound agricultural education and extension programme was introduced. Agricultural productivity went up in the communal areas and with it nutritional levels and income, resulting in better standards of living.

Pazvakavambwa & Hakutangwi (2006, pp. 217-223) give a summary of the extension approaches through which farmers could access information.

The group extension approach: This involved giving extension advice to groups of farmers. The assumption is that farmers are a homogeneous group with similar problems. Since it benefitted the average farmer, it remained the most widely-used approach by the Ministry of Agriculture through the Agricultural Extension Department. This approach is still being used today by various providers of extension education.

The Master Farmer training scheme: The approach's objective was to produce a critical mass of farmers to occupy small-scale commercial farms. Farmers got knowledge and skills for specific crops for two to three years as discussed above. Farmers periodically undertook oral, written and practical examinations. They get certificates or Master-Farmer badges at the end. This approach has however faded.

The training and visit approach: This was a decentralized scheme where extension workers offer farmers intensive training and follow-ups. This has not been widely implemented in Zimbabwe due to its high costs.

Mass media approach: The Zimbabwe Broadcast Cooperation (ZBC) provided air time on radio and television for extension knowledge in local languages for the ordinary farmers. This approach is still being used extensively.

Private extension services: This approach is still in use today. Companies that sell agricultural chemicals, agro-processors and equipment provide agricultural knowledge through the electronic and print media as they advertise their products. The danger with these companies is that they target large-scale farmers and the needs of small farmers are ignored. Farmers' unions and suppliers of farm inputs, employ personnel with extension experience to either market their products or provide an exclusive service to farmers. Unfortunately, these private extension services recruit personnel from the national extension services, leaving it weakened. This is in use today.

Internet-based information: This is also becoming crucial in both the public and the private sectors as a medium of agricultural information. Farmers also access information directly from the internet.

The extension service provision stabilised until the liberation war intensified during the 1970s (Kujeke, 1998). During the liberation war, extension activities were disrupted and some extension staff were killed while others were relocated to areas where the war had not intensified. Some left extension work to seek refuge in their home areas if it was safe to do so (Kujeke, *ibid.*). With the escalation of the liberation war in the seventies, many field extension workers were withdrawn from the communal areas or forced out by the local population, as they were considered representatives of the minority government (Hanyani-Mlambo, 2000). By 1979, the agricultural extension services for both the large-scale and smallholder sub-sectors had virtually collapsed, as the remaining field staff could not move freely within most rural areas, and agricultural operations were limited (Pazvakavambwa, 1994).

1.9.2 Agricultural extension after Independence

The war of liberation severely disrupted organized extension activities country-wide. Prior to independence, there existed a divided extension service structure comprising the Department of Conservation and Extension, servicing mainly the European farming community, and the small scale Native Purchase Areas and the Department of Agricultural Development for African black farmers in the Tribal Trust Lands. Agricultural extension staff was very thin on the ground owing to the displacements caused by the war (Pazvakavambwa, 1994). Morale was also very low owing to uncertainty over the outcome of the war. Experienced personnel were not committed to the future, leaving inexperienced officers at the helm.

New policy on agricultural extension

The new government produced a new policy on agricultural extension, based partly on its own philosophy of egalitarianism and partly on realities on the ground. The new policy directed that extension services be targeted in order of priority to communal areas, resettlement areas, small-scale areas and large-scale farmers (Tawonezwi, 1995). The hitherto neglected rural areas would now be the focus of attention. Agricultural extension services created to cater for the agricultural education needs of all farmers in 1981 fell under one umbrella, the new Department of Agricultural Technical and Extension Services (Kujeke, 1998). Training of AGRITEX officers intensified. The numbers of trainees at the two main agricultural colleges, Gwebi and Chibero Agricultural Colleges, increased. Other institutions such as Millers, Esigodini, Rio Tinto and Kushinga Phikelela were upgraded. The training of Veterinary extension officers began at Mazoe Veterinary College. Extension staff were

deployed to marginal areas in a bid to reduce the extension officer to farmer ratio to 1:200. Farmer training, using the Ordinary and Advanced Master Farmer training schemes, was accelerated (Pazvakavambwa, 1994). A mobilization scheme to enable extension officers to reach farmers was easily started, using funds from donors (Pazvakavambwa, *ibid*). The Agricultural Finance Corporation was set up to increase agricultural input availability to small- and large-scale farmers. Research and demonstration activities intensified in all farming areas. Female AGRITEX officers were recruited in large numbers and the gender imbalance began to be addressed, though not satisfactorily (Hanyani-Mlambo, 2000).

The above measures helped agricultural production to increase dramatically. There was a huge grain surplus and Zimbabwe became the 'green basket' in the region (Kujeke, 1998). The agricultural boom led to exports of beef, grains, soya beans and other forms of foodstuff and to the strengthening of local industries such as the Cotton Company (Cotco), the Cold Storage Commission (CSC) and the Dairy Marketing Board (DMB). Private companies such as Agrifoods, National Foods, and many others also developed as a result of the agricultural boom (Pazvakavambwa, 1994).

Constraints on the new agricultural extension policy

High agricultural productivity continued until problems began to be experienced with the inception of the ZFTLRP in 2000 (Pazvakavambwa, *ibid*.). Since then, government finances have continued to dwindle and support for the agricultural sector has continued to recede. The main problems are a lack of funding for inputs and a lack of education and training among the new farm owners (Chingarande, 2009). Agricultural productivity has plummeted and the country is no longer able to produce sufficient food for its own consumption or for export, ten years into the ZFTLRP. Experienced extension staff and those with rare skills have left the service for greener pastures. Budgetary constraints have since affected aspects such as funding, research and demonstrations, staff mobility and staff salaries among others. An emergency training programme to produce extension staff at the grassroots levels has been implemented, but their skills and knowledge as well as experience are limited. Most of the extension work has been left in the hands of private companies like seed, fertilizer and chemical companies.

Non-Government Organisations have also played a large part in the provision of extension services to the rural farmers, especially during the period between 1980 and 2000

(Pazvakavambwa & Hakutangwi, 2006). The economic situation prevailing in Zimbabwe since 2005 has not been conducive to training, thus most farmers are left on their own to look for farming knowledge. The AGRITEX officers who remained at work are demotivated and are no longer effective (Pazvakavambwa & Hakutangwi, *ibid*; Kujeke, 1998). The increase in the number of farmers who were resettled demanded an increase in extension personnel. The pace at which resettlement took place outpaced the provision of extension services, because most of the resources were channeled towards resettling people. By 2006, the ratio of extension worker to farmer was 1:600, making it difficult for extension workers to attend to the needs of farmers (Pazvakavambwa & Hakutangwi, 2006).

The services of government extension officers are presently minimal. This could be because the Government has no resources to make AGRITEX effective. Seed companies, however, have been very active in agricultural knowledge provision. They approach farmers to grow their products and they provide agricultural training as a way of advertising themselves. The companies also establish demonstration plots in farms where they train farmers in the neighbourhood and provide flyers with relevant farming information. They run weekly training programmes through the mass media (radio and television). The Zimbabwe Commercial Farmers (ZCF) association, for example, does training for their members and produces a monthly magazine which is available on the market (Pazvakavambwa & Hakutangwi, 2006). The need for growth in the farming sector has seen women become active farmers. In preparation for this expected growth, the country needs to be better informed about how to help women address their challenges in commercial farming, negotiating gender relations, and maximizing the use of new and old knowledge (Chingarande, 2009). These are areas which this study aimed to explore.

1.9.3 Gender policy in agricultural extension programmes

The new government accelerated the training and deployment of female extension staff after 1980 (Pazvakavambwa, 1994). Extension programmes aimed at female farmers (horticulture, agriculture, chicken farming) intensified. Resettlement programmes have resulted in women getting more involved in the agricultural industry and needing more extension services (Scoones et al., 2012). It is unfortunate that extension services targeted males more than they targeted female farmers, who are in a minority (Mudukuti & Miller, 2002). A few women were involved, but their needs were not prioritized. For example, women with babies would walk long distances to the training venue and sometimes stay overnight in conditions not

suitable for their babies (Mudukuti & Miller, *ibid.*). Extension work as a profession was mainly the preserve of males, as it was classified under non-traditional professions (Kujeke, 1998).

Generally, women farmers still face discrimination from extension officers who are involved in input distribution. Visits to their farms by extension officers are not prioritized, as women are viewed as not serious because they are females and traditionally they were not found in this arena (Hanyani-Mlambo, 2000). The currently-prevailing economic situation has not spared female extension officers.

The establishment of a special extension programme to address the needs of A2 female farmers is critical, as these farmers have not been prioritized in the past in terms of agriculture education and training, yet they are supposed to operate their farms along business lines and produce enough for local consumption (Chingarande, 2009). Knowledge can be in the form of modern scientific knowledge or indigenous knowledge (IK) which is local, belongs to a community and helps the local people interact with their environment. Indigenous knowledge has always been part of African culture. For an agricultural revolution like the one that took place in Zimbabwe to succeed and be sustainable, farmers should have proper skills and access to knowledge that can be generated through research and imparted through extension (Pazvakavambwa & Hakutangwi, 2006).

1.10 LOCATION AND SCOPE OF THE STUDY

Zimbabwe is a landlocked country with an estimated population of over 13,000,000. Over 60% are engaged in the agricultural sector, mainly for subsistence livelihood. The country depends heavily on agriculture as one of its major economic activities. This study was conducted in the Zvimba district in the Mashonaland West Provinces of Zimbabwe. The Zvimba district lies in Region 2, which is one of the best agricultural regions of Zimbabwe and covers approximately 6,071 square kilometres.

The greatest part of the constituency, about 80%, has rich red clay soils suitable for growing such crops as maize, soya beans and cotton. The remaining 20% has rich sandy loam soils suitable for growing such crops as tobacco and ground nuts. The area receives an average annual rainfall of 800 to 1,200 millilitres (Mashonaland West Province Governor's Report 2012). During the colonial era and immediately after independence in 1980, Zimbabwe was

labelled Southern Africa's 'bread basket' because of the productivity of districts like Zvimba. During the ZFTLRP, Zimbabwean people all over the country, including women, applied for land in this well-sought-after rich region. Approximately 43 women were allocated land under the A2 model in Zvimba. This district was chosen for this study because of its fertility, accessibility to the researcher and the high number of women who were allocated land compared to other districts.

1.11 PERSONAL INTEREST IN THE STUDY:

I, as the researcher, am one of the female farmers who benefitted from the ZFTLRP of 2000. In 2004 I was allocated a farm in the A2 model in Banket, which is in the Zvimba District where the study was done. As a woman, it was not easy to get land. It took several trips and confrontations with land allocation officers who in most cases were males. I also encountered resistance and sabotage from neighbours who are males. Some female friends were also not supportive, arguing that commercial farming was the role of males, and females were not supposed to be in that industry as it involved a lot of hard work, managing workers and making critical decisions. Some male members in my family have been supportive. I have been motivated to continue farming by some female friends including other female farmers, and even by some male farmers that I, as the researcher, interact with. This study helped me to articulate and theorise my experiences and those of other women who supported me as we engaged in the struggle of being owners and managers of farms.

As a female farmer I have also faced constraints in terms of the farming knowledge I needed to maximise my production. While I grew up on a small-scale farm, I have found out that my knowledge and experiences fall short of the demands of the farm, and at times I resort to trial-and-error farming. To enhance my farming knowledge, I have attended a number of training programmes, listened to television programmes and read magazines on farming. During the first few years of working on the farm, AGRITEX officers were very visible on the ground and I could consult them and get knowledge relating to farming, but now they are no longer visible. However, I still need their services in areas such as land preparation, fertilizer application and the use of chemicals to control weeds. This study reveals how women farmers have learnt modern farming methods and used them together with their traditional farming methods since their land allocation.

This was a qualitative study which used the interpretive research paradigm. This approach was ideal, as it sought to understand the lives of women farmers by allowing them to interpret their own experiences, as recommended by Cohen et al. (2007). The study employed a life history research design. A life history is the story a person tells about the life he or she has lived (Plummer, 2000). It is a narration of one's entire life experiences, focusing on a particular issue. The issues focused on in the life histories in this study were farming knowledge and power relations. In this study data was collected from 10 women farmers through focus group discussions, individual focused interviews, diary analysis and observation. The population of this study consisted of 42 women farmers who benefitted from ZFTLRP by receiving A2 farms in the Zvimba District.

1.12 DEFINITION OF TERMS

The following terms have been defined to give a contextual meaning:

Post-structuralism

According to Foucault (1980), post-structuralism looks at the role of power and discourse. Post-structuralism deconstructs normative assumptions to expose their contingent nature in relation to understanding the truth and reality.

Experiential learning

Rutland (2017) describes David Kolb's theory of experiential learning as a process whereby the learner constructs knowledge and skills through the transformation of experience. Experiential learning is when we learn by doing. It requires self-initiative, intention to learn and an active phase of learning.

Indigenous knowledge

Indigenous knowledge (IK) is a body of knowledge, values, innovations and practices that indigenous people develop over generations using their natural environment, to enable a community to survive (Makinde & Shorunke, 2013).

Gender

Gender is a social construct that ascribes societal roles to men and women (Mekgwe, 2007).

Gender power dynamics/relations

Gender power dynamics/relations refer to a complex system of personal and social relations of domination and power through which some people, based on the gender role ascribed to them, gain access to power and material resources, or are allocated status within society (IFAD, 2000).

1.13 OUTLINE OF THE THESIS

Chapter One provided the problem statement, motivation, purpose of the study, research questions, and rationale for the study. The chapter also provided the historical background of the study, focusing on the political context of land and the position of women in Zimbabwe from the pre-colonial through to the post-colonial era. The political context of extension education was also discussed.

Chapter Two discusses the two theories that guided the study, namely experiential learning theory and post-structuralist theory. Kolb's experiential learning theory is used to understand how women accessed farming methods, and Foucault's post-structuralist theory is used to understand how women managed gender power relations.

Chapter Three provides a literature review of studies on women farmers in terms of the key features of gender, learning, negotiating skills, decision making and constraints encountered. Furthermore, the chapter discusses how farmers have acquired agricultural knowledge and the role played by extension workers. The chapter also looks at the role of indigenous knowledge (IK) in agriculture, and the chapter ends with a discussion of the implications of the literature on training.

Chapter Four provides a detailed outline of the methodology employed in the study, its advantages, disadvantages and ethical considerations, followed by an explanation of the data collection experience.

Chapter Five presents data on how women in this study learned to farm in relation to formal, non-formal and informal learning opportunities. In addition, the chapter presents data on how women applied IK in their farming activities. The findings are discussed in relation to the literature.

Chapter Six presents findings on the historical life history context that brought about gender power conflicts. The findings are discussed in relation to the background information given in chapter One.

Chapter Seven presents findings on how women in this study navigated gender power dynamics as contemporary farmers. The findings are discussed in relation to the literature.

Chapter Eight synthesizes and draws implications and conclusions about the findings, followed by recommendations for training.

CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter presented the background to this study on women farmers who benefited from the Zimbabwe Fast Track Land Reform Programme (ZFTLRP). The chapter analysed the position of Zimbabwean women with regards to land ownership in the pre-colonial and post-colonial eras. This chapter discusses the theories that guided this study. The chapter looks at Kolb's experiential learning theory as a lens to explain how women learned and acquired new knowledge about farming, and how their different forms of learning could illustrate learning by farmers as experiential and/or self-directed. The chapter also explains how Foucault's post-structuralist theory was used as a lens to explore how women negotiated gender power relations. The chapter addresses the main theoretical focus of Foucault's post-structuralism with particular reference to gender power relations and how discourse was used by women to manage their gender power relations.

The purpose of the study was to explore how women commercial farmers who benefited from the ZFTLRP acquired farming knowledge, applied indigenous knowledge (IK) and negotiated gender power relations. Firstly, the study analysed how the women farmers accessed and used modern knowledge. Secondly, it sought further understanding on how the women applied and integrated this modern farming knowledge with their IK. Finally, the study analyses how women farmers managed gender power relations in accessing and utilising their farm land.

This section opens with a discussion on lifelong learning as a critical component of adult education. The chapter moves on to analyse experiential learning theory, drawing particularly on Kolb. The study uses Kolb's experiential learning theory as a lens to illuminate how the women farmers accessed agricultural knowledge. Kolb's experiential learning cycle stages are discussed as part of lifelong learning. The critiques of the experiential learning theory are also highlighted. Non-formal and informal learning are discussed as the main ways learners access experiential learning. Self-directed learning and socialisation/IK are also discussed as potential strategies used by the women farmers to access agricultural knowledge.

2.2 LIFELONG LEARNING

Lifelong learning refers to voluntary self-motivated learning that is pursued throughout life (Findsen & Formosa, 2011). Thus, every person throughout their life acquires the knowledge and skills they need to fulfil their aspirations and contribute to their societies. Lifelong learning covers all the activities done during one's life with the intention of acquiring knowledge, skills and attitudes to improve one's life socially, economically and politically (Lekoko & Modise, 2011; Morrice, 2007). Roche (2017) asserts that people learn throughout their lives, depending on what needs to be learnt to survive. "I am, therefore I learn" (Roche, *ibid*, p. 298). Advocates for lifelong learning believe that all people are capable of absorbing educational processes and content throughout their lives. It is an essential process that improves personal development, fosters social integration and improves earning capacity (Preece, 2009; Merriam & Kim, 2008). Lifelong learning may occur in a wide variety of contexts such as formal, non-formal and informal (Roche, 2017; Torres, 2009).

Of late, lifelong learning institutions have become useful in bridging the knowledge gap between what the formal education systems provide and "what the rapidly changing labour market requires" (Lee, 2014, p. 463). Rogers (2006) observed that gender was missing from the theoretical and practical debates of lifelong learning. Women farmers could find themselves having a knowledge gap created by their new status of land ownership, and would need to have the gap filled so that they could achieve their objectives. Lifelong learning opportunities are essential for preparing these citizens of the new times to meet the changing societal needs that confront them in this new unpredictable environment (Roche, 2017; Lee, 2014; Merriam & Kim, 2008). Lee adds that it is critical that these educational opportunities are within reach, affordable and accessible to the communities.

2.2.1 African concept of lifelong learning

Lifelong learning was an integral part of the indigenous educational system in Africa and could not be separated from the rest of life's activities. Its purpose was to empower the individual with knowledge and skills to be an active member of the community (Preece, 2009). Traditional African lifelong learning was community based and informal. Lifelong learning in Africa has been regarded as including knowledge that is relevant, appropriate, and responsive and respects dignity and integrity for all, irrespective of their gender (Merriam & Kim, 2008; Omolewa, 2002). Such learning is embedded deep in the practices, cultures and ways of knowing of many Africans (Preece & Odora Hoppers, 2011). This traditional attitude

to learning was holistic in nature, focused on self-sustenance and promoted a spirit of oneness (Preece, 2009; Merriam & Kim, 2008; Omolewa, 2002). Generally, however, the western perspective of lifelong learning as a concept is regarded as more about providing additional education for those who already have received formal education (Pieck, 2002). It tends to focus on the economics and individualism of learning (Preece & Odora Hoppers, 2011; Lekoko & Modise, 2011). On the other hand, African lifelong learning includes IK and emphasises immediacy of application and interactive methods (Lekoko & Modise, 2011). According to Preece (2009), lifelong learning should raise awareness among men and women, help them to participate in community affairs, have a critical mind, and help them to live together as equal citizens. This perspective fits well with African traditions of learning.

In the researcher's culture as a Shona-speaking person, I was taught that one learns from birth until one dies. This is what is referred to by the idiom '*Kudzidza hakupere*' that is literally translated as 'Learning does not end'. The fact that learning cannot be separated from one's life activities clearly describes lifelong learning (Omolewa, 2002; Gaidzanwa, 1997). In Asia there is an Islamic saying, 'Seek knowledge from cradle to grave'. Both these sayings summarise the importance of lifelong learning, whose purpose is to empower the individual to be an active member of the community (Merriam & Kim, 2008). Indeed, what counts as knowledge and truth in an African context is rooted in the community and is a result of learning acquired through age and experience (Preece, 2009; Merriam & Kim, 2008). The individual does not learn for his or her own development, as learning is interdependent and communal. In African culture, an individual should take responsibility for others because individual interests are less important than communal interests (Ntseane, 2011). For example, every woman in the community is a mother to every child and has a role to discipline any child anywhere, anytime. When one gets information, it is the role of the individual to let other community members become knowledgeable about it. Knowledge that promotes individualism and independence is considered self-centred and immature (Merriam & Kim, 2008; Omolewa, 2002).

While African people had their own form of lifelong learning, it has been influenced to a great extent by western ways of learning. People are constantly complementing traditional values with modern values as a result of the global village. In so doing, they may create new identities and adapt philosophical perspectives, but never completely reject their heritage (Preece, 2009). Thus, even if western culture has penetrated Africa in terms of values and

education, African people may borrow some western values but retain aspects of their African heritage, giving rise to a new breed of education, values and practices (Lekoko & Modise, 2011). Culture thus plays a part in the application of lifelong learning. Promoting lifelong learning in Africa includes creating and valuing local knowledge and promoting learning through formal, non-formal and informal education, and incorporating new information and technology into existing knowledge (Preece & Odora Hoppers, 2011; Merriam & Kim, 2008).

2.2.2 *Feminists' views*

Women often have less access to lifelong learning opportunities than do men (Higgs & van Wyk, 2007; Preece, 2009). Different streams of feminists argue that lifelong learning should provide women with a chance to strengthen and expand their social competences and their personal skills, and to develop and improve their knowledge and skills to help them cope with their social responsibilities (Lekoko & Modise, 2011; Higgs & van Wyk, 2007). Some authors, Preece (2009) and Torres (2009), argue that most writing on feminists and lifelong learning is from the North and fails to address the concerns of women from the South. Their concerns are related to racism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and sex. In order to understand and bring about effective change, there is a need to understand the oppression experienced by southern women and adopt appropriate strategies (Preece, 2007).

It is also critical to understand that, unlike the western feminist view, the African feminists prefer not to isolate men from discussions on women and social justice (Goredema, 2010; Preece, 2009). The African women appreciate that, because of the patriarchal nature of most societies in Africa, men have to play a role in the emancipation of women (Apusigah, 2009; Goredema, 2010), including their learning. For example, the Gender and Development (GAD) approach which was advocated for by Socialist feminists advocates that men and women in Africa have to work together to address and eliminate all forms of oppression, and work together to enhance understanding of the roles men and social institutions play in oppressing women (Goredema, *ibid*; McFadden, 2010; Preece, 2009). In addition, African feminists question western beliefs or approaches such as the Women in Development (WID) movement of the 1970s that failed to recognise indigenous knowledge and culture (Goredema, 2010; Preece, 2009). Lifelong learning for women in African contexts calls for an understanding of the tension between patriarchal oppression, processes of decolonisation and the need to preserve positive cultural values.

Black feminists criticise the philosophy of lifelong learning which claims to be self-directional, autonomous and independent. In line with African feminists' philosophy, black feminists' lifelong learning embraces interdependence and degrees of autonomy which recognize commitment to others rather than individualism, and wants men to be involved in the emancipation and empowerment of women, including the learning of women (Preece, 2009; Omolewa, 2002).

Education and lifelong learning should enhance one's chances of a good healthy lifestyle and contributing to the economy of the nation (Preece, 2009). Thus, lifelong learning is equally a right for women as it increases their social status, decision-making powers, leadership skills, independence and ability to relate to the outside world. Women farmers need education on how to farm, manage and market their products and make wise strategic decisions pertaining to their farming activities. Unfortunately, in Zimbabwe during the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial eras, the education of the girl child and adult woman, as discussed in chapter one was not a priority in most African families (Suen, 2013; Apusigah, 2009; Gordon, 2010). Consequently, women were negatively affected regarding issues of identity, voice and authority. Preece (2009) advocates for feminist teaching styles that help women challenge the status quo and engage in critical analysis regarding power, oppression and domination. Knowledge of modern farming and technology such as computers is a critical skill which women farmers can only acquire through lifelong learning (Tapsoba, 2002). Some authorities, such as Preece (2009) and Tapsoba (2002), have argued that if women lack basic education skills, they will have limited access to computers and other technological advancement. In Zimbabwe today, computer literacy is vital as society, including rural society, is to a great extent dependent on technology and access to the internet.

The concerns of third world women with regard to lifelong learning are migration, urbanization and overwork, as they participate in the market economy. In the context of a patriarchal society, women also demand emancipation from household responsibilities (Preece, 2009). Most lifelong learning for African women is related to their nurturing roles in the homes and community (Preece, *ibid*; Morojele, 2009; Kaziboni, 1998; Gaidzanwa, 1995). Thus, the traditional lifelong learning patterns are disrupted, while at the same time new learning opportunities are not accessible due to women's long working hours (Mudukuti &

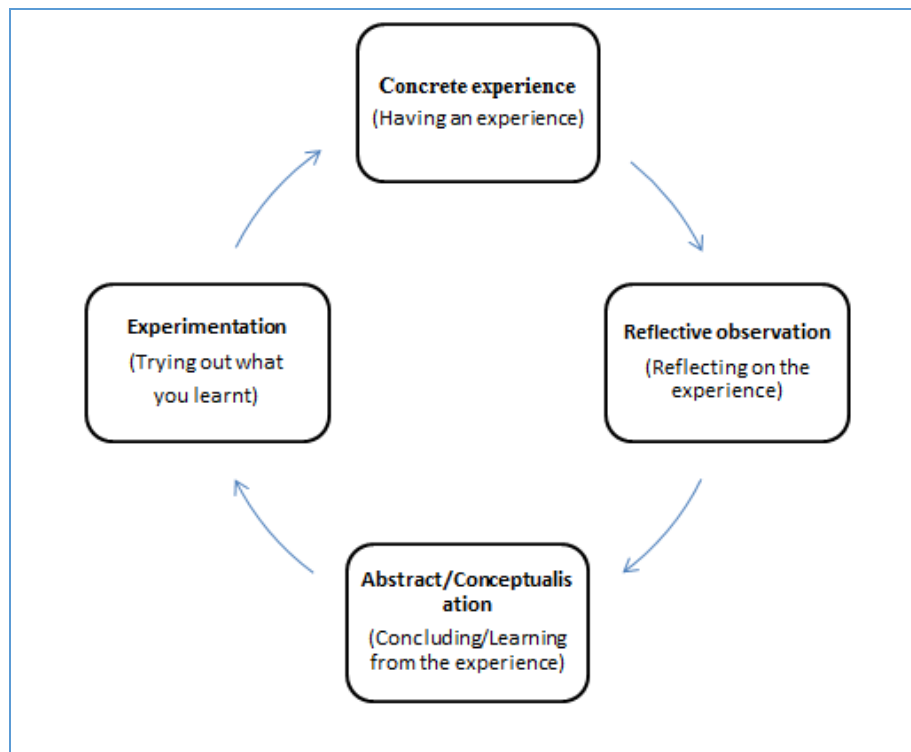
Miller, 2002). Whilst the lifelong learner is associated with autonomy and independence, Preece (2009) argues that women encounter constraints in this regard due to their care commitments in the home. As highlighted in chapter one, most women in Africa work in the informal sector, thus further removing them from training opportunities (Preece, *ibid*). This marginalizes their status and ability to access loans to enable them to compete in the wider market. Such issues have resulted in the lifelong learning discourse being criticized. The lifelong learning discourse has been criticized for ignoring the complexity of the public and private arenas (Preece, 2009). The above issues place impediments on women accessing education and training, and have a negative impact on their effectiveness on the farms. It is critical that women farmers access learning throughout their lives to address their current needs. To do so requires experiential learning where women learn from experiences (Passarelli & Kolb, 2012).

2.3 EXPERIENTIAL LEARNING THEORY

Experiential learning is defined as “the process whereby knowledge is created through the transformation of experience. Knowledge results from the combination of grasping and transforming experience” (Kolb, 1984, p. 4). David Kolb developed the modern theory of experiential learning drawing heavily on John Dewy, Kurt Lewin and Jean Piaget. Gross and Rutland (2017, p.1) define experiential learning theory as “a process through which a learner constructs knowledge, skills and values from direct experiences.” Experiential learning is when we learn by doing. It requires self-initiative, the intention to learn and an active phase of learning. Experiential learning is relevant to this study because it highlights how learners learn through a process of experiences, reflection and doing which is typical of most adult learning (Kolb, 1984). Kolb’s theory is regarded as simple to understand and has generated an extensive body of empirical research and theoretical attention (Kayes, 2002). Experiential learning is an established approach in the field of adult education (Miettinen, 2000) and continues to be one of the most influential learning theories (Vince, 1998). Zepke and Leach (2002, p. 206) argue that “rich life experiences and background provide necessary building blocks for learning.” In my study, women farmers reflected on their past farming experiences to make meaning out of them and to build new knowledge on the experience in order to improve their farming methods.

Kolb's experiential learning cycle model has four stages, namely concrete experience, reflective observation, abstract conceptualisation and action/active experimentation (McLeod, 2013). The learning cycle, as for any learning process, usually starts with the person doing something and seeing the effect of that action in that situation (Kolb & Fry, 1975). Later publications have elaborated on this basic model but for purposes of this study, the following modified diagram was the most useful because it highlighted the basic concepts without elaborating on learning styles.

Figure 1 : Kolb's experiential learning cycle (Adjusted from Source: Kolb and Fry, 1975)



Stage one of the experiential learning is called the concrete experience. This is where learners encounter a new experience or a learner experiences a reinterpretation of existing experience (McLeod, 2013). "Experiences are pre-planned educational devices which consciously and intentionally utilise potential embedded within the social and physical surroundings of the individual to enhance specific educational ends" (Gross & Rutland, 2017, p. 2). The learner must be willing to be actively involved in the experience. A farmer could experience a new situation, such as a visiting extension officer explaining and showing the farmer how to do proper land preparation or admiring a field of a neighbour where weeds are well controlled. Both situations present stage one of Kolb's learning experiences.

Stage two is reflective observation on the new experience. Reflection here refers to the analytical process through which human beings extract knowledge from their experience (McLeod, 2013; Jordi, 2010), how people recapture their experience, think about it, contemplate on and evaluate it (Jordi, 2010; Boud et al., 1985). The learner must be able to reflect on the experience. At this stage, a farmer may think through an experience, for example trying to understand what the extension officer has said, or, as in the former example, the farmer tries to understand the state of a weed-free field. In this stage, the learner also considers inconsistencies between their experience and understanding (McLeod, 2013).

Stage three is the formation of abstract concepts (Kolb, 1984). As a learner has reflected, new ideas or new concepts will emerge or there could be modification of an existing abstract concept and conclusion (McLeod, 2013). Here a learner understands the general principle under which the instance falls and makes a decision (Jordi, 2010). The learner must possess and use analytical skills to conceptualize the experience. Taking the first example above, the farmer's reflection gives rise to new ideas or interpretations regarding proper land preparation. In the second example, where the farmer observed a well-managed field, the third stage would be where the farmer conceptualises what the neighbour could have done to have a well-managed field and makes a decision, maybe to visit the farmer and find out. This third stage of cognitive approach would relate to how farmers think and interpret, and is part of problem-solving. The goal lies in making coherent orderly decisions (Kayes, 2002).

The fourth stage, according to Kolb, is active experimentation. When the general principle is understood, the last step is its application through action or trying out in a new circumstance (McLeod, 2013; Coleman, 1976). At this stage, a learner plans and applies generalisations or conclusions reached in stage three. This application of what has been learnt results in new experiences (McLeod, 2013; Jordi, 2010). The learner must have knowledge and skills to make decisions and solve problems so that he/she is able to use the new ideas gained from the experience. The learner farmer in the first example could try what the agricultural extension officer has explained in terms of doing proper land preparation for growing tobacco. In the second example, the learner farmer would take action by visiting the neighbour, finding out how he managed the weeds and trying to do the same with her fields. The process would go on to stage one again where learners would encounter a new experience or a reinterpretation of an existing experience (McLeod, 2013). To the farmer in the second example, the visit to

the neighbour and effort to follow the neighbour's example would bring about a new experience. The process is iterative.

This experiential approach to learning helps to explain how farmers create new knowledge through the transformation of experience (McLeod, 2013; Kolb, 1984), and how these experiences lead to a greater sense of satisfaction, motivation and development (Kolb, 1984). The theory is hands-on and the learner is active in all four stages. Experiential learning is all about farmers interacting with the environment, going to the fields and doing the work. Here one learns through first-hand experiments instead of just reading about something or hearing from the teacher in the classroom. It is critical to note the two aspects in experiential learning as that of the use of concrete (here and now) experience to test ideas, and the use of feedback to change practice and theories (Kolb, 1984, pp. 21-22). This reflects the adult learning principles of Knowles and others that argue that adults need to see the concrete results of their learning, and are best motivated to learn when they can immediately apply their new learning (Knowles, 1980; Rogers, 1996).

According to McLeod (2013), effective learning is seen when a person progresses through all four stages of experiential learning. Each stage is required for holistic, integrative learning (Kayes, 2002), and each stage feeds into the next as the stages are in a logical sequence and mutually support each other (McLeod, 2013). Experiential learning is a broad term that encompasses activities such as internship, research work and field work. Most of the writings on experiential learning relate to formal learning contexts. May (2017), for example, looks at the value of experiential learning with engineering students at Fort Lewis College. However, by contrast, this study examines women's experiential learning in informal and non-formal contexts.

2.3.1 Kolb's critiques

Although Kolb's theory has been used widely in adult education, it has received its fair share of criticisms. Boud et al. (1985) argue that although Kolb's procedure is helpful in planning learning activities and evaluating the learner's active involvement, it is inadequate regarding the process of reflection. "The learning process is not applicable to all situations and alternatives such as information assimilation and memorization may be appropriate to different situations" (Boud et al., 1985, p. 13). However, Jordi (2010) recommends that the

concept of reflection in Kolb's learning theory should not be completely abandoned, but may be reformed because the concept of reflection tends to integrate a variety of cognitive and non-conceptual elements that make up our experiences and perception.

The other criticism of Kolby's theory was that it does not consider the impact of different cultures on learning processes (Forest, 2004; Anderson, 1988). Anderson argues that the model takes very little account of different cultural experiences/conditions, arguing that learning is situational, a fact which is relevant to learning in the African context.

Kolb has also been criticised that his four stages are rather too neat and simplistic and not realistic, as a number of processes can occur at once and other stages can be jumped (Forest, 2004; Anderson, 1988).

A weakness in empirical support was another criticism of Kolb's theory. Jarvis (1994) and Tennant (1997) both felt that Kolb's initial research base was small and there have been a limited number of studies that have tested the model. This situation could, however, be different now as scholars have since done more research on Kolb's learning theory (Miettinen, 2000; McLeod, 2013).

Kolb's theory was criticised for inadequately relating the learning process to knowledge. According to Jarvis (1994), the theory fails to clearly bring out the relationship of the learning process to knowledge. Jarvis argues that Kolb shows that learning and knowledge are related but he does not really explore the nature of knowledge in depth.

Kolb's theory fails to show how an individual interacts with other learners and the environment to enhance learning (Duveskog et al., 2011; Beard & Wilson, 2002). This issue could be relevant to my study, as traditional learning in the African society is never isolated but consists of interaction and learning from others (Duveskog et al., 2011; Ntseane, 2011; Merriam & Kim, 2008). Individual experiences do not supersede shared or group experiences as defined by, for example, gender or culture (Zepke & Leach, 2002).

Rogers (1996) points out that Kolb's theory is not specific in terms of where certain elements (such as goals, purpose, choice and decision making), which are also part of learning, fit in his model.

Despite all the criticisms, Kolb's contributions cannot be underestimated, as the concept of experience has remained topical in adult learning (Miettinen, 2000). My study uses Kolb's learning theory as a lens to analyse how women farmers acquire farming knowledge and what their knowledge gaps are. The exposition of knowledge will contribute new understanding to this theory alongside the focus of gender power relations and subjugated knowledge through Foucault's post-structuralist theory.

2.3.2 Forms of experiential learning

Experiential learning is an umbrella that encompasses many forms of learning such as formal, non-formal and informal (Roche, 2017). This section discusses the three forms of learning putting much emphasis on non-formal and informal learning, as these apply more to the women farmers in this study.

Formal learning

Formal learning is defined as an intentional, organised and structured form of learning (Gross & Rutland, 2017; Ainsworth & Eaton, 2010). Formal learning opportunities are usually arranged by educational institutions. In Zimbabwe, most agricultural formal learning falls under the Ministry of Agriculture, Department of AGRITEX. The role of the colleges is to provide agricultural training to school leavers who then become extension officers in the Ministry (Kujeke, 1998). The extension officers' role is to provide agricultural knowledge to farmers, including women farmers, using mainly informal and non-formal methods.

Non-formal learning

Non-formal learning refers to all organised educational programmes that take place outside the classroom and for which no formal certification is awarded (Ainsworth & Eaton, 2010). The study sought to find out how much non-formal learning was done by women through programmes arranged by extension officers from the Ministry of Agriculture and various service providers.

Non-formal learning in the provision of agricultural knowledge includes non-formal strategies such as workshops, farm field schools, planned radio and television programs and demonstration plots, which will be discussed in more detail later.

Informal learning

Informal learning refers to learning that is neither deliberately organized nor initiated by a provider. It is not guided by a rigid curriculum and is often thought of as experiential and spontaneous (Gross & Rutland, 2017; Ainsworth & Eaton, 2010). Gross and Rutland (2017, p. 4) further define informal learning as “a lifelong process of ongoing learning exposure to different experiences”. Informal learning is need-driven (Marsick & Watkins, 2001). The category of informal learning that will be discussed here includes self-directed learning and socialisation/indigenous knowledge (Schugurensky, 2000). Self-directed learning refers to the process in which a learner, without the help of a teacher, diagnoses his/her learning needs, formulates learning goals, identifies learning resources, chooses and implements appropriate learning strategies and evaluates the learning outcome (Loyens et al., 2008; O’Shea, 2003). Informal learning can be intentional though not highly structured, as in the self-directed category, or unintentional, as in the category of socialisation (Marsick & Watkins, 2001; Schugurensky, 2000).

Socialization/indigenous knowledge (IK) is defined as learning passed on informally by elders to members of a community (Schugurensky, 2000). Indigenous knowledge is discussed as a concept in its own right in chapter three. IK can be passed on formally and informally. In this study, learning through socialisation will refer to the farming knowledge that the farmers acquired and used as they grew up, and knowledge which they found relevant and applied to farming. The study sought to find out how much farmers learnt informally through self-directed learning and socialisation. Experiential learning also promotes self-directed learning (Jiusto & Dibisio 2006).

Self-directed learning as a form of informal learning

Self-directed learning is a process in which learners take the upper hand in identifying their own learning needs, coming up with learning goals, identifying resources, implementing appropriate learning strategies, and evaluating the learning outcomes (Brookfield, 2009; Zepke & Leach, 2002). It is both intentional and conscious (Schugurensky, 2000). It is deliberate because the learner chooses what to learn based on what he/she wants to achieve, and the learner is aware that he/she has learned something (Brookfield, 2009; Schugurensky,

2000). O'Shea (2003) highlights five characteristics of self-directed learners. These are: having their own learning needs, determining their own learning objectives, deciding how to evaluate for themselves their learning outcomes, identifying and pursuing learning resources and strategies, and evaluating the end product of learning. Thus, in essence, self-directed learning is a form of study where learners take responsibility to plan, implement and evaluate their own learning (O'Shea, 2003).

There are numerous benefits to self-directed learning. Individuals have choice and freedom in what and how they learn (Loyens et al., 2008; O'Shea, 2003). Women farmers in this study could access agricultural knowledge according to need. Self-directed learning results in high mastery of content due to personal motivation. In addition, learners take responsibility for their own learning (Loyens et al., 2008)

Self-directed learning goals and philosophical underpinnings

Assumptions of personal growth, development of the individual, personal choice and free will are part of humanistic philosophy (Baumgartner, 2003). The first assumption of andragogy is that learners become more self-directed as they mature (Merriam, 2001). The behaviourists, on the other hand, view self-directed learning as helping the individual reach their full potential through positive or negative reinforcement after acquiring new information (Baumgartner, 2003). Critical theorists see self-directed learning as leading to social change (Baumgartner, *ibid*).

Self-directed learning has been found to have three goals. The first goal, which is grounded in the humanist theory, is to develop a learner's capacity to become more self-directed, whereby the learner accepts responsibility for their own learning (Merriam, 2001; Baumgartner, 2008). The second goal of self-directed learning, which is more akin to the critical theorists' perspective, is to promote transformative learning, whereby the learning will transform one's values, beliefs or knowledge (Merriam, 2001; Baumgartner, 2003). The third goal, which promotes emancipatory learning and social action, and where the status quo is challenged, also reflects a critical theory perspective (Baumgartner, 2003).

"Self-directed learning should have as its goal the development of a learner's capacity to be self-directed with more independence, individual choice and free will" (Merriam, 2001, p. 9). The personal growth and self-development of an individual is emphasised. According to

Guglielmino (2013), a person's persistence in learning, learning enjoyment, curiosity, and goal orientation are factors associated with self-directed learning readiness. Transformative learning and self-directed learning theorists advocate for critical reflection and autonomy (Merriam, 2001). The outcome of this goal is that learners are in control of their learning, resources and methodology. For instance, in a study where self-directed learning was investigated in women's projects on welfare, women became "political change agents as they attempted to control and initiate change in their everyday worlds in response to oppressive external structures" (Merriam, 2001, p. 9). Women impacted positively on their community as change agents as a result of utilizing the self-directed mode of learning.

Self-directed learners go through a process of growth from dependence to independence and they are self-motivated people (Loyens et al., 2008). The study sought to find out to what extent the women farmers were self-directed in terms of initiating their own learning, determining their own learning objectives and/or achieving social change. Self-directed learning can be seen as a form of experiential learning which may undergo the same cycle as that described by Kolb.

Criticism of self-directed learning

Self-directed learning theorists have been criticised for basing their studies on western values of independence, autonomy and individuality, thus ignoring other socio-cultural contexts. For example, Chinese culture and African culture promote learning as a group/communal activity more than that of an individual (Baumgartner, 2003; Ntseane, 2011). Self-directed learning focuses on the individual learner while overlooking the socio-historical context in which learning occurs (Merriam, 2001). It is argued that learning strategies, learning processes, the context, the learner and environmental context must all be considered in self-directed learning (Merriam, 2001). Citing Freire's work with illiterate workers, Baumgartner (2003) asserts that learning is a collaborative process where people learn from each other.

As indicated earlier in this chapter, self-directed learning can take place in formal education. O'Shean (2003) discussed self-directed learning in nursing education while Abraham et al. (2005) discussed self-directed learning physiology for undergraduate medical students. This study looks at self-directed learning in an informal learning situation involving women

farmers from an African perspective. The following section discusses the acquisition of IK through socialisation as another form of informal learning (Schugurensky, 2000).

2.4 DIMENSIONS OF INDIGENOUS KNOWLEDGE

Different authorities have analysed IK from different dimensions. Nyiraruhumbi (2012) identifies three dimensions of IK which she respectively calls local memory, local practice and local science. Local memory relates to shared values, beliefs and traditions of a particular group. Generations are socialised into these values, beliefs and traditions through oral folklore, songs, instruction and even observation. IK is viewed as local practice when knowledge has been accumulated over generations within a specific culture or area (Nyiraruhumbi, 2012). Local practice is a result of years of experience and trial and error based on resources found in the environment. IK is characterised as local science when it is deliberately viewed as knowledge and technology, existing and developed around specific conditions of population and communities situated in a particular geographical area (Nyiraruhumbi, *ibid*). Furthermore, Nyiraruhumbi (2012) asserts that technology is scientific when it has been consciously learnt and adopted. It is generated through a systematic process of observing local conditions, experimenting with solutions and readapting previously identified solutions to modified environmental, socio-economic and technological situations (Brouwers, 1993), making it scientific.

Dei (2002) identified three broad aspects of IK. These are: (1) traditional knowledge, which is inter-generational knowledge that is passed from generation to generation; (2) empirical knowledge, which is based on observations of the surrounding environment (nature, culture and society); and (3) revealed knowledge, which is provided through dreams, visions and intuition. Clearly, therefore, IK is holistic and encompasses the physical and spiritual aspects of life. Tella (2007) states that IK is important for the following reasons: (1) it provides communities with strategies to tackle their problems; (2) it contributes immensely to critical information world-wide; (3) it is a relevant resource for the development process.

2.4.1 Indigenous knowledge versus modern knowledge

Indigenous Knowledge, like other forms of knowledge is in a constant state of change as generations mature (Mapara, 2009; Busignye, 2011). Indigenous knowledge systems have been looked down upon as primitive and accorded a low status when compared to modern scientific knowledge (Mapara, 2009). Formal modern education systems have disturbed the

hands-on everyday life aspects of indigenous knowledge and ways of learning, substituting them with theoretical and academic knowledge (Agrawal, 1995; Die, 2000). There is a great danger that a lot of valuable information on how people sustain themselves may be lost today (Makondo, 2012; Nakashima et al., 2000). Ocholla (2007) argues that IK continues to be marginalised, and this has resulted in its limited use in the development process. The other reason Ocholla gives for the marginalisation of IK is that it is found in local people's memories and transmitted by word of mouth, unlike modern knowledge which is written and is considered scientific.

The coming of colonial governments in most parts of Africa promoted modern scientific knowledge and downplayed IK (Makondo, 2012; Die, 2000; Muchena, 1990). IK was thus viewed as subjugated knowledge. This will be discussed in detail in later sections. Mapara (2009) argues that unlike modern knowledge, IK belongs to societies that are considered less developed. Supporters of IK have argued that viewing scientific and modern agricultural knowledge as the only real knowledge is a narrow perception of knowledge as a universal resource. Mutekwe (2015) observes in his paper that over-emphasis on the superiority of modern knowledge over IK tends to relegate African indigenous knowledge systems to an inferior position, leading many Africans to shy away from its use. According to Ntseane (2011), modern science has not been culturally sensitive as it has failed to acknowledge and accommodate other ways of knowing, value systems and their understanding of reality. Ntseane (ibid) asserts that African voices have been silenced since the colonial era, as have women's voices. Modernisation has made people view modern scientific knowledge as the only true knowledge (Makondo, 2012; Briggs, 2005).

Attempts to polarise IK versus modern scientific knowledge have been identified as having more weaknesses than strengths. The differences could be in respect of history and characteristics, but modern scientific knowledge has been seen to build upon IK (Agrawal, 1995). Authorities such as Die (2002), Agrawal (1995) and Makondo (2012) argue that the separation of traditional/indigenous and modern scientific knowledge is not undesirable but apposite as they complement each other, instead of competing against each other. A number of studies on IK (Gupta, 2011; Mutasa, 2011) recommend finding similarities and comparing differences between the different forms of knowledge, then making use of those knowledge sources to come up with a new blend of knowledge relevant for each situation. Agrawal

(1995) advocates for multiple domains and types of knowledge with different logics and epistemology.

Ammann (2008) challenges policy makers and scientists world-wide to carry out studies on IK and remove the mentality that sticks to the recent division between traditional knowledge and modern scientific knowledge. By reconciling traditional knowledge and science and having the freedom to use both systems, becoming free to draw upon the best existing ideas and practices from both, variety is available to draw on for context-specific purposes (Ghouzhdi, 2010). More importantly, it has been argued that by bringing together both traditional and modern scientific communities, a greater range of new ideas and practices could be developed (Agrawal, 1995; Ghouzhdi, 2010). It is believed that such a powerful combination and approach to agriculture, which is participatory in nature, benefits sustainable development.

The combination of the two approaches to knowledge means that western social institutions and mechanisms of intellectual property interact in a more cooperative way with indigenous people (Agrawal, 1995). Simultaneously, local communities have to learn to adjust to social institutions and systems that govern what in essence is considered as scientific knowledge. Other scholars have reasoned that combining traditional practices with modern agricultural knowledge results in a new model of adult learning (Waly et al., 2000; Agrawal, 1995).

Farmers the world over are now realising that it is possible to combine the two forms of knowledge for maximum benefits. It has been recommended that technicians and extension officers should focus on assisting farmers in this process of finding a new balance between IK and scientific knowledge in their production strategy (Kohler-Rollefson, 2002), leaving the farmers to make the final choices.

There are not many studies in Zimbabwe that have discussed the role of IK in agriculture among A2 women farmers. My study therefore fills the gap in understanding about the extent to which IK has been blended with modern agricultural knowledge by women farmers who were allocated A2 farms during the ZFTLRP.

2.4.2 The future of indigenous knowledge

The claim that IK is not useful, is backward and belongs to the poor has, of late, been resisted world-wide as people begin to appreciate and see the worth of IK. Many authors (Nyiraruhimbi, 2012; Bala & Joseph, 2007) argue that the fact that it is specific to place is strength because the environments, weather and needs of people differ world-wide, and the universality of truth as advanced by modern scientific methods is not always practical. In addition, IK has been subjected to rigorous trials by locals before confirming it, making the methodology systematic and thorough. Agrawal (2004) recommends that researchers continue documenting IK so that it does not die with the passing on of elders. Recording IK makes it part of the global system and this will also establish its epistemology, which will earn it respect.

Indigenous knowledge is critical to African people and is respected and accepted because it is the knowledge that comes from elders and shapes people's lives (Mapara, 2009; Waly, 2000 and Williams and Muchena, 1991). The acknowledgement of IK and its application is long overdue considering the fact that the world and its resources are finite. A focus on IK in agriculture represents a shift from the modern scientific methods that have failed in the past decade to address the prospects of most small-scale, third world farmers as a result of their high costs and negative impact on the environment (Agrawal, 1995; Muchena, 1990). Modern knowledge has been criticised for failing to respond to local people's needs and being divorced from people's lives. The capability of IK, which is in the hands of the marginalised poor and is rooted in their environment, cannot be over-emphasised (Makinde & Shorunke, 2013; Agrawal, 2004). Ignoring people's experiences and knowledge leads to failure in development. As Knowles (1980) puts it, denying the experiences of people is denying the people themselves. Most adult education theorists recommend using what is known to introduce what is unknown (Knowles, 1980; Rogers, 1996). IK is open and dynamic and should be preserved because it is knowledge that emerges as a way of problem-solving based on local people's own experiences and perceptions over generations (Majoki et al., 2012). The study aims to assess how much women have applied their indigenous knowledge in the context of their commercial farms.

2.4.3 Criticisms of IK

It must be acknowledged that IK has its own shortfalls. Critics of IK argue that because it is not written down it is therefore subject to bias. As IK is not written, when its custodians, who

are often elderly, get old and die, it dies with them and the generations remaining do not have the full story, and in some cases look down upon it as outdated (Makondo, 2012; Kenalemang & Kaya, 2012). Furthermore, IK has been criticised that it has not been subjected to thorough investigation as indigenous people are said to be less prone to analytical reasoning, though this argument has been refuted by authors such as Nyiraruhimbi, (2012) Makinde and Shorunke (2013), Ateba et al. (2012) and Brouwers (1993). The other problem of IK is that it cannot be transferable as it often exists in a local context for a particular group, in a particular setting, and at a particular time (Briggs, 2005).

Indigenous knowledge cannot easily cope with change in technology and changes in today's environment (Wohling, 2009; Tanyanyiwa & Chikwanha, 2011). Where huge hectares of land (such as 10 hectares or more) are concerned, or regarding the shift in the seasons, IK practices such as the use of organic manure, hand-weeding and predicting the weather from the position of the moon are not practical (Wohling, 2009; Agrawal, 1995). Besides, certain major animal diseases cannot be brought under control using traditional methods alone (Kohle-Rollefson, 2002). Recommending the importance of elements of scientific knowledge in combination with IK, Kohle-Rollefson (2002) cited that it is true that in extensive livestock production, IK is often powerless to deal with mortality rates. Tanyanyiwa and Chikwanha (2011) assert that IK could be inappropriate where practices were based on mistaken beliefs, faulty experimentation or inaccurate information. In such a case, the community could be holding on to inaccurate knowledge.

Socialisation/Indigenous Knowledge (IK) as a form of informal learning

IK is defined as a body of knowledge, values, innovations and practices that locals develop over generations using their natural environment to enable a community to survive (Makinde & Shorunke, 2013; World Bank, 2004). This knowledge is generated and transmitted by communities over time in an effort to cope with their own agro-ecological and socio-economic environments (Mapara, 2009). Indigenous knowledge has been part of African culture and constitutes cultural values, norms and customs passed on from generation to generation through socialisation by word of mouth (Mutekwe, 2015; Shorunke, 2013). It forms the backbone for agriculture, food preparation and conservation, health, education, and a wide range of other activities that support a community (Makondo, 2012). Indigenous knowledge is knowledge for a specific local society. It is usually not documented but relevant, and acts as a basis for local decision-making in many activities (Makinde & Shorunke, 2013).

such as health, agriculture, and environmental science. This argument supports Die's (2000) claim that IK relates to the ideas and cultural knowledge used in the day-to-day lives of local people, and provides people with ways of managing their environment for their own and their culture's sustenance. Makinde and Shorunke (2013) acknowledge that the strength of IK is in its cultural identity. Most African IK is obtained from parents, grandparents and community elders who are considered as trusted sources in the community (Majoki et al., 2012; Mapara, 2009). According to Mutekwe (2015), traditional education or socialization is passed on to younger generations so that they may be able to carry out daily activities and use it in their adult lives (Mutekwe, 2015; Mapara, 2009).

Indigenous knowledge is unique to a particular society but acts as a basis for new learning in many activities, including agriculture (Makinde & Shuronke, 2013; Hountondji, 2002). In the African context, this is crucial in view of the values of traditional African society which include the notion of collectivity. IK systems are one source where collectivity as an approach to learning is embedded. Learning from others is highlighted by Ntseane (2011) when she writes on transformative learning in Africa, emphasising the concepts of collaboration and cooperation. An African context emphasises such community social interactions as central to learning (Ntseane, *ibid*).

Most of the information is learnt through socialisation from childhood, and learning goes on throughout the life of the people, thus it is a form of lifelong learning. Memory plays a critical role in the use of IK, considering that in most instances IK is not written down (Mapara, 2015; Williams & Muchena, 1991). This study sought to analyse how much IK the women farmers are employing on their farms and how far they are integrating it with modern farming.

Mutekwe (2015) gave the main reason for using indigenous methods in agriculture as the reliability, sustainability and affordability of such methods. In most African countries, Zimbabwe included, IK still plays a critical role in the lives of local people. Learning through socialisation is usually an unconscious process. According to Schugurensky (2000, p. 5), "We can become aware of that learning later on through a process of retrospective recognition which could be internal and/or external". Experiential learning builds on social construction. It was anticipated that women farmers in this study would have acquired IK through

socialisation when they were growing up, and could find it useful now through recalling what they did in the past.

2.5 MODERN SCIENTIFIC METHODS OF FARMING

There are practices of modern scientific farming, such as intensive tillage, monoculture, the application of fertilizer, irrigation, the genetic manipulation of seeds and the chemical means of pest control. Due to the development in most third world countries like Zimbabwe, most farmers have shifted to practising modern scientific farming methods. The success of modern scientific farming depends on the development of technology and maintenance of soil fertility. Modern farming improves soil fertility. It promotes plant growth with minimal soil loss.

Modern scientific methods include the use of synthetic fertilizer, chemical control of pests and weeds, and hybrid seed and organic practices (Altieri, 2009; Drinkwater, 2009). The use of modern genetically-improved seeds enhances maize crops, hence producing high yields. The intensive tillage cultivation uses tractors that cultivate the soil in depth. The success of modern farming, however, depends on access to correct knowledge and funds (Agrawal, 2004; Pretty, 2002).

Because of its role in development, it has been argued that IK must be synthesized with agricultural extension training and be blended with modern scientific knowledge for maximum benefits (Agrawal, *ibid*; Die, 2000). This study thus partly sought to assess how far farmers have tapped into the strength of both indigenous and modern farming methods to maximize their yields as recommended by Ghouzhdi (2010).

2.6 FOUCAULT'S POST-STRUCTURALIST THEORY

This section discusses Foucault's post-structuralist theory which guided this study. Post-structuralist theory is about the deconstruction and rejection of the assumed self-sufficiency of structures that structuralist theory posits. The post-structuralist theorists deconstructed the grand narratives of structuralism (as advocated by Marx and Durkheim) that privileged the notion of universalised social experiences. They challenged the grand narratives that assert there are universal norms and truths. According to Birden (2003, p. 3), "They deconstructed

the norms and beliefs and demonstrated that many ‘truths’ that appear to be natural, normal, universal or given are in fact constructed through discourse usually to the detriment of society’s weakest citizens.” The truth is determined by the dominant culture and follows the lines of sexual, racial, political and economic assertions (Ormeci Makaleleri, 2010; Birden, 2003). The post-structuralist emphasis is on exposing local narratives vis-a-vis dominant narratives. Post-structuralists emphasise the importance of context-specific and situation-based experiences.

Foucault, one of the major proponents of post-structuralist theory, analyses power and argues that power is fluid and can be found everywhere, unlike the structuralists’ view of power as a property inherent within the controlling group (Ntseane & Preece, 2005). Foucault is known for his thoughts on power and truth. He argued that power is not unilateral (Hewett, 2004; McHoul & Grace, 1993). Power is everywhere; power runs in and through all relationships and interactions. Power is a technique or action which individuals can engage in. People do not have power, they use power. Power is not possessed, it is exercised. Where there is power, there is always resistance (Ormeci Makaleleri, 2010). Power flows everywhere, it is diffused and embodied in discourse, knowledge and regimes of truth (Ramazanoglu, 1993). Foucault (1980) argues that each society has its ideology which it accepts as the truth. Society functions around this truth and uses it to sanction its members. The regimes of truth and beliefs are reinforced through mechanisms such as education, media and politics.

Foucault’s thoughts are that power is not just negative and coercive, being used to force people to do things against their wishes, but can be a necessary and productive force. Power produces reality and rituals of truth (Foucault, 1991). Thus, power is a major source of social discipline and conformity. Foucault argues, however, that basic ideas, which people normally take to be permanent truths about human nature and society, change in the course of history (Ormeci Makaleleri, 2010).

If one has embraced prescriptions of society regarding, for example, a particular gender role such as decision making being a preserve of men, and one becomes conscious that it is a social construction, one’s identity is likely to shift and one develops new ways of behaving (Tisdell, 1998). One begins to see that society has allowed privileged groups to control what is counted as knowledge. The factors or influences that determine whether one is a member

of a privileged group or one exercises power could be sexual, racial, political or class-based (Ormeçi Makaleleri, 2010; Tisdell, 1998).

2.6.1 Terms used in Foucault's post-structuralist theory

The following terms used in Foucault's post-structuralist theory explain how discourses are a medium through which power and truth are concretised and how women are able to use competing discourses to negotiate their way round traditional power relations with men.

Power, knowledge and truth

According to Foucault (1991), power is everywhere, diffused and embodied in discourse, as knowledge and regimes of truth. Foucault analysed how power has led to the creation of regimes of truth and domination of the weak by the powerful (Ramazanoglu, 1993). Power is constituted through accepted forms of knowledge, scientific understanding and truth. Knowledge results from power devoted or spent by individuals. Knowledge is defined as the outcome of discourses which are formed as a result of labels and statements that are held in place through power relations (Foucault, 1991). Dominant knowledge may not be a universal truth, though it may appear so as a result of power mechanisms and discourse practices which have created conditions of possibility for dominant knowledge to become truth (Mills, 2003).

From a feminist perspective knowledge is viewed as political because it serves the interests of certain people, namely the dominant social group (Chogugudza, 2009). Foucault (1980) says that power creates knowledge and knowledge promotes outcomes of power; thus knowledge is power and power is knowledge. Power puts knowledge into circulation; that is why power is successful (Preece, 1999). The power of knowledge as a discourse explains how certain knowledge is defined as truth and other forms of knowledge are not accepted as truth. How knowledge is related to power determines its acceptance or recognition (Mills, 2003). As stated earlier, Foucault argues that power is not just coercive or negative but can be a necessary productive and positive force in society (Gaventa, 2003). Power produces reality and rituals of truth. The concept of power relations is central to this study, and the tenets of power according to Foucault will be used to understand how farmers in this study have managed power relations in their new roles as owners and managers of land.

The study sought to unearth other forms of knowledge classified as subjugated knowledge such as IK, which belong to the less dominant groups.

Subjugated knowledge

Foucault (1991) defined subjugated knowledge as knowledge that is suppressed and less accepted in society. Foucault's assertion was based on the claim that there is some past knowledge which has been disqualified and died without being written, and some current knowledge, often from experience, which is not recognised and remains subjugated (Morojele, 2009). Subjugated knowledge is defined by Preece (2016) as localised knowledge, often regarded as inferior and ignored by institutions. Feminists have related this subjugated knowledge to the experiences and understanding of women and/or different minority groups within their gender status of women which includes sub categories of class, ethnicity, and sexuality (Ntseane & Preece, 2005). The knowledge has been disqualified as inadequate or insufficiently elaborated and located low down on the hierarchy (Adahl, 2013). Indigenous knowledge or local knowledge has also been classified under subjugated knowledge as modern knowledge has received acceptance at the expense of IK (Ntseane, 2011; Agrawal, 1995).

Historicity

Historicity refers to the exposure of history as a falsified story of the past which has been written through certain discourses which reflect a contrived reality that is owned by those who wish to maintain a particular balance of power. Historicity exposes the real underlying history as a power struggle for a dominant version of truth. It therefore focuses on revealing the untold pasts of history (Preece, 1999). Foucault (1980) says history seeks that which it wants to portray, and historicity goes beneath and beyond and identifies knowledge and information which is hidden from view as part of history. This also helps to explain the inconsistencies between how women are described stereotypically and their own suppressed reality. Various discourses that reflect culture, politics, and certain attitudes in a time period could have contributed to these inconsistencies. My study aimed to unearth the subjugated realities of women's own experiences and understandings, although it might be difficult to expose these since "people are often caught up in dominant power relationships and have internalised those discursive strategies which have instilled a common sense acceptance of the here and now, as well as the past" (Preece, 1999, p. 21). 'Disciplinary power' and

‘rationalities’, or ‘regimes of truth’ are two discourses which help to maintain such power relationships (Foucault, 1980).

Regimes of truth

Foucault asserts that there are no grand narratives, and there is no universal truth. However, he argues that each society has its own regimes of truth (dominant views of the world) which are sustained by rationalities (Ramazanoglu, 1993). Foucault perceives societal norms and rules as contributing to society’s regime of truth. These regimes are sustained by practices or systems (discourses) that distinguish or differentiate between truths and falsehood for that society (Preece, 1999). Regimes of truth could be viewed as Foucault’s interpretation of ideology.

Foucault sees a regime of truth as a site of struggle about the status of truth and the economic and political role it plays (Preece, 2016). Foucault (1980) analyses the truth and argues that the truth is determined by those with power and is part of the regulatory tools which maintain specific practices of truth. Certain truths are so complex that they are difficult to replace with others. Morojele (2009) asserts that feminists do not accept that all truths are contingent because this would suggest that women’s experiences of truth, including violence and discrimination, are a perspective only. Foucault, however, is referring to how power relationships define truth and not that all truth is temporary or a mere perception. Foucault’s analysis shows how power produces dominant forms of truth (Bailey, 1993). Thus, data from this research should show how various discourses interconnect to produce truths in relation to alleged or professed realities contextualised by time, place, culture and politics.

Each society has its regimes of truth which are discourses which it accepts and which guide the behaviour of its people (Chogugudza, 2009). Discourses are the means which enable one to differentiate truth from falsity, and are used to approve members’ behaviour and the status of those who are authorised with saying what is taken as true (Preece, 2005). These discourses are reinforced through education systems, media and other systems.

Disciplinary power

Disciplinary power is a self-regulating mechanism of control where people behave as if they are being watched, and they internalise this behaviour as the norm so that they become colluding players in the dominant ideology (Tisdell, 1998). Disciplinary power is exercised

by those who represent those in authority (Mills, 2003). According to Foucault's argument, the weak behave in a way that is expected of them by the dominant discourse, while the dominant too behave in a way that is expected of them (Morojele, 2009). Foucault analyses a form of power that explains the internalisation and normalisation of certain behaviour as a result of dominant discourses. People are not necessarily controlled through coercive power or force. People learn to discipline themselves and behave in expected ways (Mills, 2003). The weak therefore conform to dominant societal stereotypes because they have internalised the expectations of their conformity (Preece, 1999).

Disciplinary power, according to Foucault, creates docile and obedient people as the individual internalises their own surveillance and its perceived normalisation process (Mills, 2003). This concept can be used in my study to illuminate the extent to which the women, as the perceived 'weak' population, behaved in a way expected of them by men who, in turn, behaved in a way expected of them by women. Morojele (2009) points out that being docile does not mean being inactive, but docility could result in inactivity and non-productivity. Though Foucault did not specify this possibility, the notion is quite relevant to this study if women farmers are seen to accept their subordinate position and continue to look up to the males who have the dominant status of decision makers.

Reverse discourse

This is when the oppressed do not challenge the dominant groups but see themselves in a positive light and work within the dominant regimes of truth to achieve their sense of agency or self-determination (Foucault, 1998). Reverse discourse can be understood as manipulating the words of the oppressor to get what you want (Mills, 2003). It is also referred to as hidden or disguised resistance. Reverse discourse is seen by feminists and other minority groups as the initial stage in questioning meaning, which might give rise to new resistant discourse (Preece, 1999). In Africa, women's struggles were initially more silent, almost unheard. A way of challenging the power structure may be to 'settle in' to the oppressive structure and act from within. Talking the jargon of the oppressors is not always a sign of subordination, but often it can be a strategy to resist from within (Ntseane & Preece, 2005). This study sought to analyse how resistant and reverse discourses have been used by women farmers to achieve their plans.

Resistant discourse

Resistant discourse is when the dominated resist the dominating. Feminists argue that resistant discourse is critical for marginalised groups (Preece, 1999). If, according to Foucault's assertion, there is no complete outright truth, then there is always the opportunity to resist and posit alternative truths (Mills, 2003). Such resistant discourses have the potential to challenge the status quo, but they will always be subject to power struggles which attempt to rationalise the dominant position. Because of this, some people adopt the compromise position discussed above, which Foucault termed 'reverse discourse'.

Subjectivity

The concept of subjectivity refers to the individual's perception based on the individual's understanding of the world (Morojele, 2009). It is a set of complex identities within an individual. It is an outcome of power relationships and discourses or self-consciousness as this has been formed by the discourse (Ntseane & Preece, 2005). The subject position of an individual can be contradictory depending on his/her interaction with other discourses. So, in a reciprocal power relationship, power produces a subject whose behaviour conforms to social expectations. The reciprocity of this power relationship, however, also leaves open the possibility of resistance, resulting in individual agency and self-determination (Preece, 2016). The subjectivity of such a person incorporates their identity as both an oppressed person, but also someone with the potential to resist and make independent decisions.

Agency

Agency is the individual's ability to make choices or decisions in society. Agency refers to those who have self-determination to act independently (Ransom, 1993). For Foucault, those with agency are commonly those with authority to know and act (Ntseane & Preece, 2005). Foucault is interested in the strategies of those in control rather than why someone controls. Agents enforce truths by representing those who have authority to know and dominate (Foucault, 1980). Feminists argue that there is always agency (as in resistance). An agent can therefore be a transmitter or carrier of the dominant discourse or can develop new agency as a result of competing discourses (Sintim Adasi & Anima Frempong, 2014). However, Foucault seems to imply that there is no such thing as agency because of disciplinary power. But feminists argue that there is potential for agency to resist and act in self-determination against the dominant discourses (Ramazanoglu, 1993). The oppressed may behave in a certain way as part of the social order or may take initiatives to challenge the norm (Morojele, 2009).

2.7 POST-STRUCTURALIST GENDER THEORY AND POWER

An analysis of power relations is central to the feminist argument of the subordination of women by men. Based on the traditional view of power as repression, some feminists' theories have assumed that the oppression of women can be explained by patriarchal social structures which secure the power of men over women. Foucault's argument that power is exercised, not possessed, flowing throughout the body rather than emanating from top to bottom, has led feminists to review their assumption that the oppression of women is caused simply by men's possession of power. They have questioned assumptions of gender relations which emphasize only power and persecution, so as to move towards a fairer understanding of the role of power in women's lives (Soper, 1993).

Foucault (1980) argues that power is omnipresent and can be found in the weakest of the weak. This could explain the context where men have physical power, while women have social power or ideological power whereby they may control and make decisions indirectly. In the African culture, for example, power is viewed as belonging to men, yet it could be argued that women are the ones who make most of the decisions through the use of reverse discourse. Men are viewed as land owners and have title deeds in their names, and agricultural loans and extension work target males. Nevertheless, decisions on types of crops to be planted, where and when, and all day-to-day farm management decisions are often made by women (Mutopo, 2011; Gaidzanwa, 1988; Cheater, 1986). This is a typical example of the fluidity of power as analysed by Foucault.

Dominant groups in society hold power such as, for example, the rich, ruling class but for most feminists, power is held by men. Foucault argues that power is not possessed by certain groups of people, but rather power is something that can be used or brought together by particular people in specific situations. It is fluid and flows (Ormeci Makaleleri, 2010). Post-structuralist feminists appreciate this argument as it allows for the shifting of power and potentially advantages women, who are the less dominant.

Feminists have benefitted from the way power and knowledge have been analysed by post-structuralism. Post-structuralists help to explain how socio-structural systems of privilege and oppression such as race, ethnicity, gender, religion, politics or class have affected the

development of their constantly shifting identities, who speaks and who tends to remain silent in the learning environment, and who is consciously or unconsciously recognised as ‘smart’ or a leader in light of these same systems of privilege and oppression (Tisdell, 1998). The silence of women in Africa, for example, sometimes does not mean a lack of knowledge as would be assumed in western culture. Silence in some cultures could mean resistance or power or the active construction of knowledge. Voice could be in the form of non-verbal expressions such as silence, dance and gesture (Morojele, 2009; Tisdell, 1998). This is true for African women. Adult educators would need to consider these issues and move beyond superficial interpretations of what they see when training women farmers.

African feminists do not critique Foucault’s post-structuralism, but African feminism does provide an additional dimension to discussions of power relations, because African feminism includes men as necessary participants in the debate on women’s empowerment. Post-structuralist theory enables the African perspective to come through because it allows for different nuances of power relations through the concept of reverse discourse. The majority of feminist theorists appear not to have used Foucault’s theory of late. However, it has been used by Preece (2016) in her study on negotiating service learning through community engagement.

2.7.1 Post-Structuralist theory, gender power and knowledge

Foucault (1980) says knowledge is supported by levers of power. Power resides in individuals and institutions. Discourses are the medium through which power is sustained. Whoever or whatever institutional discourse prevails most dominantly is able to define the truth and reality (Foucault, 1980). Modern scientific knowledge and its dominant acceptance vis a vis indigenous knowledge systems and their lack of acceptance in public discourses is one example of how certain forms of knowledge are supported by those with the power to define what is acceptable (Ramazanoglu, 1993). The world recognises modern scientific knowledge because the institutions or individuals that promote it have authority (power) to know. Power and knowledge are therefore closely related. Thus, the discourse that women are weak was produced by a patriarchal system in which power was in the hands of males, who thus created this belief as knowledge (Sintim Adasi & Anima Frempong, 2014). The belief has become concretised as knowledge through the interplay of power and discourses which are the rationales that sustain the balance of power. In line with this argument, post-

structuralism argues against totalitarianist language where, for example, all women worldwide are viewed as a homogeneous group (Morojele, 2009).

Post-structuralist theorists reject a 'one size fits all' approach. They argue that everything should be contextualised. African feminism concurs with this analysis and has argued that western feminist ideology could not be applied totally to address issues of women in Africa (Goredema, 2010; Preece, 2005). There is a need to consider the context of each group of women. In support, Risman (1998, p. 156) argues that "... while gender is a social construct, it is a human invention and thus subject to re-invention and re-creation". Our perception is created from within language, rather than simply reflected by it.

Discourses therefore are an essential mechanism of power (Preece, 2016). Discourses are held in place by power relations, and power differentials are held in place through the use of certain discourses (Foucault, 1991). Discourses are often in a tug of war with each other. They interact with each other, but also influence what can be said and when it can be said. Foucault says those in society who validate what is true are given a great amount of authority. The danger is that it may lead to the production of alleged truths (Adahl, 2013). There are always competing discourses, but the power struggle by the dominant means that discourses are re-rationalised to justify a certain position and hold certain forms of truth in place.

2.8 CRITICISM OF FOUCAULT

Feminists disagree about the usefulness of Foucault's work for feminist theory and practice. Some feminists criticized Foucault for ignoring gender issues. They argue that his thoughts show that he was gender blind and thus they see no reason to acknowledge him (Sawicki, 1998; Soper, 1993).

Foucault's concept of power has also been criticized by African feminists who state that Foucault's argument that power is everywhere leaves no way to distinguish the difference in power between the oppressors and the oppressed (Ormeci Makaleleri, 2010). This does not account for the asymmetry of gendered power relations for feminism (Mc Neil, 1993). Foucault's work challenged the belief that women are oppressed through men's possession of power. While feminists define men's power as repressive and illegitimate, Foucault moved towards a position which defined all power as productive, producing knowledge rather than domination (Patton, 1998; Ramazanoglu, 1993). Foucault acknowledged that men exercise

power over women but denied that men can hold power. According to his thought, power is fluid and cannot be found in an individual or in a group. His argument has been seen as disempowering women and downplaying gender power differences which can be very powerful. Feminists have also criticised Foucault for challenging feminist arguments as universal truths (Ormeci Makaleleri, 2010).

Some feminists have argued that Foucault's account of subjectivity does not allow for agency and resistance (Ransom, 1993; Ramazanoglu, 1993). Some also claim that Foucault failed to provide a theory of power for women (Ormeci Makaleleri, 2010; McNeil, 1993).

The African feminists have remained divided over the implications of Foucault's ideas. Some argue that his ideas about power and truth provide important theoretical resources for feminists. Foucault's deconstruction of power, such as in patriarchy or capitalism, which led him to emphasise the unstable ways in which power is created has been viewed as positive by some feminists who support Foucault. They view the deconstruction of power as giving them a new productive insight into power relations (Ramazanoglu, 1993). For the purpose of this study Foucault's concept of power and discourse provided a useful tool to explore how the women farmers both colluded in and found ways to resist the established gender power relations.

2.9 CONCLUSION

This chapter analysed lifelong learning and how it applies in African culture. The feminist view of lifelong learning was also analysed and the critiques of lifelong learning were discussed. Kolb's experiential learning theory was discussed as a lens to analyse how the new farmers accessed knowledge. The chapter then looked at how the different forms of experiential learning (formal, non-formal and informal) could illustrate how farmers learned to farm. Self-directed learning and socialisation/IK were analysed as potential strategies that could be used by women to obtain farming knowledge. Foucault's post-structuralist theory was discussed with particular reference to gender power relations and the use of discourse as a lens to explain women's management of their gender power relations. Two theories, experiential learning theory and post-structuralist theory, help to explain and inform the findings of this study. The next chapter presents the methodology used to analyse how women farmers who benefitted from the ZFTLRP acquire modern knowledge, use IK in their farming activities and manage gender power relations.

CHAPTER 3: LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This study explores how women commercial farmers who benefited from the Zimbabwe Fast Track Land Reform Programme (ZFTLRP) acquired farming knowledge, applied indigenous knowledge (IK) and managed gender power relations. The first purpose of the study is to analyse how the women farmers accessed and used modern knowledge. The second purpose is to understand how the women applied and integrated this modern farming knowledge with their traditional knowledge. The third purpose is to analyse how the women farmers managed gender power relations in accessing and utilising their farm land.

The research questions addressed by this study are:

- 1 How have women learned and applied modern farming knowledge since their land allocation?*
- 2 How have women applied their indigenous knowledge in the context of their commercial farms?*
- 3 How have women navigated gender power dynamics in order to access land and manage their farms?*
- 4 What are the implications of these findings for future adult education training programmes in Zimbabwe?*

This chapter reviews studies on women farmers focusing on how they acquire new farming knowledge, use IK they already possess and manage gender power relations in their new roles as land owners. The chapter opens by reviewing the concept of agricultural extension knowledge, zeroing down to challenges encountered by women farmers and their training needs. The chapter develops through reviewing sources of learning and application of knowledge. The chapter analyses how women have acquired knowledge through lifelong learning and focusing on different forms of learning, namely formal, non-formal and informal which are all encompassed under experiential learning (Roche, 2017). Formal learning is briefly discussed before moving on to review various forms of non-formal learning. Self-directed learning and socialisation are discussed as the main informal strategies used by women to acquire farming knowledge. The chapter reviews studies on IK in agriculture and its application. The concepts of gender power dynamics/relations and gender roles are

analysed. The chapter briefly reviews literature on how gender roles were traditionally allocated in Africa and women's roles in farmings and how they accessed land. Furthermore, the chapter discusses how women negotiated gender power relations as they became owners and managers of farms, and the constraints they encountered. The chapter ends by discussing implications of literature on the learning of women farmers.

The economic value that women's work adds to agriculture has contributed a lot towards their current liberty to own land (Chogugudza, 2009; Gaidzanwa, 1988). According to Mutopo (2011), women have recently come to be aware of their ability to be agents of change. This is a result of women now being owners and managers of land. Food and nutrition security at household level is heavily dependent on women as agricultural producers at the rural level (Ismail et al., 2015; Chinyemba et al., 2006). In the same breath, women have encountered a lot of constraints as they strive to improve their social and economic positions in society (Ismail et al., 2015; Chogugudza, 2009; Gaidzanwa, 1995). Mbilinyi and Sechambo (2009) assert that it is vital that the roles of women in agriculture and the constraints they face are discussed as a way of integrating women in the national development plan.

3.2 AGRICULTURAL EXTENSION KNOWLEDGE

“Agricultural extension is the process of transferring agricultural information and technology to farmers for use in the production and marketing decisions and similarly transferring information from farmers to researchers” (Pazvakavambwa & Hakutangwi, 2006, p. 217). This section analyses studies on women and extension work, particularly the agricultural extension needs of women farmers, accessibility, the problems encountered and sources of agricultural extension knowledge. According to Farm Radio International (2010), extension education is a non-formal educational function that applies to an institution or organisation that disseminates information and advice with the intention of promoting knowledge, attitudes, skills and aspirations, although the term ‘extension’ tends to be associated with agriculture and rural development.

3.2.1 Needs of women farmers and challenges encountered

Agricultural knowledge is critical for women to be successful on their farms. It is the extension officers' role to provide farmers with the needed agricultural knowledge and skills (Kujeke, 1998), but studies have shown that this role is not effectively carried out by

extension officers in most African countries of late, owing to various reasons that include a lack of adequate funding (Umeta et al., 2011; Mudukuti & Miller 2002; Hanyani-Mlambo, 2000). Generally, it is a known fact that male farmers have more access to agricultural extension services than women (Apusigah, 2009; Chinyemba et al., 2006; Mudukuti and Miller 2002). Studies on women farmers' agricultural information needs and accessibility reveal that the highest informational needs are in the areas of pesticides and fertilizer applications, and accessing and operating improved farm implements (Okwu & Umoru, 2009; Banmeke & Olowu, 2005). Ozowa (1995) established that women farmers in Central Africa need training in pesticides, irrigation, soil fertility, soil erosion and business management. Even though rural women actively participate in farm production and the sale of produce, cultural and economic conditions have limited their access to agricultural technology (Mashavave et al., 2013). Rural women do not have the requisite technical knowledge to enable them to realise the productive use of farm input for optimum yields.

According to Apusigah (2009), African women farmers labour without crucial support that could raise their agricultural productivity. Adekunle (2013) and Umeta et al. (2011) elaborate that the major constraints to the access and utilization of extension packages include the cost of technology (expensive), delay of inputs (inputs are not available on time), low awareness about technology recommendations, and the bias of extension agents against progressive women farmers. Yusuf et al. (2013) found in their study on South African women farmers that most women needed knowledge on how to combat weeds and insects. Women farmers, unlike their male counterparts, are less educated and have little access to bank loans, owing to their lack of collateral in the form of assets (Hassan et al., 2013). These obstacles hinder women from accessing information from costly private sources; instead, they prefer government-funded sources like the extension officers (Okwu & Umoru, 2009).

In a study by Hassan et al. (2013), although Indian women had shown their desire to obtain extension services for better productivity of poultry products, the issue of women's illiteracy emerged as a hindrance to them accessing extension services. A study by Sadaf et al. (2005) on Pakistani women farmers found similar issues of low literacy levels to be a hindrance to accessing extension education.

While it is the extension officers' role to provide farmers with the needed agricultural knowledge and skills (Kujeke, 1998), studies have shown that of late this role is not

effectively carried out by extension officers in most African countries and falls short of the expectations of women farmers. Mashavave et al. (2013) found in their study that smallholder women farmers had limited access to timely and adequate information. This was a major hindrance in parts of Southern Africa.

With the increase in women farmers in Zimbabwe, there is a need to seriously consider appropriate strategies to meet agricultural educational needs for women (Chingarande, 2008; Muduti & Miller, 2002). It is critical to note that, when a project such as providing land to women is undertaken, issues relating to knowledge and skills are also considered for the project to achieve its goals. This study will look into how much agricultural extension is made available to women farmers.

3.2.2 Gender and the provision of extension knowledge

It has emerged from some studies that extension officers have in some instances provided appropriate support to enable women to manage their change of roles and effectively diversify their livelihoods for improved household food security and incomes. Visits from extension agents were popular with farmers in Benue States (Okwu & Umori, 2009). In support of the finding that extension officers are a source of agricultural knowledge, Banmeke and Olowu's (2005) study on South Western Nigerian women found that most of the women farmers (90.5%) had most of their needs for agricultural information met by extension agents. A study by Ayoade Adenike (2012), shows that a majority of respondents agreed that extension services such as the demonstration of improved technology, among others, helped women farmers to adopt new technologies.

Studies on extension services in other parts of Africa (Zimbabwe, Nigeria and Ethiopia), however, established that the extension services provided were inclined to meet the needs of men and were not gender-specific nor tailored for women farmers, who were fewer in numbers (Adekunle, 2013; Umeta et al., 2011; Odurukwe et al., 2006; Mudukuti & Miller, 2002). It has emerged from studies that women expect extension officers to provide appropriate support to enable them to manage their change of roles and effectively diversify their livelihoods for improved household food security and income, but they are not always available (Oywaya-Nkurumwa, 2012; Satyavathi et al., 2010; Okwu & Umoru, 2009).

As already discussed in Chapter One, Mudukuti and Miller (2002) found that workshop venues for workshops organised by extension officers were at times far away from the homes of the farmers, and women found it difficult to commute each day as they would need to be home in the evening to ensure their children's needs were catered for. In addition, most workshops did not provide child care facilities and the sleeping arrangements for participants were not conducive to women's participation (Chingarande, 2009; Mudukuti & Miller, 2002).

In summary, a number of studies on extension services in Africa found that the extension services provided were neither gender-specific nor tailored to the needs of women farmers in terms of time, duration, content and even venues (Mudukuti & Miller, 2002; Odurukwe et al., 2006). This is a critical issue, considering that women in Africa have of late ventured into the field of agriculture as a form of business on a larger scale than before. A study by Adekunle (2013) and Umeta et al. (2011) on Nigerian and Ethiopian women farmers respectively revealed that the planning and preparation for extension training to address the need for agricultural knowledge did not take into consideration gender issues; that is, most training packages were gender-blind.

Various studies recommended that a number of important factors must be addressed if women farmers' extension needs are to be adequately met, namely the failure to make women farmers aware of their significant role in the programmed activities, the failure to provide them with adequate knowledge of equipment and materials, extension staff who lack relevant training methodologies that are user-friendly to women farmers, and inadequate extension/research linkages (Adekunle, 2013; Umeta et al., 2011; Muduti & Miller, 2002). Hassan et al. (2013) and Muduti and Miller (2002) recommended that for maximum effectiveness there is a need for more female extension field staff trained in gender-sensitive planning programmes.

3.3 SOURCES OF KNOWLEDGE

Learning is a lifelong process. Adults are always seeking knowledge to fulfil their social roles. The information sought by adults depends on one's stage in life and the roles one is expected to play, thus adults are likely seeking knowledge throughout their lives (Knowles, 1980). The women in my study found themselves with new roles as owners and managers of land. The new roles demanded new knowledge. This section analyses the ways used by women farmers to obtain agricultural knowledge. Different educational and training modes

create opportunities for different forms of learning. The focus in this chapter is on the learning that people receive from different educational sources. The section discusses mainly the formal, non-formal and informal strategies.

3.3.1 Formal learning

Formal agricultural training in Zimbabwe is the responsibility of agricultural colleges that offer agricultural training to school leavers after 'O' Level. Currently there are 14 agricultural colleges under the Ministry of Agriculture. The graduates become extension officers and most of them get employed by the government in the Ministry of Agriculture's training department. The extension officers are deployed throughout the country to work with farmers providing knowledge and skills through farm visits, workshops, and field days (Mashavave et al., 2013; Pazvakavambwa & Hakutangwi, 2006). Formal learning is not relevant in this study because the women farmers did not go to colleges under formal training. They received training from the graduates who would have gone through formal training at agricultural colleges. The modes of learning used by farmers to acquire knowledge are discussed under non-formal and informal learning.

3.3.2 Non-formal learning

Non-formal learning refers to programmes that are carried out outside classrooms but benefit from the planning of an instructor. The study sought to find out how much non-formal learning was done by women through programmes arranged by extension officers in the Ministry of Agriculture and various other service providers. Non-formal education and training play a pivotal role in providing agricultural knowledge and skills to farmers. Farmers in Africa and Zimbabwe specifically use various strategies to access non-formal education. These include workshops, farmer field schools, field days, demonstration plots and so on.

Workshops

A workshop is an organised educational seminar designed by facilitators to impart knowledge and skills to participants. It is another non-formal strategy used to empower farmers with extension knowledge. Usually workshops are organised by extension officers and/or providers of inputs like fertilizers chemicals and equipment. Farmers are gathered at a venue and receive lectures. It is an interactive form of learning which often includes a lot of practical work. As highlighted in the previous section, workshops are a preferred source of

agricultural information among Zimbabwean farmers, but there is a need for the organisers to be gender-sensitive (Mudukuti & Miller, 2002).

Farm field schools

As outlined in chapter two, farm field schools (FFS) provide extension education to farmers using an interactive, participatory, non-formal group-based learning approach. According to Pazvakavambwa and Hakutangwi (2006), FFS entails an institutional extension approach where farmers and AGRITEX experts have scheduled learning sessions in the fields. FFS focuses on developing the farmers' capacity to:

... analyse their production systems, identify problems, test possible solutions, and eventually ... to adopt the practices most suitable to their farming systems. FFS can also provide an opportunity for farmers to practice and test/evaluate sustainable land use technologies, and introduce new technologies through comparing their conventional technologies developed with their own tradition and culture. (FAO, 2003, p. 3).

An FFS could take a period of one month to one year depending on the objectives of the group. It is usually facilitated by experts such as extension staff. Farmers may then implement what they have learnt.

In their study on FFS in rural Kenya, Duveskog et al. (2011) found that this participatory group-based learning had a positive impact on the farmers. It resulted in household economic development and changes in customs, traditions and gender roles, as men and women had come to appreciate each other. Some farmers also reported having changed their attitudes and were working together as husband and wife for the benefit of the family. Farmers reported they had experienced an increase in confidence, greater individual agency and a commitment to farming. Some members used to wait until it started raining before looking for seed to plant, but now took care to prepare the land and acquire seeds and fertilizer in time to be ready for the rains (Duveskog et al., 2011). Currently, FFS is not being used in Zimbabwe (Mashavave et al., 2013).

Field days

Offering field days is a non-formal strategy currently practised in Zimbabwe to provide farmers with extension knowledge. A field day consists of a special day of organised learning where farmers gather at a field being showcased by an organisation or a successful farmer. It is a form of group-based interactive learning where farmers get exposed to knowledge and

skills regarding particular farming strategies (Mashavave et al., 2013). This kind of participatory learning was hailed by Kenyan farmers in Rees et al.'s (2000) study.

Demonstration plots

These are small pieces of land identified by service providers such as SeedCo (a company that sells seed) and Windmill (a company that sells fertilizer), and used to demonstrate different farming skills. The companies have agronomists who work together with AGRITEX specialists. The private companies and Farmers' Unions fund the training, and Government provides the land for demonstrations. Farmers are then gathered on suitable dates and get training. They observe the demonstration which they later implement at their farms (Mashavave et al., 2013). This learning process entails some of the stages of Kolb's experiential learning theory as the farmers encounter a new experience and observe the demonstration. They would then need to reflect on what they have observed, conceptualize it and try out what they have learnt.

Mashavave et al. (2013) found in their study in Zimbabwe that farmers preferred to learn through practical experience. The farmers in the study conducted by Mashavave et al. (ibid) were exposed to interactive field-based learning which included workshops, field days and demonstration plots, which provided a lot of knowledge and skills on modern farming techniques. Farmers shared insights and exchanged views during group sessions and had experts available to guide them and respond to their questions. The farmers, however, bemoaned that these field-based sessions were very few.

Media

One of the most critical issues in today's world is to review the role played by the media in farming. Literature has shown that extension education has been delivered non-formally through mechanisms such as the media during the last century. Okwu and Umori (2009) found in their study in Benue States that women farmers identified mass media as their main source of agricultural information. Examples of mass media are planned radio or television programmes. Commenting on the use of radio in agricultural extension in India and Nigeria, Rao (2015) and Oyimbo & Owalabi (2013) respectively assert that the radio is one of the oldest information technologies and is popular in developing countries owing to its accessibility and affordability, because most rural farmers own radios. Rao goes on to say that in India the radio is integrated with other communication tools such as mobile phones to

create a platform for dialogue for further discussions and clarifications on topical agricultural issues (Rao, *ibid*). The farmers in Rao's study get connected to technical specialists, policy makers, other farmers, suppliers and buyers through live radio or television broadcasts.

In a study in Nigeria, Ajijola et al. (2015) found that the radio was used as a source of information by 76% of the participants, although lack of power supply was cited as a constraint by some farmers. The radio was found to be a major source of agricultural knowledge in Uganda, where it was used widely because of its affordability and wide coverage (Akullo & Malumba, 2016). Part of the purpose of this study is thus to assess how much agricultural knowledge women access through such non-formal sources. Informal sources are also a significant way in which farmers obtain agricultural knowledge, as the next section shows.

3.3.3 Informal learning

Informal learning refers to learning that is neither deliberately organized nor initiated by a provider. As highlighted in chapter two, it is not guided by a set curriculum and is often thought of as experiential and spontaneous (Ainsworth & Eaton, 2010). This study focused on two strategies of informal learning, namely self-directed learning and learning through socialisation.

Self-directed learning is a form of independent learning characterised by self-initiation and self-motivation (Brookfield, 2009). Socialisation, or IK in African contexts, is knowledge passed on by elders to members of their community for the survival of the community (Schugurensky, 2000; Kenalemang & Kaya, 2012). Not all socialisation is categorised as indigenous knowledge, though. The study sought to find out how much farmers learnt informally.

Self-directed learning

Self-directed learning refers to the process in which the learner, without the help of the teacher, diagnoses his/her learning needs, formulates learning goals, identifies learning resources, chooses and implements appropriate learning strategies and evaluates the learning outcome (O'Shea, 2003).

Analysing how farmers in Australia learn using a variety of informal learning sources, Kilpatrick and Johns (2003) concluded that informal sources were popular as far as obtaining technical skills was concerned. Learning informally from consultants and experts was ranked highest by 58% of the farmers in Kilpatrick and Johns' (2003) study. Friends and other farmers as an informal source came second with a score of 53%; media (print and electronic) came third with 37%; and observation and experience came 4th with 34%. Thus, in Kilpatrick and Johns' study, experts, other farmers and media were frequently used.

Informal learning in Cameroon through farm visits by agricultural extension agents was found to be a common way by which farmers obtained farming knowledge (Oladele, 2005). Interestingly, Oladele found that males received eight times more self-directed individual visits than women, because men asked for the visits. This was also confirmed by Umeta et al.'s (2011) study on Ethiopian farmers. The farmers in Umeta et al.'s (2011) study complained that the extension agents were biased against women's development. The strategy of asking African women farmers to step forward and ask for visits was seen as inappropriate (Umeta et al., *ibid*). Traditional African culture tends to restrict women from seeking knowledge using self-directed learning approaches. As elaborated in chapter one, in some African cultures, including Zimbabwe, women were traditionally expected to be submissive and not self-directed enough to initiate such learning (Apusigah, 2009; Chingarande, 2008). This study sought to find out if the situation is still the same amongst my sample of respondents.

Field days, demonstrations and office calls emerged as other informal learning sources, though to a smaller extent in Ethiopia compared to farm visits in Cameroon (Oladele, 2005). Umeta et al. (2011) found that there was low participation of women in field days and demonstration plots in the Mid Rift Valley of Ethiopia. The informal training during field days, though organised by extension officers, can be classified as not deliberate and at times occurs spontaneously depending on the needs of the participants who are attending (Kujeke, 1998). The farmers come up with questions related to their needs and these are addressed during the field day plenary sessions.

Peer to peer learning (women learning circles) is another form of informal learning used by women farmers especially in Indiana, to learn about agricultural conservation practices and soil health (American Farming Trust, 2016). This supports Rees et al. (2000) who found that

smallholder farmers in Kenya relied on other farmers and community-based organisations for agricultural information. In some African cultures, such as Zimbabwe, women were traditionally expected to be submissive and not self-directed enough to initiate such learning (Chingarande, 2009). This study sought to find out the extent to which women are still using self-directed approaches in their quest for farming knowledge.

Women have shown a lot of self-directedness as they become pro-active in gathering information from appropriate sources. Women in Mutopo's (2012) study in Zimbabwe reported accessing learning informally on an on-going basis, and their learning was need-driven. Studies in some Third World countries (Nigeria, Cameroon and South Africa) have established that husbands, fellow women, neighbours and the mass media are the main sources of agricultural information to women farmers, and that the accessibility of information from these sources is relatively high (Okwu & Umoru, 2009; Yusuf et al., 2013). Diouf et al. (2000) found in their study in a rural farming village in Senegal that adult neighbours were a strong informal source of knowledge, while the government extension agent was not a preferred source of learning. The farmers, both males and females, did not trust the agents, arguing that, because of their youthful age and western education, the latter did not understand the farmers' culture and wanted to change their values (Diouf et al., *ibid*). This is contrary to Matondi's (2012) findings in a study in Mazoe in Zimbabwe where services of extension officers were in demand. The farmers in Senegal learnt through observation, listening and practice to acquire agricultural information and skills. The learning methods preferred by villagers in Diouf et al.'s study consisted of demonstration by the neighbours followed by hands-on reflective practice with feedback. This is similar to Kolb's experiential learning cycle (Kolb, 1984) which was discussed in Chapter Two.

The use of media such as searching for information on the internet or communicating through mobile phones or email have been found to be strong emerging strategies of getting agricultural information informally. Kilpatrick and Johns (2003) found that social networks provided critical learning support to farmers. On the contrary, Umeta et al. (2011) found that women farmers had a low awareness about the use of technology. In support of the use of technology to access agricultural information, Edwards and Eggers (2004) contend that advances in both software and hardware have made it possible for even minimally computer-literate individuals to send and receive information in just seconds through mobile phones which can serve as two-way platforms for dialogue. Farmers can use chat groups to exchange

information. This study hopes to identify the various informal sources farmers are currently using to obtain agricultural information.

Socialisation as an informal source of learning and knowledge acquisition

In this study, learning through socialisation will refer to the IK that the farmers acquired and used as they grew up, knowledge which they found relevant and applied to farming. According to Zepke and Leach (2002), adults reflect on their past experiences and make meaning from them, or remake meaning as they use their past experiences to build new knowledge. Indigenous knowledge is defined as a body of knowledge, values, innovations and practices that locals develop over generations using their natural environment to enable a community to survive (Makinde & Shorunke, 2013; World Bank, 2004).

African people have for centuries developed and used IK for their day-to-day survival. Mutekwe (2015) asserts that indigenous knowledge systems in education in general and African communities in particular, play a major role in the lives of people. He asserts that IK is affordable, readily available and sustainable.

3.4 INDIGENOUS KNOWLEDGE APPLICATION

IK has been widely used in Africa for agricultural purposes. According to Kenalemang and Kaya's (2012) study, observation of the behaviour of various natural phenomena such as birds, plants, animals and the moon have been used as sources of information to predict rainfall pattern for farming purposes. While IK does not have a recognized position in scientific knowledge, Zimbabwean people, as subsistence farmers have always used IK (Mapara, 2009). For example, if there were plenty of *mazhanje* fruits (a wild fruit tree found in most parts of Zimbabwe) that was an indication of a poor rainy season for that year. Indigenous knowledge is practised by women subsistence farmers in Zimbabwe to provide food for their families through planting beans, groundnuts and pumpkins in one field for household consumption, sun-drying vegetables in summer for use in winter, placing the leaves of certain trees in the granary to keep away weevils, and so on (Mapara, 2009).

Mokena et al. (2012) study reveals that Batswana women use their IK and local resources to engage in various income-generating activities such as agriculture and trade. The activities help women in issues of food security and income for their families. Through engagement in growing indigenous crops such as sorghum, which is a staple food, people in NW Cameroon

attended to issues of food security needs (Vunyingah & Kaya, 2012). Findings in Vunyingah and Kaya's (2012) study revealed that after harvesting sorghum and drying it in the sun, farmers stored it in calabashes for use in the months to come. The farmers used graded health seeds and stored them separately for the next planting season. In their study in Dalwa in Nigeria, Degril et al. (2014) found that intercropping sorghum and okra controlled flea beetles.

In addition, in Africa and Zimbabwe in particular, small-scale farmers have employed IK methods since time immemorial up to today. Some of the IK methods employed include the use of leaves of *munhu wenhuwe* (an indigenous plant with a very strong smell) for keeping dry maize free from aphids, *madota emaguri* (burnt maize cobs) as bicarbonate of soda, hoes for land preparation and manure for fertilizing their crops (IK obtained through oral discussion in June 2016 from Mbuya Duri, a 97-year old woman from Zvimba).

Indigenous knowledge in the agricultural sector has been utilised in the areas of environmental conservation in many countries in Africa including Nigeria, Tanzania, South Africa and Zimbabwe (Makinde & Shorunke, 2013; Muchena, 1990). Conservation practices are vital for indigenous communities, as they ensure sustainability of natural resources in order to guarantee that practices such as weather predictions that rely on the environment will continue to flourish (Makinde & Shorunke, 2013). Ketshogile (2008) found similar findings in her study on farmers in South Africa, where farmers reported using IK such as intercropping, selection and storage of good seeds after harvesting for use in the following season, and the use of hoes for land preparation and clearing weeds.

Singh (2001) found that in India farmers have used IK in areas such as the selection of seed, forecasting of rain based on biological indicators such as the fruiting of mango trees, movement of ants, singing of birds and insects, and also spiritual indicators. Farmer-to-farmer exchange of seed was also preferred in Singh's study as it ensured quality affordable seeds. Indigenous methods of sowing and transplanting rice and indigenous pest management strategies were practised, and farmers developed locally specific knowledge and language pertaining to agriculture (Singh, 2001). Agronomists and soil scientists recognise some of these IKs that engender sustainable agriculture and preserve the environment. A study by Senanayake (2006) on IK in Sri Lanka found that farmers use IK conservation techniques like minimum tillage, mixed cropping, direct seed mulching, the use of plant and plant extracts to

attract birds for pest management, and the use of astrology and broadcasting of ash to control pests.

Instead of upholding IK, some locals in Zimbabwe have lost confidence in their IK systems which used to provide practical agricultural and medicinal solutions that helped them meet their needs, and are now opting for modern scientific knowledge (Makondo, 2012). Local history and cultural beliefs and practices are now part of the Zimbabwean curricula, though a lot of indigenous knowledge has already been lost. Today, recognition of IK is gaining momentum in the areas of agriculture and sustainable development (Atoma, 2011). In India, recent studies on IK in agriculture have led to a change in the attitudes of the Indian government and have given rise to new interest and awareness among agriculturalists in this type of knowledge (Gupta, 2011; Singh, 2011). Traditional farmers' wisdom and expertise have helped in the management of rice production and anything related to changes that occur due to poor yields (Singh, 2011; Atoma, 2011; Sillitoe, 2001). It is unfortunate that IK, to a large extent, has been neglected as a result of ignorance and colonisation (Makinde & Shorunke, 2013). However, most studies in India have shown farmers' resistance to sidelining local knowledge, and IK is now widely used (Singh, 2001; Senanayake, 2006). The failure to use IK in agriculture presents a critical gap in Africa, specifically in Zimbabwe, considering that there is a wealth of relevant IK lying idle.

3.5 GENDER POWER DYNAMICS/RELATIONS

Reeves and Baden (2000) define gender power dynamics/relations as different tiered relations of power between women and men, whereby women are in the disadvantaged position and accept these power hierarchies as natural although they are socially constructed, based on culture, and often change over time. The International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) (2000) says gender power relations refer to a complex system of personal and social relations of domination and power through which some people gain access to power and material resources, or are allocated status within society. Gender power relations are established and perpetuated by various institutions including the family, education, legal systems and the market (Sintim Adasi & Frempong Anima, 2014; Apusigah, 2009). Reeves and Baden (2000) observe that gender relations can transform as a result of economic, legal, political or environmental conditions. In the case of Zimbabwe, the change in gender relations can be attributed to the political conditions after women participated in the liberation struggle which ended in 1979, leading to independence in 1980 (Chogugudza,

2009). Women used their participation as a platform to claim their own gender liberation (Kaziboni, 2002; Chogugudza, 2009). Changes in gender relations can imply changes in power and status and this presents problems and resistance especially where African men, who fear losing power, are concerned (Chinyemba et al., 2006; Moser, 1992). As discussed in chapter one, the effects of attempting to alter gender relations are seen by male-dominated societies as threats to tradition and culture (Matondi, 2012; Chinyemba et al., 2006; Reeves & Baben, 2000; Gaidzanwa, 1995).

One of the most important aspects pertaining to the role of women is their participation in decision making. Societies continue to emphasize rules, norms and practices which govern social institutions based on gender (Ismail et al., 2015; Sintim Adasi & Frempton Anima, 2014; Mosse, 1993). From time immemorial, African women have, to a large extent, been left out from many institutional fields, and in some cases their participation has been limited to non-decision-making roles and often with lesser negotiating powers to effect change (Ismail et al., 2015; Sintim Adasi & Frempong Anima, 2014; Mbilinyi, 1972). Thus, even after being allocated land during various land reform programmes in Zimbabwe after independence in 1980, women farmers found it difficult to make decisions in terms of what should be grown, where to sell produce and how to use income from the sale of produce (Matondi, 2012; Chingarande, 2008). In some cases, women found themselves going back to consult a male figure who could be father, brother, husband or even son, as was the case in the past (Chingarande, 2009; Chinyemba et al., 2006; Gaidzanwa, 1995; Cheater, 1986). This is not because women are not able to make decisions, but women may have felt incompetent as a result of the ingrained culture of having decisions made by men at household and community levels (Mutopo, 2011; Chingarande, 2008). As Reeves and Baben (2000) argue, hierarchical gender power relations can thus constrain development efforts, as women's views are excluded by men who constitute most decision-making committees. Even at community level, traditional leaders such as chiefs, who are custodians of land and in most cases are males, find it difficult to interact and accept women farmers because they view the role of women as that of nurturers and carers, and least of all as farmers in their own right (Chinyemba et al., 2006; Gaidzanwa, 1995; Cheater, 1986). The discourse of equality advocated for by the government of Zimbabwe has not been easy to implement because men, who occupy most decision-making positions, feel threatened, whilst women are not very confident to perform the new role as a result of their socialization (Matondi, 2012; Gaidzanwa, 2011; Chinyemba et al., 2006).

On the other hand, women farmers can find themselves having more bargaining power and able to take up new roles as a result of the gender empowerment policies adopted by the government. The post-structuralist theorists posit that power is fluid, flows everywhere and the *weakest* of the *weak* can become powerful (Foucault, 1980). This study hopes to deconstruct issues of power relations as far as women farmers in this inquiry are concerned, and see how far their new status as land owners has propelled them to become decision makers.

3.5.1 Management of gender power dynamics/relations

Apparently women have not been quiet about experiencing discrimination. Women in Africa have fought against discrimination since pre-colonial rule. Their war, however, has not been confrontational and radical like that of the radical feminists (Ntseane, 2011; Goredema, 2010 & Mekgwe, 2007). Women in Africa have often taken the route of negotiating and acknowledging cultural expectations, as they feared to be labelled rebels if they were confrontational and radical in their approach. In their quest to develop the right to be independent, the small-scale women farmers in Mutopo's (2011) study in Zvishavane in Zimbabwe adopted a strategy where they appeared to be accepting instructions from men, but would decide as a group to deviate from the expected rules laid down by the men. Silently deviating from the expected norm of accepting male advice and appearing as if they wanted to establish trust, which is a deeply rooted value in rural Zimbabwean societies, became an important survival and coping strategy for women trying to control their lands (Mutopo, 2011). These notions of trust are often based on the number of years one has been married. As illustrated in a number of studies (Ajah, 2012; & Mutopo, 2012), marriage offered established trust which could not easily be eroded, and women felt it was important to build the trust and earn it from their husbands. Observing cultural practices and respecting traditional authorities have been found to be key features of building trust for women (Mutopo, 2012; Tsikata, 2009; Gaidzanwa, 1995).

Mutopo (2011) challenges the assumption that western notions of openly claiming individual rights to land are the best mechanisms for women in Africa, arguing that rather it is the negotiating and bargaining processes that exist in patriarchal structures that lead to cultural contracts enabling women's access to land. This argument was in support of Tsikata (2009)

and Goredema (2010) who assert that traditional behaviours that are expected in marriage relationships remain an essential aspect of negotiating and accessing land and labour.

Women use various mechanisms to circumvent the male-dominated pattern of formal land allocations. A general trend in Africa of women gaining access to land is that of negotiation (Toulmin, 2007). Married women in some studies in Africa point out that they use their negotiating skills, for instance employing the right language to speak with their husbands at the right time when their husbands are in a good mood, especially in their bedrooms (Apusigah, 2009; Mutopo, 2012). Apusigah (2009) found that, when it comes to land, women in Northern Ghana resorted to negotiating in order to define and secure their land rights. Negotiations and bargains were part of the tools for resolving power conflicts in Ghana, but in the bargaining process women were portrayed as passive victims. Tsikita's (2009) study found that women preferred to use the negotiation approach to access land. In his conclusion, however, Tsikita asks an interesting question: 'What options are there for African women to choose negotiation over confrontation'?

Sen (1999) offers three interrelated concepts for analysing gender and production relations: 'negotiative conflict, rights appreciation and cooperative bargaining' (cited in Mutopo, 2013, p. 123). Sen's analytical framework of gender, which is based on rights and livelihoods entitlements, helps to explain that the household is an active place where different actors make negotiations and pave a way forward as a means of positioning themselves for more equitable gains (Mutopo, 2011; Berry, 2002). In these processes, some members' rights are subjugated while others, particularly those of male members, are respected and asserted. Women find it necessary to create a bargaining site to avoid the eruption of power dynamics (Oywaya-Nkurumwa, 2012; Mutopo, 2012; Tsikata, 2009). This implies that sexual relationships influence land negotiations and bargaining processes pertaining to land access by the women. It is evident that women have mainly adopted a negotiating and bargaining approach rather than a confrontational one to access land. Studies reviewed have, however, not explored how power relations are played out from a post-structuralist perspective. In addition, no study has explored how A2 women farmers who own commercial farms negotiate gender power relations.

3.6 GENDER ROLES

Olawoye (2001) and Moser (1992) both draw on Ann Oakley's differentiation between sex and gender. She explains that sex roles are biologically determined while gender roles are prescribed by society, and the differentiation is useful when trying to clarify issues related to women (Goredema, 2010; Mekgwe, 2007). To determine gender roles, one has to consider the perceptions of society and gender traits. In most societies, being male or female does not only relate to physical characteristics but includes well defined cultural duties considered appropriate by that particular society (Boghossian, 2012; McFadden, 2010). The division of labour and responsibilities of males and females is a social reality in all societies (Reeves & Baben, 2000; McFadden, 2010). The subject of gender roles, according to Olawoye (2001) concentrates attention on the obligations, privileges and duties assigned to men and women in society, and the relationships between them. In African society there are tasks assigned to men and those assigned to women. This task differential translates also to the agricultural domain, as shall be illustrated in later sections of this review.

3.6.1 Gender roles in traditional African society

As elaborated in chapter one, traditional African society ascribed different roles to men and women. Roles assigned to women are related to cultural and historical traditions that place women in the domestic domain, where they are supposed to be home makers and nurturers of their husbands and children (Sintim Adasi & Anima Frempong, 2014; Mbilinyi & Sechambo, 2009).

The household chores assigned to women, as identified by many authors, include processing and preparing food, cooking, washing, fetching water, looking for firewood, cleaning the home, and caring for the children and the sick and the elderly (Sintim Adasi & Anima Frempong, 2014; Apusigah, 2009; Chinyemba et al., 2006). Even if the family employs a helper, some men demand that the wife personally does certain chores such as preparing food for her husband, washing and ironing his clothes and so on. Such traditions and beliefs over years keep women under subjugation and make them feel generally inferior to men, strengthening further the dependence of women on men (Apusigah, 2009; Mbilinyi & Sechambo, 2009).

Education plays a part in the changing nature of gender roles. The more educated a women is, the more independent and aggressive she is in claiming her rights (Apusigah, 2009; Kaziboni,

2002; Mupawaenda, 1995). Women who are less educated need to find a husband in order to be protected and provided for, and the need is seen as an indication of weaknesses within females and manifests as a male's inherent need to dominate (Fabiya et al., 2007). This clearly creates an acceptable mind-set among the community that women are weak and men are stronger. In addition to the household chores discussed above, women in Africa are also involved in agricultural work, as discussed in the following section.

3.6.2 Gender roles in agriculture

This section discusses the roles played by women in agriculture. Women in Africa have always been key players in agriculture, where they have provided between 70% and 80% of farm labour since pre-colonial times, yet their role has not been recognised or given value due to social and traditional practices (Ismail et al., 2015; Mutopo, 2013; Cheater, 1986). Women perform multiple roles on the farms (Chinyemba et al., 2006; Gaidzanwa 1995). The responsibility of women in agricultural sectors became vital as a result of urbanisation and the increase in female-headed households (Apusigah, 2009; Gaidzanwa, 2011). Results from studies on women farmers in Africa show that women provide labour for most farming activities such as planting, weeding, harvesting and processing crops manually (Apusigah, 2009; Mbilinyi & Sechambo, 2009; Fabiya et al., 2007). Furthermore, women are involved in planting and weeding a variety of crops such as maize, sorghum and groundnuts. In addition to crop farming, women are also active in animal rearing and poultry keeping (Mutopo, 2012; Skapa, 2005).

Similar to the findings on roles performed by African women farmers, Chayal et al. (2013) found that Indian women farmers perform agricultural activities such as field preparation, sowing, weeding, harvesting, and the picking, cleaning and drying of grains. The activities also include looking after animals and working for wages in different forms of enterprises and, above all, being in charge of home maintenance (Arshad et al., 2010). However, it is unfortunate that they, like their counterparts in Africa, also remain invisible workers and their involvement as decision makers regarding these activities is questionable. It is estimated that 70% of farm work in India is done by women who constitute 60% of the farming population (Choudhary & Singh, 2003). Choudhary and Singh (ibid) note that for a long time Indian women cultivators, like their African counterparts, were normally deemed economically inactive and only believed to assume the role of being a farmer's wife. Regardless of their

crucial contribution to family income, women continue to be seen as insignificant and their input is not even documented (Mutopo, 2011; Apusigah, 2009; Skapa, 2005). In addition to all this, women are not given the opportunity to participate in decision-making, even though they are actively engaged in home and farm activities (Taiwo, 2010).

The division of labour is changing due to factors such as the migration of men to urban areas and women empowerment policies by African governments (Matondi, 2012; Ismail et al., 2015). There has, of late, been a transition of gender roles in agriculture world-wide, particularly in Africa (Chingarande, 2008; Mutopo, 2012). Findings have shown that women have become more involved in tasks that were previously done by men like bush clearing, tilling, planting, fertilizer application, harvesting and marketing and decision making (Ajani & Igbokwe, 2011; Mutopo, 2012; Ucheadausokwe & Ofuoku, 2006; Okunade, 2005). Ismail et al. (2015) assert that women have proven to some extent that they have played, and are ready to play, a more significant role in agriculture in spite of unfavourable conditions.

Duncan (2002) found that agricultural roles amongst women in Volta in Ghana have changed and women were involved in harvesting and marketing, but this did not necessarily improve women's socio-economic position or their control over farming activities. Duncan (2002) found that a change of roles increased women's workloads and responsibilities.

Women in Zimbabwe have become land owners and it is hoped that they have also become decision makers. The need for women in this study to discharge these new farming roles effectively so that they achieve higher yields on their farms cannot be over-emphasised. This study hopes to unearth the areas where women farmers need training in their new roles so as to be effective on their farms. Understanding the changes that have taken place in the gender division of agricultural tasks in Africa, especially in the area of land ownership and food crop production is essential to the success of agricultural development programmes (Ucheadausokwe & Ofuoku, 2006).

3.7 WOMEN AS LAND OWNERS

For development to be meaningful, for food security to be guaranteed and poverty alleviated in Africa, there is a need for a serious concerted effort to be directed towards agricultural growth by both men and women (Ismail et al., 2015). This section reviews how women

farmers in Africa have accessed land and how they have negotiated gender power relations in the process of acquiring land.

3.7.1 *How women accessed land in Africa*

Most African Governments have committed themselves to addressing the gender gap that existed before they attained independence. As already discussed, the Governments came up with land reform programmes that saw women become land owners, but very few women have managed to own land due to traditional constraints (Chingarande, 2008; Taiwo, 2010). Although the Zimbabwean government encouraged women to apply for land, patriarchal tendencies have hindered women from applying for land in their own right, with most of them preferring to let their husbands apply (Chinyemba et al., 2006). This was confirmed in Scoones et al.'s (2012) study where women reported that they did not mind if the offer letters were in the names of their husbands. Most women in that study made use of land through marriage because their husbands got land, and this was not a problem because they reported they had good relationships with their husbands. This kind of relationship is not universal. The entrenched culture that men are heads of households could explain why women preferred that the land be registered in the husband's name (Chingarande, 2009; Gaidzanwa, 1995). Those with abusive husbands preferred to have the offer letters in their own names (Scoones et al., 2012).

When the land invasions were started by war veterans in 2000, women were reluctant to join the invasions, fearing for their safety (Matondi, 2012), because the process involved people going into farms and settling themselves through what became known as *jambaja* (meaning 'by force'). After the invasion period which lasted for about two years, women applied formally for land through the Ministry of Agriculture. Studies in Zimbabwe have shown that women used formal channels to apply for land while others obtained land using their status as war veterans (those people who fought in the war of liberation against the minority white regime) (Mutopo, 2011; Masiwa, 2004). Some women got land as a result of close alliances with people such as war veterans, chiefs, district administrators, land committees and male-dominated patronage (Matondi, 2012; Scoones et al., 2012).

In some instances, land was also acquired through the concept of the 'economy of affection' (giving preference because of relations), particularly if one was related to the village head or some influential person like a war veteran who would make strong recommendations to

facilitate the allocation of land (Mutopo, 2011). Other women in Mutopo's study reported that they had inherited land because their husbands and mothers-in-law had died. Female inheritance in this case was not contested by relatives as the son of the deceased would inherit on behalf of the mother who would have land use right through the son (Mutopo, *ibid*). This is happening even today. It emerged in most studies that women accessed farming land from their spouses and male relatives while others had to resort to hiring land to farm, with a few getting land through an application to government and yet others resorting to lobbying those in charge of allocating land (Shumba, 2011; Mutopo, 2011; Fabiyi et al., 2007; Gandidzanwa, 1988).

Despite the Zimbabwean Government's commitment to addressing this gender disparity, women are still discriminated against, mainly because land issues are in some instances governed by customary law, which dominates in issues of marriage and inheritance (Matondi, 2012). Men, who are often involved in the land resettlement committees, want to perpetuate the traditional discourse and control women (Chinyemba et al., 2006; Apusigah, 2009; Mbilinyi & Shechambo, 2009).

3.8 WOMEN AS DECISION MAKERS

The changes in gender roles in Africa, and Zimbabwe specifically, have seen women accessing decision-making positions such as members of parliament, heads of institutions, cabinet ministers, chief executive officers of companies, land owners and many others (Ismail et al., 2015; Chingarande, 2007; Kaziboni, 2000). This section critically analyses studies concerning women as decision makers in the agricultural sector, and how they coped with this role. Studies undertaken in Africa and India have confirmed the struggle faced by women farmers in terms of decision-making roles outside household roles. A majority of the women farmers experience limited levels of participation in decision making on farming (Ismail et al., 2015; Chayal et al., 2013). Generally, studies have indicated that the marketing of agriculture inputs and farm produce, and fertilizer applications were the activities where women's involvement in decision making was very low (Mutopo, 2012; Mishra et al., 2008). This could be attributed to the fact that most women farmers are illiterate and have inadequate knowledge about modern farming techniques. They face dominance by men and have restricted mobility due to several cultural taboos (Mutopo, 2011).

Few studies have been found which identify women who have participated in decision making. Oywaya-Nkurumwa's (2012) study revealed that Kenyan women were involved in decision making on crop farming activities that included what crops to grow. Contrary to traditional practices where women are not involved in decision making, Mojirayo (2013) found that women farmers in Yekeni in Nigeria were quite assertive and made decisions regarding inputs, marketing produce and the purchase of assets. But this was because the husbands were absent, working in town. It could be that they became assertive because of the space created by the migration of their husbands from rural to urban areas.

It is evident from most of the findings discussed above that the decision-making role is still to a large extent the preserve of men, despite women having ventured into the so-called male-dominated domains in agriculture. This study hopes to investigate the situation with the new women owners who benefitted from the ZFTLRP. In the next section, the writer discusses constraints faced by women in the agricultural sector.

3.9 CONSTRAINTS FACED BY WOMEN FARMERS

The importance of focusing on challenges encountered by women in agriculture regarding issues affecting their capacity and capability in agricultural development cannot be over-emphasized. This section reviews the constraints faced by women farmers. Women in sub-Saharan Africa face a lot of social and economic constraints leading to low agricultural productivity. Some authors (Matondi, 2012; Berry, 2002) cite the lack of land ownership, non-availability of labour, lack of cooperation from workers, poverty, lack of collateral to facilitate the acquisition of loans, and the lack of farming knowledge as constraints faced by women farmers in Africa. Mutopo (2011); Matondi (2012) and Yusuf et al. (2010) assert that scarce resources like credit or improved seeds, among others, rarely flow to women in African countrysides. In support of this assertion, findings from a study by Adekunle (2013) on rural women farmers in Nigeria highlighted their failure to access agricultural resources; inadequate land for cultivation and ownership; and the lack of improved farm implements as major constraints inhibiting women farmers from development. Women get side-lined when it comes to accessing resources, as usually most of these resources are controlled by men, who are regarded by society as more powerful (Ismail et al., 2015; Chingarande, 2012; Chinyemba et al., 2006).

Low participation by women in national and regional policy-making bodies and extension services has meant that the needs of women are neglected and not taken seriously (Ismail et al., 2015; Chinyemba et al., 2006). Plots and farms controlled by women have lower yields, not because of inefficiency but because of the lack of labour and resources resulting from cultural and traditional constraints (Ismail et al., 2015). The A1 and A2 Zimbabwean women land holders were less successful as farmers than men were, due to their lack of access to credit facilities and lack of inputs (Scoones et al., 2012; Matondi, 2012).

Nazir et al. (2013) and Butt et al. (2010) found that Indian women farmers were constrained by a lack of self-confidence as a result of their low education, lack of social security, poverty, social conflicts and the poor dissemination of information through the media. Low education was also confirmed by Hassan et al.'s (2013) study. Rees et al. (2000) found that Kenyan women farmers had knowledge gaps regarding technical information such as chemical application rates, the management of potato blight and management of livestock.

It is very difficult to make women farmers conscious of the gender bias towards them which results in women being unproductive in public choices. These challenges prevail in sub-Saharan Africa and are worsened by the failure on the part of women themselves to have a positive aggressive attitude (Ismail et al., 2015; Matondi, 2012; Mutopo, 2012). While it is apparent that such constraints are not limited to the African context, there are limited findings pertaining to Zimbabwe, particularly ones that can highlight the constraints related to gender power relations and access to farming knowledge. The A2 farmers, who are central to this study, have a fair level of education (Junior Secondary to Master's Degree). My study will contribute to informing issues related to the challenges faced by women farmers who benefitted from the ZFTLRP, and ascertain whether the findings are different from what the other studies discussed above have found.

3.10 IMPLICATIONS OF LITERATURE ON THE LEARNING OF WOMEN FARMERS

It was evident from the above literature that women are not equitably represented in learning programs, nor are the available learning opportunities easily accessed by women. New information and communication technologies are still not available to women in Africa (Tapsoba, 2002; Pieck, 2002). It has been argued that there is a need to integrate the content on technology in learning programmes to enable women to cope with rapid changes brought

about by new technologies and changes in the environment, such as new policies (Doss & Morris, 2001), as in the case of the women farmers in this study. It is critical for trainers of adult learners in Africa to identify socio-cultural opportunities and constraints for women. Preece (2009) advocates for gender equality issues, learner-led and gender-sensitive teaching and learning materials, and monitoring systems that are gender-sensitive. In addition, she argues that content should focus on capacity-building for local people and involve women in decision-making structures. The multiple roles of women should be considered and training planned when it is convenient for them to participate. In a study by Mudukuti & Miller (2002), it emerged that issues such as the timing, location of venues, lack of child-minding and facilities were barriers to women's participation. Before Zimbabwe attained independence in 1980, most women in Africa worked in informal sectors, thus further removing them from training opportunities (Morison, 2013; Gaidzanwa, 1997).

Part of the purpose of this study was to assess how women access agricultural knowledge through formal, non-formal and informal learning. In providing adult learning and training, it has been argued that facilitators should consider the roles of women as they plan their learning opportunities (Morison, 2013).

Thus, issues such as convenient timetables, workshop venues and sleeping facilities need to be looked into. It has been argued that there should be child care facilities because some women have no one to leave their children with and will bring them to the training venue (Mudukuti & Miller, 2002). Distance to the training centre is another consideration as women cannot travel far due to home responsibilities (Preece, 2009; Mudukuti & Miller, 2002). Preece (2009) advocates for participatory methodologies and quality education to help change the status of women. The learning should be culturally sensitive with relevant training that recognizes indigenous knowledge and the values of ethnic groups (Lekoko & Modise, 2011). In addition, it should be learning that helps women to participate in society (Morison, 2013; Preece, 2009; Higgs & van Wyk, 2007).

This study sought to understand the ways in which women manage to negotiate gender power relations and access to relevant agricultural knowledge in order to achieve their farming goals. Such findings will help to inform the curriculum for the future training of women farmers.

3.11 CONCLUSION

This chapter has reviewed the literature related to how women farmers negotiate traditional gender power relations in accessing and utilising their farm land. The chapter analysed the roles of women both in the home and in agriculture. Issues regarding how women have become land owners and how they managed the change in power relations created by their new status were analysed. The chapter also discussed ways used by women to access modern farming knowledge, focusing mainly on non-formal and informal learning which were found to be the most appropriate forms of lifelong learning. The chapter analysed how women use IK to ensure food security for their families. The next chapter discusses the methodology used to analyse how women commercial farmers acquire knowledge and negotiate gender power relations in Zimbabwe.

CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This study investigates how women commercial farmers in Zimbabwe acquire farming knowledge and negotiate gender power relations. Chapter Three reviewed studies on how farmers access extension knowledge and how women farmers manage gender power relations. This chapter discusses the research methodology used to answer the research questions.

The specific questions the study sought to answer were:

- 1 How have women learned and applied modern farming knowledge since their land allocation?*
- 2 How have women applied their indigenous knowledge in the context of their commercial farms?*
- 3 How have women navigated gender power dynamics in order to access land and manage their farms?*
- 4 What are the implications of these findings for future adult education training programmes in Zimbabwe?*

The study was a small-scale qualitative life history that used the interpretive paradigm. The methodology pertains to practical ways of solving problems. This encompassed, among others, such techniques as interviews, focus group discussions and observations that were used by the writer to generate data that enabled her to understand how women in Zimbabwe have acquired agricultural knowledge, and how they merged this knowledge with their IK. The methodology bears some relationship with epistemology, a philosophical term used to explain the entire theory of knowledge. The relationship subsists in that methodological approaches and techniques are premised on epistemological findings and insights (Mukeredzi, 2009).

The first part of this chapter briefly discusses the interpretive approach as the research paradigm before detailing the qualitative research which was adopted by this study. Further,

the chapter discusses in detail life history as the research design employed. The chapter also looks at feminist research perspectives, since the study aimed to understand women's experiences. The chapter then examines the research process including population and sampling, the area of study, the techniques used, data collection methods, data management and analysis. This is followed by discussion of issues of trustworthiness, transferability and the confirmability of findings. Before concluding, the chapter explores issues of the researcher's positionality, ethical considerations, limitations and data collection experiences.

4.2 RESEARCH PARADIGMS

This section discusses the interpretive and critical research paradigms. The section analyses the characteristics of each, highlighting the interpretive paradigm under which this inquiry falls.

4.2.1 The interpretive paradigm

The study fell under the interpretive research paradigm, as it sought to understand the lives of women farmers by allowing them to interpret their own experiences (Cohen et al., 2007). The study aimed at understanding the experiences, feelings and emotions of women farmers, and the meanings they attach to these. The central tenet of interpretivism is that people are engaged in trying to make sense of their environment (Myers & Avison, 2002). The interpretive paradigm seeks understanding of the purpose and meaning of life as it is experienced every day by individuals (Rubin & Babbie, 2010). Its findings are subjective in that the ways in which different people interpret their life experiences are subjective. Each person brings to the interpretation past experiences which differ from those of others (Myers & Avison, 2002; Henning, 2005; Rubin & Babbie, 2010).

The interpretive paradigm in this study lends itself to the collection of subjective accounts of the participants' experiences of the phenomenon (Henning, 2005). This yields descriptions of women farmers' accounts of how they negotiated gender power relations and their professional development experiences in the farming sector. Usually a small number of people are targeted to achieve this. Interpretive researchers, according to Rubin and Babbie (2010), believe that you cannot adequately learn about people by relying solely on objective measurements that are used in exactly the same standardised manner from person to person. They advocate for flexibility and subjectivity so that the subject's world can be seen through their own eyes. Thus, in this study multiple methods such as the use of diaries, in-depth

interviews and observation aimed to produce an in-depth understanding of women farmers' experiences and perceptions which could not be seen through observation alone.

4.2.3 Critical paradigm

The critical paradigm is sometimes referred to as a feminist paradigm as it looks at empowerment or advocacy, focuses on oppression and employs research to emancipate and empower oppressed groups (Rubin & Babbie, 2010). The paradigm goes beyond the subjective meaning of the people it studies and tries to connect their observation to its prior notion of an unjust broader objective reality it is seeking to change (Rubin & Babbie, *ibid*). The researcher aims to understand the context within which phenomena arise, the relationship between behaviour on the one hand, and the power and conflicts that lead to that type of behaviour on the other hand as recommended by John (2009). Studies on emancipation, social justice and transformation usually use this paradigm. Thus, the paradigm aims at helping to eliminate the causes of alienation and domination (John, *ibid*). Though the study looked at power relations and how they impacted on women's access to both modern and indigenous agricultural knowledge, it did not employ the critical paradigm because the study was not aiming to emancipate the farmers as an oppressed group. However, the researcher used her enhanced understanding as a result of analysing the findings to make recommendations for more relevant extension work training.

Having explored the interpretive research paradigm which was suitable for this study, the chapter now discusses the research approaches, focusing on the qualitative approach under which life history research design, which was used in this study, falls.

4.3 THE RESEARCH APPROACHES

In carrying out research, a quantitative, qualitative or mixed method approach may be selected. Any researcher selects a particular approach in accordance with the ways the problem that requires solutions are perceived. The main focus of quantitative research is the control and measurement of variables under varying conditions (Bless & Higson-Smith, 2000). The researcher using this approach is interested in quantifying the variations and the researcher holds and controls the research process (Rubin & Babbie, 2010). The instruments are pre-designed by the researcher, based on his/her own criteria. The participants' role is to answer the designed questions. This quantitative approach was not appropriate for this study because the data needed was about the experiences and opinions of women farmers.

This study analysed women's farming activities and the way they acquired agricultural knowledge and handled gender power relations as they became owners and managers of farms. What was needed was to understand the farmers' world from their own perspectives. This was only possible when one employed a qualitative approach, which relies on understanding the life experiences of the participants through the researchers' close and deliberate interaction with them. Rubin and Babbie (ibid) assert that the focus in qualitative studies is on understanding, interpreting and explaining by means of narratives the phenomena under study, without manipulating or controlling their natural settings. Thus, qualitative research is naturalistic (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005).

For this study, the researcher took a qualitative approach which helped her gain insights into the women farmers' relationships and into ways in which they have interacted with one another and with men at the family, community and national levels. This approach helped unearth the specific life experiences of women farmers and their knowledge, and the processes and methods involved in the construction of that knowledge. The qualitative approach also helped the researcher to understand the women farmers' experiences in managing both modern scientific and indigenous agricultural knowledge. This approach provided opportunities to unearth the knowledge gaps that needed to be addressed through educational interventions.

The following section discusses the life history research design which uses qualitative methods. The choice of the design is justified after the discussion of its features. The discussion also touches on the weaknesses of the life history research design, while explaining why it was nevertheless chosen for this study.

4.4 LIFE HISTORY RESEARCH DESIGN

Research design is defined by Bless and Higson-Smith (2000, p. 63) as "the planning of any scientific research from the first to the last step." It relates to the procedure that the researcher will adopt to answer the question. Burns and Groove (2003, p. 195) view it as a "blue print for conducting an inquiry." It is a programme that guides the researcher in collecting and interpreting available evidence. The choice of the research design depends on factors that include the nature of the problem under investigation, research questions, the nature of the

participants and the skill of the researcher. This study employs the life history research design which falls under the qualitative approach.

4.4.1 Definitions

The life history research design is known by different terms which include biography research, narrative research, self-stories my stories, and oral histories (Plumer, 2001; Goodson & Sikes, 2001; Denzin, & Lincoln, 2000). Life history research design is where a person tells about the life he/she has lived. Life history is defined by Lewis (2008, p. 560) as “any retrospective account by the individual of his or her life in whole or part, in written or oral form, that has been elicited or prompted by another person.” The method offers detailed description and comprehensive texture (Goodson & Sikes, 2001).

The study looked into the life histories of the women farm beneficiaries and analysed how they have acquired agricultural knowledge and negotiated gender power relations since getting the land. The main goal of life history research design is to tell about the life one has lived (Goodson & Sikes, 2001). According to Biesta et al. (2005), it is a fairly complete narration of one’s entire experiences of life as a whole, highlighting its most important aspects. In this study, what was important was the negotiation of gender power relations and the management of agricultural knowledge. Since this study focused on women and aimed at understanding their experiences, it was critical to look into their life histories regarding the acquisition of knowledge and the management of gender power relations.

4.4.2 Types

Authors have classified life history in different ways. Plummer (2001) says life history exists in varied forms such as long and short, specific and general, fuzzy and focused, surface and deep, realistic and romantic, modernist and post-modernist. Tierney and Randall (2012) discussed three main forms of life history writing. The first is ‘full sweep’ which covers one’s whole life and captures the development of a unique human being. The second type is the topical life document which does not aim at grasping the fullness of a person’s life but focuses on a particular topic or issue. Tierney and Randall (ibid.) discussed the edited life document, whereby the author speaks and edits the subjects into his or her own account, as the third form of life history research design. This is usually used for illustrations (Plummer, 2001). The design for this study took the form of a topical life document where the aim was

not to understand the full life of women farmers, but particularly their experiences in terms of acquiring knowledge and managing gender power relations.

4.4.3 Rationale

Life history provides insight into long-term change, be it social, economic or political (Roberts, 2002). It was chosen for this study because it places people at the heart of research, a characteristic of life history highlighted by Harley (2012). In this study the women farmers were at the heart of the research. Its major strength is that it allows for the exploration of complexity and interrelationship between people and phenomena (Tierney & Randall, 2012; Lewis, 2008). It allows counter-intuitive findings to emerge and it generates fascinating and often unexpected insights and produces a wealth of rich data. Biesta et al. (2005) assert that life history research enables one to understand how people respond to events in their lives, sometimes in an effort to gain control over part of their lives. In the case of this study, the researcher wants to understand how women farmers respond to becoming owners and managers of land. It is a powerful approach or design, particularly when used in combination with other approaches. In this study, the life history design used focus group discussions, in-depth interviews and document analysis. The life history questions that the researcher asked included:

How were home roles distributed as you were growing up?

How were agricultural roles distributed amongst boys and girls as you grew up?

When you left you parents' home, what did you do?

How did you react when you got an offer letter for land in your own name?

How did you break the news to your family members, husband, etc?

How did your husband, relatives and the male members in your community react to that?

How did you ensure you worked well with your husband and the males in the community?

4.4.4 Disadvantages

The life history research design has its disadvantages. It needs a relatively large amount of a researcher's time and experience, as it is necessary to build rapport with participants. The researcher could overstay his/her welcome and fall out with participants. Roberts (2002) argues that life history research design presents challenges at the analysis stage. The

transcript and interview notes are susceptible to bias and require good skill and accuracy on the part of the researcher. Huge volumes of materials could be generated and this presents a challenge in the analysis and interpretation of data. It is not always easy to uncover the truth from, or harness, other people's stories to tell the tale you want (Harley, 2012). This design has the tendency of yielding long interviews. The interviews in this study lasted between 30 minutes to one hour and each individual participant was interviewed twice. Not everyone has a story ready-made and some people do not enjoy telling their story. The researcher nevertheless motivated the women farmers to own their contribution to the study and encouraged them to open up and share their experiences. Some stories may resurrect unpleasant past experiences, in which case there will be a need for counselling and empowerment services (Roberts, 2002). The researcher had a counsellor from the University of Zimbabwe on hand to provide support to women in case the discussions evoked painful memories they could not handle.

Life history is about asking people to talk about, and thus recall, their lives or certain aspects of these. This raises the issue of faint memory which could yield not very accurate data (Harley, 2012). Goodson and Sikes (2001) assert that memory may be affected by time and events in the participant's life. In addition, Harley (2012) and Goodson and Sikes (2001) argue that life histories may contain factual errors, but that is the main strength of life history as errors, inventions and myths lead us through and beyond facts to their meanings. The researcher started with focus group discussions to help revive the memories of women about their experiences, and then followed up with individual interviews.

The findings from life history research cannot be generalised beyond the purposively selected participants, and therefore the findings of this study reflected the lives of the participants only. However, the researcher collected rich data that will allow other people to point to situations where the findings may be transferable, as recommended by Roberts (2002). The participants in this study were ten commercial women farmers who benefited from ZFTLRP. This study adopted a feminist perspective by using feminist-friendly methodologies and drawing on feminist post-structuralism as part of its theoretical framework. It did not take an emancipatory or critical paradigm approach, because the study wanted to understand the women's experiences rather than directly influence their thinking.

4.5 FEMINIST RESEARCH

Feminist research refers to a study that focuses on gender as a variable to the inquiry and aims to give women an opportunity to express their concerns. Both feminist research and African research agendas try to challenge dominant powers (Chilisa & Preece, 2005). Where, for example, the western colonials are dominant powers in Africa, men are dominant powers in, for example, African culture where a patriarchal system is practised. Feminist methodology aims to challenge the dominant beliefs about men and women and power relations implied in the norms, values and beliefs of African culture. The process aims to bring about social change. According to Chilisa and Preece (*ibid.*), the researcher who adopts feminist research methodology aims to provide the marginalised group with an opportunity to express their views and have their voices heard, instead of the researcher's voice. In this study, the researcher strives to listen to the voices of the marginalised women farmers, to hear their experiences on issues of land ownership and the management of their farms since getting land allocations in 2000. To this end, Ramazanoglu (2002) asserts that the feminist researcher should consider the historical background of the marginalised, which in this case is the historical status of African women in general and Zimbabwean women specifically, where they were oppressed and accorded traditional roles which excluded the ownership of land and decision making.

Some researchers for example, Chilisa and Preece (2005) and Ramazanoglu (2002), recommended research methods such as interviews, surveys, ethnography and content analysis for feminist research. This study unearthed the experiences and perceptions of women farmers through interviews, group discussions and diary records. Focus group discussions helped to motivate the women to reflect on their experiences as they listened to their colleagues. Individual interviews helped to give those women who were introverts and could not speak out in public an opportunity to express themselves without fearing that others may laugh or find their contributions inappropriate. Diary recording helps women who have a short memory and those who prefer to express themselves more in writing than in speaking (Lida et al., 2012). However, in this study, as later discussions show, data collection through diary recording was not successful. The next section details the population and sample.

4.6 POPULATION AND SAMPLE

The 42 women farmers who were beneficiaries from the 2000 Zimbabwe Fast Track Land Reform Programme (ZFTLRP) in the Zvimba District constituted the population of the study.

4.6.1 Sample

The population of 42 women farmers was too big considering the research method employed. A sample of 10 women farmers was selected to represent the 42 women. According to Yin (2011), a sample of 10% is considered to be representative of a large population. In my case, the sample was 24% of the population. In addition, the sample size was determined by the financial resources, the time available and the need for rigour.

4.6.2 Sampling design

Purposive or purposeful sampling was employed to select ten women farmers and the other sources of data, namely the District Administrator (DA), one Grain Marketing Board (GMB) official and two agricultural extension officers. According to McMillan and Schumacher (2001), purposeful sampling is a design where a researcher selectively chooses the persons, situations or events most likely to yield fruitful data about the issues being researched. Its main feature lies in its choice of information-rich cases for very thorough examination, without generalising its findings to cases that have not been studied (Cohen et al., 2007). Chilisa and Preece (2005) point out the potency of purposive sampling for allowing the researcher to choose participants who are very knowledgeable about the study area. They propose that there lies its strength, since a few participants are capable of yielding very useful, rich and insightful data.

4.6.3 Sampling procedure

Sampling was guided by the strategic importance and background of the women farm beneficiaries and the criticality of the information they possess, rather than by the sample size as recommended by Cohen et al. (2007) and Twine (2013). Thus, the size of the sample, goals of the study, the research purpose, tools for data collecting and the cases that provided the requisite data were closely related, as they contributed to the same study (Yin, 2011). The ten women farmers, the district administrator, one GMB official and two Agricultural extension officers were selected on the basis that they were likely to be the most knowledgeable and informative about the phenomena under investigation, which was women farmers and how they have managed as farm owners and managers. This sample permitted for in-depth interviews, the study of diary records, focus group discussion, observation and document analysis. For one to do justice in the data collection using the interpretive paradigm, one needs to handle a small number of respondents.

In this study, typical cases of women farmers were sampled using the criteria that they should have had an offer letter confirming the allocation of the farm and be actively engaged in farming activities. The study deliberately included six farmers that the researcher had interacted with and four she has not interacted with, bringing them to 10. The six women the researcher has interacted with were met as individuals during a farmer's meeting held in the farming town called Banket. These were approached individually. This was continued until a sample of six was achieved. The other four to make them ten were identified by the DA after considering the information that was being sought. These women were then approached by the researcher and invited to participate in the study.

Most women selected were married whilst a few were widowed and one had never married. It was envisaged that the married women farmers were more experienced in the negotiation of power relations, especially in the home, thus they would have more experiences to share, while women who had no husbands would also have had interesting experiences with males such as fathers, brothers or children, community leaders etc. (Gaidzanwa, 1988). The DA also purposively identified two agricultural extension officers and two Grain Marketing Officers.

4.7 STUDY AREA AND PARTICIPANTS IN THE STUDY

This study was conducted in the Zvimba District in Mashonaland West Province in Zimbabwe (see the attached appendix). Forty-two women farmers who benefitted from the ZFTLRP of 2000 constituted the population of the study. Although this is not a case study, the participants are bound in terms of gender, geographical area, activity and time (Yin, 2011; Stake, 2005). The sampled group of women were selected for the purpose of an in-depth analysis of how they managed their farms.

The ten women farmers selected from the 42 women constituted the major sources of data. The DA, one GMB official and two Agricultural extension officers were the second group of primary sources of data. The DA provided his own perspective on the experiences and needs of women farmers and the contribution that the Ministry of Local Government has made to help women cope with their new roles as farm owners and farm managers. The two officials from GMB provided data relating to issues such as the farming inputs allocated to the farmers by GMB, criteria used during the allocation of inputs and performance of women farmers since they got land. The agricultural extension officers provided information on issues relating to the extension services availed to women farmers, type of knowledge needed by

women farmers and the methods used. Most of these stakeholders were males, and it was interesting to find out their opinions of and experiences with women farmers. In addition, interviews of these males also had a triangulation purpose for comparison with the women farmers' interviews. Table 2 below summarises the sample, data sources and data collection plan.

Table 2: Sources of Data and Timeline

Information source	January 2016	February 2016	March 2016	April-June 2016	July 2016	August 2016
10 women farmers	Community entry to invite women to participate in the study at Banket Sports Club. Orientation was done during the invitation process.	Two Focus Group Discussions done at different dates. Distribution of diaries was at the end of each FGD.	In-depth interviews and informal observations.	Data transcription and part-analysis.	Finalisation and collection of diaries. Analysis continues.	Final meeting, including member check and community exit.
DA, GMB officials, Agriculture Extension officers.	Community entry and orientation at the officers' work places.		Semi-structured interviews and analysis.			Final meeting, including member check and community exit. Analysis continues.

Data collection from women farmers was done during the 2016 agricultural season. Women were invited to participate in the study in January 2016 at their bi-monthly meeting at Banket Sports Club. Those who were not present were visited and invited from their homes in the same month. Data collection stretched from February to August 2016. The researcher met the ten women farmers five times for data collection purposes during the period indicated in the table above. The researcher was unable to follow the schedule owing to a lot of constraints like inaccessible roads during the rainy season period, especially February and March. This forced her to change some dates for interviews when roads were inaccessible. However the number of meetings remained unchanged.

The first meeting was an orientation meeting held at the Banket Sports Club to build rapport with individual women. Four women who did not attend the January farmer's meeting were visited in January at their farms and invited to participate in the study. The second meeting was during focus group discussions held with five women in each focus group. These were done at the Banket Sports Club, which was found to be central and easily accessible by the participants. At the same meeting, the researcher re-visited the purpose of the study and appealed to women to be open and give honest responses. The researcher explained that participation was voluntary and an individual was free to withdraw from the study at any time, without prejudice. The discussions were very fruitful and yielded rich in-depth data.

The third meeting was for individual interviews at the respective women's farms. It also gave the researcher an opportunity to observe the women at work and observe the farm activities and other issues that could be of interest. The fourth meeting was to collect diaries. When the researcher went round the farms to collect diaries, about nine women had not done the diaries despite having been reminded through the telephone calls. Only one woman said she had recorded one day's activities and promised to record other days in retrospect. The researcher decided to abandon the diaries as a source of data. The fifth meeting was an exit interview used to pick up on particular issues raised during the interviews, and the experiences of women in the whole exercise. The researcher also did member checking to verify the data collected. At that meeting, the researcher presented data collected and asked women to verify it. The researcher took the opportunity to thank women for their participation as this was the final meeting.

The AGRITEX officers, DA and GMB officials were met with three times during the data collection period as indicated in the table above. That was at the initial period, midway for interviews and at exit.

4.8 DATA COLLECTION TOOLS

This study collected qualitative data through various data collection tools, namely, in-depth interviews, diaries and focus group discussions. Observation of women at their farms and interviews with extension officers, GMB officials and district administrator enabled the successful process of data triangulation.

4.8.1 Focus group discussion

A focus group discussion (FGD) is a method of collecting data where the researcher engages a group of five to ten people from similar backgrounds or experiences, such as women farmers, to discuss a specific issue of interest. The researcher guides and moderates the discussion. A FGD creates a warm and relaxed environment that puts participants at ease, leading to the generation of rich, in-depth discussion (Chilisa & Preece, 2005). This strategy was chosen for its potential to produce data and insights that would not easily be accessed without the interaction found in a group (Cohen et al., 2007). In addition, the technique is suitable for studies in Africa because most of the time, African people meet in groups to discuss social issues (Chilisa & Preece, 2005). The method allows for “more realistic perceptions of issues covering a wide range of matters, and information is checked for accuracy as members corroborate what they say” (Chilisa & Preece, *ibid*, p.155). In this study, the FGDs had open-ended questions which acted as a stimulus for the participants. Open-ended questions allow the participants to reveal what is on their minds, and not what the interviewer suspects is on the interviewee’s mind (Bless & Higson-Smith, 2000).

Twine (2013), noting a weakness of FGDs, asserts that people are difficult to organize in one place at the same time, and some may dominate the discussion whilst introverts may be shy to make contributions. This was addressed by early arrangement of the meeting time, by keeping in constant touch with participants, and probing the less assertive ones to enable them to participate.

The researcher carried out two FGDs, as indicated in Table 2. As previously explained, the researcher participated in the January district meeting organised for farmers by the MP so as to meet with the would-be participants and invite them to participate in the study. The farmers’ meetings are meant for farmers to obtain information on issues of agricultural inputs, production enhancement and anticipated constraints. The researcher’s main aim in attending was to meet the women farmers and to build rapport and trust before the actual data collection commenced with the FGDs, followed by individual interviews and observations.

4.8.2 Semi-structured in-depth interviews

This inquiry solicited data from women farmers who were the main sources of data through semi-structured in-depth interviews. Interviews were done in English (most of the women farmers have a reasonable level of education, at least Junior Certificate level), and Shona (the

local language) was used when necessary. For a few women farmers who were not fluent in English, the researcher used Shona. The interviews of the DA, one GMB official and two agricultural extension officers were done in English as they were all professionals, but each group had a different set of questions according to the information being sought. The interview schedules are all included as appendices.

Minichiello et al. (1990) assert that an in-depth interview is characterised as in-depth when it takes the form of a conversation with a defined objective between the researcher and the participant, who provides the necessary information about the participant's perception of self, life and experiences in his or her own words. It involves verbal communication between persons or a group of persons. The method is used to capture meanings from beyond words as well as to get information that may be problematic to write down (Nieuwenhuis, 2007). Semi-structured interviews were opted for as they allowed for flexibility during data collection, and created space for new insights, deeper probing and clarifications as recommended by Nieuwenhuis (2007) and Rule and John (2011). This technique also enabled the researcher to access, and subsequently to understand, the interpretations of social reality that women farmers hold. If we believe that social reality exists as a meaningful interaction between individuals, then it can only come to be known through understanding one another's points of view and interpretations (Rubin & Babbie, 2010). This technique allowed for greater flexibility and freedom for both the interviewer and the participant, and made it possible for the researcher to follow the interests and thoughts of the informants while remaining focused on the critical areas under study.

An interview guide containing issues based on the aim of the study was used. The sequence of the issues covered was not the same for every participant, as it depended on the process of the interview and the answers of each participant. The researcher ensured that the data collected covered all the issues under study.

The researcher was aware that the participants, some of whom were known to her, could wish to give information presumed desirable to her. An appeal was made to the women farmers regarding the importance of their giving honest responses. Interviews can also be subjected to bias owing to discrepancy between what participants say they did and what they actually did (Chilisa & Preece, 2005). Information checks were done through asking the same questions

during different times. Other data collection techniques were also employed for purposes of triangulation and confirmation, as recommended by Nieuwenhuis (2007).

The interviews were recorded using a digital recorder to ensure accuracy in data capturing. Recording is commendable because raw data captured through its use remains for later processing, and one can revisit the data to verify facts (Burns, 2000). Without having to take notes the researcher's participation in the conversation is normal and natural. The interviewer did take notes in this study and this ensured that important information was not missed or overlooked. Burns (2000) asserts, however, that in note-taking as opposed to recording, the researcher may tend to focus on information that agrees with his/her preconceived ideas or beliefs, and omit information and responses that are contrary to these beliefs. Notes in this study were nevertheless taken to record non-verbal behaviour.

Digital recording, however, has its problems. Unlike the original listener, the recorder is unable to distinguish between the significance of external stimuli and proceedings, and so is likely to produce what may have been barely noticed as background noises, for instance, coughing and paper shuffling (Creswell, 2009). In order to obviate such problems, arrangements for a suitable time and venue was made beforehand by the researcher, with the assistance of the chief administrator in the Member of Parliament's office.

Creswell (ibid.) prefers to have the machine set out of sight, arguing that it might otherwise intimidate the participant. However, for this study the recorder was positioned where it was readily accessible to the participant. That way, according to Burns (2000), the process becomes more honest and non-threatening. The interviewees in this study were free to turn off the recorder or indicate to the researcher to do so at any stage when the conversation had digressed from issues of mutual interest, or when discussing something that the participant considered delicate. During the whole process of data collection, the participants did not feel threatened by the recording.

4.8.3 Observation

Qualitative research demands the presence of the researcher in the natural setting. The strength of the observation technique is that the researcher will not only hear what the participants are saying but have an opportunity to see, feel and smell as they interrelate with the participants (Yin, 2011). Chilisa and Preece (2005) discuss four types of observation

available for researchers. 'Complete participant' is where the researcher becomes an integral part of the group being observed. This involves concealed observation where the researchers disguise their identity from participants. The second type of observation is the 'complete observer,' where the researcher does not take part in the setting and participants are not aware that they are being observed. These two forms of observation have ethical challenges and were not considered for this study.

The third type is 'participant as observer,' where the researcher becomes one of the participants and can move around the natural setting and observe in detail. She/he participates in most but not all activities, and observation is not the only role assumed. The fourth type is 'observer as participant,' where the researcher does more of observing and little or no participating in the activities. This study employed this last type of observation to complement and triangulate the data collected through interviews and diaries (Yin, 2011). The advantage of this type of observation, according to Chilisa and Preece (2005), is that the researcher has a chance to bond with the participants and thus will be free to ask questions and probe further. Chilisa and Preece, however, point to the problem that the researcher cannot play a real role in the setting. In addition, Bless and Higson-Smith (2000) assert that although in non-participant observation the observer simply records facts without much interaction with the observed, the observation act could introduce bias, because the respondents change behaviour once they are aware that they are being observed.

The researcher visited women on their farms for interviews and took advantage of these visits to observe pertinent happenings like farm equipment and other assets, produce and crops, the type of soil, the interaction of the farmer with workers and any other relevant activities.

4.8.4 Diaries

The use of diaries as data collection tools is common in the social sciences. Diaries record life events as they occur, or immediately after they have occurred, and generally reflect these events in their chronological order (Sheble & Wildemuth, 2009). Research diaries demand that participants be actively involved in recording events that occur in their lives (Lewis, 2008). The diaries may be in the form of structured logs or unstructured narratives. The main advantage of diary methods is that they allow events to be recorded in their natural settings, a characteristic that tends to result in data with less bias. Lewis (ibid.) observes that an additional strength of diaries is that errors are minimised when information is recorded soon

after events have taken place. Data gathering by means of diaries is essentially unobtrusive as it is gathered when the researcher is absent (Sheble & Wildemuth, 2009).

Diaries, however, make great demands on the researcher and participants in terms of the long time required to pre-test diary methods, train participants and keep and analyse the information gathered (Lewis, 2008). Under-reporting, content selection bias, behaviour modification and partial recording errors occur in diaries (Sheble & Wildemuth, 2009). Potential participants assume diary studies to be time-consuming and this could affect the selection of women farmers for this inquiry. In the case where diaries are solicited, the researcher and audience of the researcher are imposed on the participant and this could introduce some bias. The diarists will be engaged in an activity that they are likely unaccustomed to, and the nature of what is recorded may reflect this (Sheble & Wildemuth, *ibid.*).

Nevertheless, since the majority of the participants were educated up to at least Form Four, it was felt the advantages outweighed the disadvantages. To guide the diarists, the researcher had prepared a set of questions that related to issues of the roles performed, successes achieved, and conflicts and constraints encountered. The questions were semi-structured to allow for flexibility on the part of the diarists whilst at the same time ensuring that women farmers remained focused. Although diaries were intended as a data collection method as elaborated above, the women did not contribute diary entries and this data collection method was abandoned. This method could have failed because the concept of diary recording is foreign to Africa. Diaries were viewed as note books. The researcher noted that some women had used the diaries to record things such as budgets, church sermons, the contact details of families and friends, farm activities to be done and so on.

4.9 DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

In qualitative research data analysis takes place simultaneously with the other phases of the research process, especially within the stages of data collection. The analysis proceeds inductively and emerging themes and patterns are ordered into different thematic categories. These categories are not predetermined before the data collection and data analysis process. The transcription of data and identification of tentative themes were done as soon as the first two interviews are completed. It is critical to carry out these processes in an orderly manner, to reflect on and approach the analysis with a disciplined, open and organised mind. Notes

are taken down during data collection and data analysis so that they may guide the process and help the researcher make the necessary transition from raw data to abstract ideas and theories (Yin, 2011). Inductive analytic processes generate descriptions in which the ideas are synthesised and explained. In brief, as data are collected, there is a need to categorise and order them by type and then qualitatively assess the trustworthiness of the data, so as to refine one's understanding of the patterns. Finally, one has to write an abstract synthesis of the themes and/or concepts that have emerged.

This study made use of extensive narratives of the stories of the women's lives and experiences in farming. Thus, data analysis will largely be about making sense of the experiences and perceptions of these women farmers. Findings in qualitative studies may be in the form of detailed descriptions that include direct quotations from the participants, and documents, diagrams and tables (Chilisa & Preece, 2005). Data from interviews was transcribed from verbal to written records in English although in the interviews a mixture of English and Shona (the local language) was used. The transcription was then subjected to a content analysis of the themes. Elliot (2005) asserts that the content of a narrative can be used for description and also for interpretation.

Data analysis of data inquiry was done on two levels. For the first level the researcher adopted the discourse analysis approach, which included the coding of data from interviews and observation notes into categories and themes such as learning to farm, knowledge gaps, and traditional discourses and so on. Preece (1999) argues that this process is all about exposing hidden meaning and identifying the differences between dominant ideologies and the subjugated voices in the interviews. Morojele (2009) asserts that critical discourse analysis aims at making transparent the connections between discourse practices, social practices and social structures, connections that might be opaque to the layperson. In discourse analysis, text and verbal words are organised into themes using language. The tools for analysis also borrow from text analysis techniques, as the emphasis is on exploring the contextual use of vocabulary in discourse (Fairclough, 2013; Preece, 1999). According to Morojele (2009), the researcher identifies, for example, critical illustrations to inform the theory of differential discourse positions and their power relationships. This will unearth and enable the articulation of issues of power, agency and forms of knowledge (Preece, 1999).

The researcher went through the transcripts and looked for particular comments and phrases that conveyed meaning relevant to the research questions. Thus, the analysis in this study deconstructed surface messages in written texts such as field notes, and also interview voices (such as women farmers and male officials from the Ministry of Agriculture and Ministry of Local Government, Urban and Rural Development). The researcher was looking for hidden meaning behind the written text and spoken word, and not merely taking words at their face value. For example, if a woman says, “I did not come empty-handed in this marriage,” she means she is not worthless and needs to be acknowledged.

After the discourse analysis approach that produced themes, the analysis progressed to level 2 which entailed deductive analysis using concepts from Foucault’s post-structuralist theory. The feminist post-structuralist theory as highlighted in Chapter Two was used to analyse the findings as a second layer of analysis and as a lens to explain the findings from a theoretical perspective.

4.10 TRUSTWORTHINESS, CONFIRMABILITY AND TRANSFERABILITY

This section discusses issues of trustworthiness, confirmability and the transferability of findings. In qualitative research, these concepts are preferable to the more positivist notions of validity and reliability.

4.10.1 Trustworthiness of findings

Quantitative research employs the term ‘validity’ to indicate the accuracy and trustworthiness of research findings, and ‘reliability’ to characterise their consistency or stability. Qualitative studies, however, turn to terms such as ‘trustworthiness’ and ‘credibility’ to indicate validity and consistency. The terms dependability and confirmability are used to indicate reliability (Cohen et al., 2007; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). To establish the trustworthiness of this qualitative research, the researcher carried out the study in the field for a considerably long time, employed triangulation techniques to gather data, and did member checks to enable participants to agree or disagree that what was recorded was a true record of what they had said. The researcher herself has had some experience of the issues under study, namely accessing extension knowledge and managing power relations, but was careful to make sure that her experiences did not bring bias into the process. Further checking for bias was addressed by referring the findings and analysis to her supervisor.

Findings should also be transferable, namely applicable to other similar contexts. Cohen et al. (2007) and Creswell (2008) argue for member checking of transcriptions and the final report or specific descriptions by participants for confirmation of accuracy. Claims to trustworthiness of data cannot be made unless texts generated by the participants, for example interview transcripts, are confirmed, clarified and changed where necessary by the participants (Cohen et al., 2007). In addition to asking the participants to check for accuracy in transcription, this study explored the use of triangulation for trustworthiness of findings and confirmability. The fact that the researcher interviewed some women she did not know also helped to check for trustworthiness of responses.

4.10.2 Confirmability

Denzin and Lincoln (2005) define confirmability as the degree to which findings have not been influenced by the researcher's bias or interest. The presence of the researcher in an interview and the way he/she introduces the study to the participants could influence what the participants say. Thus, the findings may be shaped by the researcher and not the participants, giving rise to low confirmability. Honesty on the part of the participants is critical. In this study the researcher attempted to achieve confirmability of findings by making a genuine appeal to the participants for open and honest responses. Non-interference with participants as they speak promotes unobtrusiveness during data gathering (Seidman, 1998). In view of this, the writer took the role of a good listener and strove not to interrupt nor redirect the line of thinking of participants, but allowed them to develop their thoughts freely, expressing themselves in their own words.

The eight months during which data was collected in the natural setting of the study contributed to and ensured quality data. Creswell (2008) notes that a prolonged period of fieldwork extends the researcher's experience with participants, and this yields more accurate and valid findings. The prolonged fieldwork in this inquiry enabled in-depth interpretation of the issues under study and conveyed detail on the site and the people to enhance the credibility of the narrated accounts as recommended by Creswell (ibid). It also allowed the researcher to analyse the data continually, to compare and refine ideas and note where research-based categories and participant reality did not dovetail. In-depth interviews are conducted in natural settings that reflect the reality of life experiences more accurately than do contrived or laboratory settings (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). Re-checking the data by giving the participants an opportunity to check on the consistency of the data helped to confirm it.

4.10.3 Transferability

Transferability refers to findings being applicable to other areas. This study could provide a comparative basis for similar studies, with the methods and findings being used to help understand women farmers in similar situations. Data from participants that are purposively selected restricts the generalisability of the findings (Cohen et al., 2007). In the present research, the sampling design and the small sample size of participants does not allow for the generalisability of the results and conclusions to situations outside the context of this very study. The lack of serious concern for the generalisability of findings renders notions of validity and reliability, specifically external validity, irrelevant for a life history research, the more so where participants were selected for their typicality features (John, 2009).

Researchers working within the qualitative and interpretive paradigms have sought alternative measures of research quality. Adding on to Flick's (2006) notions of internal rigour and scientific rigour, scholars such as Creswell (2008) and Woods (2006) bring in issues of unobtrusiveness, the member checking of texts, piloting the instrument, clarification of bias, discrepant information and prolonged field work as ways of enhancing rigour. The clear, detailed and in-depth data descriptions enable consumers of the study to address both issues of comparability and transferability (Cohen et al., 2007). Despite the problems of generalisability, the researcher is confident that findings in this study could be used to understand women farmers in a similar setup (reflecting the notion of transferability). The researcher has provided reasonably detailed descriptions of rich data in the findings for research consumers to determine the degree of transferability.

4.11 TRIANGULATION

Triangulation is the application and combination of several research methodologies in the study of the same phenomenon (Yin, 2011; Leedy, 1997.). This is done to overcome the weaknesses or biases of a single method (Cohen et al., 2007.). It ensures fruitful search and sound interpretations of the real world. Denzin and Lincoln (2005) identify four types of triangulation. Data triangulation involves time, space and persons. Theory triangulation consists of using more than one theoretical scheme in the interpretation of the phenomenon. Investigator triangulation consists of the use of multiple observers, while methodological triangulation involves the use of more than one method in the research process. In this study, the methodological triangulation consisted of within-method rather than between-method

strategies. Within the life history research design, in-depth interviews were complemented in the data collection process by the use of focused interviews, FGDs and document analysis. Triangulation remains the preferred line of research in social sciences to address issues of trustworthiness and confirmability (Denzin & Lincoln, *ibid*).

4.12 PILOT STUDY

A pilot study is a miniature study carried out prior to the main study. Its main purpose is to test whether the processes and procedures, including the tools for research, will function adequately when the main study is undertaken, or whether they need modification and improvement. In brief, piloting entails guiding (Cresswell, 2008; Leedy, 1997) and anticipating future problems and complications in the study so as to ensure the smooth running of the inquiry (Seidman, 1998). Pilot testing of the women farmers' interview schedule and diaries were conducted with two participants. The interview schedules of the other sources of data, namely the DA, two GMB officers and agricultural extension officers were also pre-tested with officers in another district. Pre-testing of tools aims at determining the appropriateness of the research structure as envisioned and getting to grips with some practical aspects of data collection. In addition, pre-testing all data collection tools enabled the researcher to reflect, review and refine the tools and the whole interview process for the main study.

4.13 POSITIONALITY OF THE RESEARCHER AND ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

This section discusses the researcher's positionality in the research process. Issues relating to ethics will be addressed thereafter.

4.13.1 Positionality of the researcher

The researcher, as mentioned in chapter one, is one of the women beneficiaries of the 2000 ZFTLRP. She has previously interacted with some of the women who participated in this study. This relationship had an advantage as women became keen and free to share their experiences, and this yielded responses as they knew that the researcher had informal information about them already. The good relationship between the women and the researcher also helped, because the women did not feel threatened but were comfortable in the company of the researcher as a colleague, and this motivated them to provide truthful responses.

The researcher had worried that her relationship with women farmers would be a disadvantage and would introduce bias, as women would not feel free to divulge their feelings to a person they knew and would continue to interact with. There was no evidence that this occurred. As recommended by Rubin and Babbie (2010), the researcher explained the purpose of the study to the women farmers and encouraged them to be open and truthful with her. This was done to make sure that her relationship with the women farmers would not introduce bias into the study. In addition, the fact that the researcher interviewed some women she had not interacted with also helped to check for trustworthiness of responses.

4.13.2 Ethics and ethical considerations

The way a researcher treats his/her participants is an important part of the research process. As this study involved using human beings as participants, there were ethical and moral responsibilities the researcher had to assume to protect them from harm. Ethics demand that research participants are treated with dignity (Kimmel, 1988). This section is therefore dedicated to ethical considerations. Terre-Blanche and Durrheim (2002, p. 65) assert that “the essential purpose of ethical research planning is to protect the welfare and rights of research participants.” The qualities needed from the researcher include humility, openness to seeking and receiving feedback, transparency, self-awareness, sensitivity to others’ needs, a sense of humour and patience (Yin, 2011). There is also a need for empathy, respect and genuineness (McMillan & Schumacher, 2001). This study attended to critical ethical principles of concern as follows.

Confidentiality and Anonymity

It is of great importance to protect the confidentiality of the participants and only use what is confidential with their consent. Kimmel (1988) asserts that the research participants’ responses and other critical information like names, addresses and contact information must be kept confidential by the researcher. In this regard, the researcher used pseudonyms for all the participants. The researcher secured informed consent from the participants before they participated in the research. Because of the culture which still views men as heads of families, an obvious risk was that the women could hide their participation in this study from their families, especially from their husbands if they were married. It was, therefore critical for women to consider all these issues. Women are adults and, in line with the Zimbabwean constitution, women made decisions and signed the consent forms with full understanding.

Even during the visits by the researcher, women introduced the researcher to their husbands, who did not object to the exercise.

Although the researcher is also an A2 woman farmer in Zvimba, she maintained a reasonable social distance and only engaged them where the study demanded it. The participants were informed that they were free to withdraw from the study at any stage if they decided to. The researcher hoped that the women farmers would find this procedure proper as they had nothing to lose if they withdrew from the study. Participants were free to switch off the recorder or indicate to the researcher to do so when giving information they felt should not be recorded.

Information obtained about the participants was held confidentially unless otherwise agreed on in advance. The anonymity and confidentiality of participants was guaranteed. The investigator promised the participants the opportunity to receive the results of the study in which they participated. To this effect, the researcher will make available a copy of the research report to those who are interested in having it. The report provided will be a summary of the methodology and findings. In addition, this could be presented at a special workshop organised by the Member of Parliament or at the quarterly development district meetings organised by the DA. The second option would be easier for it would not involve a lot of logistics.

Honesty and Trust

In this study, the women farmers were provided with an explanation of the research and its purpose. The researcher informed the women farmers of all the aspects of the research that could influence their willingness to participate and answered all their inquiries to the best of her ability. She was as open and honest as possible. This involved a full disclosure of the purpose of the research as recommended by Yin (2011) and McMillan and Schumacher (2001).

In this study, gatekeeper approval to carry out the study was sought from the Member of Parliament of Zvimba. The researcher discussed the purpose of the study to the MP and explained that a summary of the study would be availed to the MP. The researcher entered the community through the DA after getting authority from the Member of Parliament.

Harm and Risk

Protection from harm encompasses any physical, emotional and social infliction of pain a study may bring about (Henning, 2005). In this study, no physical harm was envisaged and to ensure that no emotional harm was inflicted, the researcher advised participants to withdraw if they felt they did not want to continue any more. In addition, a counsellor from the University clinic was available on standby in case of distress arising from some of the events women might talk about. Again, the study's participants did not belong to vulnerable population categories such as young children or people who are mentally challenged, but were adult women farmers who had already demonstrated resilience to challenges by virtue of the fact that they were managing farms. The subjects were protected from physical and mental discomfort, harm and danger. Care was exercised during the design of the interview schedule not to ask questions which were too personal and interfered with human rights.

The researcher observed protocol by obtaining explicit consent from the respondents as well as from the Zvimba MP before the collection of data commenced. She also got permission to take and use photographs of the participants. The consent of participants was sought to use anonymous quotes in the study and any subsequent publications. Issues discussed above illustrate attempts that were made to enable a sufficient degree of confidence in the credibility, trustworthiness and dependability of findings.

4.14 LIMITATIONS

Limitations are part of every research process. What is important is to minimise these so that the quality of the inquiry is minimally affected. The researcher faced limitations in areas of time, finances and her relationships with participants.

The shortage of staff at the researcher's work place (University of Zimbabwe, Department of Adult Education) was a limitation. The department had only three lecturers out of a complement of 10, and this placed pressure on the researcher owing to her heavy workload. The researcher's colleagues, however, were very supportive and made sure that the researcher was exempted from some departmental duties. In addition, in the final year of her study the researcher would come to work on the thesis over the weekends at the University of Zimbabwe offices where it was very quiet and conducive for this level of study.

The researcher's interaction with some of the women farmers as farming colleagues posed problems of familiarity, leading to women farmers giving data which they thought she was interested in, thus potentially introducing bias. While the researcher could not detach herself from her connections with the other farmers, she encouraged the farmers to give honest responses. As already stated, the researcher explained the purpose of the study and appealed for honest responses. Most farmers, however, gave honest responses as they took this as an opportunity for them to air their grievances.

The limited generalizability of findings due to purposive sampling was another limitation. Transferability, therefore, needs to be considered on the understanding that the findings may be limited only to similar specific groups, communities and/or circumstances (Cresswell, 2008). However, it is up to the reader to assess the findings based on their understanding and experiences, and the strength of this life history research design which, it is hoped, will be detailed enough. The section discussed above has also tried to address this.

Finally, the researcher's attitude towards and opinions and beliefs about Zimbabwean women affected the findings. Researcher misperceptions on given answers or misunderstandings of participants' answers could have impacted on research findings. The researcher made efforts to remain open-minded and keep her personal opinions at bay, and her discussions with her supervisor, who is neither Zimbabwean nor part of the participants' culture, provided a further opportunity to ensure a layer of objectivity in assessing the findings. Follow-up questions and probing were done to ensure that accurate information was obtained. Digital recording of the interviews and discussions also helped in capturing accurate data. Interviews with the district administrator, GMB officials and extension officers were done in English as these participants are professionals with a good standard of education.

4.15 DATA COLLECTION EXPERIENCE

Women showed a lot of enthusiasm in participating in the study. The focus group discussion revived their memories and experiences. The FGDs also motivated the introverts to open up and share their experiences after hearing other women talk openly. Towards the end, the researcher explained how the women were to record their diaries and a guide was provided for each participant. Women expressed joy at receiving diaries. Women appreciated the discussion and the lunch that the researcher provided. Each farmer received some money to cover her transport costs.

There was high interaction and women were hoping the study could help them air their grievances, such as the failure to access loans and agricultural knowledge and the lack of gender-sensitive workshops, to the concerned stakeholders. The women were complaining that they were having challenges in those areas and were hoping this study could help them have their grievances heard by the relevant authorities. The researcher promised to present the findings to the quarterly District meetings organised for farmers by the MP and DA. Nevertheless, the women remained highly motivated, especially during the focus group where they were eager to share experiences. Critical information was shared and this evoked the women's memories and experiences so much so that the individual interviews were easier and yielded rich data from the enthusiastic farmers.

The researcher had challenging experiences as well. During one of the trips to interview a farmer, the researcher's vehicle got stuck in the mud. Fortunately, it was close to the residence of the farmer, who then called one of the workers to rescue the researcher using a tractor. The other challenge was failing to get hold of the Extension officers who were out in the fields each time the researcher tried to make an appointment. As a result, they were interviewed a month after the scheduled date.

Generally, women showed commitment to their work and were eager to succeed in their farming endeavours. The women were happy when the researcher visited them at their farms for individual interviews and observation. Both focus group and individual interviews yielded rich data.

The researcher was satisfied that no issues of distress arose among the women from the events and experiences discussed. The researcher had assumed that the interviews might provoke painful experiences such that women would need counselling, but fortunately this did not happen.

The researcher's most exciting moments were the joy seen in the women as they talked of their new status and how much they felt empowered by this. It would be good to see this kind of confidence being translated into action as they manage their farms. The researcher also enjoyed her discussion with the male DA. The researcher had preconceived ideas regarding

his attitude to the discourse of equality. Surprisingly, however, he was very supportive and wished women farmers well.

4.16 CONCLUSION

This chapter has discussed the two paradigms of research, namely the interpretive and critical research paradigms. It elaborated on the interpretive paradigm which was the main guide for this enquiry. The chapter went further to discuss the life history research design and its strengths and weaknesses, and reflected on its applicability to feminist research approaches. The chapter then discussed the data collection sources and elaborated on the population and purposive sampling design and its justification. Further discussion looked at the data collection methods that were used. Following this, data presentation and analysis were examined before the discussion of limitations. The chapter then analysed issues of trustworthiness, confirmability and the transferability of findings before examining ethics and ethical considerations. Finally, the chapter provided a brief analysis of limitations. The next chapter presents and discusses data that answer the question on how the women farmers acquired knowledge and how far they merged it with their IK.

CHAPTER 5: RESEARCH FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

LEARNING TO FARM

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This study investigates how women commercial farmers acquired knowledge and negotiated gender power relations in Zimbabwe, with implications for adult education and training. The previous chapter discussed and justified the methodology used to collect the data. This chapter addresses research questions one and two:

How have women learned and applied modern farming knowledge since their land allocation?

How have women applied their indigenous knowledge in the context of their commercial farms?

and also begins addressing research question four:

What are the implications of these findings for future adult education training programmes in Zimbabwe?

This chapter discusses the findings on how farmers in my study accessed farming knowledge. Kolb's experiential learning theory is used to explain the learning process that farmers went through as they acquired new farming knowledge. According to Kolb (1985, p. 38), experiential learning theory explains "the process whereby knowledge is created through the transformation of experience." The data in this study is analysed in view of the four learning stages identified by Kolb, namely: concrete experience, reflective observation, abstract conceptualisation and actual experimentation. Kolb's learning theory, which is one of two theories that underpin this study, embodies formal, non-formal and informal elements. Related theories on self-directed learning and socialisation are also referred to in the context of experiential learning where relevant.

The findings discussed in this chapter were drawn from focus group discussions, in-depth interviews and observations of the women at their farms. Ten women farmers who were allocated commercial farms initially participated in a focus group discussion which helped re-activate their memories. This was followed by an in-depth interview with each farmer at her farm. The researcher took advantage of the farm visits to observe farm activities, the vegetation and crops grown. The findings are mostly a narrative description of women's

experiences. Before presenting findings, the researcher presents the profiles of the ten women in relation to demographic data and the type of farming they are engaged in, in a table format, followed by a brief narrative description. These descriptions create the context for understanding the experiences of farmers regarding their knowledge, practices and aspirations.

5.2 PROFILES OF FARMERS

The table below presents the profiles of the women farmers. Pseudonyms were used in place of the real names of the women to ensure anonymity and confidentiality of the respondents, as recommended by Terre-Blanche and Durrheim (2002).

Table 3 : Profile of women farmers

Name of Farmer	Age	No. of Children	Education	Profession	Type of Farm	Marital Status
Ndono	74	3	M. Ad Ed.	Public Service Commissioner and farmer	Ranch farming. Grows maize for home consumption	Widowed during data collection period.
Chipo	48	2	Diploma in Education	Teacher and farmer	Crop farming: maize, groundnuts and beans	Single
Riphi	60	5	Certificate in Secretarial Skills.	O level and did various projects before getting into farming.	Crop farming: tobacco and maize	Married: stays on farm with husband.
Laeka	57	3	Masters in Development Studies	Working for CVR and farming.	Mixed farming: ranch and crops	Married
Simbai	59	1	Certificate in Education	Teacher and farmer	Crop farming: maize and soya beans	Married
Miro	50	5	Diploma in Nursing	Community nurse and farmer Works in Zvimba.	Crop farming: maize and tobacco	Married
Kacha	58	2	Masters in Educational Administration	Teacher and farmer	Crop farming: maize and tobacco	Widowed
Nakudza	62	5	O level	Working with women in ZANU PF and also farming.	Crop farming: maize and roundnuts	Married

Noti	45	4	Diploma in Marketing	Operating a bottle store in Zvimba and farming.	Mixed farming: ranch and crop	Divorced
Riya	58	4	Form 2	Full-time farming	Mixed farming: ranch and crop	Married

Descriptive Profiles of farmers

- **Ndono** is a nurse by profession. She worked as a lecturer at a local adult education institution before she was appointed a public service commissioner ten years ago. She operates the farm from Harare. As a nurse, she was elected president of the nurses' association where she championed the improvement of nurses' working conditions. She is an advocate of women's empowerment and is a committed Roman Catholic. During the period of my data collection, Ndono lost her husband to whom she had been married for 50 years.

- **Chipo** is a single middle-aged parent. She teaches at a local school and resides at the farm.

- **Riphi** is a mature woman whose experience is mostly living in rural areas. She was a *chimbwido* (child soldier) during the liberation war and was unable to continue with her education. The role of *chimbwidos* was to cook, wash clothes and entertain the liberation war guerillas. She studied for the 'O' level certificate through adult education after independence. She once ventured into mining and cross-border trading. Her two sons are also farmers in Zvimba. She stays at her farm with her husband.

- **Laeka** is a middle-aged woman who works in the Department of Central Vehicle Registry (CVR) in the Ministry of Transport and has two sons. She and her husband stay in Harare, the capital city of Zimbabwe, and she commutes to the farm during weekends. In 2010 Laeka lost one of her sons when he was involved in a car accident coming from the farm.

- **Simbai** is a middle-aged teacher who is also a farmer. She operates her farm from Harare where she works.

- **Miriro** is a qualified nurse who works as a local community nurse and a farmer. She stays at her farm with her husband.

- **Kacha** is a woman beyond middle age. She has upgraded her education level to a Masters Degree in Educational Administration through distance education, though she still works as a teacher. Her husband passed on three years ago. Both of them were serious farmers, though they were staying in town where the wife works. The husband had retired and was helping with farm activities.

- **Nakudza** is beyond middle age and works in Chinhoyi (a nearby town) for the ruling party, ZANU PF. She comes to the farm during weekends and at times commutes to work from the farm. She has some health problems and works with the husband on the farm. Her experiences as an active party member of the ruling party make her confident and appreciative of the fact that women were allocated land during the ZFTLRP.

- **Noti** is a young woman who has 'O' level. She is determined to make it through farming. She is a divorcee. She said she divorced her husband due to her husband's extramarital affairs. She is the one who stayed on the farm and managed all the farm work.

- **Riya** is a middle-aged woman who married early in life after form two and went into farming. She stays at the farm most of the time and has had bad treatment from her husband, who has been involved in extramarital affairs.

All the women interviewed were literate with a generally high level of education ranging from Form Two to a Masters degree. The majority had some form of profession, mainly teaching or nursing. Some had left their professions to concentrate on farming. The majority are working as professionals and farming concurrently. Some farmers reside at their farms, while others commute from town to work on their farms over the weekend. Most of the women are aged between 45 and 60 years. This implies that when the FTLRP was initiated in 2000, the women were aged between 30 and 45 years. The women were not all allocated land in the same year because most of the resettlement for A2 farmers took place between 2000 and 2010. Most farmers, however, were offered farms from 2001 to 2005, giving them about

10 to 15 years on the farm by 2017. Early in 2000, the resettlement programme was led by the war liberators and was managed in a chaotic fashion (*jambaja*) until the Government moved in and formalised it later that year (Matondi, 2012; Scoones et al., 2012; Moyo, 2004). The farms have rich soils suitable for crops such as maize, soya beans, beans, ground nuts and tobacco. As a result, most farmers are into crop farming and a few do mixed farming, though concentrating more on crop farming and keeping a few cattle and goats for domestic use. Ndono is the only one who does ranching on a large scale, and Laeka has of late taken a serious interest in ranching.

The next section discusses the various ways used by the A2 women farmers in Zvimba to acquire agricultural knowledge. It is evident that there are overlaps between all forms of learning, but Kolb's theoretical position provided the starting point for analyzing how the women learned to farm as A2 farmers. This section discusses how women accessed knowledge through experiential learning. The section goes on to analyse non-formal strategies used by the farmers which included workshops, demonstration plots, field days and radio and television programs organised by extension officials in collaboration with the private sector. In addition, informal learning, which emerged as another means which women used to acquire farming knowledge, is also discussed. The chapter also analyses agricultural knowledge gaps and how much IK and modern scientific knowledge the women use at their farms.

5.3 EXPERIENTIAL LEARNING

This section analyses the findings with specific reference to Kolb's four stages of experiential learning. Experiential education refers to knowledge created from experience and which can take place in formal, non-formal and informal settings and contexts (Gross & Rutland, 2017). Experience has been accorded a critical role in the learning of adults. Experiential learning is a process of making meaning from all experience (Zepke & Leach, 2002). Proponents of experiential learning argue that "knowledge results from the combination of grasping and transforming experience" (Kolb, 1984, p. 4). Kolb's experiential learning cycle model has four stages, namely concrete experience, reflective observation, abstract conceptualisation and action/active experimentation (Kayes, 2002).

Experiential learning is very relevant, considering how farmers in this study learned from their experiences. As discussed in chapter Two, experiential learning theory is the basis for

adult learning. Kolb asserts that all learning starts with experience. In the stories from the farmers, there is indeed a lot of evidence that farmers learnt from past experiences as they reflected on them. It emerged that women went through Kolb's learning stages.

Chipo reported on how she learnt how to apply manure appropriately. Her observation provides a good example of Kolb's learning cycle for experiential learning. Here is what she said:

I use cattle manure a lot. The trick is you have to take it out of the kraal so that the heat in it will subside, and it does very well then. You don't just go and put it in heaps in the field. When you have ploughed and are planting, you put the manure in the rows before planting the maize seed. This is where you go row by row so that you do not waste manure. Last time we spread it all over the field, and discovered that this procedure fertilised the weeds that sprouted all over, and we ended up hiring a lot of part-time workers to clear the weeds.

Chipo went through the experience of spreading manure in the first instance, and observed that the manure also fertilized the weeds. She reflected on this and adapted her practice the second time. The experiences described by Chipo above reflect Kolb's experiential learning process where knowledge is created through experience (Kolb, 1984). It was evident from Chipo and other farmers' stories that they went through similar learning stages in the process of acquiring agricultural knowledge. The farmers encountered a learning experience, and when reflecting on their experience were able to conceptualise and create new knowledge from their experience which they acted upon, as highlighted by Gross and Rutland (2017).

Miriro reported on how she learnt how to use weed chemicals. Experiential learning in this case seems to be building on experience and previous knowledge of weeding. Miriro said:

Once I observed that my neighbour's field was clean. He had applied a chemical that killed all the weeds. I asked for the name and I got the chemical and used it in my field, but weeds were just retarded and not killed. The following year I went back to him with my manager and observed him spraying the weeds. We sprayed the way he did with my manager and we succeeded. We realised that in the year before we had diluted the chemical by following the instruction on the container, and also the weeds were old. The second year we made a strong solution, as my neighbour had done, and we sprayed when the weeds were still young. We were pleased with the results. Sometimes you need to

learn from someone who has actually done it. It's not just following instructions on labels.

In Miriro's case, the action was using the chemical in her field and she observed that the weeds did not die, but just wilted slightly. Going back to the neighbour, she observed the weeds had died. In the second year she observed him spraying. She reflected and realised that the previous year she had not done it properly. The concrete experience was the use of chemicals to kill the weeds; the reflective observation included observing the neighbour's spray technique, the abstract conceptualisation was the realisation of the need to use a stronger solution and the final stage, the actual experimentation, was when the farmer tried again with success. The stages, however, were not followed in the same sequence as described by Kolb. It was evident that one can move from stage 1 to 2 to 3, back to 2 and then to 3 and 4. Kolb has been criticised for presenting the stages in a particular sequence, yet in practice the sequence does not always follow the stages rigidly (Forest, 2004). The use of Kolb's learning cycle in practice therefore does not necessarily follow the same four stages consecutively. In addition, Miriro had to learn from someone who had done it. This involved social interaction, which is a very important step as it tends to enhance learning (Ntseane, 2011). This step is missing from Kolb's cycle.

Kolb's experiential learning cycle was also observed in Ndono's learning experience. Ndono narrated how she created a paddock for her calves after observing problems of keeping calves with their mothers. During the interview, Ndono said how she later helped her neighbour to learn from her experiences:

I was having problems with my calves, and as we discussed when we met at the shops, I advised her to create maternity paddocks for the mothers and calves. I had been taught about this by the sales assistant when I went to buy stock feeds in town. I went and created a paddock called a maternity paddock for the expectant cattle. You isolate them and put them in that paddock while the calves have their own paddock. So, my neighbour came to my farm and saw how I used maternity paddocks and she went and implemented the strategy of maternity paddocks.

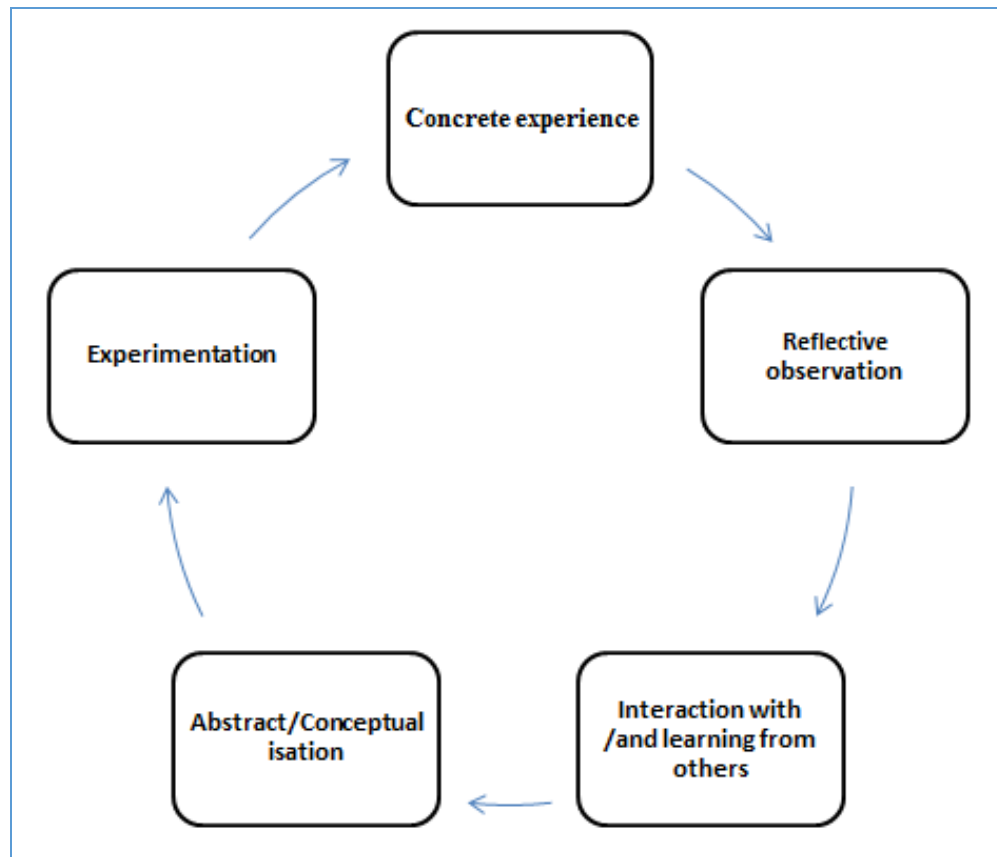
Raising her voice, she said, "You have to network with neighbours to succeed." For Ndono, the concrete stage was her experience with problematic calves, the reflection

stage included talking about maternity paddocks to the sales assistant, and her abstract conceptualization was the idea of isolating cattle from the calves, leading her to the last stage of practical action, where she tried again. This was an interactive process which could repeat itself depending on the rate of success. But she also used her experiential knowledge to inform another farmer, thus combining experience with teaching. The two farmers, Miriro and Ndonu, both used some interaction and discussion with others during this learning process.

Thus the experiential cycle that the farmers went through included an interactive phase of learning from each other, an aspect which Kolb appears not to have discussed much. In this case it emerged that experiential learning is not necessarily an individual process, but rather a process that often requires interaction with and learning from others. The women's experiences revealed strongly the aspect of social interaction and networking which involved other women and men. Traditional learning in African society, as was discussed in chapter two, is never isolated (Duveskog et al., 2011; Ntseane, 2011; Merriam & Kim, 2008). Learning from others is highlighted by Ntseane (2011) when she writes on transformative learning in Africa, emphasising the concepts of collaboration and cooperation. An African context emphasises such community social interactions as central to learning. It has been argued that Kolb's theory fails to show how an individual interacts with other learners and the environment to enhance her learning (Duveskog et al., 2011.). Kolb was criticised for not paying sufficient attention to the interaction element of the learning process in his diagram (Duveskog et al., *ibid.*).

A modified version of Kolb's learning cycle as an interactive process with five stages could therefore be presented as follows:

Figure 2 : A Modified Five Stage Experiential Learning Process, Drawing on Kolb's Four Stages



The learning model used by farmers with the additional concept of interaction..

In this study it emerged that experiential learning is not an individual process, but rather a process that requires interaction with and learning from others who include family, neighbours, extension workers or agronomists. The respondents reported that their interaction sometimes occurred between stages 2 and 3, as indicated in the diagram above.

Experiential learning encompasses many forms of learning such as formal, non-formal and informal learning (Gross & Rutland, 2017). The next section discusses how women farmers in this study accessed farming knowledge through formal, non-formal and informal strategies.

5.3.1 Formal learning

Formal learning refers to learning which is planned, structured and organised (Schugurensk, 2000). Learning opportunities are usually arranged by institutions and often lead to certification (Ainsworth & Eaton, 2010). Formal agricultural training in Zimbabwe is the responsibility of agricultural colleges that offer agricultural training to school leavers after 'O Level'. Currently there are 14 agricultural colleges under the Ministry of Agriculture. The graduates become extension officers and are employed by government through the Ministry of Agriculture. The extension officers are deployed throughout the country to work with farmers providing knowledge and skills through farm visits, workshops and field days.

In this study this kind of formal learning and these sources did not feature as a major way in which women obtained farming knowledge. Farmers reported that they did not go through formal training at agricultural colleges as they had opted and trained for other jobs, and decided to venture into farming later on when favourable opportunities arose. Regarding other forms of formal training, both the farmers and extension workers reported that no formal workshops leading to certification were being organised by extension workers because of the lack of funding. Service providers and contractors were reported as having organised some formal learning, though to a small extent. Miriro, one of the farmers interviewed, reported that service providers, especially Seed Co., a seed company, provided education and training with a certificate of attendance being given at the end. Rhipi, who specialises in tobacco farming, reported that she had been trained through 'Kutsaga,' a company that sells tobacco seed and other tobacco inputs. She attended training for two days every month and got a certificate on Tobacco Growing at the end of the year.

Service providers seemed to be providing most of the formal education and training in Zvimba. Chipso said, "... the maize contractors worked with me throughout and provided training." The contractors contract farmers and provide funding for a particular crop like tobacco, seed maize or cotton. They work with the farmers, not only monitoring but providing training throughout the season. Farmers are gathered at various points on designated dates and receive training. The training usually precedes a certain activity that is to be done. For example, three months before the rains, farmers receive training in land preparation. In December, as farmers are planning to plant, they are trained on maize or soya bean planting and fertiliser application. The farmers are given certificates at the end of all sessions, which could be up to 5 sessions in a year.

Reporting on the nature of formal training received, Laeka had this to say:

When I was at the University of Zimbabwe studying for my first degree, my project was on conservation farming. Currently I am practising conservation farming and I also extended it to the people in Zaka, where my husband comes from, and they are doing very well. Secondly, when, e-eh, when I was doing my Masters Programme in Development Studies three years ago, I did a field study on irrigation farming in Zaka. I studied a project where they are practising irrigation in the middle of the desert, and I have imported that knowledge to my farm. So, we are also practising irrigation at the farm.

Laeka's learning in this respect was formal, though it was self-directed or self-initiated, because she opted to do a research study in agriculture, though she was not specialising in Agriculture. Because most farmers moved to serious farming when they were allocated farms during or after middle age, they had established careers already and they could not go back and train at agricultural colleges where school leavers are trained. In addition, the three-year full-time Diploma in Agriculture that is offered by colleges is too long for these farmers, who have to be at the farm for the better part of the farming season. The study established that formal learning was not a major strategy used by women farmers to obtain agricultural knowledge. The next section analyses whether farmers obtained knowledge through non-formal learning.

5.3.2 Non-formal learning

Non-formal learning refers to all organised educational programmes that take place outside the classroom and for which no formal certification is awarded (Ainsworth & Eaton, 2010). This type of learning may not be intentional or arranged by an institution, but is usually organised in some way, even if it is loosely organized (Schugurensk, 2000). This study sought to find out if women acquired extension knowledge through non-formal learning. The Ministry of Agriculture is the major custodian of agricultural extension knowledge in Zimbabwe through its Department of Training (Kujeke, 1998). This section reveals that there were various forms of non-formal learning that went on.

Farmers in this study reported attending field days and workshops organised by extension officers in the Ministry of Agriculture. These were planned and organised learning sessions outside the classroom, but no certificates were given. Farmers reported that field days were a very useful way of obtaining critical farming knowledge. Field days are an organised activity where farmers are gathered at a farm that has a good crop being showcased. They learn correct farming methods from the successful farmer with the help of extension officers. Field days are a form of non-formal learning because they are a planned learning process outside the classroom and no certification is given. While farmers asserted that they learnt a lot, they felt that not many field days were organised in a season. Rhipi, one of the farmers interviewed, bemoaned that the field days were few, citing maybe two or three per season, sentiments which were echoed by other farmers. Since the farmers bemoaned that the field days were few, this is evidence that these fill a gap in their farming activities, as they provide an opportunity for women to learn and interact with other farmers. Field days are ideal for the middle-aged farmers who are not comfortable with agricultural colleges which cater for the youth.

Field days were reported to be an effective way farmers were obtaining agricultural knowledge, though these were reported to be few. The few successful field days reported in this study by more than half of the farmers were organised jointly by extension officers and service providers. The success could partly be attributed to the fact that it was the responsibility of the farmer at whose farm the field day was held to feed the guests who included extension officers, service providers, other farmers and Government officials from the Ministry of Agriculture and Mechanisation. The extension officers were responsible for identifying the field to be showcased and organised the activities of the day, while service providers would provide the prizes that were won. Field days appeared to enhance the self-esteem of farmers, as they gained confidence in their farming activities through observing correct farming methods, having their questions answered and winning prizes. Commenting on how they learn during field days, Ndonso, one of the interviewed farmers said:

When there is a field day at your farm, people come to see and learn how you are doing it, and the extension officers will be there to explain and answer questions, and you also learn. These days are arranged by extension officers from the Ministry of Agriculture and Mechanisation after identifying a farmer with a well-managed field. There will be opportunities to ask questions and share ideas with other farmers as we move around the

fields being showcased. This happened to me when I had a good maize crop and other farmers were invited to come and learn from me. I slaughtered an ox to feed the visitors. Later I met another woman farmer at the police station and she said, “I know you, I’ve been to your farm. I was at your farm the last time there was a field day.” I responded: “Ah yes, there were so many people, I could not remember everyone.” Then she said, I came here to ask for the police security services because I’m having a field day at my farm. You must come, it’s there next week.” I attended and I learnt a lot. I learnt, for example, about spacing maize when planting it and the new hybrid seed varieties on the market. The Seed Companies were also there showcasing their products ...

The way the farmers access non-formal learning is partly official, for example through the ministry, fertilizer companies and seed companies, but it is also through incidental contacts – such as by chance at the police station – so networking and willingness to take initiative to help each other is a key feature of the non-formal learning strategy.

The major reason given for the limited number of field days was financial constraints. The extension officers who were interviewed in the same study confirmed their failure to organise many field days and workshops, citing a lack of financial resources. Regarding field days, the extension officers have to make several visits observing and advising farmers, then identifying those who have done well and sourcing funds for prizes. These findings reflect similar reports in the literature. For instance, Adekunle (2013), Ajani and Igbokwe (2011), Banmeke and Olowu (2005) and Mudukuti and Miller (2002) found that extension work in Africa was becoming less effective, owing to inadequate resources to carry out education and training programmes. There are other sources providing non-formal training support, for instance, universities. For example, the University of Calabar in Nigeria helped a group of women farmers enhance the quality of their organic fertilizers (Biao et al., 2011).

It is evident that field days were a popular and successful non-formal way of getting farming knowledge by the farmers interviewed. The farmers explained that even if they were not given certificates for attending field days, they attended because they learnt a lot of modern farming methods through going round the showcased fields and observing the methods used by the successful farmer. This was contrary to Umata et al. (2011) who found that there was a low level of participation of women in field days and demonstration plots in Ethiopia. The visiting farmers in this study were also given opportunities to ask questions which were

addressed by the agricultural experts present. It was evident that the farmers were concerned with obtaining knowledge to use at their farms. The farmers who hosted the field days were willing to feed the people, maybe because besides getting more knowledge from the experts and prizes, they would be showcasing and celebrating their success. This appeared to motivate other farmers to work hard so that they could host future field days (Mashavave et al., 2013.).

Workshops

The farmers asserted their wish for the government to run more workshops for them through the Department of Education and Training. Commenting on the use of workshops for agricultural education and training, Riya, another interviewed farmer, said:

A few years ago we got good training at Banket Sports Club. The training was organised by our Member of Parliament who invited trainers from Gwebi Agricultural Training College and extension officers from our district, and we learnt a lot. We could go through two sessions in the morning getting theory, then practical in the afternoon. We learnt how to do thorough land preparation for tobacco, how to form ridges, how to make seed beds, how to plant and many other tobacco processes. It was sad that I missed the evening programmes as I had to go back home because the sleeping facilities did not cater for women with babies. I wish we could get more such workshops, because we are hungry for information from experts.

Most farmers asserted that they would be happy if extension officers would organise workshops for them to get trained on how to farm. However, responding to this request, extension officers said they were waiting for funding from the Government to organise workshops. This form of education and training was preferred by farmers, perhaps because the information obtained was considered to be accurate as it was presented by trained experts; but it also needed to be gender sensitive. Riya bemoaned missing some sessions of the workshop as she had to go home at the end of the day, due to a lack of sleeping facilities suitable for mothers with babies. The vivid description given by Riya not only elaborated on the benefits obtained from workshops, but also pointed to areas that would need to be addressed for both males and females to get maximum benefits from workshops. Riya's experience revealed that workshop organisers tend to overlook the needs of women farmers. In the case of Riya, she missed the evening sessions because the facilities at the workshop did

not cater for farmers with babies or for farmers who had to commute from home each day. This supports findings from a number of other studies such as Adekunle (2013), Odurukwe et al. (2006) and Mudukuti and Miller (2002), who concluded that extension services in Africa were few and were inclined to meet the needs of male farmers more than those of female farmers. The trainers often do not cater for the needs of female farmers. This could be because farming in Africa has been the preserve of men who were entitled to land ownership, as discussed in the earlier chapters.

A number of studies revealed that women expected extension officers to provide support to enable them to manage their changing responsibilities effectively and to diversify their livelihoods for improved household food security and income, but the officers were not always available due to financial constraints (Oywaya-Nkurumwa, 2012; Okwu & Umoru, 2009). The difficult economic situation currently prevailing in Zimbabwe could be attributed to failure by the government to fund fully the operations of agricultural extension workers. This is a sad situation because it has already been shown that the women who were allocated land had few skills to farm their land, and were expecting to get education and training to help them to achieve maximum yields (Okwu & Umoru 2009; Banmeke & Olowu, 2005).

These findings have implications for how the government and private players mobilise funds for education and training, so that farmers who were allocated land benefit and produce high yields which will enable them to make a meaningful contribution to the economy of the nation. Allocating land to women is a positive move towards addressing the gender disparity that existed before and after independence in 1980. However, land without farming knowledge and skills will not be of much benefit to farmers or the nation at large. It was good to provide land to women but the need to provide them with agricultural information is critical (Chingarande, 2008). The study revealed serious gaps in and a great appetite for agricultural knowledge among women farmers.

Demonstration workshops

Service providers such as the Seed Co. (a seed company that supplies mainly seed maize and soya beans seed), Windmill (a fertilizer company) and other companies that provide chemicals were cited by women as providers of agricultural knowledge through workshops and demonstration plots often organised in the district. The service providers identify fields to be used as demonstration plots. Farmers then gather on a given date for the demonstration,

which is followed by discussion and practical work. Simbai said, “I love demonstration days because that’s where I got most practical skills for land preparation and use of chemicals. I don’t want to miss these ...” It was evident that the private sector has done well in terms of providing education and training for farmers. This could be because they are not just providing a service but advertising their goods, and are thus willing to invest their resources. Demonstration plots are also potentially a source of experiential learning that does not fit Kolb’s learning cycle – the women gain concrete knowledge from observation, but then they have to experience how to apply it on their farm. So in this case the experiential learning cycle includes straightforward knowledge input through demonstration. This is an extra dimension of the experiential learning cycle. Experiential learning therefore may need to be supported/complemented by knowledge input from experts.

Mass media

Non-formal learning has also been provided by service providers through the mass media. Planned programmes which are developed by experts such as agronomists are aired on TV and radio through funding from private service providers. Chipso, another farmer, reported that she received a lot of farming knowledge from a programme called *Murimi Wanhasi* (Today’s Farmer), which is aired in the evenings twice a week, both on television and radio. From this programme she said she received information on crop and cattle farming. She reported that technical information on a specific topic like “Control of weevils in maize” would first be presented, and then in the last part of the programme farmers make phone calls with questions and obtain technical clarifications from the experts on the live broadcast of the programme.

Many farmers reported benefitting from the radio and TV programmes as most of them own both radio and TV. In addition, the farmers found this convenient because it was aired in the evening when they had retired from the fields and were at home resting. This strategy supports Akulo and Mulumba (2016) who found that the radio was the main piece of ICT equipment used for accessing agricultural knowledge by rural farmers in Uganda. Rao (2015) found the radio to be one of the oldest, commonest and cheapest means through which rural Indian farmers accessed farming knowledge. Rao also confirms that a platform of dialogue is created for further discussions and clarifications, as farmers can make telephone calls during the live programmes in India. Technical specialists and suppliers such as Seed Co. provided information to farmers in Zimbabwe through radio and television programmes. Non-formal

learning through mass media has thus played a major role in the provision of agricultural knowledge to farmers in Zimbabwe.

It was evident that various forms of non-formal learning were used by women to acquire farming knowledge. Non-formal learning in all the cases discussed above was provided by private service providers, who worked together with extension officers in the Ministry of Agriculture. The forms of learning used were field days, workshops, demonstration plots, the radio and television broadcasts and phone-ins. It was evident that while farmers preferred more workshops, the extension officers were constrained by a lack of finance. The radio programmes which are aired more frequently seemed to be providing more information to the women. Non-formal learning thus played a significant role in the provision of agricultural knowledge to the women farmers. It also enabled women farmers to interact with the experts and enhance their knowledge of farming. Overall, non-formal learning benefitted the women farmers, though it was inadequate and too spaced out.

5.3.3 Informal learning

Informal learning may not be organized but it can still be deliberate, even if often spontaneous in nature (Ainsworth & Eaton, 2010). The modes of informal learning that emerged are classified here under self-directed learning and socialization (indigenous knowledge) (Schugurenski, 2000). Self-directed learning can follow the experiential learning cycle and can include social interaction, as the stories of farmers revealed.

Informal learning and informal strategies, mainly in the form of self-directed learning, emerged as the most common ways by which women farmers got their knowledge. The strategies included farmer-initiated farm visits by agricultural extension officers; mobile data and voice calls; planned and spontaneous observations; getting information from the internet and through cell phone chat groups; and consulting experts such as agronomists, AGRITEX officials and agricultural service providers. The strategies also included approaching friends, family and other farmers, and drawing on indigenous knowledge. Self-directed learning can be found in various forms and can follow the experiential learning cycle. Self-directed learning can also include social interaction, which in this study led to improved farming methods.

Self-directed informal learning

Women in this study reported using examples of self-directed learning in their approach to acquiring farming knowledge. Self-directed learning, according to O'Shean (2003), refers to learning whereby the participant identifies their own learning needs, formulates their own objectives, implements appropriate learning strategies and evaluates the learning outcome without the help of a teacher. Farmers reported that when they got their farms, they realised that they lacked adequate agricultural knowledge to enable them to manage and farm their lands profitably. They added that because extension officers were at times neither available nor accessible, they initiated their own learning. Thus self-directed informal learning was the most common way by which they obtained farming knowledge. The farmers reported approaching various sources of knowledge such as extension officers, service providers, friends and other farmers. This indicates a high sense of motivation and desire to succeed, as alluded to by Loyens et al. (2008). Kacha, one of the farmers, reported approaching the agricultural extension officer with her queries:

I was working closely with the extension officers. If you pester them they come and help you. They don't come on their own, even if that is what is supposed to be happening. But whenever we had problems of insufficient knowledge, or the desire to know more about the type of soils that we have and the type of chemical that might be used to control, for example, weeds, they helped; but you had to go to their offices with the soil or weed sample.

Farmers in this study preferred to learn from extension officers who are viewed as sources of reliable modern farming strategies (Mudukuti & Miller, 2002). However, findings of Umeta et al. (2011) on their Cameroonian study revealed that extension agents were not a preferred source because the Cameroonian rural farmers did not trust the educated young extension officers, arguing that the latter did not understand the farmers' culture. Farmers in this study may have preferred and trusted learning from extension officers because they were aware that to succeed they needed to embrace modern farming methods, which could be provided by the extension workers who had the appropriate training (Mutondi, 2012; Kujeke, 1998). A2 farmers were expected to operate along business lines and contribute to the economy of the country (Mutondi, 2012).

Dzanaku, another farmer, reported self-directing her own learning through approaching service providers for knowledge:

I get knowledge from service providers such as companies that sell chemicals. When I buy chemicals, I consult them. I also consulted companies that sell seed, such as Seed Co. Most companies that provide agricultural products have agronomists on the site for farmers to consult as we visit the companies to buy seeds or fertilizer or other chemicals. Farmers with queries are advised to approach the agronomists and discuss what chemicals or seeds to buy and how to use them.

In this kind of self-directedness exhibited by farmers, Chaka and Dzanaku showed great motivation and determination to get high yields. They were determined to approach the various sources, extension officers and agronomists, to get the knowledge they wanted. This is contrary to Oladele (2005) and Umata et al.'s (2011) findings on Cameroonian and Ethiopian women respectively, where only men were found to approach extension officers for farm visits. Umata et al. (2011) concluded that the strategy of expecting African women to step forward and ask for help was not appropriate from an African cultural point of view. The Zimbabwean Government and other agencies such as NGOs have actively promoted the empowerment of women to be in charge of their own destinies, and women in Zimbabwe seem to have embraced that opportunity (Chingarande, 2008). This could be why the women in this study knew what they wanted and did not hesitate to search for farming knowledge. Self-direction in this case also required persistence and preparation in terms of what the farmer needed to know and the strategy to use. Ndono, who specialises in ranching, explained how she approached sources of information:

I got the information on maternity paddocks from where I buy stock feeds, yet the trained extension officers are there and not providing information. Then this man, the owner of stock feeds shop, said to me, "This summer season, when there is so much grass, why are you buying so much feed? This is wastage," and then he sat down to tell me about the maternity paddock and that there is no way that you let the cattle go with their young ones all day. You separate them; take the adults to one paddock, and then the calves will go in the opposite direction to another paddock. And at that time I didn't have the maternity paddocks. I then went and implemented them ...

Ndono's story further confirms how women in this study took every opportunity to acquire knowledge. This was an informal way of learning because of its spontaneous nature. The self-directed aspect of this learning was her willingness to implement what she had learned

incidentally. Farmers in my study used self-directed strategies which helped them achieve their objective, and were not afraid to admit they did not know much and were ready to learn. This kind of eagerness of women to learn was confirmed by Maria, the female GMB supervisor. She reported that women, more than men, came forward seeking agricultural information from her. Women were also reported to be more interested than men in applying the knowledge they got from GMB officials. The GMB official is a woman, and men could have been staying away because they felt learning from a woman challenged their ego. This may be the influence of Zimbabwean African culture which accords men the headship status in the home (Apusigah et al., 2009; Kaziboni, 2002) so that they feel there is nothing they can learn from a woman.

Other farmers, neighbours and friends emerged as common informal sources of agricultural information for the farmers. Almost all the farmers reported that they approached neighbours and friends to get agricultural knowledge. This was an informal way of learning as it was unplanned and often not organized. An example of such consultation comes from Agnes who said:

Through consulting my neighbours and friends, I have acquired vast knowledge concerning the correct amount of fertilizer to apply per hectare of maize, the correct time for planting and the correct seed for a particular soil and particular climate. I have also acquired some knowledge on weed control chemicals and on harvesting. I visit the neighbour's farm, for example, to observe the farmer or the fields, and sometimes I telephone to consult him or his manager, depending on the information I need.

Agnes' story shows how the learning was not organised but self-initiated through approaching various sources such as extension experts, neighbours and friends. It seems to have been motivated by need. Observations as well as consultations are part of self-directed learning strategies. In Kilpatrick and John's (2003) study on informal agricultural knowledge sources in Australia, experts and consultants were ranked as the highest source of knowledge and other farmers were ranked second by Australian farmers. Interestingly, neighbouring farmers who are mostly men were ranked as the highest informal source in my study. To some extent, Zimbabwean women farmers could be said to be male-dependent. This could be because, as argued by Goredema (2010) and Ntseane (2011), the African feminists' perspective recognises men as partners not enemies in the emancipation of women, thus

farmers are comfortable consulting their male neighbours (Mojirayo, 2013; Mbilinyi & Sechambo, 2009; Chingarande, 2008).

Use of ICT

Another interesting dimension that emerged was the use of technology as a source of acquiring information. Not all women are lagging behind in terms of technology. Elaborating on how she acquired farming knowledge, Kacha said:

In addition ... I'm getting a lot of information from friends on WhatsApp chat groups, and I'm also getting it from the internet. With the coming of technology, to be very honest, Mrs Kaziboni, if you are somebody who likes reading, you may not have problems getting information. Anyway, the only area that I might want to be helped in, maybe is horticulture. I might say I have read and understood, for example, drip irrigation, and yet I would want somebody, a person who knows, to come and explain and demonstrate these things to me.

This reflects the need to use a variety of forms of learning. Self-directed learning is not always sufficient. Observation is a feature of self-directedness but there are also occasions when women need direct teaching intervention. This farmer trusted reading on her own. This could be because she has read all her life as she upgraded herself academically. She did her first degree and postgraduate degree through distance education, as shown by her profile. Nevertheless, she still required direct teaching and observation intervention as part of her learning repertoire.

Self-direction also includes observation as another strategy, as we have seen in the case of Agnes' story earlier on. There were various ways in which self-directed learning manifested itself in the form of seeking help through individuals, observation, technology and also technology as a means of social interaction. Reading was only a small resource. Responding to how she acquired farming knowledge, Kacha said women were not lagging behind in terms of technology. This was contrary to Umata et al. (2011), who found that there was a low awareness of the use of technology among women farmers in the district of Mid Rift Valley in Ethiopia. However, the use of cell phones to communicate through SMS and WhatsApp has proven to be a very effective way of exchanging information among farmers, as Akulo and Mulumba (2016) found in Uganda.

Kacha's story shows media as a source of information, and this was mentioned by a significant number of farmers in this study. Kilpatrick and Johns (2003) found that social networks provided critical learning support for Australian farmers. In my study, the use of chat groups and reading from the internet was a significant emerging source. The use of chat groups is growing with the spread of technology. The farmers reported that chat groups are created and information is always shared by both males and females. Kacha also indicated that she wanted some practical information to be sure of what to do. The practical nature of farming creates the need to learn from others through a form of socialisation and interaction. Although this form of socialisation is not reflecting traditional IK, it nevertheless is a potential source of new context-specific knowledge.

Vicarious learning is learning from someone who learnt through interacting with another person (Bandura, 1962). This is learning from another person's learning experience. Learning vicariously was another informal way of learning mentioned by the farmers. They reported approaching their farm managers who had acquired farming knowledge from the white farmers they had previously worked for. This is what is referred to as learning vicariously. Rhiphi said: "We at times rely on our farm managers who were managers for the previous farm owners. They know a lot because they have experience and knowledge from the white farmers." Ndono also acquired agricultural knowledge vicariously. Ndono said:

... A male white farmer had advised me to buy bales of grass from him to supplement the cattle feed. I went and paid for 700 bales ... Then I saw the maternity paddock and I asked "What is this?" The workers told me that it was a maternity paddock. I talked to the manager who explained how to go about creating one. He said he had learnt about maternity paddocks from the white farmer ... This was my second time of learning about maternity paddocks. When I got to my farm, I implemented them ...

It is evident in Ndono's story that she initiated the learning about maternity paddocks through her inquiring approach. The inquisitiveness was driven by the need to know. Brookfield (2009) asserts that self-directed learners show signs of readiness to learn and they are motivated by the need to learn. Women in this study also got non-formal learning through chance meetings and networking amongst themselves.

Correct modern farming knowledge is critical in today's farming business where high yields are expected (Pretty, 2002). The women farmers in this study were allocated the commercial farms on the understanding that they should operate along commercial lines and contribute to the economic development of the nation (Scoones et al., 2012). They acquired a lot of modern farming practices from both non-formal and informal learning. The farmers reported using chemicals for weed control, though this was a few years after they had moved to their farms. The use of tractors for land preparation was practised by most women, while harvesting with combine harvesters was being practised by a few. The use of fertilizers was the most common modern farming practice in use. The women mentioned this and the researcher also observed it during the farm visits.

Varied ways of informal self-directed learning have emerged as strong strategies to access agricultural information in the above discussion. These included visiting, observing, telephoning, chat groups, internet searches and others. These are all very practical and interactive forms of learning. This interactive learning has strong affiliations with the concept of socialisation as part of informal learning.

The next session discusses the different ways in which socialisation was used by farmers to obtain farming knowledge.

Indigenous Knowledge obtained through informal learning

Schugurensky (2000) includes socialisation as a category of informal learning. Indigenous knowledge, when understood as informal learning in African contexts, is passed on by elders to members of their community through the process of socialisation (Schugurensky, *ibid*), though not all socialisation is categorised as indigenous knowledge. It relies on memory as asserted by Mapara (2009). The farmers admitted to using IK that they had acquired from their elders as they grew up on their family subsistence farms. The majority of farmers reported using hoes for manual weeding and cattle manure to fertilize their crops. Manual harvesting was also reported by all farmers. The farmers' observations support the view held by many authorities that indigenous knowledge in Africa has been found to play a major role in the lives of locals in many areas that include agriculture, health and trade (Mutekwe, 2015; Kaya, 2012; et al., 2012).

The main reason farmers in this study gave for using indigenous methods of agriculture was that they were cheap. In addition, women reported that they were more familiar with indigenous methods of agricultural farming than with modern farming knowledge systems, which required time to learn and to be tried first before they could be fully implemented on farms. The findings supported Mutekwe's (2015) study which concluded that farmers used indigenous methods because these were found to be affordable, readily available and sustainable. In addition, farmers in this study considered IK to be reliable as it is obtained from elders who are understood as possessing sound, tried and tested knowledge. Memory plays a critical role in acquiring IK from birth and throughout one's life till death (Majoki et al., 2012; Mapara, 2009; Diouf et al., 2000). In most African countries, Zimbabwe included, IK still plays a critical role in the lives of the locals. Noti, one of the farmers in this study, said:

I grew up on a farm doing manual weeding. I knew the use of manure, but whilst I was at my father's farm we were also using fertilizer. When we came to this farm the fields were now too big, so we would hire tractors for land preparation from other farmers who had tractors. The only indigenous knowledge I could say I continued to use is cattle manure in my fields and weeding with hoes. I used leaves of the *mupuranga* (eucalyptus) tree to control weevils. One year I had weevils in the stored maize, so I remembered that as I grew up, my mother placed the leaves of the *mupuranga* tree inside the maize granary to kill the weevils. I did this at my farm and it helped me, because I did not have enough money to buy chemicals for killing weevils.

Mutekwe's (2015) assertion that indigenous knowledge remains viable because it is economical and self-reliant supports the stories of Noti and other farmers. Traditionally, manure is part of African farming. Traditional African farming used mulching with branches and cattle dung as manure to fertilize their crops. Animal manure is usually applied to individual plants (Langeman, 2015). Traditional weeding with hoes has advantages in terms of preserving soil and incorporating air into the soil, which is beneficial to crops. Some farmers believe that IK was good because it preserved the soil. Farmer Riya said "... in addition, organic manure and fewer chemicals help to keep the soil in its original state thus perpetuating its life." Weeding is usually done with a hoe. Weeds are left in the field to wither. As they decompose, they add nutrients to the top soil. Sufficient quantities act as mulch, protecting the top soil against erosion and loss of water (Peter, 2010).

Even though Noti said the only IK she knew was the use of hoes for weeding and cattle manure to fertilize crops, she revealed other IK during the interviews. She mentioned the use of *Mupuranga* leaves to protect the maize from weevils, which was IK that she had seen her mother use when she was growing up. She had internalized and remembered how her mother had done it. She also used the *Mupuranga* leaves as something she had seen her mother (a person she trusted) use and she knew it had worked from her memory. The fact that the leaves were readily available and affordable was a major strength in Noti's story. The use of *mupuranga tree* leaves to preserve maize relates to what Nyiraruhumbi (2012) refers to as local-scientific knowledge. Indigenous knowledge is not just knowledge obtained haphazardly, but one that has been tried and tested just like modern science (Ghouzdi, 2010). Simbai, a younger farmer whose sole occupation is farming, said:

The first two years I talked of, we did most of the work manually. Although the first year we hired a tractor for land preparation, we planted manually, dropping the seed by hand and using our feet to cover it with soil. We used hoes to weed. Even harvesting was done manually. It was hard work but it paid off because we made a profit each year. But after some time, we began to hire planters for planting and used chemicals to control weeds. We now use fertilizer, but in the initial years we combined it with ox manure. We have now bought our own two tractors, planter and boom spray. We still hire a combine harvester, though. We are working hard so that we buy one in the future. We follow the combine harvester hand-picking maize which is left behind. We do this to ensure that all the maize is harvested.

Almost all the farmers had used and still used some IK obtained as they grew up. Some have graduated to using more modern scientific knowledge and less of IK. Simbai's story shows her graduation to modern scientific knowledge. However, she acknowledges the benefits derived from IK, which helped her grow to become a bigger farmer who now owns modern equipment. Indigenous knowledge was combined with modern farming knowledge for effectiveness, especially in the case of Simbai. She harvested with the combine harvester and manual harvesting. Concerning IK, Kacha said:

My own previous farming experience has complemented the new knowledge that I am getting from extension officers and service providers. As I said previously, I grew up on a farm and I have a lot of farming experience. I have farming experience in ploughing with cattle, using cattle manure for fertilizing crops, planting and harvesting maize manually. As I was growing

up, like I said, my father used manure in the fields. We also used compost manure we made from the maize cob shells. So, I also did the same at my farm. I used cattle manure in my maize field; I also applied chicken manure because I used to keep a lot of chickens, so it helped me reduce my use of artificial fertilizers, and that knowledge helped me very much. I have knowledge of horticulture as well, and I took all that knowledge onto my new farm and that made me settle down easily. We didn't have a background in using chemicals to control weeds, so we were just doing it manually with hoes until I observed others using herbicides, and friends started telling us about chemicals to control weeds and we started using them. Now I use mostly tractors and chemicals to do my farming activities.

Kacha's response reveals that she has used traditional manure on her farm. It is evident that farmers in this study have relied substantially on IK, particularly during the early days of being allocated farms, as reported by Kacha and Noti. This supports Ntseane (2011) and Williams and Muchena's (1991) argument that indigenous knowledge is part and parcel of Africa because of its accessibility and affordability. It is critical to note that whilst there is evidence of use of IK by farmers, the study reveals that as farmers acquire modern farming, they tend to do away with IK. At first they blended the two systems but the more modern knowledge they acquired, the less IK they used. Indigenous knowledge is viewed as subjugated knowledge and some African communities viewed it as outdated, opting for modern farming methods (Mapara, 2009). This could be because of the effects of colonisation where they were taught by the colonials that anything from the west was superior to what was local (Mbilinyi & Sechambo, 2009). Another explanation for the farmers opting for modern farming methods could be the nature of their farms. The farms are very big making it difficult to rely on IK, as reported by many farmers including Noti, who reported using tractors for land preparation from the early days of moving onto the farm. Still pursuing the use of IK, Miriro said:

Yes, when we were growing up, we used cattle manure and fertilizer to feed our crops, and hoes for weeding. We continued to use these, especially during the first few years of coming to the farm, except for land preparation, which we did with hired tractors because the fields were too large to do land preparation manually. We have now moved on to modern farming methods for most farm jobs, including the use of weed chemicals and modern equipment for planting and spraying chemicals.

In the early days of moving to their farms, the farmers lacked modern knowledge and also lacked the resources to acquire the modern equipment and chemicals to use. This was confirmed by Simbai, who echoed:

I can simply say, when we started on the farm I was not using any herbicides, partly because the AGRITEX officials on site did not conscientise us on that and also I didn't have that background, so we were just doing it manually with hoes, until other farmers and friends started telling us about herbicides and we started using them.

To a large extent, the farmers initially relied more on IK and less on modern knowledge. As they gained more experience, they complemented their IK with modern farming methods. It appears this gave them higher yields and their motivation to acquire more modern knowledge increased each day. This approach is found to be affordable where financial resources are strained. Farmer Chipso said, "The knowledge of manual weeding helped me because I didn't have enough money so I just used manual labour to control the weeds, so in a way that saved me financially."

Indigenous knowledge has to a large extent helped the farmers in this study to settle down. The farmers found it easier to kickstart their farming with indigenous methods because they were familiar with these methods and found them cheaper and more readily available than modern methods. The methods gave them confidence to start their farms. According to Mutekwe (2015), traditional education is passed on to younger generations through socialisation so that they may be able to carry out daily activities and use it in their adult lives (Mutekwe, 2015; Mapara, 2009). It is not initiated by the learner as is the case in self-directed learning. Also, at the point of learning IK, the learner is not necessarily aware that he/she is learning (Schugurensky, 2000). Most IK is obtained through a socialisation process from parents, grandparents and community elders, who are considered trusted sources (Majoki et al., 2012; Diouf et al., 2000; Mapara, 2009).

Socialisation is a feature of lifelong learning. One learns throughout one's life. In support of using agricultural indigenous knowledge, Nakudza, another woman farmer, also commented on how she learnt through socialisation. She said she used IK such as cattle manure and hoes to remove weeds and turn the soil in the first few years of coming to the farm. She uses less

IK as she has now moved on to more modern scientific farming methods such as the use of weed chemicals and modern equipment.

It appeared as if IK was used in the majority of cases only if the farmers could not access modern knowledge. Their lack of access was due to a lack of technical knowledge, experience or financial resources. Thus, it could be concluded that the farmers believed that modern farming knowledge is better than IK because as soon as they acquired the knowledge and resources, they abandoned IK for modern farming. This could be because of the way they were socialised to view knowledge and practices from the western world as better than their own. African people associated western culture with success and affluence. Mapara (2009) concluded in his study that farmers in Masvingo in Zimbabwe were shunning IK as outdated knowledge and preferring to use modern scientific methods. Mutekwe (2015) warns that over-emphasis on the superiority of modern knowledge over IK tends to relegate African indigenous knowledge systems to an inferior position, leading many Africans to shy away from its use.

Another explanation as to why the commercial farmers in this study preferred to migrate to modern scientific knowledge could be the fact that the use of IK is more appropriate in small-scale farming than in large-scale farming, where technology comes into play. Intensive tillage cultivation uses tractors that cultivate the soil at a deeper level. This system enhances aeration by loosening the soil. By so doing the water drains better, and the plant roots grow faster. In addition, the seeds can easily be planted and the weeds are controlled in the intensive tillage (Stephen, 2012).

Most farmers used tractors for land preparation even when they started farming their newly acquired farms. Chipo said, “We continued to use IK especially the first few years of coming to the farm except for land preparation which we did with hired tractors.” It was evident that farmers believed the use of modern farming methods would lead to high yields. In addition, considering the size of their farms, they needed equipment such as tractors to be able to plough the large farms. To this effect, they did all they could to acquire modern farming methods. Changing times could have influenced the farmers to have such perceptions. This supports the argument of some authors (Wohling, 2009; Tanyanyiwa and Chikwanha, 2011) who found that indigenous knowledge cannot easily cope with changes in technology and changes in today’s environment. In addition, authorities such as Wohling (2009) and Akulo

and Kanzikwera (2007) found that where huge tracts of land are concerned, IK practices such as the use of organic manure, hand weeding and predicting the weather from the position of the moon are not practical.

There was some evidence that the farmers merged the two systems, maybe as a way of maximising yields, taking the best from each system and coming up with a new model of knowledge. In support of merging the two systems, Miriro said:

My own old farming method has complemented the new knowledge that I am getting very well, because, even when you use chemicals, still some weeds will sprout; then people will follow with hoes. Even if you use a combine harvester, a lot of maize is dropped; then people will follow, picking manually.

Miriro's experience is evidence of where IK and modern knowledge are combined for effectiveness. Supporters of IK argue that combining traditional knowledge with scientific knowledge gives rise to new knowledge and new models of adult learning (Agrawal, 1995; Diouf et al., 2000), due to the recognition of local knowledge which is used as a platform to build new knowledge (Knowles, 1980). A number of studies on IK (Gupta, 2011; Mutasa, 2011) recommend finding similarities and comparing differences between IK and modern scientific knowledge, then making use of those knowledge sources to come up with a new blend of knowledge relevant for each situation.

Farmers in this study seem to have tapped into the advantages of the two forms of knowledge. But there was potential for more of them to combine their different forms of knowledge to develop new knowledge which is practical and affordable, as recommended by Agrawal (1995) and Die (2002). In that way, IK could be preserved for future generations as there is a danger of IK dying out or becoming obsolete.

This section has analysed the forms of knowledge being used by the farmers. The next section discusses knowledge gaps.

5.4 KNOWLEDGE GAPS

Correct farming knowledge is critical in today's farming business where high yields are expected (Pretty, 2002). The women farmers in this study were allocated the commercial

farms on the understanding that they operate along commercial lines and contribute to the economic development of the nation (Scoones et al., 2012). The farmers have acquired and used modern farming knowledge, but information gaps still exist. The study unearthed knowledge gaps among women farmers in the form of modern farming methods. The knowledge gaps included technical knowledge skills, financial management skills and human management skills.

5.4.1 Technical knowledge

Technical knowledge refers to modern farming knowledge and is critical to the success of agriculture (Pretty, 2002). The farmers in my study lacked technical knowledge on how to farm. According to their reports, some of the knowledge they obtained was from unreliable sources. The areas of agricultural needs were varied. Ndono, who specialises in ranching, said:

...we need the technical knowledge; for example; we are not really being told that if you have a bull, a bull can only manage a certain number of cows. If there are more, it becomes weak. If you have about 30 cows it can manage, but if your cows grow to 50 or 60, then you need a second bull. I could say, I need knowledge to manage the livestock.

Elaborating on her knowledge needs, Laeka, who does mixed farming, said:

I would appreciate knowledge in terms of the right chemicals for the maize, pre-emergency, post-emergency, the right chemical to use when growing beans, because it's another crop that I really love but I have never done it well; but I would want to get to know how best to do it, because there are some farmers who produce excellent quality beans and I really love it. Yes, I would also want to venture into, what do they call it? Is it pan farming, stock farming, I can't remember the correct term where you can farm a lot of cattle on a small piece of land...

Women reported lacking skills. Chipso said:

... lack knowledge on when to do land preparation, how to plant, how much fertilizer to apply, how to control weeds and how to harvest. This training should cover all crops. The extension officials should identify the exact needs of all women and provide training progressively.

Maria said:

I would like to be trained on how to do land preparation, what to plant in this soil and when, and how to use chemicals such as fertilizer and weed killers. Even to get help to access loans, because without financial assistance, farming is difficult, especially in my case – I have my late daughter's children to care for.

Riphi said:

I think we need to be trained in all areas of agriculture; if we get trained we will be more successful. We need training from land preparation to planting, control of weeds, harvesting, everything. We need to be trained properly. We need training in all crops. We just hear there are 10 tons, 11 tons, 12 tons per hectare achievements. But for us, we have never achieved that kind of yield per hectare. If we get three tons per hectare we will be in luck. Sometimes 1½ or even ½ a ton. So it's not coming up well. The only time I did well was when we came to the farm first, that time we did better, even 10 tons per hectare, I think I got it [*smiling and nodding her head*]. But when I tried to do it on a large piece of land that is where I was struggling. That is where I need help.

Below are some of the extracts from the interviews where women indicated knowledge gaps:

“As women we should be trained on how to measure, e.g., 50kg of fertilizer will cover how much land. Testing the soils and then getting the correct chemicals and correct seed.”

“... or wanting to know more, like the types of soils that we have and the type of chemical that might be used ...”

“We need to know more about irrigation so that we do not plant massive pieces of land. We only concentrate on a small piece of land and grow crops throughout the 365 days. So I think I need more knowledge on irrigation farming.”

“... including even cattle rearing. We need to be trained on how to grow tobacco, maize and cattle from the beginning ...”

5.4.2 *Business management*

Business management is another area where farmers indicated they needed training. Business management skills entail being able to plan, communicate, motivate, coordinate activities and evaluate (Scarborough, 2011). The literature highlights that a key need for farmers is to have business management skills (Kuwar, 2008; Strokes & Wilson, 2006). Business management skills were not a priority for the farmers interviewed. The need for skills in business management did not come out clearly, yet the problems encountered by the women point to a lack of business management skills.

Women highlighted that often they look up to the husbands to make farm decisions such as what to plant, where and when. Some even appealed to their husbands to discipline their workers. Some stories from the farmers implied that when they had conflicts with neighbours, they asked the husbands or other male members to come and resolve the differences. These are some of the signs that the women could have lacked planning and forecasting skills, and management and controlling skills.

Whilst the majority reported that they had no problems working with and managing their farm workers, there were some women who reported encountering some challenges. Noti, one of the few who acknowledged having challenges in management, said, “We need a lot of skills to manage these farms or else we perish.” Asked to elaborate, she mentioned management skills in terms of managing workers, neighbours and farm tasks.

5.4.3 *Financial management*

There were indications that the women struggled in the area of financial management, which is an aspect of business management. Financial management is a required skill in every business for one to succeed (Scarborough, 2011; Morris & Kuratko, 2002). This is critical because for a business to succeed, it must make a profit. One needs to know if one is making a profit or loss. The owner of the business ought to be able to understand the financial aspects of the business and interpret the bank statements (Stokes, Wilson & Mador, 2010). Financial management emerged as a critical gap amongst the women farmers. Noti elaborated on the need to understand finances and said:

If the trainers would run workshops and make follow-ups and develop entrepreneurship skills in farmers for livestock and even for crop farming, our agriculture industry would grow.

Ndono confirmed this need when she said, "... Our needs include skills to run the business and calculate the profit." As the women in this study indicated, knowledge to calculate costs, sales and profit is critical when one is farming along commercial lines.

Chipo reported that she needed training in business management. Her concerns were echoed by other farmers as well. This could be because most of the women were over the age of 50 and could have missed out on learning these skills. The education they got was mainly through adult education. In their childhood days, most parents preferred sending the boy child to school at the expense of the girl child (Suen, 2013; Gordon, 2010; UNICEF, 2007).

5.5 CHALLENGES

The stories told by women farmers highlighted challenges related to training, though most pointed to the absence of extension workers. Farming has its own learning challenges as indicated by Laeka, Chaka, Nakudza and Riphi. Bemoaning the absence of extension officers, Laeka said:

Because our extension officers (pause) ...Within government, The Ministry of Agriculture seems not to be monitoring the work of extension officers because they have no excuse not to provide farmers with knowledge. They have motorbikes. I also feel that perhaps the monitoring and follow-up for our extension officers is not enough, because if you ask for reports it is psychologically sound that a human being will give you what he thinks you want to know without going to the farm. I have researched that one quietly, because I know other extension workers who are my relatives. One of them said, "...we will be doing our own thing and we will not be going to the farms and when it's time for reports we just write because we know what is expected, but we have never been to the farms." That is a weakness, not from the farmer, but from those that have to give the knowledge.

Commenting on the absence of extension workers, Chaka said:

I must be very honest here. The extension officers at our place do not do anything and they only want to know how much of a crop is in your field, collecting statistics through a phone; but to find the officer on the ground is very difficult. Why? The reason is that he is good on

his own farm, so he is concentrating on his own farming and not on the requirements of farmers, I must say.

Nakudza said:

In our district there is Mr. Mugabe, another farmer who is trained in agriculture and used to train us informally. But the truth is, up to now we do not have adequate knowledge, we just learn from friends and neighbours. We need to get correct knowledge from reliable sources.

The extension officers were not performing their roles to the farmers' expectations and farmers complained that at times they get incorrect information from unreliable sources. This supports Mudukuti and Miller (2002) who found extension services to be useful in their study in Masvingo, but bemoaned their absence. Ndoni and Chaka's stories above evidenced the negative attitude of extension workers.

Farmers in this study wished Government could finance the Department of Training under the Ministry of Agriculture. Rhipi said, "We at times rely on our farm managers but the managers do not have adequate knowledge because they have experience but are not trained, and at times they give us the wrong information." She elaborated on how her tobacco crop was ruined one year and said:

The farm managers just use their experience. They just tell us we should use cup size five for fertilizer, then you discover that for our soils we should have used cup size 15. So we continue to fail and have poor yields. One year at this farm the manager failed us because of the inadequate fertilizer application that he advised. The tobacco germinated and we thought all was in order. We did not know anything. We planted on the same day as our neighbour, but the leaves of his tobacco were soft and broad. The leaves of our tobacco were hard and had stunted growth; yet we had planted on the same day and the same variety. We then called an agronomist from Harare (the capital city) who explained that the fertilizers applied on the seed bed were inadequate. Then the fertilizer applied in the field was not enough. We later learnt that the fertilizer was being stolen by workers.

Another challenge that was mentioned by Ndoni pointed to a need in financial budgeting skills. Ndoni said:

We need skills to manage our lives....[during a] rural visit after a conference I saw an old lady who told me that she had 300 goats at her farm, and she was blaming the government for charging school fees in schools. She said, "My grandchildren are at home. I do not have fees for my grandchildren," and I wondered why could she not sell some goats and pay fees. So I said to her, "You know I am a farmer like you and to solve your problem, I could have sold a few goats and my grandchildren would have had enough food, clothing and fees." But that kind of thinking also needs skills that one can get through training. As an entrepreneur, you should know how best to use your money so that it looks after you and at the same time you grow the business.

Such life skills could be obtained through financial management training. This is crucial for success in farming.

The study revealed that women had knowledge gaps in areas that included crop farming, animal husbandry and irrigation. This confirmed findings obtained by Rees et al. (2000) in their study on Kenyan farmers.

5.6 CONCLUSION

This chapter has discussed the various adult learning strategies and methodologies women farmers in Zvimba District in Zimbabwe used to quench their thirst for agricultural knowledge. It was evident that most women went through Kolb's experiential learning cycle in the process of acquiring knowledge. Whilst Kolb's experiential learning theory was relevant, the women's learning cycle at some point included interaction, which Kolb did not emphasize. This appears to be a common feature of African learning as asserted by Ntseane (2011). Whilst Kolb's experiential learning theory highlighted four stages that the women would often go through, there was evidence that these stages were not necessarily in the same order as that identified by Kolb in his experiential learning cycle. There was also evidence that a fifth stage of social interaction often contributed to the learning process in the learning cycle. Social interaction is often referred to as a core feature of learning in African contexts and it reflects the way in which IK had traditionally been learned. This chapter has therefore elaborated on Kolb's learning cycle by offering social interaction as part of the experiential learning process.

The main methodologies adopted by the women farmers to acquire agricultural knowledge included non-formal and informal learning. Field days, demonstration plots and workshops by extension officers and experts emerged as preferred non-formal methods. Financial constraints were cited as the major hindrances in organizing training workshops and field days by AGRITEX officers. Most of the informal learning used by women farmers was self-directed in nature. The range of sources in such instances included friends, neighbours, experts and the media. Generally, farmers succeeded in complementing IK with modern farming methods in the early stages of their uptake of the farms but, as they gained more farming experiences and accessed more resources, they adopted more modern methods and used less IK because of the nature of their farming activities. On occasion, farmers decided to use IK with modern farming methods because they found IK affordable, readily available and sustainable. Whilst the farmers have acquired some agricultural knowledge since moving to their farms, they nevertheless indicated serious knowledge gaps that greatly hinder their production. The next chapter provides the historical context of gender power differentials which have some impact on women farmers' ability to manage their farms and access inputs and markets.

CHAPTER 6: RESEARCH FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

DEVELOPMENT OF GENDER POWER RELATIONS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

Chapter Five discussed how women farmers in my study acquired farming knowledge. This chapter presents and analyses data in relation to the research question: *How have women navigated gender power dynamics in order to access land and manage their farms?*

The rationale for asking this question was because it is important to assess the gender power dimension of women's experiences of acquiring A2 farms and learning to farm in view of the context of the Zimbabwe Land Reform Programme. The question is answered in two stages. Chapter Six contributes a theoretical understanding of how power relations operate. Chapter Seven contributes a further theoretical understanding of how those power relations operate to generate new discourses.

Women world-wide have been accorded a low status position in society, especially in African patriarchal societies. The patriarchal system which was and still is prevalent in parts of Africa, including Zimbabwe, is characterised by the domination of women by men (Ismail et al., 2015; Sintim Adasi & Anima Frempong, 2014; Skapa, 2005). In the past, women in some African societies have suffered both racial and gender discrimination (Skapa, 2005; Gaidzanwa, 1995). Men, on the other hand, besides racial discrimination, have always received preferential treatment and enjoyed a higher status (Apusigah, 2013; Ismail et al., 2015).

As highlighted in Chapter One, when Zimbabwe attained independence in 1980, the new government committed itself to addressing the gender disparity that existed between men and women (Mutopo, 2011; Chingarande, 2008). Many policies were passed to provide women with opportunities to better themselves in many areas, including land ownership, education, politics and business (Chingarande, 2008; Gaidzanwa, 1995). The land reform programme, especially the A2 programme, saw a significant number of women getting land (Chogugudza, 2009), but to date their experiences of how they manage their farms in a patriarchal society have not been explored through a post-structuralist lens.

In this chapter I analyse the traditional discourse that women are weaker beings, and how the new discourse of equality addressed that gender disparity. Discourse refers to behaviours, language use and beliefs created by those in power, often as a way of oppressing the less powerful. The beliefs become concretised and accepted as authoritative knowledge through a process of internalisation. Foucault refers to discourse in terms of established ways of specifying knowledge and truth (Ramazanoglu, 1993).

When the new Zimbabwean Government came into power in 1980, a new discourse of equality emerged which aimed to empower and uplift women through, among other things, giving land to women. This move created gender power conflicts, as men who were used to being in control of and making decisions on behalf of women resisted the new discourse for fear of losing their power and status (Matondi, 2012; Chingarande, 2008). This chapter analyses how women farmers in this study historically experienced gender power relations and how they experienced the gender power struggles that emerged from the new discourse. The chapter is organised under two broad themes namely:

- The traditional discourse and gender roles;
- The new discourse of equality, with resistance from men and acceptance by a few.

6.2 THE TRADITIONAL DISCOURSE AND GENDER ROLES

Gender roles are duties ascribed by society to men and women. They vary from society to society and change over time (Goredema, 2010). In African patriarchal society, men were viewed as heads of families and their roles were to provide for and protect the family. Women, on the other hand, were assigned nurturing and caring roles that included household chores such as cooking and cleaning, but could not occupy decision-making positions nor could they own land (Apusigah, 2009; Goebel, 2005). The traditional discourse was that men were the stronger species, while women were the weaker group (Mojirayo, 2013; Morojele, 2009). Traditional discourse refers to the old beliefs and practices in African culture where women were discriminated against in most spheres. It refers to the regimes of truth that included African beliefs and practices where women were considered weak and needed men to protect them and make decisions for them (Taiwo, 2010; Gaidzanwa, 1995). Men and women accepted the roles as the norm. Foucault termed the way people internalise such discourses as disciplinary power. This means that people behaved as if they were being watched and colluded in their own discrimination, knowingly or unknowingly (Foucault,

1980). Foucault also used the concept 'regime of truth' to signify that a discourse had become normalised, while resistant discourse reflected language and behaviour that openly challenged the dominant discourse or regime of truth (Mills, 2002).

6.2.1 *Farm roles and home roles*

This section analyses the experiences of women in my study regarding how roles were allocated as they grew up in their family homes. Elaborating on the discriminatory roles for boys and girls as she grew up, Ndono explained:

When we grew up, boys were supposed to look after the cattle and we were doing the women's roles. The women's roles demand that you cook, you do everything; you go to the fields, after the fields you dismiss early and you go and cook for the family in the evening. But in my case, things were really going the other way. My brother, the one I came after, would order me, saying, "Today you are going to look after the cattle". I would also participate in the chores of working in the fields when I was not herding cattle, or early in the morning when the cattle were still in the kraal or when the cows were being milked. The work was too much, but one could not refuse. As women, we have always worked in the field doing manual weeding, harvesting or other agricultural roles like clearing the bushes and, you know, while the boys will do lighter duties of using the ox-drawn *gejo* (hand plough) or milking cows.

From Ndono's narration, one can decipher that gender roles were discriminatory and the girl children were overburdened with household chores that included cooking and cleaning in addition to agricultural work. The boys worked in the fields and did less manual work, at times using ox-drawn equipment for ploughing, cultivating, carrying water in drums or going to the grinding mill with a scotch cart drawn by oxen. Although Ndono realised that she was overburdened, she still carried on without complaining. Her experiences reveal that women colluded in their own discrimination and in her case she colluded knowingly, going to herd cattle and working in the fields when it suited her brother.

Women confirmed experiencing different roles for boys and girls as they grew up. One participant, Simbai, said:

I used to work hard, although when it came to the kitchen responsibilities my brothers would be seated, relaxing, once they had made sure the cattle were in the kraal, and the girls would

be expected to do the cooking, cleaning of dishes and all that. My brothers saw that as natural and expected, because in our culture, girls are expected to do that.

This is another example of how the traditional discourse functioned as a regime of truth and assigned roles for boys/men and girls/women in African societies. The traditional discourse prescribed that the woman's place is in the kitchen, but with additional manual responsibilities to ensure that the family was fed. The women ended up being overburdened by multiple roles as they also participated to a greater extent in farming roles (Apusigah, 2009; Chinyemba et al., 2006). This contradiction in attitudes and practice, when analysed in Foucauldian terms, evidences the contradictory regime of truth which considered that women were regarded as the weaker sex, yet they were still expected to be overloaded with work roles.

Another participant, Nakudza, confirmed the discrimination of roles and work overload among girls. She too had her own story and said:

As we went about on the day to day activities, it was clear that the boys had an easier life and girls had harder lives. Girls were not valued as much as boys were. Roles were very clear in terms of roles for boys and roles for girls. The girls would mostly do the cooking and looking for firewood. One girl would remain at home cooking when the rest of the family went to the fields, and she would follow with food and join others in the fields to do whatever work was allocated by the father on that day. The boys would look after cattle and help with land preparation using the traditional equipment of oxen and (*nodding her head*) ... it was painful but we thought that was normal. Now I realise that the girls were being over-worked while the boys had a relaxed and easier time. When we met as girls (*whispering*) we would discuss with each other, complaining that our brothers were favoured and went to boarding schools which were considered good and ...

Nakudza's narration evidences the discrimination of roles which confirmed the traditional attitudes towards the boy child and girl child. From the data, there is evidence of disciplinary power where the weaker sex (female) accepted the status quo as the norm. It can be concluded that women accepted the discrimination because they had gone through the same socialisation which taught them to accept being oppressed as normal. Maybe Nakudza's whispering was a sign that what she was saying was for my ears alone, or maybe she meant that when they discussed those issues as girls they whispered so that no one heard what they

were saying, in case they were labelled rebels. This could have been motivated by the fact that, African culture did not expect girls to complain regarding their discrimination, but just to accept it as it was (Ismail et al., 2015; Mojirayo, 2013).

Riya, another participant, had similar experiences. She said:

I noticed that while the girls and boys all worked hard during the day in the field, in the evening, the boys would relax while girls would be busy cooking, cleaning the house and doing all other household chores. I felt this was not fair because in the end, girls worked till very late in the evening. Even when we went to school, my father did not allow girls to go further. Like me – I was bright and wanted to go for secondary school, but my father said he had no money. He only allowed boys to go further. As a result, I ended in form 2, but it was my mother who paid for those two years of my secondary schooling.

From the narration by Riya, one notes that the traditional discourse defined roles for boys and girls. For example, in Riya's experiences she revealed that both boys and girls went to the fields, but girls had an extra burden after a day's work in the fields. They had to look for firewood, fetch water and prepare food for the family while the boys would be relaxing, waiting for food (Ismail et al., 2015; Sintim Adasi & Anima Frempong, 2014). This kind of role overload led to lower performance at school by girls (Gaidzanwa, 1997; Chinemana, 1990). The education of the girl child was not prioritized in African culture, including in Zimbabwe until after independence in 1980 (Mupawaenda, 1995). However, as shown by Riya's mother, women worked hard to provide for their children. It was her mother's effort that enabled Riya to study up to Form Two. This also suggests that in spite of the dominant discourse, some women would make an effort to resist within the limitations of what they could do at the time. This was very brave on their part as they became agents of change in gender power dynamics.

There were also indications in the interviews that not everyone colluded in the dominant discourse to the same extent. Chaka's experience, for example, was different from the rest as far as farm work was concerned. Here is her narration:

Umm, I grew up on a farm, so duties were just allocated to who you were and how old you were. It didn't matter whether you were a boy or a girl. You would do the same roles in the fields. So in essence I can safely say, you would do everything.

Asked to elaborate on what she meant by “you would do everything”, she said “Everyone would do manual weeding, manual planting, manual harvesting, and so on.”

Chaka’s experiences meant that in her case farming roles were not allocated according to one’s sex. This was unusual. The division of labour in Goromonzi, the farming area where she grew up, was not very distinct. This could be because of the nature of the setup on small-scale farms during the colonial era. It appears, however, that age was also a factor that determined what duties one would do. Nevertheless, later on Chaka brought up the traditional gender role issue when she said:

After the farm work, girls would do mostly the kitchen work. There are also chores that would be done by girls and, say, gardening would be done by boys, and you would find that girls would help here and there. Well, I think it wasn’t fair because well, us as girls, apart from doing household chores we also went to the garden or to the field and worked as much as boys and yet they didn’t have to do anything at home. That’s why I say it was unfair (*with a disapproving face*) but what could one do? That was what was expected, hee (*shrugging shoulders*).

The look on Chaka’s face said it all. Here Chaka showed how women colluded in their own discrimination when she emphatically said, “... but what could one do?” This is evidence of disciplinary power where women accepted discrimination as the norm. However, the disapproving expression could be pointing to the fact that she now realised that the roles were discriminatory against the girls. It is perhaps the gender education that the government and NGOs provided after Zimbabwe attained independence in 1980 that conscientised women like Chaka about their rights (Gaidzanwa, 2011).

Just like Chaka, Laeka’s unusual experience was that roles for both boys and girls regarding farm work and household chores were less discriminatory along gender lines. Roles often allocated to boys could be allocated to girls. Here is what she said:

There were no differences as such, but farming duties were being allocated maybe according to how our parents looked at an individual. For myself, I was mainly assisting my parents as far as working with cattle was concerned. Yes, I would for

example plough with a cattle-drawn plough or planter. Others would be weeding with hoes or harvesting manually, but the distinction was not along sexual lines.

In the evening, we would do our chores as girls and the boys would be assisting e-eh our father because farm work at my father's place would take place throughout the year. So as girls we were pounding e-eh mealie-meal in the *duri* (mortar) and we were also responsible for making peanut butter-eh from the ground nuts, and the boys during that time maybe they would be shelling the ground nuts or maize.

Household duties were mainly allocated to the girls, especially the washing of dishes, but as for cooking, everybody was involved, whether boy or girl. U-uh, I felt challenged because you would find yourself being needed both in the fields, milking the cows e-eh and working in the kitchen as well.

It seemed that Laeka's parents were trying to treat their children according to their ability, disregarding their sex. Laeka thought they were treated equally, but in reality she describes the normal division of labour, except for working in the field and cooking, where there was fair treatment of the sexes. She highlighted the discrimination she faced as a result of being overburdened by the roles.

Responding to how she felt about discrimination against her as a girl, Miriro said:

As a young girl, I was bitter because I said when I was going to get married these boys were going to ask for lobola *kkkkk (all laugh)*. And the cattle I was looking after were going to benefit them. But never mind, I would still obey and go. But now I realize, looking back, that that was the right thing to do, because with agriculture you have to know all those things and value the land.

While Miriro's experiences showed collusion in her own discrimination, in retrospect she perceived it as an advantage, as it prepared her for the farm work she was doing on her allocated A2 farm. As she grew up, she realised the unfair treatment, but she could not defy the expectations of society. Her thinking indicates collusion in the discrimination, as she now justifies the discrimination by highlighting the benefits she derived in the end. Similarly, Ndonso reflected on the discrimination that women go through, but rationalised it so that it seemed acceptable. Her story goes:

But you find that women's roles do not differ. As I grew up, men would only work where the cattle were being used for labour, and all the other jobs were done by women; the planting, the cultivation, the harvesting. And on top of that, what I found is that when you have these huts, men will only put the roof structure; but the actual thatching, women would be up there on the roof doing it. Yahh yah, (*shaking her head, a sign of disagreement*) that, uum I could not manage to do at all, but women in the community were doing it. You begin to realize that, you know, in a home, the thinking rests in the gender, I mean women. It's like when you are in a meeting, you have a chairperson and the members. So in my view - this is my thinking - the men are chairpersons of the homes, not that they direct you with the roles. They have the role of hunting and gathering right, they will gather things; but to make things work, the mother plays her role, because you have to learn that in our African culture the implementer is the woman ...

At the beginning, Ndono gave the farming roles she did as planting, cultivating and harvesting. This supports the findings of Mbilinyi and Sechambo (2009), whose study concluded that women and children in Africa provided labour during most farming activities such as land clearing, harvesting, processing and the marketing of produce. Ndono's story shows that while the traditional discourse was accepted, women at times resisted the abuse. She emphatically showed her cognitive resistance through shaking her head in relation to the idea of women thatching huts. Although acknowledging that other women did, she did not go through similar experiences. This could be because as a professional nurse married to a teacher in the 1970s, she and her husband were viewed as the elites of the village and had money to pay for the labour of those who would thatch their huts. Ndono's response, where she explained that men are chairpersons of families, nevertheless revealed she was still caught up in disciplinary power relations whereby women accept discrimination because society expects them to do that.

Another farmer, Riphi, also shared similar experiences regarding discriminatory roles. She said:

As I was growing up in the rural areas in Chihota (another district in Zimbabwe), boys would work mostly with manual equipment such as ploughs, planters and cultivators which were cattle-drawn. Girls would cook and weed using hoes. They would remain at home cooking, then follow with food such as *maheu* (drink prepared from millet), *mangayi*, (boiled salted

maize grain), and *sadza* (a Zimbabwean traditional meal prepared from maize meal and served with meat or vegetables). They would join the rest of the family working in the fields. At times food would be cooked in the evening and everyone would wake up early and go to the field with the food prepared the night before, then at the end of the day when everyone was going home, the girls would pass through the forests looking for firewood and fetching water. When they got home, they would start cooking so that everyone gets a good meal ... Girls were overburdened because as the girls did housework at the end of day, the boys would be resting, waiting for food.

The stories from the women farmers showed that they worked hard both at home and in the fields. This confirms Mojirayo's assertion that women's involvement in farming activities did not stop their domestic roles. They are the first to wake up in the morning and the last to go to sleep at night (Mojirayo, 2013). It is evident that disciplinary power continues in terms of role discrimination when a girl got married. In African culture, when a girl gets married, she is expected to show her value by working not only in the home but in the fields as well (Ismail et al., 2015; Mbilinyi & Sechambo, 2009). During the first few years, the daughter-in-law is evaluated in terms of how she behaves herself and how hard she works. She is also assessed in terms of her ability to produce children, especially males who will carry the name of the father (Apusigah, 2009; Cheater 1986). Rhipi shared her story, saying:

When I had grown up, I got married to Mr. Rhipi in Muzarabani. I would do the roles expected from a daughter-in-law. I stayed with my in-laws and would wake up around 4 am. and clean the yard. As I was sweeping the yard, water for everyone to bath would be on the fire. I would then see to it that the children bathed before they went to school, including the children of the extended family, adults going to work and the elderly. When they had bathed, I would give them food. I would have cleaned the evening dishes the previous night. After feeding the whole family, I would wash clothes and prepare lunch for everyone. But during the agricultural season, the day would be as it was when I was growing up in Chihota District, as I have told you. I would do the morning home chores very early, and would then go to the field with everyone else because I would have prepared food in the evening. I would do all the evening home chores and sleep very late, as late as 11pm. At that time I had only my first-born, who was still a baby. We then left the rural area when my husband got a job in the mine, and life got better because I had only my husband and children to look after.

Riphi elaborated on how she would remain at home cooking if she had not previously cooked food to carry to the fields in the evening. She would later join others in the fields to do whatever work needed to be done. Just like the other women farmers had said, Riphi reported that after the day's work in the fields, women would look for firewood and prepare the evening meal while the men were resting. This confirms the assertion that African culture treats men and boys favourably while women and girls are overburdened with roles of lower status, as argued by Apusigah (2009). The women in my study reported that boys worked with equipment that was ox-drawn and this did not require a lot of labour while girls, who are said to be weaker, did manual work, which was more tiring. This continued even after a girl got married, as confirmed in Riphi's narration. Her workload only decreased when she moved to town with her husband and children.

Elaborating on her experiences as a daughter-in-law, Riya said:

As a daughter-in-law, I had no time to rest during the day because household chores were also my responsibility. I had to ensure that meals were prepared on time, dishes were washed, I fetched water for people to bath, I looked for firewood; it was hard, but I had to do it. My father-in-law was impressed by the way I worked very hard in the field. I could yoke the oxen to plough and even milk the cows, so he was happy with my performance.

Riya's story reveals how she worked hard to impress her in-laws when she got married. She yoked the oxen and milked the cows, roles which under normal circumstances would be assigned to men. In addition to these roles, she would make sure the household chores were done. She overworked so that she would get a good name. In African culture, working hard made the wife an acceptable daughter-in-law and also gave the husband pride knowing that he made the 'right choice' (Duncan, 2002; Mumbi, 1985). The women colluded in this abuse as they strove to be accepted. It is evident that women were under pressure to be 'good African women' so as not to shame their parents, and in order to please their husbands and in-laws.

Although Riya effectively colluded in the discursive expectation that she should be a good African woman by working even harder, these traditional discourses were so strongly internalised that they took on a meaning of their own in relation to who had authority to 'know' certain things. It was therefore possible to use these same discourses as a form of

resistance by practical demonstrations. Laeka used the discourse of associating technical ‘know-how’ with men in order to mount a resistant discourse about women’s abilities. When she got married, she undertook some roles in the village that were exclusively reserved for men. She wanted to prove that men and women were equal. Through the resistant discourse, she proved that she could do what men did. This is what she said:

... My husband’s family were quite amazed that a woman can use a plough (*chuckle*) and I would be holding the plough, because most of the people in Zaka were not used to women harnessing cattle and they used hoes to prepare the fields, but, as for me, I said I cannot do that since there were *mombes* (cattle). This was my flair even when I was still at my home, umm, at my father’s place. And I said, let’s use the *mombes* to plough the fields, and we started doing that. Other women in Zaka began to emulate me and learnt to plough with cattle.

Laeka challenged the traditional discourse that women were the weaker sex and only men could handle an ox-drawn plough. However, her working hard and tilling the land with a plough could still, as with Riya, have been motivated by the zeal to prove that she was a hard-working daughter-in-law, which is expected in the African culture. It was possible therefore that she was also colluding in her own discrimination though, paradoxically, she proved she could do the work assigned to men and in the process overburden her workload.

6.2.2 Traditional careers

In Africa, careers such as engineering and medicine were reserved for men while traditional careers reserved for women included nursing and teaching (Gaidzanwa, 1997; Chinemana, 1990). Both teaching and nursing have a nurturing and caring role. The regime of truth was that women are nurturers and carers (Kaziboni, 2000; Chinemana, 1990). Ndonu shared similar sentiments when she said:

Yes, the way I looked for work was that I had to make the right choice for further studies, because during that time one would join nursing after Form Two. When I did Form Two, my mother said, “I do not have anyone to help me with fees so you better go for teaching ...”

The aspect of traditional career choice was confirmed by Simbai who said, “After Form Four I went for teacher training; after teacher training I went to teach and I didn’t work for long before I got married and settled down.”

Laeka also confirmed the career discrimination when she said, “After completing ‘A’ level, I went to do temporary teaching. That was the main job that could be found during those days. I was waiting to get a job, a permanent job.” Nursing and teaching, the careers meant for women, were accorded a low status because women were viewed as lowly people (Chinemana, 1990).

The women’s stories revealed that as they grew up, farm work was done by both boys/males and girls/females, while household chores were done by girls/women after the day’s farm work. Thus, women ended up being overburdened. The findings support the assertion that women in Africa have been key players in agriculture where they have provided about 75% of farm labour since pre-colonial times and contributed to the survival of their communities (Cheater, 1986; Gaidzanwa, 1995; Mutopo, 2012). Rural women have played a pivotal role as they dedicate themselves to crop production, starting from land preparation right through to post-harvest activities (Mutopo, 2012).

The nature of roles done by women in my study confirms Shumba’s (2011) argument that the traditional African woman’s main roles included feeding the family, which entailed growing, preparing and cooking a variety of foodstuffs (Shumba, 2011). The women ended up being overburdened by their multiple roles (Apusigah, 2009). My study revealed that farm work would have been different if women were allowed to use animal-drawn equipment. However, animal-drawn equipment work was allocated to men, while women did manual work such as weeding and harvesting.

Women in my study accepted that the traditional discourse that discriminated against them in favour of men was normal. On very few occasions did the women resist this discrimination. The women’s stories show that men preferred the status quo to remain, as they enjoyed the power and control, and women colluded in their own discrimination. Even though some women saw it as unfair, as highlighted by Ndonso, Rhipi and Simbai, they still wore the expected role costumes and danced the expected dance (Mosse, 1993). Women in my study colluded in their discrimination knowingly, as the discourse had become so internalised that it appeared there was no other option. This confirms Goebel’s (2005) statement that the majority of women in Africa are unable to resist the discrimination owing to cultural constraints which classify that kind of behaviour by women as being rebellious and showing

lack of respect (Goebel, 2005). Other women farmers only realise the unfair treatment now as they look back on those times.

The experiences of most farmers showed that they performed the roles because society expected them to. This was a result of the socialisation of women which prescribed their overburdened role. This behaviour could be explained as the effects of disciplinary power because it appears they internalised the normalised gender roles and no longer saw them as discriminatory (Foucault, 1980). Although they felt challenged, the women colluded in their own discrimination in terms of role overload as they had no other option due to the socialisation they were subjected to by society.

This discrimination continued even when the women got married. Married women continued to collude in their own discrimination, at times unknowingly and at times knowingly, such as trying to impress the in-laws. Rhipi, Riya and Laeka's stories revealed how married women colluded in their discrimination as they overworked to impress the in-laws and please their husbands. The African regime of truth expects the wife to show that she is a hard worker. This supports the assertion by Apusigah (2009) that in Africa, gender oppression is rooted in the kinship systems where the exchange of women takes place between men. Women, presented as gifts, are made to feel powerless while men are powerful beneficiaries in both the wife's and the husband's families.

Before marriage, women are controlled by their fathers/brothers, as was shown by Ndonso and the other women's stories. On marriage, power is transferred to the husband and the in-laws (Apusigah, 2009). In Africa in general, and Zimbabwe in particular, these practices that existed in pre-colonial societies still exist to some extent today, as evidenced by the women's stories. One of the major reasons for this lies in the payment of bride price (*roora*), which not only transfers the rights of a woman's labour and reproductive capacity from her own family to that of her husband, but also indemnifies her family for their loss (Ismail et al., 2015; Mojirayo, 2013; Mbilinyi & Sechambo, 2009). Mojirayo (2013) further asserts that the wife's husband's kin consider the woman a stranger, until she proves herself by being faithful and hardworking and, above all, by producing many fine children, especially sons, for her husband.

My study's findings have shown that such thinking still prevails among not only men but women as well. Noti confirmed this when she said, "... I witnessed similar life experiences in the family I joined when I got married and had to continue working hard to show that I was a hard worker, making sure every one had bathed and had food." The African woman, like her Indian counterpart, is under constant physical and psychological stress. She cannot complain because it is honourable to bear pain without complaining (Duncan, 2002; Hert et al., 1991).

Careers also featured as an area where women were discriminated against and accorded careers which have a low status and are considered only in terms of their nurturing and caring roles. This is part of the traditional discourse that women are lesser beings. Gender discrimination along the lines of one's sex has been and still remains part of African society. While efforts have been made to change the thinking, progress has been slow because the people who occupy the positions that should implement change are men who are not keen to let go of their power and control (Kaziboni, 2002).

Other authors have argued that in traditional African society, every individual had a role to play both in the family as well as in the larger society (Cheater, 1986). Each gender had its traditional role in the development of the society. The indigenous peoples of Africa in general, and Zimbabwe in particular, performed complementary roles to maintain society prior to colonialism (Cheater, 1986). Each role, regardless of who performed it, was considered equally important because it contributed to the fundamental goal of community survival (Taiwo, 2010). However, the fact that each gender, male or female, had specific roles to perform, and the fact that the roles were not identical and women were overburdened, constitutes gender inequality. This study nevertheless confirmed that each role, regardless of who performed it, was considered critical to the fundamental goal of community survival, as argued by Mbilinyi and Sechambo (2013). In very few circumstances did women in my study resist the roles ascribed to them by their society.

6.3 THE NEW DISCOURSE OF EQUALITY AND GENDER POWER RELATIONS

This section discusses women's stories regarding their reactions when they received offer letters. The section also analyses the impact that the new discourse of equality had on their husbands and other male members in the community. Explaining the position taken by the

new government regarding women, Rhipi elaborated on the benefits she derived. This is what she had to say:

The new President, Comrade Mugabe, continued to emphasise that a woman was not a lesser human being and had rights just as a man. Then I started doing cross-border trading going to countries such as Zambia, South Africa, Malawi, and Mozambique ... Later we applied for a gold mining licence as a group of five women, and that also improved our status financially. As for education, I had not gone far because I had left school during the liberation war. I then did 'O' Level at Speciss College after independence. My husband was no longer saying no to my returning to school, because the government was continuing with the gospel of women empowerment till we got to the land reform programme. We could now open bank accounts, but before independence, the bank account I used was in the name of my husband. If he wanted, he could make me a signatory. With time, I even opened my own account and bought my own car from Botswana.

Rhipi's narration shows the effects of the new policies that empowered women after they had fought side by side with men in the Zimbabwe Liberation War that ended in 1979. The new discourse of gender equality, where women were no longer discriminated against, was ushered in by the new constitution when Zimbabwe attained independence in 1980 (Gaidzanwa, 1995). The new policies provided more opportunities for women to go back to school, open bank accounts and own land (Gaidzanwa, 1997; Mupawaenda, 1995). Thus, the land reform programme of 2000 saw women obtaining land under the A2 programme. It emerged from the study that the new discourse regarding women owning land was immediately accepted by the women farmers and a few men. Other people, especially men, took a long time to accept this move by the government. This section discusses the women's stories regarding their reactions when they got offer letters for land. The section also analyses the impact the new discourse had on the women, their husbands and other male members of the community.

6.3.1 Impact of the new discourse on women farmers

The women's stories revealed that they were happy to get land and appreciated the government for coming up with this move. Simbai, one of the beneficiaries, said:

I applied for a farm, but to tell the truth I never thought I would get it, because as you know in our culture women had never owned land. When I got the offer letter, I read it over and over

again. I could not believe it. I was happy but I had mixed feelings. I was overjoyed, and at the same time I was wondering how my husband was going to take it and how I was going to break the news.

Simbai was happy to be a land owner. From Simbai's story, one of the inferences we can make is that she hesitated to tell her husband that she had been offered land. She thought her husband would not agree to her ownership. She had doubted if her application would be successful. This could be because in African culture land belonged to men, and women had not previously been allowed to own land (Ismail et al., 2015; Sintim Adasi & Anima Frempong, 2014; Gaidzanwa, 2011).

Chaka, just like the other women, was happy to own a farm. She said:

Iiiii (*with a beaming face*) was so happy. I was very happy because I knew then I was not going to go into rural farming. I knew I was going to farm as much as I wanted. I knew I was going to grow as many crops as I wanted (*laughs*) and if possible rear as many cattle as I wanted. I was so excited.

Because Chaka had grown up in a small-scale farming area where the family earned their living from agriculture, she realised the value of land as a resource for livelihood. Regarding how she received the news that she had been allocated land, Riya actually took her reaction to another level as she demonstrated her joy. She stood up and started dancing, saying, "... that day I was so so happy and I danced and ululated," (*with her hands raised and waving and ululating at the same time*). Similarly, Laeka was happy to own a farm. She said:

I was very happy (*with a sigh*), but as I have mentioned earlier on that I was happy to say that I had been married and I had left the farming thing, I realised that there is money, life is always from the soil.

Whilst women were overjoyed at getting land registered in their names, most people resisted the new status of women.

6.3.2 *The new discourse of equality and resistance*

Women faced resistance from people who did not accept that they were now owners and managers of land. They faced resistance from their husbands, officials, other farmers and workers.

Resistance from husbands

Some farmers reported that they hesitated to tell their husbands the good news that they were offered land, fearing to be reproached. Simbai's story below confirms this.

... I was hesitant but finally I just told my husband that I had been offered a farm and showed him the offer letter, and his response was very cold, he was not excited. He didn't comment, you know, he just remained neutral. So I couldn't really guess what was going on in his head. So I said never mind, we'll cross the bridge when we get there. I think my owning land challenged him because he didn't immediately express anything, any feelings in terms of whether he liked it or didn't. However, he never showed interest in going to see the farm, nor did he participate in the first few years.

Instead of being happy and celebrating his wife's success, the reaction of Simbai's husband showed disapproval. His reaction could signify an inner anger and a feeling of insecurity, confirming Simbai's earlier fears. During the pre- and post-colonial eras, African culture prescribed that land should be owned by males such as husbands, brothers or their sons (Apusigah, 2013). This belief still remained internalised in the minds of both men and women, in spite of the official new discourse that women were entitled to own land. The unsupportive reaction of husbands to the news that their wives were now farm owners was reported by most of the women. Riya said:

Initially my husband was not happy for me. He looked rather jealous. He even said, "I want to see how you will manage that big farm." One day he shouted at me and said, "You should be thankful that I married you because you were not going to get this farm if you were single." I was initially worried and in the first year I did not harvest much, but I kept working hard on the farm without my husband's assistance.

Riya's excitement regarding ownership of land while her husband was not happy for her is critical to this study. The husband's reaction could be interpreted as fear that the wife was getting powerful. In addition, the husband could have feared the wife's kin would end up inheriting the land. The lack of support by the husband induced fear and a lack of confidence

in Riya. This supports Apusigah's (2013) assertion that most husbands would feel threatened by a land-owning wife, as it was possible that her patrilineage could argue that the farm should devolve to them rather than to her husband and children. In addition, husbands feared losing power and control of their wives once they owned land, as asserted by Mbilinyi and Sechabo (2009).

Both scenarios of Simbai and Riya indicate resistance to the new discourse by husbands, giving rise to gender power conflicts at different stages. When a woman got an offer letter that meant the woman's status was raised through her ownership of land. The change in the status of women presented a threat to the husband and this often led to gender power constraints, because men were used to being land owners and decision makers (Apusigah, 2013; Chingarande, 2008; Duncan, 2002).

This is what Laeka had to say when asked how her husband reacted when she received the news that she had been offered a farm:

My husband was not very happy at all. E-ee, simply because the piece of land was found in my home area, and naturally people in his home were not comfortable with that scenario. And when he communicated it to his relatives they said, 'Oh so you are now married to the *VaZezuru* (wife's tribe).'

Laeka's husband and his kith and kin were not happy that she got land, the more so because it was in her home area and thus interfaced with another traditional discourse and its regime of truth that claims the wife should belong to the husband's tribe. The gender power conflict emanating from the new discourse of equality was evident in the displeasure of the husband and his family. In African culture the husband and his family expect the wife to belong to the family she marries into and to leave everything to do with her former family. The family of Laeka's husband were not amused that the farm was in the home area of the wife. To them this was as if their son had been captured by the wife's family and this weakened the husband's controlling powers (Taiwo, 2010; Gaidzanwa, 2011). Once they were residing at the wife's home area, near the wife's relatives, the wife could end up making all the decisions and this would be against the African culture, where the man as head of the family should be making all the decisions (Apusigah, 2013; Mbilinyi & Sechambo, 2009).

Some husbands appeared to be supportive, but were not willing to commit their resources to the farms. Chaka said:

Yah ... the first two years were quite difficult because for one, as somebody who was just getting into it, it was so difficult to get the inputs without support, because my husband refused with the title deeds of our town house which was in his name. My salary was quite meagre. So yah, I couldn't get any loans from the banks. There was no support. So it was very difficult, I must say.

Ownership of land brought relief to women who were committed to make it in the male-dominated industry, as reflected by Chaka's narration. But, as Chaka's story unfolded, it was evident that her husband's support had conditions. Chaka's husband appeared to have accepted the new discourse of women empowerment to the extent that he was happy that she now owned land, but was not prepared to invest in the business. Some husbands of farmers in this study were not supportive of their wives owning land in their own right.

Chaka's husband supported her in the initial stages, but later on Chaka reported some gender power conflicts where issues of finances were concerned. The husband in a way wanted to control financial issues. These farms were given as business entities and the owner of the land had the right to control the finances. Chaka had challenges accessing a bank loan, maybe because in the past women could not enter into contracts in their own rights. Even after the government passed laws and instruments that empowered women, their lack of collateral as demanded for bank loans remained a constraining factor (Chingarande, 2008). Resistances to the new discourse manifested themselves, therefore, from many directions. If Chaka was to get a loan it had to be through her husband who had assets, but he was not prepared to do that.

Riya's experiences were different, as we have noted from her story with regard to how her husband did not wish her success. She said:

We worked as a team for a while before he started having extramarital affairs. When I confronted him, he became abusive. He would even go to the farm with a girlfriend from Chinhoyi [the nearest town where Riya and her husband have a house and stay when they are not at the farm, though Riya said that most of the time she was at the farm], bringing her to

the farm when I was not around. When I confronted him he said, “I will bring whoever I want here ...” So now he does not come to the farm because we were quarrelling frequently. He only came yesterday after four years of not coming here. He only came because we bought a car from the farm produce and he does not want me to drive it. He dropped me here last night and said he was going back to town ...

The above dossier is a good example of how men do not want to give up power and control. Riya’s husband partially supported his wife later only because of the economic benefits, but even so his support was short-lived as he continued his wayward lifestyle. He continued to abuse his wife. There was no trust between them because the husband was abusive and engaged in extramarital affairs. The husband felt intimidated and there was a power struggle as he fought the new discourse by refusing to support her and wishing she could fail. His engagement in extramarital affairs could be a result of his resistance to the new status of the wife.

Resistance from officials

The women farmers were resisted by officials who included AGRITEX staff, GMB officials and chiefs. Nakudza’s story goes thus:

The males in the community were not happy. In fact they could not believe it, and only believed when they saw my name in print on the offer letter. To be honest, this was very, very difficult for me because most male GMB and extension officials were not supportive. They preferred to interact with male farmers, but .I remember one year I went to GMB to get inputs and, surprisingly, I was given half of what I had requested, yet other farmers received what they had requested. I observed that the males were given what they had requested, but I could not complain ...

It is crystal clear from the above narration that the male officials at GMB did not accept Nakudza as a farmer in Zvimba. This supports claims by Chingarande (2008) who found in her study that women who got land after 1980 in Zimbabwe competed with men for access to resources, but few women could succeed. Nakudza experienced gender discrimination based on an internalized power relationship and the discourse that women are less worthy. The traditional discourse of discriminating against women competes with the new discourse of gender equality and is acted out as a power struggle. Rhipi also faced resistance from male officials. She had this to say:

But other people took time to accept this. When I went to GMB for inputs, they would ask for Mr. Riphi to come and sign for inputs. I would then argue, saying, “But the offer letter is in my name.” They viewed this as out of the norm because they thought if you come for anything; it’s your husband who would have sent you. Even the extension officers, when they wanted to make farm visits, they had a habit of phoning Mr. Riphi. Then Mr. Riphi would say “Okay, let me check with Mrs. Riphi.”. This always surprised them. “But we want to see you, not Mrs. Riphi,” they would respond. Mr. Riphi would respond, saying, “But the farm is Mrs. Riphi’s.” Even now we are doing contract farming with a Chinese Company. When these Chinese drafted the contract they wrote Rashid Riphi. But I had told them this farm is mine, but still they wrote my husband’s name. I then explained that the names on the contract and offer letter were different. Then they said, “Ah we thought the farm is for Mr. Riphi ...”

Male community officials took time to accept Mrs. Riphi’s new status. Gender power struggles were evident from the GMB officials’ behaviours. The attitude of the Chinese also reveals a gender power struggle. The old regime of truth in the minds of many prevented them from accepting the new regime of truth, namely that women have rights just like men. Thus the men in these stories fought the new discourse. This confirms Gaidzanwa’s (2011) conclusion that African men resist the empowerment of women, arguing that educating women and allowing them to own land weakens African culture.

The chiefs were also antagonistic to the new discourse of equality. Ndonso reported that the chief sided with the farmers who fought her. As custodians of land in the traditional African society where males qualified to own land, the chiefs could have felt that their power was being eroded as they were not involved in the allocation of A2 farms. The chiefs in Ndonso’s story could have viewed the allocation of land to women by the land officers as a threat to their power, and this led to conflict in gender power relations (Chingarande, 2009). In addition, A2 farmers are not under the jurisdiction of the chiefs. Thus, they were viewed with hostility by the chiefs. This confirms Apusigah’s (2013) arguments that even at community level, traditional leaders such as chiefs, who are custodians of the land and in most cases males, have found it difficult to interact and accept women farmers, as they view the role of women as that of nurturers and carers and least of all as farmers in their own right.

Riphi experienced resistance from male officials. This was her response to how they reacted to her getting an offer letter:

The first years of coming to this farm were very challenging. I almost gave up, but I realised I could not lose my land because of people.

Chaka reported not getting support from the banks. Before independence, women in Zimbabwe could not open bank accounts in their own names. While they could open bank accounts after independence, they could not secure loans because the banks required collateral in the form of assets they did not have (Gaidzanwa, 2011; Chingarande, 2008).

Resistance from neighbouring farmers

Riya faced resistance from the males both within the family and in the community. Riya said:

Many people, especially neighbours, really wish I could just give it up, because one of them said to me the other day, “Since your husband is not well, why don’t you stay in Chinhoyi with him and I can look for someone to take over your farm. It is good because the person will give you money which you can use.”

The neighbours were not supporting Riya. She went on to say, “But my neighbours are rather jealous that I got a farm. They are always influencing my workers to disobey me or even telling them not to work for me.” The neighbours exhibited discursive behaviour that had been normalized in society, almost a form of disciplinary power to behave badly towards women. They tried to drive her off the farm by all means.

Similarly, Ndono experienced resistance from males in the community. She said:

The people who were not helpful were other farmers who wanted to use my farm. I have fought many wars with the neighbouring farmers. The agricultural extension officer is the one who told me that the other farmer was pushing his cattle to graze in my farm. So one day I stood by the gate when his cattle were coming again and I refused them entry...

The people who resisted Ndono were other farmers who got A1 farms, and the chief of that area. Maybe the A1 male farmers were unhappy that they got small farms while a woman got

a bigger commercial farm, which in their perspective translated to more power for the woman farmer, thus, upsetting the status quo.

After getting land, Laeka had boundary problems with neighbours who were men.

The first problem that I experienced was of the boundaries with my neighbour. ... Later it resurfaced with another neighbour. The farmer had been allocated a repossessed farm and when he came, he extended the boundary, moving into my farm. And the other neighbour was also claiming another piece of my land. So I ended up having a very small piece of land. So in 2011 I had to go and call the land committee and extension officers again after about ten years because I got the piece of land in 2001.

The attitude towards women getting land was that of resistance. The neighbours were likely to have encroached onto Laeka's farm because she was a woman. These stories indicate that men felt they could manipulate women and push them around, as they did with Laeka and Riya. Gender power conflict often erupted in such incidents where women appeared to be getting powerful.

The change in the roles of women advocated for by the government of Zimbabwe has not been easy to implement because men, who occupy most decision-making positions, feel threatened. The new discourse of women empowerment has not been accepted right away and, from these stories, it seems to be gaining acceptance at a very slow pace.

Ndono narrated the story of how males in the community resisted her when she moved to her farm. This was her story:

Of course there were challenges with other farmers, but now the challenges are beginning to settle down. Because when we moved onto the farm, the people in the community (A1 farmers) and even the chief were resisting our presence, saying, "That area you got is our grazing area for our cattle." So what we did was show them the offer letter, and they realized that the next farm was the farm allocated for their grazing. It was my husband who communicated with them ...

The AGRITEX officer whispered to me and said, "The trouble shooter is that one." He was male. So I went to him and he started talking in a language I could not understand.

The nasty experience was that of non-acceptance by the community and a nasty experience from the council itself, from the council chairperson who sided with the community in the incident of the fencing of the farm. People were saying, “This fence was there when you got this farm so it belongs to the former white farmer who was there, so it’s not yours. We have not seen Mrs. Ndono putting up any fence.” The council chairperson announced at a meeting “Eh, Mrs. Ndono is not allowed to bar you from taking your cattle to drink water from the dam in her farm...”

Men were resisting the new discourse of women empowerment and this posed a challenge to women farmers. This discourse led to gender power conflicts as people from different potential sources of help resisted women owning land. Men looked down upon women’s authority and did as they pleased because they were used to giving instructions and not getting instructions.

Simbai had similar experiences with the response of males to her new status of land ownership. She said:

But the male members in the community, especially one of my neighbours, did not receive it lightly and fought me from the time I moved on to the farm. He would connive with my workers and incite them to demand unreasonable wages that he was not even paying his own workers. He would also incite them to steal or just look for work elsewhere, so that I would have no one to work for me. He went to the extent of inciting his own workers to steal a borehole pump I had installed, intending to do irrigation. I think he was jealous of my progress.

Another neighbour also resisted ownership of land by Simbai. This shows that males did not accept women getting into male-dominated areas. Mojirayo (2013) found similar findings in her study of the shifting gender power dynamics between women and men in Yekeni District in Nigeria. Lack of acceptance was also experienced by Chaka. She said:

When I moved in as a woman, at the particular farm where I’m farming, male neighbours did not readily accept me, because they thought men were supposed to be farmers. So when I got to that farm with the experience that I had had from my childhood, I just did what I could do and did the best where I could, so they didn’t really understand me because they thought I was just going to do small things, but I went on to do bigger things like growing tobacco,

which they were not doing, and I went into intensive maize farming, which they were not doing. So they didn't really like it and they were negative about it. They would make comments like, "She wants to show off. We have been here before her and she thinks she knows it all."

The fact that society viewed men as superior made it difficult for people to accept the new status of women. This led to gender power conflicts as men resisted the presence of women farmers in the non-traditional industry of farming. Women were accepted as workers and not as owners of land. Gender power relations were conflictual, with men wishing women failure to prove they were weak. We still witness, repeatedly, the discursive regime of truth of men viewing themselves as superior to women.

Resistance from workers

Another finding that emerged in my study related to the reaction of workers to women owning and managing farms. Managing workers was not easy for most women farmers, especially when they moved onto the farms. The workers resisted the instructions of the farmers. Narrating her ordeal with the workers, Rhipi said:

The workers resisted me. At this farm, I said to one of the workers who was the cattle manager before I came, "Can you manage my cattle?" He refused saying he would not work for a black woman farmer. "I would rather stay at home," he told me. The law still allows them to stay on the farm even if they are not working. (The government allowed farm workers from previous white farmers to remain on the farm compounds even if they did not work for the new black farmers. This poses challenges as some of these farm workers rely mainly on stealing.) So he is just staying in the compound doing nothing. He survives through stealing. We now employ guards, because there is too much stealing.

The workers did not accept a black farmer, especially if the farmer was a woman. This situation was exacerbated by the fact that the government did not move them from farm compounds. Even if they were not working for the new farmer, they were allowed by the government to continue staying in the compound. When the land reform programme was implemented, the government allowed farm workers to remain staying in the farm compounds (Scoones et al., 2012). Whilst this pleased the workers, who did not have any other home, it presented a challenge for the new farmers if the workers refused to work for

them but remained on the farms. Some workers disrupted farm activities and influenced other workers to refuse to work for the new farmers.

There is evidence of gender power struggles and racism as well where the new discourse of equality was being resisted by farm workers. The workers resisted orders from women, saying they would not work for a black woman, revealing both racial and gender prejudice. Gender power relations improved later on, though power conflict had emerged the moment Rhipi got on the farm. The allocation of land had its own challenges, especially from farm workers who were used to working for white farmers.

Laeka, like Rhipi, also experienced resistance from male farm workers. She said:

I experienced high staff turnover problems with these guys we get from Mutoko (an area in the Northern part of Zimbabwe). E-ee, they are males I hire as full time workers, but for part time work I employ women from the community to assist in planting beans, planting maize, and then harvesting. My high staff turnover is mainly from these male workers whom I get from Mutoko, because during the winter time they come to farms looking for jobs, but when the rain starts they leave and go back to their rural areas to work in their fields and, umm, some go for gold panning. In the absence of Mr Laeka, I give an instruction and they resist. ... Those who left would just say no to my instruction and they only accepted when it came from my husband, and that can be a challenge.

Laeka's narration reveals a gender power conflict as shown by the lack of commitment by male workers and their reluctance to take instructions from her. Men were resisting women's authority and would take the husband's instructions and reject the wife's. Finally, she remained with a few who understood her and were willing to work with her. Ndono also reported having problems with workers who were not accepting her instructions. She said:

My male manager did not perform well. He would leave the workers fencing and he would disappear and not come back, and these other workers would also just do what they wanted without being supervised. He would just instruct them and drop them where they would be working, putting up the fence, and he would not come back. So this got to my knowledge, that he would just go and spend the whole day drinking. No work would be done in his absence. He would not come to supervise his team mates until I saw the men

not doing the work. So I reorganized the teams and the woman is now the overall supervisor.

It was clear that some male workers did not accept the new discourse of women owning farms. This gave rise to gender power conflicts which were then compounded by class and status struggle, as the women were new land owners with the male workers below them, hence the resistance. Some farmers stood their ground and stamped their authority, whilst others sought help from their husbands.

The new discourse of equality which came about after Zimbabwe attained independence in 1980 was preached more than practised, as evidenced by the way men resisted it. It was not until the 2000 Fast Track Land Reform Programme (ZFTLRP) that more women were able to own land (Gaidzanwa, 2011). The numbers of women who benefited fell far below the number of men beneficiaries (Chingarande, 2008; Scoones et al., 20012). This was worsened by the fact that most committees who made decisions and allocated land were occupied by males, who feared losing power to women (Chingarande, *ibid*). The women's stories have shown that the new discourse was welcomed by all women, but the majority of men took time to accept the change. The response by most men supported Goebel's (2005) assertion that men feel that these new policies of women empowerment would weaken their position and threaten the African culture. This reasoning made males in my study to resist land ownership by women and this created gender power conflicts.

While the government appeared to be committed to the new discourse of equality, the males who interacted with women (e.g. a few husbands, GMB officials, extension workers, farm workers, neighbouring farmers and others) were not supportive. This could be explained by Moser's (1992) assertion that a change in gender relations could imply change in power and status, and thus present problems and resistance especially where men, who fear losing power, are concerned. Attempts to alter gender relations are seen by male-dominated societies as threats to tradition and culture (Reeves & Baben, 2000; Gaidzanwa, 1995). The stories of women in this study showed that males, who included their husbands, neighbours, GMB officials, extension officials and workers, initially resisted the fact that women had become land owners. This is not surprising because in African culture, men had always been in control and made all the critical decisions. The stories of the women farmers highlighted the challenge of negotiating different power relations in a situation where those with power

have greater control over the new discourse. Men resisted the new discourse knowing that it could erode their power. This confirms the claim of Ntseane and Preece (2005) who assert that those who create discourses guard them jealously as they are happy to perpetuate the status quo. The men in this study jealously guarded the African traditional discourse that gave men power to control women.

Women in my study were happy to be owners of land, but they found themselves caught in-between the new discourse of equality and the traditional discourse that expects women to be submissive and take orders from men. Having been socialised in traditional discourse and gender roles, the women were torn between wanting empowerment and the fear of being accused of being rebels.

6.3.3 The new discourse of equality accepted

While women faced a lot of resistance from their husbands and males in the community, they nevertheless got support from a few people, including, in Ndono's case, her husband, who did not resist her new status. She said:

I asked my husband to apply for land and he said, "I am doing my own things, teaching at the University. But if you want, go ahead (using a hand to gesture)." And he has never interfered in my operations ... My husband played a very important role when we moved to the farm, because he said we should go to the chief and headman and introduce ourselves. This made the chief to accept us, though he often would side with other farmers when we had problems of their cattle coming to graze on my farm ...

Ndono's husband appeared to be supportive of his wife being allocated a farm from the moment she applied. He was satisfied with his work as a lecturer and did not mind the farm being in his wife's name. The husband had accepted the new discourse of equality, perhaps partly because he had been given the choice to reject her idea that he apply for land.

Whilst other husbands resisted the new discourse, Rhipi's husband also accepted it. The attitude of Rhipi's husband even helped to change the attitude of the neighbours and GMB officials, who finally accepted that the farm belonged to Mrs Rhipi.

Besides husbands, some family members and community officials were supportive. Simbai, who got support from her mother-in-law, said:

My mother-in-law said, “Let’s go and see the farm.” The fact that my husband’s family had no rural home - umm - also encouraged me. You know, in our culture one always has a home in the rural area. My mother-in-law also encouraged me because she said the idea of a home for the family was good. We were best of friends and sometimes we would go together to apply for land ...

Simbai’s mother-in-law behaved in an unusual manner. Normally, the mother-in-law would take the side of her son (Mbilinyi & Sechambo, 2009), but in this case she was happy to celebrate the daughter-in-law’s success. The mother-in-law did not mind settling at the daughter-in-law’s farm. Maybe this was because they had a good relationship and the new status of Simbai was not a threat to the mother-in-law. She was happy and saw the farm as a family home, since the family had no rural home. Maybe that was the reason she accepted the news, as she benefitted from the security of land ownership.

The DA, who was one of the participants in this study, responded positively to the new discourses. It was surprising because he works closely with both male and female farmers. He openly acknowledged the power challenges this scenario posed. He said:

You know, women have been oppressed by men; and Zimbabwe being a patriarchal society where males dominate and they have an upper hand, you find that if a woman has been allocated land, the male would want to control the operations of this particular woman. If she is a widow, the father comes or the brother comes to give her instruction of how to run the farm, irrespective of the fact that the land was allocated to the woman. Men always want to infiltrate and try to control the women’s operations.

The DA’s sentiments confirm Apusigah’s (2013) assertion that African society holds on to the traditional belief that women cannot own land, nor can they be in charge. The culture of discriminating against women seemed to be so entrenched in the minds of the people that it was not easy to change it.

Chaka's brothers were supportive. She said, "My brothers were surprised at my joy. They really laughed because they never thought I was going to go back into farming again, but anyway they encouraged me." Ndono's story also showed that she got support from some male community members. She said:

In some instances, the AGRITEX officers were also supportive. Well, male members from GMB have not been really negative, even at the beginning, because they were helpful when I wanted inputs and when I delivered my produce. The agriculture extension officers were not always available to give services when needed, but were not against me.

Simbai also got support from one neighbour and her brothers. The neighbour who worked well with Simbai seemed to have embraced the new agenda. Simbai's brothers celebrated their sister's joy, showing acceptance of the new discourse. The immediate family, who included her father and brothers, seemed to have been happy to see their sister/daughter owning land. This was a matter of being kith and kin. One wonders if the reaction would have been the same had it been their wives getting land. In African culture, women exercise authority in their roles as aunts, particularly when the brothers marry, and they usually take the side of the brother if there is a conflict between husband and wife; and brothers tend to support their sister against her husband (Mbilinyi & Sechambo, 2009).

There was evidence, however, that the initial frictions ended and relations improved as people accepted the new scenario. This is confirmed by the stories of Nakudza and Riphi. Nakudza said:

... *now* most officials, even the extension officers, are supportive and visiting us to offer support. The GMB officials, when we go to sell our produce, now accept us and appreciate the exercise of land reform programme. Last year the GMB officials actually came to my farm to assess my produce, yet in the past they only visited male farmers, despite the fact that I was delivering more maize than some male farmers were. They now show me respect. But it was after a struggle ...

Elaborating on the support from other community members, Riphi said:

The GMB officials *now* accept us when we sell our produce and they now appreciate the exercise of the land reform programme. I am grateful for this, because it's good to grow crops

and sell. We view the programme of women getting land as manna from heaven and we are thankful. As for me, I am so proud of this land.

Riphi's and Nakudza's stories show a shift by the GMB officials from the traditional thinking to the new regime. The traditional discourse was being replaced by the discourse of equality after some power struggles. This was a major victory as, *finally*, the women farmers gained recognition.

Simbai also said that, with time, her husband supported her at the farm, although traces of insecurity were still there, as evidenced by her explanation below:

Right now, the attitude of my husband *has changed* although he doesn't want to show it (*laughs*). He likes the farm, he loves the produce and everything about it, but he doesn't want to be seen to be active when I am there. When we go together he stands aloof, but I discovered once when I was away that my husband would sometimes go there with my son, and send our son on farm errands. He would even go there on his own and was very active. In a week he would go there three times.

In the stories of Simbai, Nakudza and Riphi, the support from male members was not immediate. Initially there was some form of resistance, and then acceptance. The gender power struggle in the early stages was evident in the actions of Simbai's husband. His change of attitude could signify different things. He could have decided to support her, so he started by contributing to the farm activities when his wife was away. It could be a way of trying to be in total control by making day-to-day decisions and eventually running the farm. It appeared he felt threatened by the wife's presence at the farm. With time, the wife could be pushed out of the farm management activities so that all that would remain would be a paper with her name on it, but with all the decisions being made by her husband. Another view is that he may have preferred to go to the farm with the son as the collective male figures in the family, confirming the traditional norm that men should be in charge.

6.4 CONCLUSION

This chapter has engaged with the stories of how the new discourse was received. The first section analysed historical gender roles, building the argument that the traditional discourse saw women being discriminated against. Women were visible in nurturing roles and

providing labour in the farms, but were not controlling the land and farming activities. Women depended on men and could not make decisions. Whilst women farmers were happy to own land, their husbands and males in the community did not support them and resisted the new discourse. However, a few people accepted the new discourse and supported women in their new role as owners and managers of farms, and wished them well. This chapter has confirmed the traditional discourse's emphasis on different roles for men and women, with men taking the decision-making and controlling roles. The chapter also laid the foundation of how the new discourse came into being, with women expressing joy over their new status of being owners and managers of land. The chapter showed that the new discourse was accepted by a few and rejected by many people. Women farmers faced resistance from different groups of males who included the husbands, male officials, other farmers and workers. The resistance created gender power conflicts. The next chapter discusses strategies employed by women to manage these power conflicts and shows how amicable working relations were achieved.

CHAPTER 7: RESEARCH FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

MANAGEMENT OF GENDER POWER RELATIONS

7.1 INTRODUCTION

When women became land owners, they encountered a lot of resistance from men, as the stories in chapter six revealed. The gender power conflicts were retrogressive in terms of agricultural production, considering that the government expected A2 farmers to produce and contribute to the economic growth of the nation (Mutondi, 2012; Chingarande, 2008). The previous chapter provided an understanding of how traditional roles operated. This chapter details the navigation of gender power dynamics by contemporary women farmers. It also shows that educated women may have a greater reserve of discourses available to them because they can sometimes confront and employ agency (the capacity for self-determination). This chapter identifies several discursive strategies used by the women in the study, which are categorised as reverse discourse, the use of agency in the form of resistant discourse, and the application of economic rationales to obtain support for their farming activities.

7.2 REVERSE DISCOURSE

Many researchers have talked of the constraints faced by women (Mbilinyi & Sechambo, 2009; Chingarande, 2008; Chinyemba et al., 2006). This study builds on, and moves beyond, those studies to show how women managed the constraints and created their own new regimes of truth. There are different ways in which they did this. Foucault's different descriptions of discourse help to categorise these different discursive strategies. In the first instance, women in this study could be said to have used reverse discourse to get what they wanted and sell their decisions to their husbands. Reverse discourse, according to Mills (2003), is when one does not challenge the person oppressing you, but uses the oppressor's words to get what one wants. When the women wanted their ideas to get accepted, they negotiated with the males and manipulated them using vocabulary and behaviours that would be acceptable to the males.

7.2.1 Managing power relations through manipulation and negotiation

Women's stories revealed the use of a persuasive approach, especially when they dealt with their husbands. Even though the farms were in their names, they sought advice from their husbands and allowed their husbands to believe they (the husbands) were leading and making critical decisions. Husbands, in a way, became co-owners of the farms as far as most women were concerned. Mutopo (2011) found that married women in Shurugwi, for instance, employed the 'right' language to speak with their husbands at the 'right' time when their husbands were in a good mood, especially in their bedrooms. The strategy of manipulation and persuasion to achieve their plans was evident in most of the stories from the women farmers, especially Ndono, Rhipi, Nakudza, Laeka and Simbai, as the discussion below shows. Ndono said, "When I saw an advertisement in the paper for people to apply for land, I said to my husband, 'Now people are applying for farms, are you going to stay without your own piece of land?'" From Ndono's story, we observe that Ndono was trying to encourage her husband to apply for a farm knowing that that's what the culture expected. Ndono used persuasive language and humility to coax her husband. Her story goes:

Well, when I applied, it was in my name and my husband's. But I was surprised that the allocation letter came in the name of Mrs. Ndono. So there were no challenges, because my husband knew that I had submitted two applications, one is his name and one in my name.. He did not interfere. I consulted him concerning the employment of the workers and how things should be done because, you know, we are a family. I informed my family that we now have a farm, but you know, when we are married and we are Christians, in marriage husband and wife are one. It's the roles that are different ...

Ndono's conversation, as articulated in Chapter Six, revealed that the traditional discourse that privileged male ownership of farms influenced her to make two applications, one for her husband and one for herself, though her husband was not keen and did not mind his wife applying for land. Reverse discourse was exhibited by Ndono because she wanted land for herself and planned to soften her husband by encouraging him to apply as head of the family. In this instance, the husband would have felt respected and motivated to support the wife. She consulted her husband even regarding the employment of workers, and made him appreciate that he was the one making decisions. African women tend to negotiate and manipulate to get support from men. In addition, the African concepts of communality, cooperation and team work were very evident in this story. Cooperation and not competition or individualism are

promoted in traditional Africa (Nseane, 2011; Goredema, 2010). The traditional African culture emphasises respect among family members and gender roles. Besides having her own strong character, it can be assumed that Ndono also gained confidence knowing that the husband supported whatever decision she took. She ensured that her relations with the husband were always good by maintaining her traditional status as family homemaker and not taking over the husband's role as head of the family. She said:

I really am proud of being a woman farmer because it matches well with the roles of a woman. When I prepare the food and prepare everything for the family and the head of the family, I get it all from the farm. So, the head - you can actually influence him because it's not difficult, but it's how you do it that counts. Men need especially the African man, he needs his respect and to be consulted. That's easy, and then you get his full support. When you walk out of your role as a woman, and want to be the head, you will not succeed. I would urge women, saying, "You are stronger than men but know that your character is, above all, your strength to get your husband to your side as a woman and to improve your home."

In our culture we have a saying *Musha Mukadzi* (It's the wife who makes the home). This is a beautiful and empowering saying. You are the implementer, you are the manager, you are the advisor and then you know every organization has a leader, and in the home it is your husband. The influence that women play in their role as mothers of the family should not be underestimated. There is no home with two heads, like what we did when going to Beijing (an international conference on the empowerment of women), we didn't go with a clear mind about our role, but we were empowered, and at implementation we failed.

Ndono meant that the Beijing conference regarded women as a homogeneous group and did not consider the contexts of the different groups of women. Particularly in the African context, some of the strategies would not work, because men, who are in most decision-making committees, were excluded. Ndono argued that the international discourse that stated women should take control of their lives and challenge male dominance needed a more nuanced approach in African cultures:

Some of us women in Africa lost our positions because we were saying, "I am on my own." In the African culture, that will not work. You know that you can do anything even if you are behind and the man is in front. When I go to the farm and need to make a critical decision, I telephone my husband and say, "We said we were going to buy two cattle or to get this with

the money you gave me, but the money is inadequate and I am withdrawing some more.” You put it this way even if you know the money came from the proceeds of the farm which is in your name. Give him his role, and know how to go round and tell him that in order to achieve the family objective, he has to lead.

Ndono used the strategy of manipulation to get her decisions accepted and implemented. She used reverse discourse to manipulate her husband to do what she wanted. She allowed the husband to believe he was making the decisions by using words and an attitude that suggested he was in control. She maintained her traditional homemaker behaviour to encourage the husband to feel secure that the status quo had not changed. At the same time, she engineered new decisions through a strategy of convincing the husband that he was acting in their best interests. She urged women to use that strategy, as one is ensured of succeeding because African men are softened through respect and recognition that they are the family heads. This negotiation skill is common among African women. Tsikata (2009) concluded in her study that women in Africa use negotiation skills to circumvent the male-dominated pattern of formal approaches. This was also supported by Mutopo’s (2011) findings. Rhipi’s story showed that she used the ‘right’ approach with her husband.

Then the ZFLRP started and my husband and I both applied and we both got land offers. The Government said if you are a couple you can only keep one farm. So we discussed and agreed that Mr Rhipi surrenders his farm, and we both moved to my farm which was more fertile. So I am happy. I just inform my husband of my plans in addition to his and he just gives me a go-ahead. We work as a team. It is different from the past when our mothers had no contribution to make. They were discriminated against. The woman was only allocated a small field for groundnuts (*tsewu*). That was the last field to be ploughed when the husband’s fields were ploughed.

Rhipi’s husband was not threatened by his wife’s offer letter. Perhaps he accepted the new discourse knowing that it was a family project, and they would stay at the farm and work on the farm as a team. The wife’s decision to involve the husband in all decision-making processes and consult him helped avoid power conflicts. From the researcher’s observation when she visited the farm, the husband was making most of the decisions and he would allocate the farm work. His wife, however, was involved because she would give her input as well. They worked as a good team. This kind of consensus relationship could have contributed to the husband’s acceptance of his wife owning the farm.

Simbai, one of the women interviewed, also used the same skill. She said:

My husband has made a surprisingly pleasant turnaround. But as I have already told you, I went out of my way to show him that the farm is for us (*with emphasis*) not me. I knew if I say me, things would not go well (*with a frowning face*). We would always quarrel about the farm and would create a situation that would prevent me from going to the farm. He would, for example, create a journey for me, and as a wife you cannot refuse to go. But because I always consulted him and tried to get him involved, he later changed his attitude and got involved, and now we work together well. It was hard but I am happy now he applies himself fully. When I told him that he should be in the forefront, at first he resisted, but I kept on consulting him and now he is very supportive. Now when he is on leave, he goes to the farm frequently.

Initially, as earlier stories revealed, there was a gender power conflict as the new discourse was resisted by Simbai's husband. The family began working as a team after the wife persuaded the husband to be active on the farm. Simbai knew she had to 'buy' her husband's support for her not to have her farm activities resisted. The women manipulated the men to do what the women wanted. The strategy used by the women was manipulation, persuasion and allowing the men to lead while ensuring that the women's plans were fulfilled, as asserted by Apusigah (2009). Women often used reverse discourse in this way. Confirming the approach of negotiation and persuasion, Nakudza said:

Now my husband respects my views, but it is because I approach him well and respect him as head of the family. Before I make a decision, I consult him and if his idea differs from mine, I sell my idea, but not directly. I should not appear to be leading him. All I need is to have the farm productive and improve the lifestyle of my children.

The wife used a respectful and persuasive approach to get her views accepted by her husband. She would find ways to make him change his mind, 'but not directly.' Because Rhiphi consulted her husband and allowed him to make decisions, he felt his wife was respecting him and his authority was not undermined. This was a clear way of managing gender power relations. By using the language of male dominance the wife would find ways to let her husband believe he was leading. This is reverse discourse, which is employed by most African women. They use persuasive language and pretend to be taking the men's instruction when, in the end, it is the women's plans which are implemented (Mutopo, 2013; Apusigah,

2009; Tsikita, 2009). The husbands in general could have been motivated by the need to take control of the land and decision-making, knowing that the wives would look up to them. Men were aware that the culture expected them to be in control and women to be obedient.

As stated earlier, in African culture, the concept of communality and cooperation is emphasised, while competition is not encouraged (Ntseane, 2011). Goredema (2010) asserts that African feminism recognises the role of culture, and women cannot address gender discrimination without involving men. The women's solution in managing this situation was to use reverse discourse, where a person manipulates the other person by using their language of power in order to achieve their goals. This strategy is supported by Mutopo (2011) who challenges the western assumption that openly claiming individual rights to land are the best mechanisms for women in Africa. Rather, it is the negotiated and bargaining processes that exist in patriarchal structures that lead to cultural contracts enabling women to gain access to land. This is what Mutopo (2013) refers to as 'cooperative bargaining'. In these processes, some members' rights are subjugated while others, particularly those of male members, are respected and asserted. Women find it necessary to create a bargaining site where power dynamics do not erupt but have to be managed as much as possible to benefit the women (Oywaya-Nkukumwa, 2012; Mutopo, 2013; Tsikata, 2009).

7.2.2 Use of a third person to manage gender power relations

Initially some women could not get their decisions accepted and needed other people to help them. It was evident from the women's stories that sometimes they solicited the mediation of a third person, often a man, to bring peace between them and men. The use of a third person is a form of reverse discourse because the women continued to use accepted power differentials to accommodate their own subjugated status. Some called upon their husbands while others used the lands committee or extension officers to resolve gender conflicts. Only after the intervention of the male lands committee and extension officers did the fight for boundaries in Laeka's story stop. She said:

I had to appeal to the lands committee who came and solved the issue of boundaries. The farmers on my left and right side had moved onto my farm. The lands committee re-measured our areas and that resolved the conflict and now we work together nicely. They have now accepted me. But it was hard ...

The neighbours would only listen to the lands committee regarding boundaries.

Ndono used three male figures, her husband, the GMB officials and extension officers, and her farm worker, who was trained to use a gun, to bring closure to her problems with the neighbour's cattle coming to graze and drink on her farm. She said:

The people who were not helpful were other farmers who wanted to use my farm. The agricultural extension officer is the one who told me that the other farmer was pushing his cattle to graze on my farm. The extension officer intervened and in the end we resolved our differences, and the neighbour said he would not bring his cattle again unless he had asked for my permission.

It was only after the intervention of the extension officer that the troublesome farmers understood that they could not just enter Ndono's farm and do what they wanted. The intervention eased the relations but also highlighted the greater power that is exhibited by men in the African culture. African women have to fight harder to be heard and to get male support for their decisions to be implemented. However, exceptions to the rule appeared to be evident in the case of the AGRITEX officers and Ndono's husband. Maybe this was because their own male status and role as protectors were not threatened by the new gender empowerment discourse.

Ndono reported that on one occasion she showed the neighbours the offer letter in her name. The official letter disempowered those who opposed her. The use of these strategies also helped her to get accepted. She and the other women wanted peace in all their endeavours. All their discursive strategies and behaviours were designed to promote harmony rather than conflict.

The DA who was interviewed also confirmed this when he said, "... and women want peace, unlike men. Even in the meetings we have together, women are cooperative, they are eager to learn. They want peace and they work hard." He confirmed that sometimes his office is approached by women to solve conflicts. His narration is below:

Some women are courageous and bring their complaints. One farmer came to complain about the interference of the neighbour, who wanted to use her shed to store his grain. The

neighbour was bulldozing his way in and the woman farmer reported. We explained to these people that this particular piece of land belonged to the woman. If she says no, it's a no. In most cases, we manage to resolve the conflicts. Only one case, which involved theft of irrigation equipment stolen from the woman farmer, had to end up in court because the man defied our ruling.

The use of a third person was common among women farmers in the study. In many instances, women sought the intervention of a male figure in the form of husbands, fathers, brothers, extension officers and so on to help them manage the gender power conflicts. The men's major contribution is that they assisted the women farmers to assert their control over the farms. Since men were accustomed to asserting their status as a form of superiority over women, this proved to be an additional supportive strategy to ease gender power relations during women's initial stages of establishing themselves as farm owners. Laeka said:

After failing to get a positive response to my application, I started pestering my father so that I could have a piece of land during the land allocation, and he asked me for my ID (identification card) since I came from Zvimba District. It was easier for me to get land in my home area.

Laeka used the strategy of continuous persistence, but also the influence of a male figure (her father) helped. She realised the need to look for support that did not depend on her husband. Women in my study appeared to collude in their discrimination, but at the same time they were ensuring that their plans were implemented. This was echoed by the DA who was interviewed who said:

My opinion is that, regarding women owning land, the problem is that our people are still very cultural, to use a big word, they are so circumlocutious. You know they take time, instead of saying what they want directly to the husband; they would rather go through somebody else like an aunt, or a brother. In these conventional times, there is no time for that. I think our women should rise up and relate whatever they want on a face-to-face scenario. In short, they are so circumlocutious. I can give an example: after selling her produce, a woman would rather go through somebody like the aunty to tell the husband how she wants to use her money. You know that sort of thing. They need to be confident. This is their money, they have worked for it. They must plan on their own and go ahead.

The DA indicated an unusual level of insight into understanding how the women should endeavour to manage their farms without challenging traditional values. However, he felt that the women should be allowed to stand up for their rights on their own terms. He appeared to have embraced the new discourse of women's empowerment and urged women to grab the opportunity to show their capability. In this way he became a partner in championing the betterment of women farmers. Nevertheless, the evidence of Chapter Six indicates that his recommended strategy was potentially risky during this transition phase of gender power relations. The women tended to involve their husbands in the farm activities, as evidenced by the stories specifically of Ndono, Simbai, Rhipi and Riya. This confirms the assertion that African women often did not claim what was their right in terms of education and land, as they feared being viewed as rebels by society (Mumbi, 1985; Kaziboni, 2000). The stories of the women farmers have shown that they knew what they wanted and realised that introduction of their ideas required the support of their husbands, thus they resorted to using reverse discourse. This is in line with the thinking of African feminists who assert that men and women have to work together and acknowledge African culture to address discrimination against African woman (Goredema, 2010).

7.3 WOMEN USED AGENCY

Agency refers to self-determination to act independently (Ransom, 1993). The stories of the women participants in this study indicate that there was a progression in their discursive behaviour. From an initial passivity, when their behaviours were embedded in forms of disciplinary power in collusion with the traditional discourse, they moved to the use of reverse discourse, which focused on persuasion and manipulation of those with power to accept their new positions. There was evidence, however, that the women farmers progressed to a further stage when they began to adopt more assertive behaviours and illustrated the determination to succeed, on similar lines to those recommended earlier by the DA. As the women travelled their journey as owners and managers of farms, they did not just resort to the use of reverse discourse. They showed agency in various ways. Some were confrontational and resisted those who wanted to discriminate against them, demanding their rights.

7.3.1 *Resistant discourse*

Women used resistant discourses as part of their new-found agency. For instance, they stood their ground to communicate to male farmers and workers that they were the new owners of

the farms. This demonstration of agency sometimes contributed to women gaining acceptance and, interestingly, prevented the escalation of tensions in spite of the fact that such behaviour was not expected of women. Even the DA who was interviewed asserted that women need to stand up for themselves. Ndono stood her ground and told the neighbours that they were not going to use her dam and grass for their cattle without her permission. Riya also resisted the male power dynamics and remained at her farm, despite fights with her husband and neighbours who tried to move her from the farm.

Ndono's relations with her neighbours improved after the confrontation. The agency exhibited by Ndono contributed significantly to the change in attitudes by her neighbours. Her confrontational attitude ultimately persuaded the neighbours to accept the new gender empowerment discourse. As mentioned earlier, one day she stood by the gate when her neighbour's cattle were coming again with the herdsmen to graze at her farm. The neighbour had not asked for permission and was forcing his way in. Ndono said "... when I saw the herdsmen coming, I greeted them and asked them, 'Where are you going?' They said 'To Mrs Ndono's farm.' I said 'Ahh, what are you going there for? I am Mrs Ndono.' So I closed the gate and asked them to go back." She used the same approach with the headman, the chief and her male workers who were resisting her authority as a woman. This is her story:

I call this a nasty experience, because my farm is a big farm where I am paying US\$2 500 as annual levy for the space that I was given. Now for a council chairman to challenge me, when the levy I pay is part of his salary, no, I could not take it and I just told him, 'You are an ungrateful person. I pay my levy for you to get a salary.' This was during the early days of my moving onto the farm and they were trying to stop me, and they had come with a group of people with knobkerries led by the *Sabhuku* (Headman). One of my workers whom I had sent for training on how to use a gun with the ZRP (Zimbabwe Republic Police) met them; he just shot in the air and when they saw fire and heard the sound, the people got scared and fell down, and my worker said, "Get up, let us go and discuss this issue and conclude it". The Headman and the community members were shivering. That was a nasty experience. Remember I told you that we had made an appointment with the chief to go and introduce ourselves, and this is how they received me. From that day, they respected me.

I did not want the cutting of trees and letting their cattle come to graze on my farm. So I threatened them that I would make them pay a fine. Now that things are okay, I also realize that now I do not even need to worry.

That is why I am saying in driving a business you do not have to fear that you are a woman. It's the drive and interest and the skills that matter. I told my neighbours, "I'm sorry, if anybody crosses into my farm, something is going to happen, because I'm going to make them pay, and pay indeed." So I just did not get a gun because I wanted it, it was these nasty experiences. Now they know I am not someone to be pushed around and they respect me ...

Ndono showed considerable agency without fear in claiming what was hers. She demanded her right and showed agency through standing her ground and enforcing authority. She resisted male resistance, illustrating Foucault's assertion that where there is power, there is resistance. In this case women could lean on the power of the new discourse to challenge old regimes of truth. By owning land, women were taking over a role that was once the preserve of males, and some of them demanded their rights (Gaidzanwa, 2011; Taiwo, 2010). The literature does not give much evidence of this kind of behaviour or show it as a progression from the more conventional behaviours adopted by women.

Ndono stamped her authority on the management of workers. She said:

So I reorganized the teams, and the woman is now the overall supervisor, because the male supervisor was disobedient. One day I had arrived at the farm after the fencing and then the overall team leader, who was male, was not there. So I said "Where has he gone?" The workers said, "Ah, he left in the morning and he has not come back"... Six o'clock in the evening he walked in. So I asked, "Where are you coming from?" and he could not give a satisfactory answer and I said, "Well, this is the end," and I then appointed a lady as overall team leader. The female worker is doing well. So this is the lady who is leading the team and leading the men and I found that things are getting better (*both laugh*). You see, it really strengthens women.

... I am going to dismiss one of the male workers because last time, when I was paying workers who had completed a year at my farm their increment, this new male worker who had worked for 6 months said, "Ah, why didn't I get an increment?" I said, "Does your contract say you are going to get an increment within six months? You are going to get your increment

in September if the work goes well”. Then he asked, “Why?” Then I said “Decide, you can go if you are not happy.” When he came back the following day he said he was going to leave at the end of the month. But he did not leave and said to the team leader, “I’m not going to work after 4pm., if I work after four, I want overtime”. I said, “Where is overtime coming from? At 4pm you start to gather the cattle and bring them in the kraal by 5pm and you dismiss.” He is naughty because the first time I gave him a warning saying, “Next time it’s dismissal”, because he can influence the other workers. This is why I’m saying there must be commitment and firmness in your work ...

Ndono’s story showed that when men refused to accept her authority, she asserted her authority by being firm and confrontational. In addition, there was evidence of males who failed to live up to their status of being responsible, which in turn enabled women to challenge the men’s discourse. The female worker showed that she can lead. A new discourse of equality was emerging whereby women were taking over the role that was once the preserve of males. Ndono’s story was an example of a confrontational approach with both neighbours and workers.

This approach was a departure from Mutopo’s (2011) findings on women farmers in Shurugwi, where the confrontational skill was not used. This less traditional approach could be attributed to the level of educational empowerment of the women. Whilst women in Mutopo’s study had a low level of education, women in this study had a high level of education. This supports Suen’s (2013) assertion that education empowers the girl child and gives her confidence. Once women are empowered educationally, they are more likely to know and claim their rights compared to less-educated women (UNICEF, 2007; Kaziboni, 2002). The women needed to realise the power of the new discourse of women’s empowerment in order to generate a new regime of truth that women have power and the ability to succeed.

It was evident, therefore in these stories that while disciplinary power was one aspect of the women’s behaviour, it was not the only one. Women developed other forms of behaviour. They managed to build new regimes of truths and showed agency. Ndono had earlier on showed how she colluded in her discrimination when she elaborated how, as African women; there is a need to acknowledge the husband’s role as head of the family. However, she concluded by saying, “... but men do not have to direct women and treat them as door mats.”

The last part of Ndono's earlier discussion therefore showed agency or self-determination on her part when she indicated that men as heads of families should not necessarily direct women and view them as doormats. In this way, she showed signs of resistance, proving that culture and gender roles are dynamic and not static. Education seems to have impacted Ndono's assessment of her situation. Women gained self-esteem as owners of property in the form of land.

7.4 ECONOMIC RATIONALES IN GENDER POWER DYNAMICS

Using economic rationales was another discursive strategy which has been categorised in terms of how the women provided support to other community members, and demonstrated financial outcomes that acted as a persuasive force for acceptance of their new status and role. This included instances when women participated in community projects and helped their extended families with food and fees.

7.4.1 Women uplifting others in the community

Their new sense of agency empowered the women to strive for new regimes of truth to support the emerging women's empowerment discourse. Ndono began to advocate for women's empowerment in other aspects of community development and decision-making structures. She reported:

When we were having this task-force I noticed that women from my district were not there. So I said, "Why is it women from my district community are not there, why?" Women play a major role in community development. And so we agreed that women should also be incorporated to represent the interests of other women, and two women were invited to become part of the committee.

By speaking up for women's rights to participate and demand recognition, Ndono's agency took on new dimensions so that she was able to challenge community acts of nepotism:

The FAO ... eh, an international food organization, it's a UN organization that donated money for a warehouse in the district to be built so that farmers would get stock feeds and fertilizer closer, instead of travelling to town. The committee members decided that the money should be given to people with shops here. I argued that this would benefit only a few people and disadvantage the farmers. I asked the committee and there was no good

explanation. I think they wanted their friends to benefit at the expense of the whole community, so I disagreed with the committee members and their decision was reversed. The community should all live together and work as a team to develop the district.

This level of assertiveness indicated that women who are empowered can use their power to uplift the whole community; this illustrates the responsible use of resources. As a result of receiving and owning the land, they were motivated to work harder and succeed. In the process, the gender power relations evolved as the new order replaced the old order. The community took time to accept the women farmers. The women first had to reach out to the community so they could be a beneficial community resource. Laeka said:

Everybody this time has changed his attitude, because I never looked back nor revenged these neighbours. Actually, I would assist them. I also joined these committees in the farming communities, the development committees. When they were building a crèche and they wanted cement, I assisted with 20 bags. And they wanted some cash to pay the people who were building, and I also contributed. So, in the area I am very popular because of my participation in the development programmes that they do, even though I am not staying full-time at the farm.

The new discourse of women's empowerment at times required personal agency (self-determination) by the individual women taking responsibility for others and acting on their own initiative to make people feel they were acceptable. At times, women were only recognised after participating in community projects.

Women farmers have helped in poverty alleviation and the food shortages often experienced in drought-stricken areas. Laeka ensured that her farming efforts addressed issues of food security. Regarding giving food to the extended family, Laeka said:

My husband's relatives, who were also antagonistic, are now appreciative because when we harvest, we send them maize and beans and other things, because, you know, Zaka is in Masvingo Province which is in region five, and there is a perennial drought there, whereas Zvimba area has a lot of rain and good harvests.

At times women were accepted as a result of what they gave, as with Laeka's experience. She more or less bought her way to acceptance amongst both the community of Zvimba and her

husband's relatives, once more showing that financial benefits could help people re-rationalise their views about women farmers. Women became a power to reckon with.

7.4.2 *Financial benefits as a discursive rationale*

Discourses which privileged financial outcomes as a rationale for working in a certain way or achieving a certain outcome were also useful sources of negotiation. The aspect of economic benefits seemed to have greatly influenced most husbands to be supportive, as we see clearly in Riya, Chaka, Simbai and Nakudza's stories. Chaka said, "My husband was happy to hear me say that because, you know, he knew that farming is the in-thing if you want to make money." In similar vein, Simbai said:

Of late he has really shown interest and we even go together unlike in the past. Umm, he says he wants to retire and go and stay at the farm, because he says workers do not apply themselves fully when they are on their own. He has made a surprisingly pleasant turnaround.

Simbai's husband realised that there were economic benefits in farming, and thus he decided to be part and parcel of the project. His motivation to be at the farm after retirement could be a sign of him accepting the farm as a family business, showing that he had accepted the new discourse of women empowerment. This also applied to the acceptance by Nakudza's husband of her land ownership. With the new economic opportunities that arise from the farms, the traditional discourse can be re-rationalised, as evidenced by the reaction of Nakudza's husband. This supports findings from Kaziboni (2000) who observed in her study on women who returned to study at the University of Zimbabwe that men were not happy with the time spent by women studying away from home. Nevertheless, the men wanted the benefits derived from a new job or promotion as a result of the educational qualification. Nakudza also narrated how she managed to get her husband to support her:

My husband has seen that farming has transformed our lives and now he leaves me to make most of the farm decisions. Financially, our status as a family has changed and my husband is happy.

Nakudza's husband was attracted by the economic benefits. As noted earlier on, Riya's husband started supporting her when she sold her produce and got a good income. The economic benefits from the farms were a major force in the acceptance of the new discourse.

7.5 SUCCESSS STORIES AND ACHIEVEMENTS

A major contribution to the new discourse of gender equality was the way the women were determined to prove themselves in spite of community and family expectations. This was achieved through hard work which resulted in improved lifestyles as a result of enhanced income and resources, and this in turn gave the women an increased confidence and sense of self. Their journey from submissive disciplinary power to one of self-determination and agency was evident in a number of the women's stories. This aspect of their increased agency is discussed under the headings of hard work, improved lifestyles and identity.

7.5.1 Success through hard work and commitment

The women also showed their agency through hard work. Women farmers had to be strong to win the case of women's empowerment. Riya said she worked hard and was able to repay the GMB loan whilst some male farmers failed: "I would pay for the inputs after harvesting, so maybe the neighbours thought I would fail to pay, but each time I paid for all my inputs and never failed, yet my neighbours failed to repay the cost in the same year". This showed Riya's achievement in spite of all the problems and lack of support.

The DA also confirmed this when he said, "... I can say women are hard working, focused and determined to succeed". The stories of most women showed they were determined not to give up and had demonstrated meaningful success in their new roles. Women now make money and are no longer receivers of money from their husbands. They have become economically independent. The government designed the A2 land reform programme along business lines (Matondi, 2012). Women in this study proved themselves and were proud of their successes. Chaka said:

With time, my neighbours realised that we had really come for serious farming so they started coming to me, you know, to find out how I was managing. Some even started coming for help with information and resources such as chemicals or fertilizers. Now the relationship has improved, and, as I'm speaking now, we are working together amicably.

Success and hard work at the farms was therefore a powerful economic strategy used by women to get accepted. Each farmer had a story to tell about her successes. Women who

were once looked down upon were elevated to being resource persons in farming. Simbai said:

The relationship with the neighbour I had problems with has improved, because he has realised that I am not going to give up and I am doing well at the farm, which he didn't expect. He has now changed his attitude towards me.

The women farmers were slowly building a new regime of truth – that women are economically successful farmers and can contribute to family and community economic well-being. The neighbour changed his attitude after Simbai demonstrated success.

Riya was determined to succeed and was not discouraged by the negative attitude of her husband. Despite all the resistance and lack of support that Riya got from men, she carried on working hard and succeeded. She said:

My harvest improved with time and I remember that in my fifth year or so I had a bumper harvest. I sold 50 tons of maize. In all our married life, my husband and I had never accumulated that kind of money.

Riya achieved this in spite of all the problems and lack of support. Riya indicated that she is strong and she is managing to look after her husband and the farm. There was evidence among these women of a strong sense of agency, as they were determined to continue despite the desire by men to see women fail. Land ownership seemed to give women motivation and perseverance to continue working hard. This supports Mojirayo's (2013) findings in a study of Yekemi women on cocoa production.

This study has unearthed a lot of evidence where women have shown their determination to succeed in farming. This proves that, in the past, it was not that women were not able to succeed, but they were not given a chance. The new discourse of equality has seen women demonstrating high achievement as a result of obtaining land. Chipo said, with a smile:

I was happy eight years ago when I grew cotton and had a good harvest. A year later I was happy with my maize crop and harvested 15 tons from a small portion, because I had few resources to use.

Riphi also achieved a lot of success. The major success she talked about was when she got money from her produce, and how the MP was always telling people how well she had done. Riphi said, “True, that year I held a million Zimbabwean dollars (equivalent to 30,000 United States dollars). I was very happy.” This was an achievement as a result of her strategic management of the new discourse of women empowerment.

The MP’s comments were encouraging. Riphi’s reference to the MP’s public support of her achievements indicates that the new discourse of women’s empowerment was slowly infiltrating public opinion in a positive way. Ndono similarly demonstrated great success at her farm. Her herd had increased tremendously and she had participated in the regional show (Trade Fair). She has also hosted a green show. This was her narration:

I am really pleased that I have this opportunity. Initially we started with 10 cattle, because I am a livestock farmer. We then went on to buy another 10. Later we bought a Brahman bull. As I looked at the project, the government was giving farm implements, so I applied for a tractor so that I would be able to grow grass for my cattle. I was one of the people who were given a tractor and harrow.

I realized that the country was importing beef from Botswana, and I thought I could contribute to the country’s economy. I started planning and planning. I also planned for a borehole; now it’s there. That farm I was allocated has got a small dam and another big dam that we are sharing with the community. So there is plenty of water. Now it took me time to develop and I grew the stock from 21 to 90 and I realised that now I was in real business ... In 2013, I decided to join the group that displays cattle at the Zimbabwe International Trade Fair, ZITF, and I was in the top 10. Then in 2014, I went back and in the grade that I was competing in I came second. The same year, 2014, I also competed in the small grain competition. I was top at the small grain show and I got the first prize.

Women demonstrated considerable achievement from their land acquisition and management. Through their narrations, it is clear that they used funds responsibly to recapitalise their projects. They were contributing to the economy of the nation, which was the focus of the A2 resettlement programme (Mutondi, 2012; Chingarande, 2008), and they continued to make great improvements in their farming endeavours. By so doing, they were contributing to the national GDP of the country. Laeka said:

The year that I remember most is 2006 when we introduced, a-ah, cattle rearing. And then with the cattle, we started off with eight and we grew the herd, and we managed to sell the cattle and got money which we used to send our children to school. I now have four university graduates in my house - five when I include my daughter-in-law - plus the one who is doing Form Four this year. And in 2010, e-e-eh, a sister of mine in Bulawayo said we should do cattle panning instead of just cattle rearing. So we introduced the cattle panning and we were now buying more cattle and started off with six of them. We pan-fed them and sent them to the Caswell Meats (*a company that sells meat*) and we got a lump sum of money, and we were able to buy more heifers to feed and pay fees for the children, and I even extended that cattle rearing project or cattle panning to Zaka (*her husband's home area*). Later we bought fifteen cattle and we pan-fed them and we sold them to Sabi Meats (*another company that sells meat*), and we were able to buy more cattle and we are continuing the business.

Now the farm is becoming small and we are trying to get a bigger farm. In fact, we've already got a bigger piece of land where we want to move the cattle. I'm busy building up the paddocks right now so that I can move that herd of cattle from the current farm to the bigger farm I got after the lands committee recommended me to the Provincial Administrator, who visited and saw what I was doing. He and his team were happy (both farms are in Zvimba).

Laeka was motivated to do more. Her efforts yielded great results, and that motivated the lands committee to recommend that she be given a bigger farm. Her success story is proof that she was able to establish herself firmly in the farming business.

Simbai said:

I also made some improvements at the farm and as of now we are happy that the previous year was also another fairly successful year. We managed to build new farm houses for our employees. We built about five and they were also overjoyed because my husband always says, 'You should consider the conditions of people who work at the farm, their accommodation, their lighting and water.'

So last year, from money obtained from our produce, we drilled a borehole. The workers now have tap water and electrified houses. This year (*with a face showing pride*) our target is to renovate the main house we use at the farm and build a shed for our implements. Over the years we have acquired a tractor, harrow and a planter. I am also planning to buy a trailer and a boom spray for the farm with this year's produce.

Women highlighted how they recapitalised their farm businesses. They now have purchasing power. They also uplifted the welfare of workers. This was supported by GMB officials and extension officers who were interviewed. The GMB official said “The women in Zvimba are more serious and always deliver their produce to the GMB. It is good that the government gave land to women”. Women are now successful commercial farmers. The new discourse of equality was resisted, but successes evidenced by women accelerated their acceptance by men in the homes and community, and this helped to smooth power relations. Women are no longer deemed to be the weaker sex, they work hard and acquire property and are a power to reckon with. Their successes have helped the women to improve on their life styles.

7.5.2 *Improved life styles*

Women exhibited their ability to work hard, produce good yields and use their money responsibly. Simbai showed agency as she strove to achieve a better livelihood for her family. Simbai was able to buy sofas for her family. Women used money they earned for their children and to improve their life styles.

The stories that emerged showed that women spent their money responsibly. Riya, referring to a particular year she had a good harvest, said, “I was happy and bought things that I really needed. I bought sofas, clothes and fertilizer. I also paid school fees for my children.”

Women are responsible and use their income to benefit the family. Nakudza, another farmer who works with women in the district, said:

Ahh – women are happy and grateful to God and the government for availing women with land. Women are really excited about it. I work in Chinhoyi (*town close by*) and at times some women pass through my office after selling, showing off their new items such as beds, sofas, blankets, grocery, scotch carts, fertilizer, seed, etc.

Women have had their lives transformed for the better from the gains they got from land they were allocated by the government. There is evidence of economic gains for the whole family.

Women spent their money to better their families. Women farmers elaborated on how their life styles and their families have improved as a result of their getting farms. Simbai said, “I

was able for the first time to buy leather sofas which I never thought I could afford.” Similarly, “Providing university education to our children has not been a problem because of farming” said Laeka. Laeka’s success story shows the responsible use of funds by women. In turn, these successes contributed to the women enjoying new identities.

7.5.3 *Own identity*

Riphi showed determination and joy regarding her new status when she referred to how people identify her with the farm. She said:

But now, even if you ask in the neighbourhood, people refer to this farm as *pa Mai Riphi*, *pa Mai Riphi* (Mrs Riphi’s farm, Mrs Riphi’s farm). Now I have an identity.

The farmer was happy that she now had her own identity instead of being identified by the husband’s identity. People now referred to the farm as Mrs Riphi’s farm. She exhibited powerful recognition that independence and status for an individual with rights and ownership of property brings with it an individual identity. This was a major achievement, as she is now a person and not attached to a man. Normally, in African culture, the home is referred to by the husband’s name because he is the head of the family. The wife has no identity and she is referred to as ‘wife of ...’, or ‘mother of ...’, or ‘daughter-in-law of ...’ (Apusigah, 2009; Mbilinyi & Sechambo, 2009). For the traditional African, a woman had no status/identity of her own. Before marriage, she belonged to the father who handed her over to the husband after the payment of a bride price (Duncan, 2002).

The successes discussed above seem to have helped women become accepted as land owners. Ndonso reported fencing her farm and increasing her cattle herd, Riphi talked of the cars she bought through her farm yields and of building a fishery to farm fish. Simbai gave an account of purchasing leather sofas and farm equipment, and building better houses for workers. Laeka succeeded in sending a lot of her children and those of the extended family to university through funds from the farm, and told how she had been offered a bigger farm as a result of her success. Chaka talked of how she was expanding her farm activities into irrigation projects. The success list is endless. The women have had their lives transformed from the land they were allocated by the government as they have registered success in the farming business.

In some instances, women used their success to buy the support of men and ease power relations conflicts. This was evident in Laeka's story, where her participation in community projects and donations helped her to get accepted. She also used the same strategy to get acceptance from her husband's family in Zaka. She supported the husband's family in Zaka with produce from her farm because the area does not receive good rainfall and they get poor farm yields as a result.

The above discussion has analysed the strategies used by women farmers to manage gender power conflicts that emerged as a result of the new discourse which saw women owning land in their own right. Women negotiated and manipulated their husbands to create good relations. They also used success to get acceptance and used the produce to buy acceptance in the community and in the families of their husbands. In some instances, women used resistance and demanded their rights from those men who defied their authority. Women used confrontational approaches in very few instances but, in those rare instances, it was with neighbours and workers. However, by the time of this study, most of the women reported that the serious gender power conflicts had been resolved and that they were working well with husbands, male neighbours and workers. This indicates that the process of gender empowerment requires careful management of traditional discourses and commonly-believed regimes of truth in order to establish new, more equal power relations.

But there are indications that the extent to which the men recognised the women as holding equal rights to their own land and making decisions had to be filtered through family structures which retain the status quo for women and keep men as heads of families. The findings revealed that women were, to a large extent, in control when it comes to working with their husbands, male figures in the community and workers. Initially when women became land owners, the gender power conflicts meant that men resisted the new discourse of equality. This confirms the assertion that men in most African societies resist change in gender relations and the empowerment of women, arguing that it erodes their power and is a threat to cultural values (Apusigah, 2013; Reeves & Baben 2000). Men, especially male neighbours and workers, in most cases defied female authority. Most women, however, reported that gender power relations between them and male figures in both the family and society improved with time. By the time of this study, most males were reported to have accepted the new discourse of equality. It was evident that women used various strategies to manage gender power relations, depending on the situation and the person involved.

The findings revealed that, after being offered land, women continued to consult and involve their husbands. Women could have done that to get support from the husbands, as society expects women to be submissive to husbands and get instructions from men, and this should not be taken as an inability on the part of the women in my study. In some cases, women found themselves going back to consult a male figure who could be a father, brother, husband or even son, as was the case in the past (Tsikita, 2009; Kaziboni 2002; Gaidzanwa 1995; Cheater 1986). This is not because women are not able to make decisions, but women may have felt it created a more harmonious atmosphere to push their agendas from behind so that they did not appear to be challenging their husbands. This supports Apusigah's (2009) assertion that husbands fear losing power and control of their wives once their wives become land owners. Chingarande (2009) concluded in her study on women's land rights in Zimbabwe that most husbands would feel threatened by a land-owning wife, as it was possible that her patrilineage could argue that the farm should devolve to them rather than to her husband and children. Men feel intimidated by women who break through into previously male-dominated areas, so they fight the new discourse of equality (Chingarande, 2009; Goebel 2005).

7.6 CONCLUSION

This chapter looked at how, when women became land owners, the new discourse of equality was received by male members in the family and community. Generally, the discourse was resisted, giving rise to gender power conflicts as men resisted losing power once women owned land. Women had to employ varied strategies, such as manipulation through negotiation and persuasive strategies, to manage the power relations and get accepted. The use of a third party was another reverse discourse strategy used by women. The men involved included the husbands, AGRITEX officers, GMB officials and lands committees. Women showed agency in a number of ways. Occasionally, they used resistant discourse to demand what was theirs. They were aggressively confrontational with neighbours and workers who were resisting their authority. Women showed that they were hardworking and determined to succeed. The success stories helped women get accepted as owners and managers of farms.

The chapter showed how women moved from the initial disciplinary process to a process of reverse discourse. They went on to a stage of showing agency and developed a new regime of truth that they were capable people. It was evident that access to farm land was a major

aspect of the economic independence and future prosperity of these farmers. The women had become powerful sustainers of their families for poverty alleviation. The ways in which they achieved this have implications for the future training of women farmers.

CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

8.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapters presented and discussed data that answered how farmers managed the gender power conflicts that emerged as they acquired their new status of land ownership. This chapter focuses on conclusions and recommendations on how commercial women farmers in Zvimba acquired farming knowledge and managed gender power relations. The purpose of the study was to analyse how women farmers access and use modern knowledge and how they apply and integrate this modern farming knowledge with their traditional knowledge. The second purpose of this study was to analyse how women farmers manage gender power relations in accessing and utilising their farm land.

The research questions addressed by this study were:

- 1 How have women learned and applied modern farming knowledge since their land allocation?*
- 2 How have women applied their indigenous knowledge in the context of their commercial farms?*
- 3 How have women navigated gender power dynamics in order to access land and manage their farms?*
- 4 What are the implications of these findings for future adult education training programmes in Zimbabwe?*

This chapter summarizes the main points of the previous chapters before drawing conclusions about the findings and their implications for the training of women farmers.

Chapter One explained that women in Africa and Zimbabwe specifically have been discriminated against in terms of accessing education, politics and land. The patriarchal system which was and still is prevalent in parts of Africa, including Zimbabwe, is characterised by the domination of women by men, who are viewed as heads of families. Men's role is to protect and provide for the family, while women's roles include working on

the land and doing all the household chores. In traditional Africa, land belonged to men and women could not own land in their own right, yet women provided most of the agricultural labour. They were allocated a small field (*tsewu*) by the husband where they would grow crops for home consumption.

Chapter One explained how white settlers came to Zimbabwe and occupied most of the fertile lands and relegated black people to unfertile areas. The colonizers passed acts that formalized the dual agrarian structure where land was segregated along racial lines. The Native Land Husbandry Act (NLHA) of 1951 discriminated in terms of grazing and farming land allocation against black women more than against black men. Only men could qualify for farms in the Native Purchase Areas because one was expected to have some form of assets, and women did not possess assets.

In 1981, Zimbabwe attained independence and the new government committed itself to addressing gender disparities, particularly in relation to land ownership. However, structural inequalities remained, largely due to the traditional discourse that favoured men as land owners under both Model A and Model B resettlement schemes. A shift in approach came about with the ZFTLRP in 2000 whereby women were allowed to access either small subsistence-level farms under the A1 model, or could apply for large-scale farm land for crop farming and ranching under the A2 model, with a view to contributing to the country's economy (Matondi, 2012). Women who had lagged behind in terms of knowledge and decision making found themselves owning land which required them to manage farms and make critical decisions. While this was a positive move, it also posed a challenge to the previously discriminated-against women land beneficiaries who had neither adequate requisite knowledge nor the power to manage their farms (Matondi, 2012; Chingarande, 2009; Masiwa, 2004).

The issue of how women farmers managed gender power relations and made the transition from indigenous knowledge to inclusion of modern knowledge for their farms was central to this study. Women faced challenges in learning in the midst of a conflict between gender empowerment and cultural expectations. Women still continue to suffer gender power differentials which have some impact on their ability to manage their farms and access inputs and markets. It is in view of these disadvantages faced by women that this study was conceived and undertaken. A deeper understanding of how women learn new knowledge and

use existing knowledge within existing gender power relations is needed in order to provide a basis for recommending relevant training programmes for women farmers.

Chapter Two outlined the theoretical framework that guided the analysis of the findings. Kolb's experiential learning theory was used to explain the learning process that most women farmers went through as they acquired new farming knowledge to use on their farms. This theory embodies formal, non-formal and informal learning. Experiential learning theory explains "the process whereby knowledge is created through the transformation of experience" (Kolb, 1984, p. 38). The experiential learning process has four stages, namely: concrete experience, reflective observation, abstract conceptualisation and actual experimentation.

However, Kolb's theory, which has been used widely in adult education, has been criticised that its four stages are rather too neat, simplistic and not realistic, as a number of processes can occur at once and other stages can be jumped (Forrest, 2004). In addition, Kolb's theory fails to show how an individual interacts with other learners and the environment to enhance his or her learning (Duveskog et al., 2011). These critiques were relevant to my study, as the findings revealed.

Experiential learning embraces formal, non-formal and informal learning, which includes learning from experience through self-directed learning and also socialization. The focus in this study was on non-formal and informal forms of experiential learning.

Indigenous Knowledge (IK) is a specific form of experiential learning through socialization. It is understood as local knowledge developed from the environment and passed to new generations through socialisation for the survival of the community (Makinde & Shuronke, 2013).

Indigenous knowledge systems are one source where collectivity as an approach to learning is embedded. Learning from others is highlighted by Ntseane (2011) when she writes on transformative learning in Africa, emphasising the concepts of collaboration and cooperation. An African context emphasises such community social interactions as central to learning (Ntseane, 2011).

Authorities such as Die (2002) and Agrawal (1995) have argued that IK and modern scientific knowledge complement each other. Farmers the world over are now realising that it is possible to combine the two forms of knowledge for maximum benefits. It has been recommended that technicians and extension officers should focus on assisting farmers in this process of finding a new balance between indigenous and scientific knowledge in their production strategy (Kohler-Rollefson, 2002).

Gender power relations influence how women learn. In order to assess how power relations and knowledge interface, Foucault's post-structuralist theory was identified as an additional theoretical lens. The study drew on Foucault's concept of power and his notion of power/knowledge. Foucault's post-structuralist approach was chosen because it enabled the researcher to analyse the nature of gender power relations and how discourses (expressed through attitudes, behaviours and belief systems) both hinder and assist women to manage their farms.

Foucault argues that power is fluid and flows everywhere. Foucault has been criticized by feminist theorists for not focusing on discrimination against women. Feminists argue that Foucault's explanation of power being everywhere undermines the argument that men have discriminated against women because of their power. However, Foucault provides the vocabulary and concepts for explaining the different kinds of power dynamics. He discusses, for example, the notion of 'disciplinary power' where one colludes in one's oppression, 'reverse discourse' where one uses the words of the oppressor to manipulate the answer you want, and 'resistant discourse' which reflects the use of language and behavior to rationalize and defend one's stance against new or more dominant discourses.

Chapter Three reviewed literature that was relevant to the research questions. The change of roles among African women was brought about by factors such as the migration of men to urban areas, women empowerment policies and the realisation of economic benefits by men. Women in Africa have become more involved in agricultural tasks that were previously done by men like bush clearing, tilling, planting, fertilizer application, harvesting and marketing and decision making (Mutopo, 2012; Ajani & Igbo, 2011; Ucheadausokwe & Ofuoku, 2006; Okunade, 2005).

Studies have indicated that when women became land owners, the new roles necessitated new responsibilities that gave rise to new power relations (Mutopo, 2011). Males resisted the new status of women arguing that that would be going against their culture. Studies have shown that women used various ways to acquire land including marriage and close relationships with influential people, such as lands officers and war veterans. Others got land through formal application (Scoones et al. 2012; Apusigah, 2009; Mbilinyi & Sechambo, 2009). The literature has shown that African women have colluded in the discrimination against them and used persuasive language to have their decisions accepted (Apusigah, 2009; Mutopo, 2012). However, the literature has not shown the stages women go through from a position of dependence to one of independence. No study has explored how power relations have been managed using a post-structuralist theoretical perspective. This study meant to fill this gap.

The literature has shown that males have more access to extension knowledge than females (Umeta et al. 2011; Chingarande, 2008; Oladele, 2005). There is evidence that many of the A2 women struggled to acquire the necessary knowledge, skills or support from male family members or other male-dominated resources (Mutondi, 2012; Chingarande, 2009). In addition, extension services were not readily available and the little that was there was not tailored to meet the needs of women farmers, such as child care and sleeping facilities.

The literature revealed that farmers have used varied non-formal strategies to access knowledge. Some of the strategies that were used included workshops, farmer field schools, field days and demonstration plots. The media was cited in the literature as another way farmers used to access knowledge. The radio has been used since time immemorial to communicate farming knowledge to farmers. In some instances, knowledge was given through live radio and TV broadcast. In addition, farmers would exchange information on chat groups using the computer or their handsets (Chingarande, 2008). However, the literature showed that in Africa, self-initiated visits to the extension workers were mostly done by men rather than women (Umeta et al. 2011).

The literature revealed that there is an increasing interest in the role of IK in how it may interface with modern farming methods (Gupta, 2011; Mutasa, 2011; Mapara, 2009). There is a need to know how modern farming methods and IK are understood and used by commercial women farmers. To the researcher's knowledge there are no studies in Zimbabwe that have discussed this role of IK in agriculture among A2 women farmers.

Chapter Four outlined the methodology. This was qualitative life history design that took the form of ‘topical documentation’ (Cohen et al., 2007). It adopted an interpretive paradigm in order to understand the women’s own lived experiences and their interpretations of those experiences.

Out of 42 women farmers who were beneficiaries of the 2000 Zimbabwe Fast Track Land Reform Programme (ZFTLRP) in the Zvimba in Zimbabwe, ten women were purposively sampled to participate in the study. Other sources of data included one DA one GMB official and two AGRITEX officers for triangulation purposes.

Data were collected through focus group interviews which were used to help trigger the memories of the women and to gain insight that was easily obtained through group interaction. Semi-structured in-depth interviews were employed to elicit rich detailed individual information regarding the women’s experiences. Observations were also made during the farm visits when interviews were done to complement the data. Data was validated during exit interviews where participants were asked to confirm the data.

Data analysis was on-going during data collection and transcriptions. Interpretations were organised thematically, first inductively, looking for patterns of responses and progressive refinement of categories, followed by deductive analysis on the basis of theoretical concepts (Wright, 2010).

8.2 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

Chapter Five addressed question one which was: *How have women learned and applied modern farming knowledge since their land allocation?* The chapter also started answering question four which was: *What are the implications of these findings for future adult education training programmes in Zimbabwe?* This aspect will be discussed in section 8.3.

The study sought to find out how women learned modern farming knowledge in terms of growing, managing and commercialising their produce. It was evident that women farmers learnt throughout their lives. Women realised the need for agricultural knowledge when they moved to their farms.

8.2.1 Acquisition of new knowledge

The findings revealed that as women learnt new agricultural knowledge, they applied experiential learning in ways which reflect Kolb's four stages. The stages, however, were not followed in the same sequence as described by Kolb. It was evident that farmers also experienced some interaction and discussions with others during the learning process. Thus the experiential cycle that the farmers went through included an interactive phase of learning from each other, an aspect which Kolb has not discussed much. This has not been discussed in the literature on how women farmers learn. However, the issue that collective learning in African contexts is often underrepresented in literature has been identified by Ntseane (2011).

Non-formal and informal learning emerged as the main forms of learning used by the farmers.

Non-formal learning

Farmers in this study reported experiencing forms of non-formal learning during field days and workshops organised by the Ministry of Agriculture. The farmers bemoaned that extension workers were not adequately covering their needs for agricultural knowledge, because at most only one workshop was held and one or two field days were organised per farming season. The extension officers who were interviewed in the same study cited a lack of financial resources to organise workshops. Extension work in Zimbabwe was becoming less effective owing to inadequate resources to carry out education and training programmes. Regarding the few workshops organised, the findings revealed that the extension providers overlooked the needs of women farmers, as women missed evening sessions because they had to go back home due to a lack of suitable sleeping facilities at the venues for mothers with babies. In addition, farmers had to commute from their homes because they needed to perform household chores. This supported Mudukuti and Miller's (2002) findings. The farmers expressed their wish for the Government to run more workshops and ensure that their needs were considered. However, workshops, according to reports from the farmers and extension officers, were no longer frequent due to financial constraints.

The findings revealed that field days were successful but that very few were organized each season. This strategy was popular because it was interactive and hands-on. Demonstration plots organized by service providers liaising with extension workers was another form of

non-formal learning reported by farmers to be successful, though these were not as many as would have been liked by the farmers. This confirmed Mashavave et al.'s (2013) findings.

Non-formal learning had also been provided by service providers through the mass media. A platform of dialogue was created for further discussions and clarifications, as the farmers could make telephone calls during the live programmes. Technical specialists and suppliers such as Seed Co. provided agricultural information to farmers in Zimbabwe through the radio and television programmes. This supports findings from various researchers (Akullo & Malumba 2016; Rao, 2015; Oyimbo & Owalabi, 2013) who found the use of radio and TV popular in Uganda, India and Nigeria respectively. Non-formal learning has thus played a major role in the provision of agricultural knowledge to women farmers in Zvimba.

Informal learning

Informal learning and sources emerged as the most common way by which the women farmers got their knowledge. The strategies included farmer-initiated farm visits; mobile data and voice calls; approaching extension officers, service providers, friends and other farmers; internet searches; and indigenous knowledge. The farmers showed self-directedness as they took the initiative to identify what, how and from whom to learn.

The farmers reported that when they acquired their farms, they realised that they lacked adequate agricultural knowledge to enable them to manage and farm their lands profitably. They added that because extension officers were at times neither available nor accessible, they initiated their own learning. Thus self-directed, informal learning emerged as the most common way by which women could obtain farming knowledge. They took every opportunity available to learn, indicating a high sense of motivation and a desire to succeed. Most of these sources were, however, men, an indication that the women farmers to a large extent still relied on men. Chingarande (2008) recorded similar findings.

Another interesting dimension that emerged was the use of technology as a source of acquiring information. The findings revealed that the farmers had tapped into modern technology for knowledge. They searched for agricultural knowledge from the internet. The farmers reported that chat groups consisting of farmers and experts were created and information was always shared by both males and females. The use of SMS and WhatsApp

chat-groups has grown with the spread of technology and has proved to be an effective way of exchanging information. The use of that strategy supports findings by Akulo and Mulumba (2016) who found that social networks were effectively used to exchange agricultural information in Uganda. Kilpatrick and Johns (2003) made similar findings with Australian farmers. However, considering the rate of growth of technology, the literature has not said much regarding this fairly new strategy which deserves further exploration beyond this study.

Learning vicariously was another informal way of learning mentioned by the farmers, who reported getting information from their farm managers who had acquired farming knowledge from the white farmers they had previously worked for. They were reported to have a wealth of experience and knowledge gained from white farmers.

Varied strategies of informal, self-directed learning were reported as a strong source of information. These included visiting, observing, telephoning, chat-groups, internet searches and others. These are all very practical and interactive forms of learning which are confirmed in other studies by Ntseane (2011) and Preece (2009). However, earlier studies did not use Kolb's experiential learning theory to help analyse the process of experiential learning that the farmers employed, and earlier studies failed to pick up the role that social interaction plays in the experiential learning cycle as a key source for this type of learning.

8.2.2 Application of indigenous knowledge

Chapter Five also answered question two which was: *How have women applied their indigenous knowledge in the context of their commercial farms?* The farmers professed using IK that they had acquired from their elders as they grew up on their family subsistence farms. The farmers reported that they found IK, which is part and parcel of African traditional knowledge, to be easily accessible and affordable. In the early days of moving to their farms, the farmers lacked modern knowledge and also lacked resources to acquire the modern equipment and chemicals to use. The farmers thus resorted to the use of their traditional knowledge. The findings revealed that the women used IK in such activities as planting, removing weeds and harvesting manually using the hoe. The A2 farms are big so the farmers found it difficult to use IK systems for major tasks in the fields. Thus, they combined both IK and modern farming methods.

The findings revealed that the women used modern farming methods such as the use of the tractor to pull the plough to do land preparation, to pull the planter to plant several hectares of land, and to spray weed chemicals using a boom spray. As the farmers gained more modern farming knowledge and experience, they used less of IK and more of modern farming methods, or they did away with IK altogether. For example, chemical fertilizers were used in place of cattle manure. This finding was a departure from earlier studies. Many studies, namely Vunyingah and Kaya (2012) in Cameroon, Mokoena et al. (2012) in Botswana and Mutekwe (2015) revealed that IK was extensively used by farmers in many instances. However, these studies were on subsistence farms, unlike this study which involved women commercial farmers. In some cases IK was combined with modern farming knowledge for effectiveness; for instance, during harvesting, when a combine harvester was used, people followed the combine harvesters picking maize which the harvester had failed to pick. They also did manual weeding to clear weeds that chemicals would have missed. In some instances, farmers reported using IK because modern methods demanded a lot of money and the farmers could not afford them. The women in my study were less inclined to use IK as a mixed method of farming than earlier studies have suggested because of the size of their fields. In addition, authorities such as Wohling (2009) and Akulo and Kanzikwera (2007) argue that where huge tracts of land are concerned, IK, such as the use of organic manure and hand weeding and manual harvesting, is not effective.

The use of a small field (*tsewu*) to grow mixed crops for household consumption, as discussed in chapter one, was observed amongst the farmers. Such fields had crops such as cow peas, pumpkins, ground nuts and cucumbers all grown in one field close to the homestead for home consumption. This was common amongst farmers and many authorities referred to this field as *tsewu*. *Tsewu* is a small field that was allocated to women by the husband for growing crops for household use, as the bigger fields belonged to their husbands and were used for cash crops (Gaidzanwa, 2011; Chingarande, 2009).

The farmers in this study seem to have tapped into the advantages of the two forms of knowledge. But there is potential for more research and development to enable farmers to effectively combine their different forms of knowledge to develop new knowledge which is practical and affordable.

8.2.3 *Navigation of gender power dynamics*

Chapter Six addressed question three which was: *How have women navigated gender power dynamics in order to access land and manage their farms?* This question was answered in two stages and in two chapters. Chapter Five presented stage one, which confirmed the traditional roles that gave men ownership of land and power to make decisions while women were discriminated against and relegated roles which were accorded a low status. Chapter Six provided important background information that would answer question three as the women in the study moved from passivity to knowing what they wanted. It introduced the new discourse of equality which saw women becoming owners and managers of land. The chapter went on to elaborate on how happy the women were with their new status while most of the men resisted it, and this created gender power conflicts. The findings have shown that the women farmers were successful but they needed to go through phases of personal growth as they developed from being dependent to being independent.

The women farmers revealed that they grew up in their family homes mainly as subsistence farmers and they did agricultural roles such as manual weeding, planting and harvesting. In addition to agricultural roles, they did household chores that saw them overloaded. The discrimination continued when women got married. These findings are supported in the literature, but the literature does not analyse how women ultimately collude in the discrimination against them through the concept of disciplinary power, an internalized sense that this is the only way to do things, particularly as they get older. This process indicates the strength of dominant discourses in making people internalise the notion that there is only one regime of truth – which also helps to explain the challenges that the women faced when they had their own farms to manage.

The new discourse of equality introduced by the new government in 1980 officially empowered women, giving them new roles as owners and managers of land. The women farmers were happy with their new status and immediately committed themselves to succeeding. This new discourse of equality was not supported by most husbands, who saw the new status of their wives as a threat to their power, and this gave rise to gender power tensions. Males that included husbands, neighbours, and officials could not accept women as land owners. Even the farm workers were not ready to take instructions from black women farmers in this study. These power struggles took 10 to 15 years to subside, maybe because

women were reluctant to take a lead in challenging the status quo. Women farmers in this study employed 'reverse discourse' to ensure that their husbands supported them. They mostly used a persuasive approach to get their husbands involved. This supports findings by Mutopo (2011) and Apusigah (2009).

The women got the support they needed and minimised power conflict through the use of reverse discourse, allowing their husbands to take the lead and make decisions. A few men who quickly accepted the new roles of the women seemed to have been motivated by financial rewards they knew would come from the farms. Another approach used by the women was the use of a third person to resolve conflicts between them and neighbours or workers. Often they sought the involvement of the husband, DA, extension officers or even trained workers to fight the wars that would have erupted regarding issues such as boundaries or the use of dams. This could also be seen as a form of reverse discourse, since the women did not directly challenge the status quo – rather they used existing power relations to support their new roles. The women farmers progressed from a stage of 'disciplinary power' (Foucault 1980) where they were passive and they colluded in the discrimination against them, to being labeled rebels. They moved a step further to a stage of knowing what they wanted, and ensured their decisions were implemented through reverse discourse. Here they employed the technique of manipulation and the use of a third person to push their agendas.

The women also used different forms of agency or self-determination in the process of farming their lands. For instance, there were occasions when women openly challenged the dominant power relations. They knew what they wanted and demanded what was theirs through resistant discourse with neighbours who bulldozed their land and their rights, and workers who refused to get instructions from them. The literature on previous studies has not identified this strategy. The women also helped develop the community through their own participation and through advocating involvement of other women in development committees.

The study revealed that part of their self-determination was to work hard despite the resistance they faced. This resulted in them exhibiting financial success through good harvests. The farmers recapitalized their businesses. Others reported that they had bought farm equipment, drilled boreholes and built houses for the workers, which showed their great

commitment to farming. People realized that the women farmers were determined to succeed and began to accept them. The women's stories revealed that they were able to improve their lifestyles and those of their families. With resources from the sale of their produce they bought household goods and ensured that their children got educated. It was evident from the findings that the women used their income for the benefit of their families. The lifestyles of most of the farmers improved as they were able to provide good food, clothing and education for their children. The existing literature has tended to highlight constraints for women farmers with little mention of such self-determination strategies and success stories (for example, Apusigah, 2009).

Finally, economic gains provided a new rationale in the power relations which impacted on how the new discourse of gender empowerment ultimately became accepted within the context of the women's farming status. The literature has not discussed this process of gender empowerment along the lines of economic gain, and it has emerged in this study as a new finding. Their success stories and their commitment to hard work showed great agency. The A2 women in Zvimba had enhanced their empowerment through their success in agricultural commercialization. This provided them with recognition in the community and the ability to exercise agency in decision making to a significant extent. Women had created a new regime of truth that they are able to be successful through their determination to work hard.

Most women reported that by the time data collection took place they were being accepted and worked well with their husbands, neighbours, officials and workers. Acceptance of the new discourse took a long time, time which could have been invested in production.

This final chapter, chapter Eight, now addresses question four which was: *What are the implications of these findings for future adult education training programmes in Zimbabwe?* The recommendations for agricultural training in this section draw on the women's comments in chapter Five. Other recommendations are a reflection of findings in chapters Six and Seven in relation to gender power dynamics.

8.3 CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

The move by government to avail land to women was a positive move that pleased women, but the need to provide them with agricultural information and training on how to manage gender power conflicts is critical.

8.3.1 Agricultural knowledge

The study revealed serious gaps in, and a great appetite for, agricultural knowledge among women farmers. The ZFTLRP missed out on the need to empower farmers with agricultural knowledge such as technical, business management and human resources management skills. This has implications for how the government and the Department of AGRITEX mobilises funds for education and training so that the farms allocated to women are put to maximum use.

The study concluded that extension services in Africa were few and were inclined to meet the needs of male farmers more than those of female farmers. This implies that the Department AGRITEX has not reacted to the fast resettlement patterns that the government committed itself to after attaining independence.

The fact that the women in this study could not get knowledge from extension workers had implications for how they learned. They used self-directed methods which also indicated strong motivation.

The fact that the women's experiential learning often required some form of social interaction suggests that women need a combination of opportunities for interaction, immediate application of new knowledge and a wide range of learning sources.

The women farmers were less inclined to use IK than suggested by earlier studies. They resorted to using IK when they lacked modern scientific knowledge or when they could not afford the use of modern methods. This suggests that the role of IK perhaps needs to be reconsidered in terms of how it can be combined with modern scientific knowledge for commercial farms.

8.3.2 Power relations/dynamics

While the government official discourse tried hard to empower women, the women in this study found themselves trapped between traditional expectations and the new discourse of equality. The fact that they encountered resistance from men implies that players such as the government, NGOs and others have a long way to go regarding changing the mindset of men to accept the new discourse of equality. The challenge of these power dynamics also has

implications for how women should receive gender-sensitive training that would assist them in managing their farms in the context of family and community relations.

8.4 RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the conclusions, the following recommendations are made:

8.4.1 *Agricultural knowledge*

1. Women have various potential learning sources. This reflects the need to use a variety of forms of learning. Self-directed learning is not always sufficient. While observation is a feature of self-directedness, there are occasions when women need direct teaching intervention. The Department of AGRITEX needs to ensure that more sources and opportunities of accessing agricultural information are more readily available and affordable. Rees et al. (2000, p. 1) recommended a 'basket of options' in terms of information materials for farmers.
2. Technology as a source of knowledge is growing at a fast rate. The study recommends that adult education facilitators should prioritise the use of technology during training, as recommended by Umeta et al. (2011).
3. There is a need to provide education and training in modern farming methods. The government and the Department of AGRITEX should mobilise resources for training to ensure that the farmers get accurate knowledge to enhance productivity on the farms and contribute to the economic growth of the nation. The provision of technical knowledge regarding animal husbandry, crop farming and irrigation is critical. The farmers also need business management skills such as financial management, marketing and human resources management skills to be able to manage their workers.
4. There is a need for Department of AGRITEX to do research and development on merging modern farming methods and IK. New adult education relevant to the new farmers can be developed from tapping into the better of the two forms of knowledge. IK, which farmers are familiar with, can be used as a basis on which to build the new farming methods, and the result will be a new form of adult education.
5. As facilitators of adult education plan training programmes, there is a need to seriously consider the needs of women learners as new players. There is a need to ensure that the training and strategies are gender-sensitive. This would include issues

such as timetables that take into cognisance the multiple roles of women, and venues which consider the needs of women such as child care.

8.4.2 *Gender power relations*

NGOs that work with women need to help women understand how power operates and how people use power in different ways through behaviours. The ability to change discourses relies on our understanding of how they are set up in the first place and how they function on a daily basis (Ntseane & Preece, 2005).

1. There is a need to provide training to conscientise women on how to embrace the new discourse of equality assertively in the context of the old traditional discourse, and this could include knowledge on how they progress from a position of being dependent to a position of being independent and knowing what they want; strategies for handling power relations within African culture; and how to manage the multiple roles in the context of the new discourse.
2. Because of the conflict between the traditional discourse and the discourse of equality, there is a need to bring both men and women on board during training. It is critical for adult educators such as agricultural extension officers to run courses for both husbands and wives together. This, as recommended by Mashavave et al. (2013), creates mutual working relationships and an appreciation of and respect for each other between husband and wife. According to African feminist theory, men are part of the solution to women's emancipation (Goredema, 2010).
3. Government and civil society groups should work together to develop programmes to sensitise and train and support women to gain knowledge and voice, and participate in national decision-making committees. Women should be represented in such local bodies as recommended by Mbilinyi and Sechambo (2009).
4. Zimbabwe has put in place statutory instruments and laws that promote gender equality, but has not aggressively implemented the laws as observed by Matondi (2012). The Government and civil society groups should work together and come up with a strategy of how to ensure that such laws are implemented.
5. In addition, there is a need to empower women with knowledge on opportunities to explore the economic gains of women owning farms.

6. The strategies used by women in this study to manage gender power conflicts could also be used to train other women.

8.5 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

1. Considering the rate of growth of technology, the literature has not said much regarding this fairly new strategy of the use of technology such as the internet, WhatsApp and so on to access modern farming methods. This area deserves further exploration, as it was beyond this study to focus on the use of technology to access modern farming methods.
2. This study focused on power relations looking at women only. There is a need for another study involving both husbands and wives so as to understand further how they relate and how men come to understand the role of women farmers.

8.6 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter has summarized the whole study. The findings revealed that the women farmers used various adult learning strategies and methodologies to quench their thirst for agricultural knowledge. The main methodologies they adopted to enable them to keep abreast with new developments in farming were non-formal and informal learning. Field days, demonstration plots and workshops by extension officers and experts were cited as preferred non-formal methods. However, financial constraints were cited by extension officers as major hindrances in organizing training workshops.

Informal learning was the most common method used by the farmers to acquire knowledge . Most of the informal learning was self-directed in nature. The main sources in such instances included friends and neighbours, experts and the media. Generally, the farmers succeeded in complementing IK with modern farming methods in the early stages of their uptake of the farms, but as they gained more farming experiences and accessed more resources they adopted more modern methods and used less IK. It was evident that most of the women went through Kolb's experiential learning cycle in the process of acquiring knowledge. Whilst Kolb's experiential learning theory was relevant, the women's learning cycle also included interaction at some point, which Kolb did not emphasize, and the need for teaching, not just learning by trial and error.

As women became land owners, the change in status created gender power conflicts with the males who included husbands, farmers, GMB officials and chiefs and workers, most of whom resisted the new discourse of equality. The women employed strategies such as involving their husbands in the management of the farms and soliciting intervention from a third person such as the husband, the DA or the extension officers. In some instances women were confrontational in demanding their rights. Husbands chose to support their wives because of the economic rewards that would come from the farms. Working hard and demonstrating successful farming outcomes also helped the women get accepted. The women proved that they are successful hardworking farmers.

Recommendations included the need for both access to agricultural and business knowledge and also the management of gender power relations.

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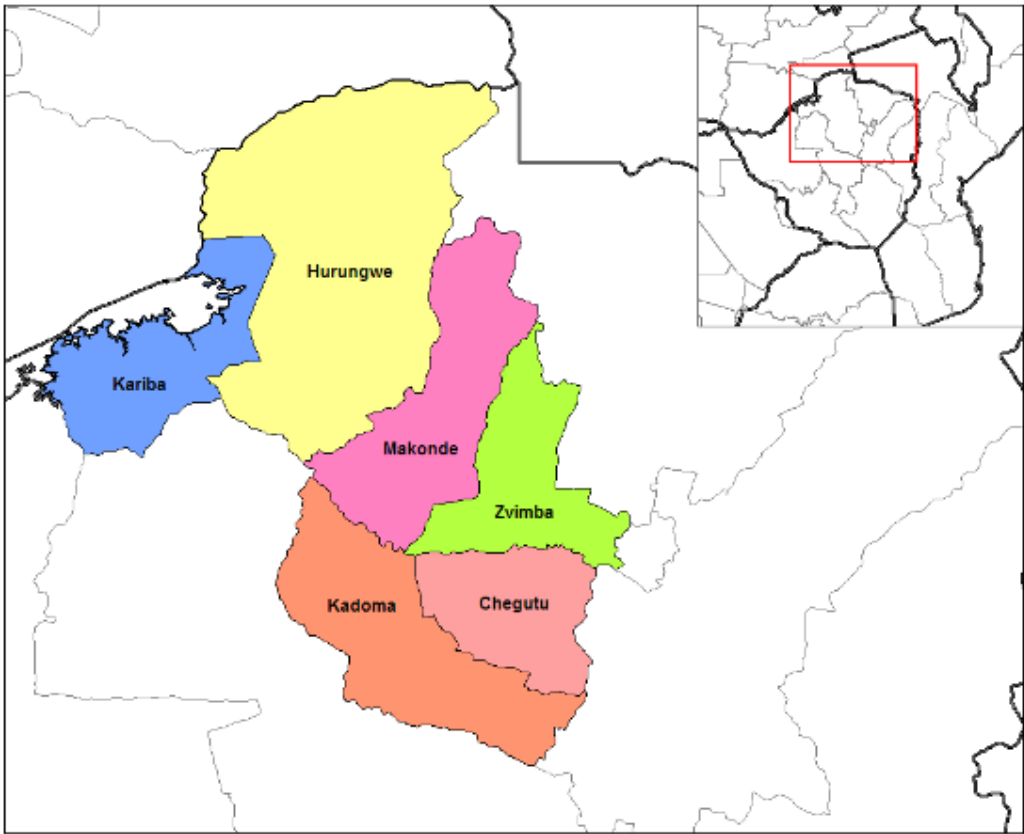
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APPENDICES

Map of Zimbabwe showing provinces



Map of Mashonaland showing districts





LETTER OF INFORMATION (Agricultural Extension)

Title of the Research Study:

How commercial women farmers acquired knowledge and negotiated gender power relations in Zimbabwe: Implications for adult education and training.

Principal Investigator/researcher: Tabeth Kaziboni (216490420)
tabkaziboni@gmail.com (M Ed.)

Supervisors: Professor Julia Preece: PhD, Dr Tabitha Mukeredzi: PhD

Brief Introduction and Purpose of the Study:

The purpose of this study is to explore how women negotiate traditional gender power relations in accessing and utilising their farm land. The study also seeks to understand how women manage to access new farming knowledge and apply and integrate this with their traditional knowledge. The study hopes to come up with recommendations to the Ministry of Agriculture for relevant education and training programmes.

You have been chosen because of your work experiences with A2 women farmers who benefitted from the Fast Track Land Reform Programme of 2000 in Zvimba District. Your participation is voluntary. If you decide to take part you are still free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason. Withdrawal from the study will not have any negative consequences for anyone choosing to do this.

Outline of the Procedure:

If you choose to be part of the study, you will be required to take part in an interview which will take place at your work place and will last for about 30 minutes to one hour. I will tape record the discussions with your permission and will also jot down some notes. The study will take place between September 2016 and May 2017.

Follow-ups will be carried out in order to verify information during exit interviews.

Risks or Discomforts to the Participant

You will experience no risks or discomforts since interviews will be done and tape recorded only after permission has been granted by you.

Benefits (to the participant and to the researcher/s)

This study will provide a platform for you to be heard with regards to your perceptions on how women farmers have fared and how they have managed their farms.

The Ministry of Agriculture will use the information you give to come up with meaningful and relevant education and training programmes which will benefit the farming community.

I as the researcher will use the information in this study to publish articles for the consumption of many stakeholders.

Reasons why participants may withdraw from the study

You may choose to withdraw from the study at any time without any prejudice.

Remuneration

You will be paid \$5 (75 Rands) allowance for your lunch for each day you participate in the study.

Costs of the study

You are not expected to cover any costs towards the study. All the costs will be borne by the researcher.

Confidentiality

All data will be kept with the highest degree of confidentiality.

I will not include your name or your address in this study. I will do this so that nobody can recognise you from the information that you will give. I will use pseudo names and all the information will be kept under lock and key.

Research-related injury:

There will be no research-related injury to yourself.

Persons to contact in the event of any problems or queries

Supervisor: Professor Julia Preece: PhD

Tel: 0734657609

juliap@dut.ac.za

Researcher Tel: 263773249021 Email: tabkaziboni@gmail.com

Research ethics administrator on 031 373 2900. Complaints can be reported to the DVC: TIP, Prof. F Otieno on 031 373 2382: or dvctip@dut.ac.za



CONSENT

Statement of Agreement to Participate in the Research Study:

- I hereby confirm that I have been informed by the researcher, Tabeth Kaziboni, about the nature, conduct, benefits and risks of this study – Research Ethics Clearance Number: IREC 019/17
- I have also received, read and understood the above written information (Participant Letter of Information) regarding the study.
- I am aware that the results of the study, including personal details regarding my sex, age, date of birth, initials and diagnosis will be anonymously processed into a study report.
- In view of the requirements of research, I agree that the data collected during this study can be processed in a computerised system by the researcher.
- I may, at any stage, without prejudice, withdraw my consent and participation in the study.
- I have had sufficient opportunity to ask questions and (of my own free will) declare myself prepared to participate in the study.
- I understand that significant new findings developed during the course of this research which may relate to my participation will be made available to me.
- I have agreed to have the interview tape recorded.
- I have agreed to the use of a pseudonym.

Full Name of Participant	Date	Time	Signature/Right
Thumbprint			

I, Tabeth Kaziboni herewith confirm that the above participant has been fully informed about the nature, conduct and risks of the above study.

Full Name of Researcher	Date	Signature

Full Name of Witness (if applicable)	Date	Signature



LETTER OF INFORMATION (District Administrator)

Title of the Research Study:

How commercial women farmers acquired knowledge and negotiated gender power relations in Zimbabwe: Implications for adult education and training.

Principal Investigator/researcher: Tabeth Kaziboni (216490420)

tabkaziboni@gmail.com (M Ed.)

Supervisors:

Professor Julia Preece: PhD;

Dr Tabitha Mukeredzi PhD

Brief Introduction and Purpose of the Study:

The purpose of this study is to explore how women negotiate traditional gender power relations in accessing and utilising their farm land. The study also seeks to understand how women manage to access new farming knowledge and apply and integrate this with their traditional knowledge. The study hopes to come up with recommendations to the Ministry of Agriculture for relevant education and training programmes.

You have been chosen because of your work experiences with A2 women farmers who benefitted from the Fast Track Land Reform Programme of 2000 in Zvimba District.

Outline of the Procedure:

If you choose to be part of the study, you will be required to take part in an interview which will take place at your work place and will last for about 30 minutes to one hour. Your participation is voluntary. If you decide to take part you are still free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason. Withdrawal from the study will not have any negative consequences for anyone choosing to do this.

I will tape record the discussions with your permission and will also jot down some notes. The study will take place between September 2016 and May 2017.

Follow-ups will be carried out in order to verify information during exit interviews.

Risks or Discomforts to the Participant

You will experience no risks or discomforts since interviews and photos will be done only after permission has been granted by you.

Benefits (to the participant and to the researcher/s)

This study will provide a platform for you to be heard with regards to your perceptions on how women farmers have fared and how they have managed their farms.

The Ministry of Agriculture may use the (anonymised) information you give to come up with meaningful and relevant education and training programmes which will benefit the farming community.

I as the researcher will use the information in this study to publish articles for the consumption of many stakeholders.

Reasons why participants may withdraw from the study

You may choose to withdraw from the study at any time without any prejudice.

Remuneration

You will be paid \$5 (75 Rands) allowance for your lunch for each day you participate in the study.

Costs of the study

You are not expected to cover any costs towards the study. All the costs will be borne by the researcher.

Confidentiality

All data will be kept with the highest degree of confidentiality.

I will not include your name or your address in this study. I will do this so that nobody can recognise you from the information that you will give. I will use pseudo names and all the information will be kept under lock and key.

Research-related injury:

There will be no research-related injury to yourself.

Persons to contact in the event of any problems or queries

Supervisor: Professor Julia Preece: PhD

Tel: 0734657609

juliap@dut.ac.za

Researcher Tel: 263773249021 Email: tabkaziboni@gmail.com

Research ethics administrator on 031 373 2900. Complaints can be reported to the DVC: TIP, Prof. F Otieno on 031 373 2382: or dvctip@dut.ac.za



CONSENT

Statement of Agreement to Participate in the Research Study:

- I hereby confirm that I have been informed by the researcher, Tabeth Kaziboni, about the nature, conduct, benefits and risks of this study – Research Ethics Clearance Number:
- I have also received, read and understood the above written information (Participant Letter of Information) regarding the study.
- I am aware that the results of the study, including personal details regarding my sex, age, date of birth, initials and diagnosis will be anonymously processed into a study report.
- In view of the requirements of research, I agree that the data collected during this study can be processed in a computerised system by the researcher.
- I may, at any stage, without prejudice, withdraw my consent and participation in the study.
- I have had sufficient opportunity to ask questions and (of my own free will) declare myself prepared to participate in the study.
- I understand that significant new findings developed during the course of this research which may relate to my participation will be made available to me.
- I have agreed to have the interview tape recorded.
- I have agreed to use of pseudonym.

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Full Name of Participant	Date	Time	Signature/Right
Thumbprint			

I, Tabeth Kaziboni herewith confirm that the above participant has been fully informed about the nature, conduct and risks of the above study.

.....	
Full Name of Researcher	Date	Signature

.....

Full Name of Witness (If applicable)	Date	Signature
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LETTER OF INFORMATION (Women Farmers)[translation not needed]

Title of the Research Study:

How commercial women farmers acquired knowledge and negotiated gender power relations in Zimbabwe: Implications for adult education and training.

Principal Investigator/researcher: Tabeth Kaziboni (216490420)
tabkaziboni@gmail.com (M Ed.)

Supervisors: - Professor Julia Preece: PhD;
Dr Tabitha Mukeredzi PhD

Brief Introduction and Purpose of the Study:

The purpose of this study is to explore how women negotiate traditional gender power relations in accessing and utilising their farm land. The study also seeks to understand how women manage to access new farming knowledge and apply and integrate this with their traditional knowledge. The study hopes to come up with recommendations to the Ministry of Agriculture for relevant education and training programmes.

You have been chosen because of your experiences as an A2 woman farmer who benefitted from the Fast Track Land Reform Programme in Zvimba District.

Outline of the Procedure:

If you choose to be part of the study, you will be required to participate in a focus group discussion of 5 members and take part in an interview. Focus group discussions will take place at the Banket Sports Club and individual interviews will take place at your farm. Your participation is voluntary. If you decide to take part you are still free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason. Withdrawal from the study will not have any negative consequences for anyone choosing to do this.

In addition, I will ask you to record activities related to farming experiences during the next seven months. The meetings with you will last between half-an-hour (30 minutes) to one-and-a-half hours. I

will tape record the discussions with your permission and will also jot down some notes. Photographs will be taken with your permission. The study will take place between September 2016 and May 2017.

Follow-ups will be carried out in order to verify information during exit interviews.

Risks or Discomforts to the Participant

You will experience no risks or discomforts since interviews and photos will be done only after permission has been granted by you.

Benefits (to the participant and to the researcher/s)

This study will provide a platform for you to be heard and to represent other women farmers on their experiences and concerns.

The Ministry of Agriculture may use the (anonymised) information you give to come up with meaningful and relevant education and training programmes which will benefit the farming community.

I as the researcher will use the information in this study to publish articles for the consumption of many stakeholders.

Reasons why participants may be withdrawn from the study

You may choose to withdraw from the study at any time without any prejudice.

Remuneration

You will be paid \$5 (75 Rands) as transport allowance and \$5 (75 Rands) allowance for your lunch for each day you participate in the study.

Costs of the study

You are not expected to cover any costs towards the study. All the costs will be borne by the researcher.

Confidentiality

All data will be kept with the highest degree of confidentiality.

I will not include your name or your address in this study. I will do this so that nobody can recognise you from the information that you will give. I will use pseudo names and all the information will be kept under lock and key.

Research-related injury:

Counsellors will be available to provide you with counselling services should the need arise.

Persons to contact in the event of any problems or queries

Supervisor: Professor Julia Preece: PhD

Tel: 0734657609

juliap@dut.ac.za

Researcher Tel: 263773249021 Email: tabkaziboni@gmail.com

Research ethics administrator on 031 373 2900. Complaints can be reported to the DVC: TIP, Prof. F Otieno on 031 373 2382: or dvctip@dut.ac.za



CONSENT

Statement of Agreement to Participate in the Research Study:

- I hereby confirm that I have been informed by the researcher, Tabeth Kaziboni, about the nature, conduct, benefits and risks of this study – Research Ethics Clearance Number:
- I have also received, read and understood the above written information (Participant Letter of Information) regarding the study.
- I am aware that the results of the study, including personal details regarding my sex, age, date of birth, initials and diagnosis will be anonymously processed into a study report.
- In view of the requirements of research, I agree that the data collected during this study can be processed in a computerised system by the researcher.
- I may, at any stage, without prejudice, withdraw my consent and participation in the study.
- I have had sufficient opportunity to ask questions (of my own free will) declare myself prepared to participate in the study.
- I understand that significant new findings developed during the course of this research which may relate to my participation will be made available to me.
- I have agreed to have the interview tape recorded.
- I have agreed to have photographs taken and used with pseudonym.

Full Name of Participant	Date	Time	Signature/Right
Thumbprint			

I, Tabeth Kaziboni herewith confirm that the above participant has been fully informed about the nature, conduct and risks of the above study.

Full Name of Researcher	Date	Signature
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Full Name of Witness (If applicable)	Date	Signature
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LETTER OF INFORMATION (Grain Marketing Board)

Title of the Research Study: How commercial women farmers acquired knowledge and negotiated gender power relations in Zimbabwe: Implications for adult education and training.

Principal Investigator/researcher: Tabeth Kaziboni (216490420)

tabkaziboni@gmail.com (M Ed.)

Supervisors: _____ Professor Julia Preece: PhD;
Dr Tabitha Mukeredzi: PhD

Brief Introduction and Purpose of the Study:

The purpose of this study is to explore how women negotiate traditional gender power relations in accessing and utilising their farm land. The study also seeks to understand how women manage to access new farming knowledge and apply and integrate this with their traditional knowledge. The study hopes to come up with recommendations to the Ministry of Agriculture for relevant education and training programmes.

You have been chosen because of your work experiences with A2 women farmers who benefitted from the Fast Track Land Reform Programme in Zvimba North Constituency

Outline of the Procedure:

If you choose to be part of the study, you will be required to take part in an interview which will take place at your work place and will last for about 30 minutes to one hour. Your participation is voluntary. If you decide to take part you are still free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason. Withdrawal from the study will not have any negative consequences for anyone choosing to do this.

I will tape record the discussions with your permission and will also jot down some notes. The study will take place between September 2016 and May 2017.

Follow-ups will be carried out in order to verify information during exit interviews.

Risks or Discomforts to the Participant

You will experience no risks or discomforts since interviews will be taped only when permission has been granted by you.

Benefits (to the participant and to the researcher/s)

This study will provide a platform for you to be heard with regards to your perceptions on how women farmers have fared and how they have managed their farms.

The Ministry of Agriculture and Zvimba District may use the (anonymised) information you give to come up with meaningful and relevant education and training programmes which will benefit the farming community.

I as the researcher will use the information in this study to publish articles for the consumption of many stakeholders.

Reasons why participants may withdraw from the study

You may choose to withdraw from the study at any time without any prejudice.

Remuneration

You will be paid \$5 (75 Rands) allowance for your lunch for each day you participate in the study.

Costs of the study

You are not expected to cover any costs towards the study. All the costs will be borne by the researcher.

Confidentiality

All data will be kept with the highest degree of confidentiality.

I will not include your name or your address in this study. I will do this so that nobody can recognise you from the information that you will give. I will use pseudo names and all the information will be kept under lock and key.

Research-related injury:

There will be no research related injury to yourself as a result of the study

Persons to contact in the event of any problems or queries

Supervisor: Professor Julia Preece: PhD

Tel: 0734657609

juliap@dut.ac.za

Researcher Tel: 263773249021 Email: tabkaziboni@gmail.com

Research ethics administrator on 031 373 2900. Complaints can be reported to the DVC: TIP, Prof. F Otieno on 031 373 2382: or dvctip@dut.ac.za



CONSENT

Statement of Agreement to Participate in the Research Study:

- I hereby confirm that I have been informed by the researcher, Tabeth Kaziboni, about the nature, conduct, benefits and risks of this study – Research Ethics Clearance Number:
- I have also received, read and understood the above written information (Participant Letter of Information) regarding the study.
- I am aware that the results of the study, including personal details regarding my sex, age, date of birth, initials and diagnosis will be anonymously processed into a study report.
- In view of the requirements of research, I agree that the data collected during this study can be processed in a computerised system by the researcher.
- I may, at any stage, without prejudice, withdraw my consent and participation in the study.
- I have had sufficient opportunity to ask questions (of my own free will) declare myself prepared to participate in the study.
- I understand that significant new findings developed during the course of this research which may relate to my participation will be made available to me.
- I have agreed to have the interview tape recorded.
- I have agreed to the use of pseudonym.

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Full Name of Participate	Date	Time	Signature/Right
Thumbprint			

I, Tabeth Kaziboni herewith confirm that the above participant has been fully informed about the nature, conduct and risks of the above study.

.....	
Full Name of Researcher	Date	Signature
.....	

Full Name of Witness (If applicable)	Date	Signature
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Dr Ignatious Chombo

MP for Zvimba

Zvimba.

12th July 2016

Dear Sir

RE: Permission to carry out a research study in Zvimba.

I am a student pursuing a PhD study through the Durban University of Technology. I am writing to seek permission to carry out research in Zvimba. The title of my study is “How commercial women farmers acquired knowledge and negotiated gender power relations in Zimbabwe: Implications for adult education and training”. The purpose of this study is to explore how women negotiate traditional gender power relations in accessing and utilising their farm land. The study also seeks to understand how women manage to access new farming knowledge and apply and integrate this with their traditional knowledge.

I intend to interview 10 women farmers who benefitted from the Zimbabwe Fast Track Land Reform Programme of 2000. I will also do focus group discussions with the women. I intend to interview the DA of Zvimba, 2 Agricultural Extension Officers and 1 Grain Marketing Board official. I hope to collect data between September 2016 and May 2017. The findings of the study will be made available to your Constituency.

For more information, you may contact my supervisor whose contact details are below.

Julia Preece

Professor of Adult and Community Education

Unit of Adult and Community Education

Faculty of Arts and Design

Indumiso, Midlands Campus, Durban University of Technology

Pietermaritzburg

I look forward to hearing from you soon.

Yours faithfully

Tabeth Kaziboni

YOUR REF :
TELEPHONE : 703641-3
TELEGRAMS : "LEGAL"



ZIMBABWE

MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS
PRIVATE BAG 7703
CAUSEWAY

REFERENCE :

1 August, 2016

Mrs. T. Kaziboni
Durban University of Technology.

RE: PERMISSION TO CARRY OUT A RESEARCH STUDY IN ZVIMBA

I am in receipt of your request for permission to carry out a research on how female commercial farmers acquire knowledge and negotiate power relations in Zvimba North Constituency. I therefore grant you permission to carry out your research, and would be grateful if you furnish my office with the findings of your research. I believe that the findings and recommendations will go a long way in improving the lives of women in Zvimba North.

Do not hesitate to communicate challenges encountered during the process. My office will be ready to assist.

Dr. TMC Chombo (MP)

MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS

MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS

2016 -08- 01

P BAG 7703, CAUSEWAY
ZIMBABWE



The Chief Administrator
Zvimba North Constituency
Zvimba District

12th July 2016

Dear Madam

RE: Permission to use the Banket Sports Club in Zvimba to do focus group discussions:

I am a student pursuing a PhD study through Durban University of Technology. I am writing to seek permission to use Banket Sports Club to do focus group discussions. The title of my study is “How commercial women farmers acquired knowledge and negotiated gender power relations in Zimbabwe: Implications for adult education and training”. The purpose of this study is to explore how women negotiate traditional gender power relations in accessing and utilising their farm land. The study also seeks to understand how women manage to access new farming knowledge and apply and integrate this with their traditional knowledge.

I plan to do focus group discussions with 2 groups of women farmers who benefitted from the Zimbabwe Fast Track Land Reform Programme of 2000 in Zvimba. I hope to do the focus group discussions between September 2016 and October 2016. The findings of the study will be made available to Zvimba District.

For more information, you may contact my supervisor whose contact details are below.

Julia Preece
Professor of Adult and Community Education

Unit of Adult and Community Education
Faculty of Arts and Design
Indumiso, Midlands Campus, Durban University of Technology
Pietermaritzburg

I look forward to hearing from you soon.

Yours faithfully

Tabeth Kaziboni

YOUR REF :
TELEPHONE : 703641-3
TELEGRAMS : "LEGAL"



MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS
PRIVATE BAG 7703
CAUSEWAY

REFERENCE :

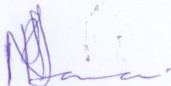
1 August, 2016

Mrs. T. Kaziboni
Durban University of Technology.

RE: PERMISSION TO USE BANKET COMMUNITY SPORTS CLUB

We acknowledge receipt of your letter dated 29th July, 2016, requesting permission to make use of the community sports club to carry out focus group discussions. Please note that the community centre offers such services free of charge, in our quest to develop the constituency through research.

We wish you success in your endeavors.



N. Jaiwa

CHIEF ADMINISTRATOR.

MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS

2016 -08- 01

P. BAG 7703, CAUSEWAY
ZIMBABWE

APPENDIX 1: QUESTIONS: ENGLISH

DRAFT FOR DATA COLLECTION QUESTIONS FOR INTERVIEWS AND FGDs:

WOMEN FARMERS, DISTRICT ADMINISTRATOR, GRAIN MARKETING BOARD OFFICIALS AND AGRICULTURE EXTENSION OFFICERS:

APPENDIX 1 – DRAFT QUESTION SCHEDULES – ENGLISH				
Data collection from	FGD	Interviews	Diaries	Observation
Women farmers	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. When you were growing up how were farming roles and responsibilities allocated? <i>Give examples.</i> 2. How did you feel about these responsibilities? <i>Give examples.</i> 3. When you left your family home, what did you do? <i>Explain how you felt about this.</i> 4. When you got the allocation letter what was your reaction? (fear/excitement, challenged, etc.). <i>Give examples.</i> 5. How did you communicate the information to male members? 6. How did the male members react? <i>Give examples.</i> 7. What were your experiences of the first two years? (<i>reactions and behaviour of family members,</i> 	<p>As for focus group – but with a particular focus on issues that emerged in the FGD that require further elaboration. Plus some more personal questions such as:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Where were you brought up? 2. What level of education did you reach? 3. How many siblings do you have in your family – what number are you? 	<p><u>Daily/weekly record of experiences with your farm activities</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. People you interact with 2. Conflicts with significant others (e.g. family members, officials, extension officers) 3. How did you manage your conflict (what happened, what did you do or say)? 4. How did you feel about the conflict (what was said or done to you; how you reacted; what was the outcome)? 5. Was there any new farming knowledge that you acquired – and where from? 6. Record any successful farming experience and how this was achieved. 	<p><u>One-off observation</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Resources available for use and their condition 2. How farmer interacts with fellow workers – e.g. how instructions are given to and received by workers 3. What produce is growing? 4. State of the soil/quality of fertilization.

	<p><i>how you managed your relationship with male members, other men in the farming context).</i></p> <p>8. How have relationships developed or changed over time? <i>Give examples of particular memorable incidents.</i></p> <p>9. Give an example of your most successful farming experience and how you think you achieved it.</p> <p>10. Give an example of your worst experience with the farm and how you managed to deal with it.</p> <p>11. What knowledge about farming did you already have?</p> <p>12. How did this knowledge help you in developing your land?</p> <p>13. What other knowledge have you acquired since and who from?</p> <p>14. How did you learn about this knowledge? <i>Give examples.</i></p> <p>15. How useful was your own farming knowledge alongside the new knowledge? <i>Give examples.</i></p> <p>16. What do you feel are your</p>		<p>7. Record any bad farming experience and how this was managed.</p>	
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	<p>knowledge gaps in farming?</p> <p>17. How could these be addressed?</p>			
District administrator		<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. What role do you play in the Land allocation programme? 2. What criteria are used in allocating land? 3. How do you feel the new female farm owners are managing their farms? 4. What kind of concerns do the women farmers bring to you? <i>Give examples.</i> 5. How do you manage these concerns? <i>Give examples.</i> 6. What other activities does your office initiate for the farmers generally? <i>Give examples.</i> 7. How do women compare with men in terms of: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a) working with others; b) production; c) acquiring new knowledge d) using new knowledge? 8. How do you 		

		feel women have managed to relate to the male family and wider community members?	
Grain Marketing Board officials		<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) What role do you play as a GMB official? 2) How do you feel the new female farm owners are managing their farms? 3) What kind of concerns do the women farmers bring to you? <i>Give examples.</i> 4) How do you manage these concerns? <i>Give examples.</i> 5) What other activities does your office initiate for the farmers generally? <i>Give examples.</i> 6) How do women compare with men in terms of: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a) working with others; b) production; c) acquiring new knowledge d) using new knowledge? 7) How do you feel women have managed to relate to the male family and wider community members? 	

		<p>8) How successful have the A2 women farmers been in terms of production and selling?</p> <p>9) When you have allocated farming inputs (resources), what criteria have you used for whom you allocate to?</p>	
Agricultural extension officers		<p>1) What role do you play as an agric extension officer?</p> <p>2) How do you feel the new female farm owners are managing their farms?</p> <p>3) What kind of concerns do the women farmers bring to you? <i>Give examples.</i></p> <p>4) How do you manage these concerns? <i>Give examples.</i></p> <p>5) What other activities do you initiate for the farmers generally? <i>Give examples.</i></p> <p>6) How do women compare with men in terms of:</p> <p>a) working with others;</p>	

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> b) production; c) acquiring new knowledge d) using new knowledge e) using indigenous knowledge? <p><i>Give examples.</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 7) How do you feel women have managed to relate to the male family and wider community members? 8) How successful have the A2 women farmers been in terms of production and selling? 9) What training have you initiated for women farmers? 10) What other training do you think women farmers need? 	
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APPENDIX 2a Draft Questions for women farmers: FGDs: [translated in case some prefer to answer in Shona]

- 1) Apo makange muchikura, maigovaniswa sei mabasa ekurima? Ipai muenzaniso.
- 2) Mainzwa sei pamusoro pemabasa iwayo? Ipai muenzaniso.
- 3) Pawakabva pamusha pababa vako, wakaiteyi? Tsanangura zvawainzwa pamusoro pazvo.
- 4) Pawakatambira tsamba yekuwana munda wakanzwa sei, chii chawakaita? (wakatya here, wakafarisa here, kana kuona zvakaoma etc)?
- 5) Wakafambisa shoko iri seyi kuhazvanzi dzako/bab bvako, murume wako?
- 6) Hanzvadzi/ baba/ murume vakazvitora sei?
- 7) Pamakore maviri ekutanga, chii chaunga tsanangure chakaitika? (zvakaitewa nemhuri nematorero avakazviita, nekuti wakagona se kuti murambe muchiwirirana nehazvanzi/baba/murume nevamwewo varimi vechirume).
- 8) Ukama hwenyu hwakura sei kana kushanduka here nekufamba kwenguva? Ipa muenzaniso wezvimwe zvinhu zvausingakanganwe zvakaufadza.
- 9) Ipa muenzaniso unoratidza kubudirira kwawakamboita munyaya dzekurima netsanangudzo yekuti wakazvigona sei?
- 10) Ipa muenzaniso yepawakambokoniwa munyaya dzekurima, nekuti wakazovifambisa sei kuti zvizoendeka?
- 11) Wakange une ruzivo rwakadini rwekurima?
- 12) Ruzivo urwu rwakakubatsira sei kuti upfure mberi nebasa rekurima?
- 13) Pane kwawakazomboona here rumwe ruzivo kubva ipapo nebasa rekurima?
- 14) Ruzivo urwu wakaruziviswa nani. Ipa muenzaniso?
- 15) Ruzivo rwako rwekurima, rwaibatsira sei tichisanganisa neruzivo rutsva? Ipa mienzaniso.
- 16) Chii chaunofunga kuti chirikushaikwa mubasa rekurima kuti zvinyatsoendeka?
- 17) Unofunga kuti zvingagadziriswe sei?

APPENDIX 2b Draft Questions Women's Interviews:

- 1) Wakakurira kupi?
- 2) Wakadzidza kusvika mubhuku rip?
- 3) Muri vangani mumba menyu- Iwe uri wechingani?
- 4) Apo makange muchikura, maigovaniswa sei mabasa ekurima? Ipai muenzaniso.
- 5) Mainzwa sei pamusoro pemabasa iwayo? Ipai muenzaniso.
- 6) Pawakabva kumusha kwakatiyi? Tsanangura zvawainzwa pamusoro pazvo.
- 7) Pawakatambira tsamba yezvawaifanira kuita, chii chawakaita? (wakatya here, wakafarisa here, kana kuona zvakazakakudenha zvakaoma etc)?
- 8) Wakafambisa shoko iri seyi kuhazvanzi dzako?
- 9) Hazvanzi idzi dzakazvitora sei?
- 10) Pamakore maviri ekutanga, chii chaungatsanangure chakaitika? (zvakaikwa nemburi nematorero avakaita, nekuti wakagona se kuti murambe muchiwirirana nehazvanzi dzako, nevamwewo varimi vechirume.
- 11) Ukama hwenyu hwakura sei kana kushanduka here nekufamba kwenguva? Ipa muenzaniso wezvimwe zvinhu zvausingakanganwe zvakaufadza.
- 12) Ipa muenzaniso unoratidza kubudirira kwawakamboita munyaya dzekurima netsanangudzo yekuti wakazvigona sei?
- 13) Ipa muenzaniso yepawakambokoniwa munyaya dzekurima, nekuti wakazovifambisa sei kuti zvizoendeka?
- 14) Wakange une ruzivo rwakadini rwekurima?
- 15) Ruzivo urwu rwakakubatsira sei kuti upfure mberi nebasa rekurima?
- 16) Pane kwawakazomboona here rumwe ruzivo kubva ipapo nebasa rekurima?
- 17) Ruzivo urwu wakaruziviswa nani. Ipa muenzaniso?
- 18) Ruzivo rwako rwekurima, rwaibatsira sei tichisanganisa neruzivo rutsva? Ipa mienzaniso.
- 19) Chii chaunofunga kuti chirikushaikwa mubasa rekurima kuti zvinyatsoendeka?
- 20) Unofunga kuti zvingagadziriswe sei?

APPENDIX 2c Draft Questions Diaries Record Guide:

Nyora zvese zvinoitika mazuva ese, svondo rega rega pamunda wako.

- 1) Vanhu vaunoshanda nekutaura navo?
- 2) Kusawirirana kunoitika nevanhu sevemhuri kana vemuma hofisi kana madhumeni?
- 3) Kusawirirana uku waikugadzirisa sei? (Chii chakaitika iwe wakati kudiya kana wakaiteyi?)
- 4) Wakanzwa sei paiita kusawirirana (Wakange waitwa sei kana kuti wakarehwa kutii, wakazvitora sei uyezve zvakazoguma sei?)
- 5) Pane rizivo rwekurima here rwawakaona uye rwaibva kuna ani?
- 6) Nyora mubhuku nezvekubudiria kwawakaita panyaya dzekurima nekuti wakazvigona sei?
- 7) Nyora mubhuku kutadza kurima kwawakaita nekuti wakazovigadzirisa sei?

APPENDIX 2d Draft Questions for observation:

- 1) Tsime neruzivo rwakakubatsira nekuti zvakagona kuti basa aendeke here?
 - 2) Murimi anoshanda vese sei nekutaura nevashandi sekuti maudziro avanoitwa mabasa ekuita nemashandirirwo acho nevashandi?
 - 3) Zvirimwa zvipi zviripo izvozvi?
 - 4) Mhando yevhu racho nemhando yefetiraiza yacho?
-

APPENDIX 2e Draft Questions District Administrator Interviews:

- 1) Une basa ripi raunoita pakugoverwa kweminda?
- 2) Chii chavanoshandisa, vanotarisei pakugovera minda?
- 3) Unofunga kuti varimi vechidzimai varikugona sei kushanda muminda yavo?
- 4) Varimi vechidzimai vanoti vanobatikana neyi pabasa ravo? Ipa mienzaniso.
- 5) Unozvigadzirisa Seiko zvichemo zvavo? Ipa mienzaniso.
- 6) Tipe mienzaniso yemamwe mabasa aunoita kuti varimi vatange kuita.
- 7) Kana takatarisa varume nevakadzi
 - a) Vakadzi vanoshanda sei nevamwe,
 - b) Vano kurumidza sei kudzidza zvinhu zvitsva,
 - c) Kushandisa dzidzo iyi.
- 8) Unofunga kuti madzimai vanogona kushanda nevarume nevamwe vanhu vemunharaunda sei?

APPENDIX 2f Draft Questions Grain Marketing Board Official Interviews:

- 1) Semukuru we Grain Marketing Board, basa rako ndereyi?
- 2) Urikuona sei kushanda kuri kuita varimi vechidzimai?
- 3) Varimi vechidzimai vanounza zvichemo zvakaita szvipi kwauri? Ipa muenzaniso.
- 4) Unozvigadzirisa sei? Ipa Muenzaniso.
- 5) Zvimwe zvinoitwa nehofisi yenyu ndezvipi zvekuti basa rifambire mberi? Ipa muenzaniso.
- 6) Madzimai anoenzaniswa sei nevarume pa:
 - a) Kushanda nevamwe
 - b) Goho
 - c) Kutambira ruzivoritsva
 - d) Kushandisa ruzivo urwu
- 7) Unofunga kuti vakadzi varikugonasei kushanda nehama dzevarume nedzimwe nhengo dzemunharaunda?
- 8) Varimi vechidzimai veA2 varikubudirira sei maererano nezvirimwa zvavo nematengeserwo azvo?
- 9) Kana muchigovera vanhu zvekushandisa mumunda, munotarisa chii sechiyero?

APPENDIX 2g Draft Questions Agricultural Extension Officer Interviews:

1. Unoita basa reyi semudhumeni?
2. Urikuona sei kushanda kunoita varimi vechidzimai?
3. Vanounza zvichemo zvakaita sei kwauri? Ipa muenzaniso.
4. Unovabatsira kuti varimi waitewo zvakasiyana nebasa rekurima? Ipa muenzaniso.
5. Zvii zvimawe zvaunobatsira kuti varimi waitewo zvakasiyana nebasa rekurima? Ipa muenzaniso.
6. Madzimai akasiyana sei nevarume maererano ne
 - a) Kushanda nevamwe
 - b) Goho
 - c) Kutsvagurudza ruzivo rutsva
 - d) Kushandisa ruzivo urwu
 - e) Kushandisa ruzivo rwemunharaunda mako. Ipa mienzaniso.
7. Unofunga kuti madzimai arikugona kushanda nevemhuri vechirume sei nevamwe vemunharaunda?
8. Varimi vechidzimai veA2 varikubudiria sei maererano nezvirimwa zvavo nematengeserwo azvo?
9. Wakarongeyi maererao nekudzidzisa varimi vechidzimai?
10. Unofunga kuti ndeipizve dzidziso ingade kupiwa varimi vechidzimai?