The Book of Micah and the Land Question: An Application of Delbert R. Hillers' Relative Deprivation Theory to the Land Question in Zimbabwe

by

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submitted in accordance with the requirements for
the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in the subject

RELIGIOUS STUDIES

with specialisation in
Biblical Studies (Old Testament)

at the

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH AFRICA

SUPERVISOR: Prof. Ndikhokele Mtshiselwa

August, 2024

DECLARATION

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Thesis: The Book of Micah and the land question: An application of Delbert R. Hillers' relative deprivation theory to the land question in Zimbabwe.

I declare that the above thesis is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

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I further declare that I have not previously submitted this work, or part of it, for examination at Unisa for another qualification or at any other higher education institution.

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KEY TERMS

Micah; Zimbabwe; Bible; Delbert R. Hillers; Chimurenga; Relative deprivation; Von Rad; *Latifundialization*; land; Land tenure systems; Peasants; Poverty; Eighth Century prophets; Assyria, Markets, Socio-economic, religious, and political contexts.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AREX	AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH EXTENSION
BCE	BEFORE THE COMMON ERA
BiAS	BIBLE IN AFRICA STUDIES
BIPPA	BILATERAL INVESTMENT PROTECTION AND PROMOTION AGREEMENT
BIT	BILATERAL INVESTMENT TREATY
DA	DISTRICT ADMINISTRATOR
DDF	DISTRICT DEVELOPMENT FUND
DLC	DISTRICT LAND COMMITTEE
DZL	DAIRY ZIMBABWE LIMITED
ESAP	ECONOMIC STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT PROGRAMME
FTLRP	FAST TRACK LAND REFORM PROGRAMME
GMB	GRAIN MARKETING BOARD
GOZ	GOVERNMENT OF ZIMBABWE
GRDC	GOROMONZI RURAL DISTRICT COUNCIL
IMF	INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND
IRP	INTENSIVE RESETTLEMENT PROGRAMME
LONRO	LONDON AND RHODESIAN MINING AND LAND COMPANY
LSCF	LARGE-SCALE COMMERCIAL FARMS
MDC	MOVEMENT FOR DEMOCRATIC CHANGE

SSCF	SMALL-SCALE COMMERCIAL FARMS
UANC	UNITED AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS
UK	UNITED KINGDOM
UN	UNITED NATIONS
ZANLA	ZIMBABWE AFRICAN NATIONAL LIBERATION ARMY
ZANU	ZIMBABWE AFRICAN NATIONAL UNION
ZANU PF	ZIMBABWE AFRICAN NATIONAL UNION PATRIOTIC FRONT
ZAPU	ZIMBABWE AFRICAN PEOPLE'S UNION
ZDERA	ZIMBABWE DEMOCRATIC AND ECONOMIC RECOVERY ACT
ZIPRA	ZIMBABWE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY ARMY
ZRP	ZIMBABWE REPUBLIC POLICE

DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my beloved wife, Primrose T. Jeje and my children, Engineer Kudakwashe, Ngonidzashe and Kelly Panashe Jeje. The thesis is also dedicated to my mother, Keresia Jeje, and my late father, Lazarus Mhondiwa Jeje, and to all the people passionate about farming and land issues in Africa.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

ABSTRACT

The project focused on appraising the centrality of the land issue in both the first and Second Chimurenga liberation wars in Zimbabwe. A general ideological claim associates land with both the first and Second Chimurenga liberation narratives. This study employed the use of Delbert R. Hillers' social scientific model of relative deprivation as a theoretical framework and two concepts, namely, relative deprivation and *Latifundialization* to find meaning to the social political and-economic phenomena of land in the Book of Micah and the Zimbabwean context.

Hillers is of the conviction that the peasants in eighth-century Judah lost land to the rich people, most likely the merchants of the time. This study hypothesised that the poor peasants must have lost their land to the ruling class and the military that supported the rulers, which must have been a major cause of deprivation and discontent.

A similar situation occurred in Zimbabwe (then Rhodesia), when the white ruling minority used military forces to evict the indigenous black people (peasants) from their lands to give way to white settlers.

The research comprises an exegesis of the book of Micah. Exegetical tools from the Historical Critical Method, such as source, form, redaction, textual and many others, were employed in the study. Being aware of the historical gap that existed between the period of Micah, the eighth-century prophet and the contemporary Zimbabwean society, the study made use of two hermeneutical models from social scientific criticism, namely, relative deprivation and *Latifundialization* garnered from an analysis of the prophetic book of Micah and its social world, to penetrate the contemporary Zimbabwean context. Von Rad's concept of *Latifundialization* was employed to understand how the ruling class and the military got involved in the issue of land in Judah and in Zimbabwe, comparatively.

The study found that the need to create large farm estates (*latifundia*) for the white settlers, ex-service white men from previous wars and other government officials, led to the removal of indigenous black people (peasants) from their original farming areas to specially designated districts with very poor soils; erratic, and unreliable rainfall pattern. This eventually led to the formation of protest movements over the conflicted resources and oppressive ruling system. The study noted the relevance of the book of Micah in understanding the plight of peasants during the era of minority rule in Zimbabwe.

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CHAPTER 1[1]

INTRODUCTION

1.1   FIELD OF RESEARCH AND BACKGROUND

The field of the present study is the Old Testament, which is within the sphere of and related to Religious Studies and its hermeneutical implications on the land issue in Zimbabwe. The study seeks to use Delbert R. Hillers' social scientific model of relative deprivation to find meaning to the social, political, and economic phenomena of land in the Book of Micah and the Zimbabwean context. In a way, this thesis is a continuation of my previous study on the Old Testament (Jeje, 2011). Meanwhile, the present research seeks to explore the ideology of *latifundialization* as a springboard to appropriate the land question from the Book of Micah in the Zimbabwean context today.

Latifundialization (derived from the Latin terms *latus* 'broad' + *fundus* 'landed estate' = *latifundia* meaning large estates) can be defined, generally, as the amassing of land to a small, rich elite, at the detriment of the peasantry (Khiangte, 2009). It was a kind of economy where the professional soldiers were given endowments of land, complete with tenants (Von Rad, 1965:150). This kind of land tenure system came with the monarchy in ancient Israel that resulted in the commercialisation of land. Scholars such as Chikafu (2003) and Bishau (2010) support the aforementioned theory. Bishau (2010:145) argues that: "The ideals of Mosaic Yahwism favoured the theory of the *Hapiru* revolution that must have resulted in the liberation of Israel." In view of the above assertion, it is logical to conclude that commercialised land was in opposition to tribal ideals. Bishau (2010:145) further argues that Mosaic Yahwism provided the egalitarian ideology that guided the *Hapiru* during the revolution. The study probes the extent to which giving out land as an endowment to soldiers (*Latifundialization*) at the time of Micah impacted tribal ideals handed down from the time of the *Hapiru* revolution. The study goes a step further to investigate the extent to which the challenges brought about due to *Latifundialization* at the time of Micah may mirror the challenges faced in Zimbabwe today due to land distribution. Thus, while the field of research is certainly the Old Testament prophetic book of Micah, the study seeks to probe the relevance of the book of Micah to the land situation in contemporary Zimbabwe. In order to achieve the above objective, the study

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[1] From here forth the Times New Romans style, instead of Arial, is utilised.

commences by tracing the advent of colonialism until 1980 when Zimbabwe obtained democratic rule.

Hillers' analysis of Micah's book led to the conclusion that the prophet Micah championed the cause of the poor in Judah during the reign of Hezekiah (Hillers, 1984:4). Hillers seemed to have been echoing sentiments from other earlier scholars like Mays (1976:16) who described Micah as a sympathiser of the oppressed. Mays' view of the book of Micah tended to motivate contemporary biblical commentators such as Simkins and Kelly (2014:34) who described Micah as one of the powerful voices of his time that spoke against peasant poverty. Such studies on Micah associate the message of Micah with the plight of the poor peasants of his time. This study particularly picks on Hillers' insights because he seems to be more specific regarding the conditions of the peasants at the time of Micah. Hillers cites several causes of the plight of the poor during Hezekiah's reign, but he specifically identifies land loss to the rich people as the main cause of the deprivation that the peasants suffered.

As previously highlighted, this research seeks to problematise Hillers' theory of relative deprivation of the peasants due to loss of land. Hillers is of the conviction that the peasants lost the land to the rich people, most likely the merchants of the time. However, the circumstances that led to the plight of the poor have not quite been investigated. For example, this study finds it difficult to see how merchants would have found time to fully utilise the land while most of the time they were out trading their goods. The study's hypothesis is that the poor peasants must have lost their land to the ruling class and the soldiers who supported the rulers. This loss of land to the ruling class and the military must have been a major cause of deprivation and discontent. This position finds support from Smith-Christopher (2015: 21) who states:

> …I argue that what has been missing in the previous analysis of Micah the person and Micah the book is a major emphasis on the specifically military expropriations that were part of the context of late eighth-century Shephelah existence. Therefore, the most effective way to understand Micah in his historical, geographical, and ideological context is to read his message as a regionally-oriented religious and political challenge to the oppressive economic and military interests of the central elite of Jerusalem.

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What probably worsened the discontent was that the peasants saw this loss of land to the ruling class as a betrayal of the Mosaic Yahwism egalitarian ideals, which guided the *Hapiru* revolution that liberated them in the first place.

In light of this, the research seeks to develop this theory by also utilising von Rad's concept of *Latifundialisation* as stated previously. The study surmises that *Latifundialisation* elaborates Hillers' theory of relative deprivation and explains the conditions of the peasants at the time of Micah. However, *Latifundialisation* gives the study extra mileage in that it facilitates appropriation of the land debate in the Zimbabwean situation.

In this thesis, two preferred texts from the book of Micah constitute the focuses of attention, namely: Micah 2:1-5 and 6:8-15. An insight drawn from reading the chosen texts indicates that those who took over the land from the peasants also controlled the markets. Having delineated the background of the study, the following section explains the problem statement and research questions of the study.

1.2   PROBLEM STATEMENT AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The study is a two-tier investigation: the first part is an exegesis of the book of Micah meant to probe the circumstances that led to the relative deprivation of the peasants at the time of Micah. Hillers' theory of relative deprivation is used to understand the situation of the peasants at the time of Micah. However, Hillers' theory does not fully explain the reasons why the peasants lost their land, and the study also utilises von Rad's concept of *Latifundialization* as a cause of the deprivation of the peasants and a major cause of discontent among the peasants. This leads to the second part of the investigation: the extent to which the situation of the peasants in Micah's time mirrors that of the Zimbabwean peasants at the advent of colonialism in Zimbabwe. In essence the study investigates how the discourse on land in Zimbabwe could further unlock the meaning of Micah. There are some insights that can assist the readership to understand the question of land in Micah, especially when the contexts are symmetrically analysed. Contextual studies also assist the readers by triggering certain unique questions when reading ancient biblical texts. Therefore, the study seeks to answer the following key research question: to what extent may the book of Micah speak to the Zimbabwean land question today?

As aforementioned, the main question of the present research, as well as the secondary questions posed by the study are as follows:

- How did the political, social, religious, and economic developments during the eighth century BCE influence the peasant farmers and the prophet Micah?

- In terms of Latifundialization, how comparable are the socio-political settings of the eighth century BCE prophet Micah, on one hand, and the socio-political settings in Zimbabwe at the advent of colonialism, on the other hand?

- To what extent can the book of Micah speak to the Zimbabwean land issue, and in turn, to what extent can the latter illumine the contextual understanding of the book of Micah?

- To what extent is the Third Chimurenga both a logical development of the Second Chimurenga and a required conclusion to the Zimbabwean land crisis?

- How does the theory of relative deprivation explain the development from the Second Chimurenga to the land crisis that the Third Chimurenga was trying to address?

- How does this study's alternative theory of relative deprivation mark a point of departure from Delbert R. Hillers' theory of relative deprivation and hence what is this thesis' contribution to the body of knowledge?

Therefore, this study explores the extent to which the book of Micah speaks to the Zimbabwean land issue today, and how may the Zimbabwean context in the study assist in further understanding the book of Micah. This is so because the discourse on land in Zimbabwe could further unlock the meaning drawn from reading Micah 2:1-5 and 6:8-15. There are some insights that can assist the readership to understand the question of land in Micah, especially when the two contexts are analysed as mentioned above.

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1.3   AIM AND OBJECTIVES

1.3.1. Aim

The aim of this research is to use Hillers' theory of relative deprivation and von Rad's concept of *Latifundialization* on the Book of Micah and the land question in Zimbabwe today.

1.3.2 Objectives

The objectives of this study are to:

1. Examine the Political, Social, religious and economic contexts of the eighth-century prophet Micah to understand how peasant farmers were affected by the developments that took place during that historical era. Hillers' theory of Relative deprivation and von Rad's concept of *Latifundialization* are utilised to appreciate and understand the problems that affected the peasant farmers during Micah' time and also outline the message of Micah.

2. Discuss the comparability of the social and political settings of the eighth-century prophet Micah's time and the socio-political settings in Zimbabwe at the advent of colonialism to reflect aspects of relative deprivation resulting from *latifundialization*. Attention will be paid to the land tenure systems that were introduced by white colonial settler regime and how indigenous peasant farmers were disenfranchised, thus creating a fertile ground for liberation wars as a result of the effects of relative deprivation and *latifundialization*.

3. Exploring the extent to which the book of Micah can speak to the Zimbabwean land issue and vice versa. The exploited poor peasantry in eighth-century Judean society regarded the Jerusalem city as the epi-centre of their exploitation by the rich and powerful elite who dwelt there (Mi 3: 8-11). In this case, the community of Micah mirrors the Zimbabwean community and its experience during the colonial rule of the white settlers, hence relative deprivation emanating from *latifundialization*. The white settlers who migrated into the country in 1890 established a minority rule and deprived the majority of the native black people of their land and some important resources. The deprived indigenous people, much like peasants of Micah's time, resented the oppressive regime of the elite and powerful and subsequently, the Second Chimurenga liberation war was waged in response to relative deprivation.

4. Analysis of the Second Chimurenga Liberation War's aftermath, with a focus on land redistribution, dubbed Third Chimurenga, its effects, and its beneficiaries, as a required conclusion to the Zimbabwean land crisis.

5. Establishment of theory as a contribution of the thesis to knowledge.

1.4   HYPOTHESIS

Pearsall takes hypothesis as a supposition taken to be the starting of research basing on existing pointers as proof or reason for further inquiry. (Pearsall, 2002:700). Therefore, the importance of a hypothesis is that it becomes a principle upon which a conclusion is drawn. This study's hypothesis is that the poor peasants during Micah's time must have lost their land to the ruling class and the military that supported the rulers. This loss of land to the ruling class and the military must have been a major cause of deprivation and discontent. By using Delbert R. Hillers' social scientific model of relative deprivation, we can find meaning in the social, political and economic phenomenon of land as presented in the Book of Micah and in the Zimbabwean context.

1.5   RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The researcher is aware of the need for a methodology that would enable the thesis to reach its conclusion. In that regard, the researcher is in total agreement with the views of Haralambos and Holborn (1991:69) who argued that the major aim of the research is the production of systematic and analytical data that will stand any criticism or simply be regarded as common sense. As a study that is first and foremost biblically-based, it is inevitable that the research uses methods from biblical studies. The study comprises an exegesis of Micah 2:1-5. In that regard, the study makes use of the tools of exegesis such as source criticism, which by definition, focuses on the identification of sources behind biblical texts. Source criticism identifies "linguistic and stylistic peculiarities, theological or conceptual variations, logical digression and etcetera" (Krenz, 1975:50); form criticism focuses on identification and classification of "units of (oral) material and relates them to their presumed sociological setting in the earlier life of the community" (Krenz, 1975:50). Its purpose is to determine how the use in this sociological setting has modified or reshaped the tradition. Redaction criticism focuses on "the contribution of the final writer who composed a literary work on the basis of the sources (oral or written)" (Krenz, 1975:50). Redaction criticism is interested in "the editorial techniques of the final writer or editor to determine the special interests and concerns that motivated his work;" comparing "the form of the final work with its sources to identify the editor's or author's hand" (Krenz, 1975:50), and many others to establish the theological interests of the writer of Micah. These historical critical tools shall be very useful in the exegesis of the book of Micah in chapter two. Biblical archaeology is another method that

needs to be defined here as it shall be used extensively in chapter two. The etymological definition of archaeology refers to a study of antiquity. The contemporary meaning of archaeology has shifted to the study of the material remains from the past, the physical material side of life as Currid proffers (1999:15). The main purpose of the study of archaeology is to "discover, rescue, observe, and preserve buried evidence fragments of antiquity for use in the reconstruction of ancient life" (Thompson, 2003:3).

However, the researcher is cognizant of the various perceptions among scholars regarding the understanding and use of key terms in research: design, methodology, method, procedure, and research instrument. The differences among scholars in research regarding these matters also filter down to themes that should be included under the research design, methodology and method, procedure and research instrument. Thus, adequate explanations of the meanings shall be given when stating the design, methodology and methods or procedures, methods, procedures, and research instruments utilised in this study.

This study employs the qualitative research design that does not rely on numbers or quantities to arrive at a meaningful conclusion (Strauss and Corbin, 1990; Cresswell, 2012; 2014; Almalki, 2016 and many others). The study makes use of previous research contributions on the book of Micah, colonialism, the land debate, poverty and other related themes. Such previous contributions include theses/dissertations, research articles, book chapters, media reports and periodicals.

Another important requirement to consider is to specify the population and sample of the study. Here the study follows the views of Kumar (2011:206) on the importance of a population sample to deduce meaning from the study. It can be stated that all the war veterans and resettled peasants in Mashonaland East Province of Zimbabwe can be taken as our target population for this study. This province has been selected for its role in spearheading the land occupations, which are now dubbed the Third Chimurenga.

1.5.1 Textual Analysis

The researcher is cognizant of the importance of field work for the kind of research such as this one. However, the expenses involved to achieve the desired contact with the entire population of the war veterans involved was enormous, among other demerits of field observation, interviews and various types of field-related surveys as methods of data collection.

Given the whole gamut of written pieces of research on the land question in Zimbabwe, archived Second Chimurenga documentaries and voices and sentiments on the same subject matter expressed in various forms of media, the researcher opted to use the entire body of the written text, archived documentaries and documented sentiments on the land question in Zimbabwe. This is the researcher's rationale to opt for textual analysis as both a method of data collection and analysis, especially also because the text was readily available.

The textual analysis does leverage on technology to include the various forms of social media, online sentiments and comments on land, relevant blogs, digital and hard copies of newspaper articles, focusing on speeches from war veterans and politicians at large, on the land question in Zimbabwe.

Textual critical analysis in this case involved downloading all relevant stories from both state - owned and private newspapers, relevant blogs and websites, deriving the dimensions and concepts on land emanating from these media and manually coding the data to come up with threads and trajectories that were of interest to the researcher.

Again, the researcher was cognizant of the wide variety of data coming from the textual analysis and how differentiated it proved to be. The researcher considered seriously triangulating the data, especially from the social media, so as to achieve validity.

So, while self-reports from participants and participant narratives of their lived experiences garnered through interviews and administration of questionnaires during field work might have been handy and interesting for my research, the researcher did not consider these reports and narratives as more valuable or even more correct than the data collected through textual analysis. Participants in a field survey may be wrong or for some reason may lie about certain elements of their lived experience and therefore, the reports and narratives still needed to be subjected to textual analysis and triangulation for trustworthiness.

Sentiment analysis was particularly handy especially in the absence of direct face-to-face field surveys. Zimbabwe as a country is highly polarized politically and the land question is a major contributory factor. With the aid of open, axial and selective coding respectively of the text, sentiment analysis was used to identify different sentiments of the different blocks of textual

material under consideration so as to go beyond the biases of authors of the blogs and articles from the various media.

1.6   DEMARCATION OF SCOPE

1.6.1   Delimitations

In this section, the study provides the delimitations and the limitations of the study. The study delimits the research in three ways, namely: exegetically, geographically, and conceptually. Exegetically, the study focuses on the book of Micah, specifically Micah 2:1-5, as well as Micah's concentration in the region of the Shephelah. Geographically, the study focuses mainly on the book of Micah, *Latifundialization* and the concept of relative deprivation to explore the land issue in Zimbabwe. Goromonzi district, in the province of Mashonaland East, is the area of effort as a case study. The convenience of this place lies in its closeness to Harare, city where the researcher resides. Second, many land resettlements were done in this province, making it a good place to conduct field research from both the war veterans and the peasantry. Conceptually, this would inevitably limit my study to the Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA) war veterans. This is not to be construed as demeaning and undermining the involvement of ZIPRA forces to the war to free Zimbabwe.

1.6.2   Limitation

The study faces several limitations. For example, to access the period of Micah and the peasants of his time fully may prove difficult. The Bible was written from the perspective of the rich and not from the perspective of the peasant about whom the study is interested in (Simkins and Kelly, 2014: 34). In addition, there are certain social realities of the time that are not mentioned in the text because perhaps the first audience was familiar and perhaps only presumed them and yet these realities may be germane to the scope and nature of the conclusions of this study. To mitigate this scenario, the study shall utilise Simkins and Kelly's (2014) proposed historiography, which carefully strives to unearth the presumed realities of ancient societies. This is the same mitigation the study shall apply when trying to access the period around 1890 when the first colonial settlers came into Zimbabwe.

Another limitation is that while land has always been a political issue during ancient biblical times, it has arguably become heavily politicised in Zimbabwe. Thus, it may be very

difficult to get an objective position about land apart from the various ideologies of ZANU (PF), as the ruling political party. For example, at the beginning of the liberation war, most war veterans were very tender in age and hardly understood land as a political entity. It is highly probable that what they now know, is the overall ideology of the political party they belong to. To mitigate this limitation, the study shall utilise principles of reflexivity when comparing the war veterans' accounts and those of selected informants from the general masses of Zimbabwe. The study shall also examine other sources of data like liberation war songs and some documentaries of the various leaders in both ZIPRA and ZANLA during the Second Chimurenga/Umvukela.

1.7   PRELIMINARY LITERATURE REVIEW

The present study develops its arguments by exploring selected previous contributions regarding colonialism, land, peasants and relative deprivation, among other themes. Previous contributions consulted and reviewed for this study comprise the following as representative examples: Simkins and Kelly (2014), Lalfakzuala (2016), Premnath (2018), Hobsbawn (1959), Von Rad (1965), Mays (1976), Bright (1981), Hillers (1984), Bakare (1993), Rukuni (1994), Ranger (1985), and Mosala (1987).

1.7.1   E. J. Hobsbawn

The study is interested in the arguments of Hobsbawn in his *Primitive Rebels (1959)* because of his in-depth discussion on peasants and their subsequent movements before the Industrial period which are of much interest to this research. The study only differs with Hobsbawn, where he does not seem to agree that peasants can bring change (Hobsbawn, 1959:6). As the study develops, it is argued that the peasants in both the book of Micah and in colonial Rhodesia were capable of introducing change to improve their circumstances.

1.7.2   G. Von Rad

Von Rad (1965:150) argues that there exist a serious resemblance between Isaiah and Micah "in their opposition to the *Latifundia* economy of the ruling classes in Jerusalem and other places in Judah, in whose hands the hereditary land of many impoverished peasants was joined together" (Micah 2:1-5, Isaiah 5:8). This is the line of thinking that the study would want to pursue in its endeavour to understand how peasants in the community of Micah were affected

by the new land policies. *Latifundialization* was a kind of economy where the professional soldiers were given endowments of land, complete with tenants. This land usage came with the monarchy and it led to land commercialization. This land tenure system was obviously in opposition to tribal ideals. Von Rad (1965:150) further notes that Micah "differs from Isaiah in that he (Micah) envisages a complete blotting out of Jerusalem from the pages of history" (Micah 1:5, 3:12) and, as a dweller of the countryside, Micah expected the "assembly of Yahweh to restore the patriarchal arrangements for land tenure." In his comparative study, Gerhard Von Rad says that both Isaiah and Micah speak of the anointed one seated on the throne of David, one who is to come in the future and who is to spring from "the roots of Jesse" (Von Rad, 1965:170). Maybe what is happening is that the present regime could not deliver the aspirations of the people, maybe the peasants who felt betrayed and now looking for a new regime that would fulfil their aspirations of a just and righteous society where their traditional land rights would be upheld.

According to Von Rad (1965:170), "this can only mean that Yahweh is once more taking up his messianic work from the beginning, in that he starts at the same place as he began in the past, namely in Bethlehem" (Micah 5: 2). Bethlehem, a rural town with traditional importance, had been relegated in favour of Jerusalem, a once Canaanite city. This also included the relegation of the patriarchal traditions in favour of the monarchical ones. This seemed to be the source of the problems faced by Judah in the eyes of the prophets. Hence, they "demand" the renewal or elimination of Jerusalem. Again, there is a notable difference between Isaiah and Micah because for Micah, this new beginning is bound up with the elimination of the old royal city and the obliteration of Jerusalem from the pages of history (Micah 3:12) whereas Isaiah looks for the renewal of Jerusalem. Von Rad (1965:171) concludes that the fact that they so expressly look for salvation in the anointed one of the future is tantamount to saying that the contemporary descendants of David have lost the saving function so emphatically attributed to them in the royal psalms. What could have contributed to this loss of confidence? Probably it is this *Latifundialization* process which Micah is protesting against. The collapse of the northern kingdom and the Israelites' search for refuges in the south should have added a lot of pressure on the already limited land in the countryside. The elite in Jerusalem and elsewhere appears to have taken advantage of these refugees by making them work on royal estates or other royal projects without decent remuneration. We are inclined to the view that associates Micah as part or leader of this millenarian movement,

who used his prophetic voice as a voice of the voiceless, the affected peasants. This study seeks to explore the extent to which the theory of relative deprivation that resulted from *latifundialization* can be used to understand the Zimbabwean peasant situation during the white minority regime rule.

1.7.3   J. L. Mays

James L. Mays, who used the analytical approach, argues that Micah's sayings are found only in the first three chapters: 1:3-5a, 8-15 (with addition, 2:1-5 is revised), 2:6-11 (verse 10 is revised), 3:1-4, 5-8, 9-12 (Mays, 1976:13). His argument rests on the considerations that Micah was well respected and was thus remembered during Jeremiah's time by some elders for having prophesied the destruction of the city of Jerusalem and also that he gives his purpose in 3:8 which is quite in agreement with his tone and style of writing. Mays' major contribution to our thesis is his claim that Micah was apparently the first prophet to proclaim Yahweh's unconditional judgment upon Jerusalem. Hence, he was recalled a century later by certain elders of the land in defense of Jeremiah (Mays, 1976:13). Still, our major interest is Micah's association with the movement of protest, the millenarian movement. Hence, the study proposes to go beyond this analysis and establish the nature of peasantry and the subsequent practice of *Latifundialization.* Consequently, the study seeks to explore how far Micah's situation speaks to the Zimbabwean peasant situation during the white minority rule.

1.7.4   J. Bright

John Bright says that Micah's attack followed the classic prophetic pattern, with stress, perhaps because of his own humble origins, on socio-economic abuses, particularly the oppression of peasant landholders by the wealthy nobles of Jerusalem (Bright, 1981:293). It seemed to Micah that Jerusalem was in every respect as bad as Samaria and equally under judgment (Micah 1:2-9) (Bright, 1981:293). There, he saw greedy men dispossessing the poor (Micah 2:1f,8f), corrupt rulers who did not dispense justice but were themselves guilty of cruel oppression (Micah 3:1-3, 9-11) and clergy that uttered no rebuke because their only concern was their individual survival (Micah 3:5-11). Micah vehemently denounced this state of affairs. Yet, with amazement, Micah saw that these groups of people stated above, secure in the unconditional promises of the official theology and confident that Yahweh dwelt in their midst, felt no fear of danger (Micah 3:11). It is out of this situation that Micah was forced to utter a message of uncompromising doom.

Bright (1981:249) assumes that Micah was much influenced by the old traditions of the Mosaic religion and hence rejected any form that went contrary to this. This aspect is important to us as it explains how a prophet's message is affected by his social environment. Micah was not affected by the Zion theology like Isaiah, his contemporary, and therefore, his message is a reflection of his social milieu.

From a social conflict perspective, maybe this was a clash between primitive Yahwism and developed Yahwism in the urban areas. Yahwism, which was being practised in rural areas, was different from Yahwism, which was being practised in urban areas; one would describe the above scenario as city religion versus country religion. Here, the people in these respective places had different interests. In rural areas, they looked at Yahweh as the provider of daily food, justice, righteousness and as a judge. Whereas in urban areas, Yahweh was associated with power; hence he was seen as a powerful king to protect his people and the city. The prophet Micah imagined Yahweh's judgment against the ungrateful Israelites failed to remember God's "gracious acts towards them in the past" and also the fact that Yahweh's expectations, which are just and merciful behaviour and humble obedience - cannot possibly be replaced by any amount of ritual worship (Micah 6:1-8). Further reading of Micah reveals he pronounced a doom on Judah of total proportions, which included the plundering of Jerusalem and the Temple to be a heap of ruins in the forest (Micah 3:12). Micah and those disciples who preserved his words, and some other people were looking forward to a complete change of events that would result from a righteous king from Bethlehem (Bright, 1981:294).

This anticipation of a new age that will usher in peace is what is of interest to us because it is characteristic of the millennial movement. This makes Micah associated in some way with the millennial movement that suffered certain deprivations during their time, and as a movement, they anticipated a complete blotting away of the current regime that was perpetrating injustice upon them and expected a righteous age of peace and prosperity. John Bright was focusing on Micah and the old traditions' influence on the prophet. However, a gap exists on the aspects of relative deprivation in relation to *latifundialization* and its comparability to the Zimbabwean context, which this study seeks to investigate.

1.7.5   D. R. Hillers

From time immemorial, all over the world, groups of oppressed people have always combined to seek changes in their condition. In most cases, the changes sought have been of a practical

sort, more land, lighter taxes, a more equitable deal in the market, or some realisable gain (Hillers, 1984:4). Such movements have been termed movements of revitalisation or millennial movements (Hillers, 1984:4). One commonly identified causal factor in such movements is deprivation (Hillers, 1984:5). Further reading reveals that deprivation may be absolute, where a group is being cut off from the means of supporting life, or more often relative deprivation, that is where a group finds itself worse off than it was before, or badly cut off in comparison to a new group it has come to be associated with. This latter position is very significant to this study as it is noticed that the deprivation suffered is experienced because of the newcomers to the scene and also when people compare their life before and after their new situation.

After analysing the book of Micah, Delbert R. Hillers argues that he (Micah) was associated with such a movement (Hillers, 1984:5). Further reading of Hillers reveals that the prophet complains against people who contemplate evil and wrong deeds in their sleep then act it when day comes since they were powerful: those who covet fields and steal them, who rob houses and take them, who mistreat a man and his family, an owner and his property (Micah 2:1-2). Elsewhere, this is also echoed in brief, obscure saying, "You drive the woman of my people out of her pleasant dwelling" (Micah 2:9, 6:9-11, 16); here "deprivation" is the underlying factor. The principal underlying factors were power and the economics of survival in a situation where people wrestled to control scarce resources. Conflict results between the powerful and the deprived, the haves and the have-nots. In my opinion, Delbert R Hillers used a suitable word "associated" because it is neutral in spelling out whether Micah was part of the deprived group or simply a sympathiser. This theory of relative deprivation is what we would want to use to understand the community of Micah and apply it to the Zimbabwean society. As argued above, a gap exists that needs further investigation on the extent to which this theory can be used to understand the Zimbabwean situation of peasants who lost their land to the minority white settlers.

1.7.6 S. Bakare

Bakare, who wrote on the theology of land in Zimbabwe, analysed the messages of the eighth-century prophets of ancient Israel. On Micah, Bakare discovered that the prophet was aware of the dealings of officials from Jerusalem towards the peasants in his town, Moresheth, which was only 30 kilometres away from Jerusalem (Bakare, 1993:20). Micah is seen as sympathising with the suffering of the oppressed (2:1, 8ff; 3:2f). Like Isaiah, Micah understands the reason

for the collapse of the northern kingdom in 721 BCE as an indictment and judgment against the unjust, political, and economic systems practised by the ruling class and the powerful elite against the poor. To Micah, the northern kingdom of Israel has been an apostate; Samaria would therefore fall (1:5-7). Judah is no better (3:1), and it is only a question of time before the Assyrians will arrive, and the inevitable desolation of Judah takes place (1:9-16). The calamity of the city is coming on the city because of the sins of the leaders and the powerful elite as God's judgment of their injustices.

Micah, like his contemporaries, uses vigorous picture language in his speeches (1:5-10; 2:1-5). Bakare identified the central issue of contention as that of the land. For Bakare, there shall be a restoration of stolen land to the peasants, and the rulers would not partake in this distribution, which Yahweh himself will institute. (Bakare, 1993:20). God's judgment will bring radical agrarian politics. Citedly, the new land tenure changes will transform the commercialisation of land and centralisation of political power from the hands of one class into the hands of the peasants. We are in agreement with Bakare that the problems of peasants during Micah's time were caused by the process of *latifundialization* (Bakare, 1993:21). I present that there is need to investigate the constituents behind the book of Micah in order to enlighten the prophet's message. This would, in turn, form a theoretical framework by which to understand the Zimbabwean situation, as highlighted above.

Micah envisions a new beginning, and the seeds of bitterness sowed by the realities of a prebendal domain will be forgotten (Micah 3:1-7; 1 Kings 21). According to Bakare, this type of land distribution will be similar to that carried by Joshua after the defeat of the Canaanite kings (Bakare, 1993:21). This event will be preceded by the levelling of Zion and the blotting out of its leadership (3:12). After Zion is levelled, the remnant will help to re-establish it, and all nations will see it (4:1-5). Israel will be the centre of the world (4:2), with no in-fighting among citizens in the new kingdom (4:4). This is perceived as good news for the poor, and the oppressed. Thus, Bakare's views are important to this study as they point to deprivation as a source of millennial thinking, millennial behaviour and millennial anticipation.

Bakare goes on to use the sentiments of the eighth century prophets on the issue of injustice perpetrated against the powerless to develop a theology of land and why land should be treated as sacred. He appeals to the biblical creation traditions to make the point that land is our birthright and is God-given. Thus, he developed a theology of land in Zimbabwe. Though

the study is in agreement with Bakare on his proposal for a theology of land in Zimbabwe, its interest now is different. The study wants to investigate how central was the issue of land to the Chimurenga movement, which is identified as a millennial movement, a movement of protest. The study analyses the ZANU (PF) manifesto of the 1980s and even revolutionist speeches from the 1970s to analyse how much land was an issue by then. It would appear that most people were against taxation levied on them by the colonial regime rather than land deprivation. Bakare did not address the extent to which the message of Micah can be used to understand the peasant situation in Zimbabwe or vice versa, which is the task of this study.

1.7.7   M. Rukuni

Rukuni chaired a Commission of Inquiry into Appropriate Agricultural Land Tenure systems and produced a report that was presented to the then President of Zimbabwe, Comrade R. G. Mugabe. The Commission of Inquiry report produced by Rukuni is of much interest to our research as it clearly outlines the types of land tenure systems that were introduced by the colonial settlers. As we argued earlier, these land tenure systems represent a systematic way through which people, mainly peasants, suffer a kind of relative deprivation. Rukuni (1994.42) also brings an interesting case of 177 colonial settlers who were offered 10 433 hectares of land in Matebeleland in the Fingo location as payment for ferrying the colonial settlers from South Africa using their caravans. This becomes an interesting case study of *Latifundialization* and relative deprivation.

1.7.8   T. O. Ranger

Ranger wrote extensively comparing the experiences of the African peasantries of Zimbabwe, Kenya and Mozambique. Importantly, he unveils the peasant consciousness and resistance in Zimbabwe in the midst of attempts by the settler state to redirect their day-to-day existence through the enforcement of "good farming practices", controlled agricultural prices and cattle culling (Ranger, 1985). Furthermore, there was civil disobedience by peasants and the landless in the 1950s in addition to the nationalist struggle launched by African National Congress, National Democratic Party, Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), Zimbabwe African People Union (ZAPU), United African National Congress (UANC) and other such political parties formed during the time (Ranger, 1985). Ranger's work is important to our study as we pursue to understand the deprivations that peasants experienced in Zimbabwe at the hands of the settlers.

1.7.9 R. A. Simkins and T. M. Kelly

Simkins and Kelly (2014) contributed immensely in their research on title "The political economy of peasant economy" (34-60). The two scholars claim that the Eighth-Century prophets Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, and Micah contain a substantial portion of the Bible's discourse on peasant poverty (Simkins and Kelly, 2014:34). Further reading of their work reveals that the picture has been blurred by several factors because there was a recomposition of the materials in these prophetic books during the late Judahite monarchy and again in the Persian period (Simkins and Kelly, 2014:34). This recomposition, shifted the focus from peasant poverty to monarchic nationalism and client-state *cultus* (Simkins and Kelly, 2014:34). The eighth-century composition presumes and allude to the economic institutions and dynamics of their day, but they are not described narratively or in full because the first audiences of the compositions had immediate knowledge of the social and cultural world presumed and addressed (Simkins and Kelly, 2014:35). Additionally, their work reveals that no modern reader can presume such knowledge, and therefore these scholars advocate for a careful historical work for any twenty-first century reader to understand the relevant context of this prophetic discourse on peasant poverty (Simkins and Kelly, 2014:35). The present study will benefit immensely from this careful historical work to penetrate the ancient Israelite communities in order to understand the issues that affected the peasants of Micah's time.

1.7.10 L. Lalfakzuala

Lalfakzuala concentrated on the principal texts of Micah and Isaiah that deal with issues of land ownership. Lalfakzuala used a comparative approach within the North Indian community to decipher the socioeconomic circumstances underlying the prophetic critique of land ownership abuse (Lalfakzuala, 2016). In contrast to focusing on the political and economic implications over land ownership Lalfakzuala (2016) discussed how land ownership contributes to the formation of a bond between the land, God, ancestors, family, and community in both ancient Israelite civilization and Northeast Indian society. The insights derived from this research will provide invaluable benefits for the readership towards comprehending the experiences of peasants in Zimbabwe when parallels are made with their peasant counterparts from the time of the prophet Micah.

1.7.11 D. N. Premnath

Premnath accomplished a commendable task in his book by exposing the social reality of eighth-century B.C.E. Israel and Judah and the prophetic oracles of Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, and Micah to reveal the significance of their prophetic messages and visions in today's context (Premnath, 2018). Premnath's focuses on various dimensions of land accumulation by the upper class and its effects on the poor add depth to his analysis for easier comprehension. Consequently, Premnath's analysis is relevant to the current study which endeavours to unearth the social and economic realities of peasants in Ancient Israel concerning land. The existing gap lies in the comparability of this study to the contemporary Zimbabwean situation that this research seeks to investigate.

1.7.12 I. J. Mosala

Mosala (1989: ii) uses an analysis of the black struggle and the struggles of biblical communities to understand the use of the Bible in black theology in South Africa. For this purpose, he employs a materialist analysis of the texts of Micah and Luke 1 and 2. This is followed by an out1ine of a biblical hermeneutical appropriation of the texts. It is concluded that the category of struggle is a fundamental hermeneutical tool in a materialist biblical hermeneutics of liberation. For Mosala (1989: iii), for black theology to become an effective weapon of struggle for the majority of the oppressed black people, it must be rooted in the working-class history and culture of these people. Such a base in the experiences of the oppressed necessitates the use of a materialist method that analyses the concrete struggles of human beings in black history and culture to produce and reproduce their lives within definite historical and material conditions. Mosala (1989:109) uses a historical materialist method to reconstruct the social system and practices behind the text of Micah in commitment to the black struggle for liberation from capitalism, racism, sexism and imperialism in South Africa.

Mosala's work is also important to this study as it insinuates an understanding of the struggles or deprivations that Micah's peasant community went through, especially when they lost their land to the powerful, presumably the rulers and the military. Hermeneutically, this can be used to shed light on the experiences of indigenous black peasants in Zimbabwe. It is worth to note that Mosala is not dealing with the land question in Zimbabwe. These are two different contexts; however, the common issues of peasant deprivation and the establishments

of large estates (*latifundia*) by wealthy people, usually at the expense of the poor, underlie both contexts.

1.8   CHAPTER OUTLINE

To achieve the goals of this research, the study needs to establish the organisation of the work into chapters.

Chapter 1

This chapter introduces the research topic under investigation. It deals with the background information, the problem statement, the purpose of research, research objectives and questions, as well as the justifications for undertaking this research study. Hillers' theory of relative deprivation that explains the loss of land by the peasants to the ruling class and the military in Micah's time is explored.

Chapter 2

In this Chapter, the study explores the extent to which von Rad's concept of *Latifundialization* may help to understand the relative deprivation that necessitated the rise of peasant liberation movements at the time of Micah. To achieve this, the study therefore examines the political, social, religious and economic contexts of the eighth century prophet Micah to understand how peasant farmers were affected by the developments that took place during that historical era. Hillers' theory of Relative Deprivation and von Rad's concept of *Latifundialization* would be utilised to appreciate and understand the problems that affected the peasant farmers during Micah' time and also outline the message of Micah.

Chapter 3

In the chapter, the study attempts to establish the comparability of the social and political setting at the time of Micah to the social as well as the political settings in Zimbabwe at the advent of colonialism. The chapter discusses the land tenure systems introduced during the colonial era, disenfranchising the peasants, and creating a fertile ground for a war of liberation.

Chapter 4

In this Chapter, the thesis examines the extent to which Micah's book may speak to the land issue in Zimbabwe today.

Chapter 5

This chapter presents a synthesis of the relative deprivation theory.

Chapter 6

This chapter as the conclusion, proffers the contribution of the study to the field of knowledge, and recommendations for further investigation.

1.9   ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

This study shall abide by the Ethical considerations of Frederick Bird and Laurie Lamoureux Scholes (2011), which include the following:

- Respecting the basic dignity of informants/participants,

- Communicating honestly and objectively with the informants/participants,

- Exercising responsibly the principles of *epochē* (bracketing our preconceived ideas/biases) within all stages of the research process.

- Complying with regulated ethical obligations with respect to risk-benefits analysis, informed consent, freedom to discontinue the interviews and confidentiality in respect of the respondents/participants. The study therefore converses with humans on a conversational level and state, thus different from a formal interview as mostly perceived, a conversation seems to have potential to yield better benefits and the interlocutors become ordinary persons from communities in Zimbabwe.

- Committing myself to avoid plagiarism by appropriately acknowledging all sources consulted.

CHAPTER 2

MICAH'S POLITICAL, SOCIO-ECONOMIC, AND RELIGIOUS CONTEXTS

2.1   INTRODUCTION

Premnath (2018), Simkins and Kelly (2014), Lalfakzuala (2016) and many others reveal the historical, political, socio-economic, and religious contexts within which Micah the prophet operated. These contributions are very informative for the development of the present   study. It also forms a perfect grounding upon which von Rad's concept of *Latifundialization* may help to understand the Hillers' theory of relative deprivation which necessitated the rise of peasant liberation movements. This chapter, therefore, presents in detail the underlying contexts that supported Micah's ministry. Further, to achieve this, the chapter focuses on the historical, socio-economic, religious and political developments of Micah's ministry. This is in line with Smith-Christopher's (2015:2) position that serious scholarship acknowledges the historical context of biblical texts, and as well as the contemporary context of the scholar's own historically and socially informed reading of the biblical text. Smith-Christopher (2015:3) noted the ancient impact of militarism in society in the book of Micah. Further reading of Smith-Christopher's (2015) analysis suggests a familiarisation with international, regional and local contexts of Micah to comprehend the book.

Literature consulted for this research indicates that the larger geopolitical context and the human impact of the massive physical and economic violence of Neo-Assyrian, Neo-Babylonian, and indeed Persian imperial designs should be considered (Finkelstein and Silberman, 2006; Smith-Christopher, 2015:3). The ambitions of Assyria to expand her borders westward would eventually affect the kingdoms of Israel and Judah, where our interests for this thesis lies. For this reason, the research will explore the following subthemes: Micah, the eighth century prophet, the authorship of the book of Micah, message of the book of Micah, and the political context envisaged in the book of Micah. This would assist the study to explore the events and developments that affected the peasants whom Micah seemed to be concerned about in his message.

2.2   MICAH, THE PROPHET

There is need to establish the issue of authorship of the book of Micah before getting into many issues using the methodological tool of textual criticism. The study points out that there is need to consult recent scholarship in discussing these issues. However, the major reason for the inclusion of previous research contributions is that there is need to demonstrate the origins of such debates and the direction the debates have taken. Therefore, the study endeavours to strike a balance by blending   previous and recent scholarship on the issues surrounding Micah. From a form-critical analysis, the superscription (Micah 1:1) is vital to the authorship of Micah. The study is aware of some criticism about this location, Moresheth-Gath, but the research accepts the redactor's inscription. The superscription states that the author is Micah of Moresheth-Gath.

The name Micah (מִיכָה) is a shortened term for Micaiah (מִיכָיֵהוּ) meaning "who is like you Yahweh" (Harrison, 1970:919). This is not a question but a confirmation of God's greatness. This name may reflect the commitment and zeal of Micah's parents to the Mosaic Yahwistic traditions. Many scholars assume that the place mentioned as Moresheth is the same place known as Moresheth-Gath, which was in the southwest of Jerusalem, about 30 km from the city. Moresheth-Gath is most likely the Gath mentioned in 2 Chronicles 11:8, which functioned as a defence city of Jerusalem which Rehoboam built, located around twenty-five miles southwest of Jerusalem. Onyenuru (2016:1) argues that Micah must have lived in the small village of Shephelah, located at the low foothill of Southwest Palestine, halfway from Jerusalem to Gaza. The association of Micah with the Shephelah district of Judah is significant to this study since some agricultural economic activities were associated with this place. This would confirm Micah's condemnation of *Latifundialization* and the subsequent deprivation of the peasantry (Micah 2: 1-2). This may also account for the prophet Micah's roughness and crudity of language as well as his use of imagery. Micah is a highly poetic and rhetorical writer. He often uses similes and metaphors, such as the mountains dissolving like wax, valleys are torn open, … (Micah 1:4), or the prophet's laments being like the cries of a wolf and a desert owl (Micah 1:8), or the leaders being "cruel, who hate good and love evil, … flay men alive and tear the very flesh from their bones,… devour the flesh of my people, strip off their skin, splinter their bones…" (Micah 3:1-3).

Micah was a rural prophet who was moved by what he saw and experienced in his small hometown of Moresheth-Gath; the place was largely agrarian, and farming was the major

occupation. The experience of the peasants at the hands of the rich and powerful must have touched Micah. Hillers (1984:4), who pursues the theory of relative deprivation, argues that Micah was associated with the peasants. It is likely that Micah sympathised with peasants because he was one of them (Jeje, 2011). Micah seems to have been more influenced by the Mosaic Yahwistic ideology as contrasted to Isaiah of Jerusalem, his contemporary, who could have been influenced by the traditions dominating in Jerusalem; the Davidic ideology and the Zion tradition (Isaiah 8:18, 14:32). Harrison (1970:919-920) argued that since Micah lived halfway between Jerusalem and Gaza near the Judaean fortress of Lachish, which is close to the Philistine cities, socially this would account for both his love for the countryside and its inhabitants, and also his appreciation of international affairs because he lived on the route taken by invading enemy forces in the previous times. Harrison (1970:920) also employed Leslie's argument that since Micah's home place was less than twenty miles from the home of Amos, therefore, this would account for the influence of Amos on the thought of Micah (compare Micah 2:6 and Amos 2:12; 5:11; 7:10f) because there are similarities on their issue of justice. On the other hand, Harrison (1970) also moved a step to conclude that since Micah proclaimed his message in Jerusalem, it is natural to assume that he knew Isaiah and was influenced, to some extent, by Isaiah's utterances (compare Micah 1:10-16 and Is 10:27ff; Micah 2:1-5 and Isaiah 5:18ff; Micah 5:9-14 and Isaiah 2:6ff). The above assessment is motivated by familiarization with the social scientific theory, which seeks to identify the social factors that influenced the prophet's message.

Smith-Christopher (2015:1) prefers to regard Micah as a "critical populist" whose attitudes were influenced by his location as a "lowlander" from "Moresheth" - some 23 km Southwest of Jerusalem, as well as his fiery criticism of the elite in Jerusalem. Smith-Christopher (2015: 1) recognises that Micah opposed the Judean war policies during the time of Hezekiah. These policies were seen as economically disastrous, especially to those referred to as "my people" by Micah (Micah 2: 8-9, Smith-Christopher, 2015: 1). Smith-Christopher (2015: 1) locates this ancient Hebrew "populist antimilitarism" found in Micah within a tradition of prophetic condemnation of war policies before and after Micah's time. Jeremiah's similar attitude towards the folly of military resistance against the Neo-Babylonian forces is a good example (Jeremiah 20-22).

Micah is regarded as one of the twelve Minor Prophets of the Hebrew Bible (Tanakh). However, there is a need to reckon that being grouped under the description of Minor Prophets

does not make their messages minor and insignificant as contrasted to the prophecies of Major Prophets, namely, Isaiah, Jeremiah and Ezekiel. The issue considered here was maybe the size of their writings compared to the writings of the Major Prophets. Nothing much is known about Micah, his family, or the name of his father, as is the case with other prophets, but his prophecy left an indelible mark in the prophetic tradition of Israel. Outside his own book, Micah is mentioned in Jeremiah 26:17-19, during the trial of the prophet Jeremiah. On that occasion, some of the elders of Judah invoked the ministry of Micah and his message of judgment to remind the leaders of Judah that Jeremiah, just like Micah, had preached the destruction of Jerusalem:

> And some of the elders of the land arose and said to all the assembled people, "Micah of Moresheth, who prophesied during the days of King Hezekiah of Judah, said to all the people of Judah: 'Thus says the Lord of hosts, Zion shall be plowed as a field; Jerusalem shall become a heap of ruins and the mountain of the house a wooded height'" (Jeremiah 26:17-18)[2]

The elders then reminded the people in the temple that Hezekiah and the people of Judah did not put Micah to death. Instead, they feared the Lord, prayed for God's favour, and as a result, the Lord changed his mind and did not bring about the judgment that Micah had pronounced against the city and against the temple (Jr26:19). Jeremiah survived because his message was similar to the message that Micah had proclaimed almost a century earlier. For this reason, Wolff identified Micah as one of the elders from Moresheth, and the elders in Judah kept his word because he was one of them (Wolff, 1990: 17-27). According to Wolff (1990:17-27), this further explains why as an elder in Moresheth, Micah was welcomed by the assembly of elders in Jerusalem and given a platform to present his case against the religious and political authorities of Judah and decry their abuses of power.

2.3   DATING OF MICAH'S BOOK

Further reading shows that we stand guided by the editorial words of the superscription, which situates Micah's ministry in the days of Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, kings of Judah whose reigns spanned from 759-687 BCE (Micah 1:1). Various scholars like Mays (1976), Allen

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[2] Unless otherwise mention the New Revised Standard Version Updated Edition (NRSVUE) is used in the present study.

(1976), Bright (1981), Waltke (2007), Wessels (2013), and Bartley (2016) accept the direction given in the superscription on the historical period of Micah. Additionally, some readings show that Micah prophesied sometime between 750 and 686 BCE during the reigns of Jotham, Ahaz and Hezekiah, kings of Judah (Mi1:1; Jr 26:18). Micah was therefore, a contemporary of Isaiah, as mentioned before (see Isaiah 1:1) and Hosea (see Hosea 1:1). The text reveals that Micah predicted the fall of Samaria (Mi 1:6), which took place in 722–721 BCE. Other schools of thought (e.g. John Bright's) place Micah's early ministry in the reigns of Jotham (750–732 BCE) and Ahaz (735–715 BCE), respectively. Micah's message reflects social conditions prior to the religious reforms under Hezekiah (715–686 BCE). Micah's ministry most likely fell within the period 735–700 BCE.

If Micah himself wrote out his messages, the date for the earliest written form of his work would be around 700 BCE. If one of his disciples arranged his messages in their present form, the date would be the early seventh century BCE. If a later editor collected and arranged his messages, the date would still need to be early enough in the seventh century to allow time for his prophecy of Jerusalem's fall (Micah 3:12) to become familiar enough to be quoted in Jeremiah 26:18 around 608 BCE. The historical details of the political developments during the mentioned kings' eras are recorded in 2 Kings 15:32—20:21 and 2 Chronicles 27–32. These details pertain the Syro-Ephraimite coalition that fought Judah because Ahaz, the king had refused to join anti-Assyrian coalition. Judah chose to make a coalition with Assyria instead. Subsequently, this resulted in the destruction of both Israel and Syria by Assyria. The events resonate with Micah's prophecy regarding the destruction of Samaria, the Northern Kingdom. As assumed by scholars like Frick (1978), Younger (2018), Itach (2018) and many others, this brought an end to the northern Kingdom. This study assumes that there were migrants who flocked into Judah as refugees during this time. The result was pressure on the already scarce commodities like land. The politicians and military, as well as the rich could have taken advantage of the situation to amass their estates.

Conservative biblical scholars (for example, John Bright) attribute almost the entire Book of Micah to his authorship. Further reading however, reveals that critical scholars contest this view and attribute much of the material to others. It is generally agreed that Micah composed chapters 1 through 3. Critical scholars, like Mays (1976:13), reject chapters 3-5 primarily because they foretell specific events in the sixth century BCE, long after Micah's death. Chapters 6-7 contain elements of a universalistic religious outlook which was not widely

present in Judaism until well after Micah's day and are thus rejected by some while accepted by others. Some of these passages are repeated verbatim in the Book of Isaiah. It is difficult to know who borrows from who, for example, Micah 1:10-16 and Isaiah 10:27ff. These two chapters from Micah and Isaiah comparatively address the social sins of the people of Judah and the punishment that will befall them. Micah 2:1-5 and Isaiah 5: 18ff are also comparable as both texts talk of fields, houses and inheritance being taken away by greedy and evil people. Furthermore, Micah 5:9-14 is related to Isaiah 2:6ff as both texts address the evil deeds of the people and punishment that YHWH will bring. In any case, these texts are often viewed as originating in exilic times, whose viewpoint they reflect. The most common reason for the rejection of Micah's authorship of some passages is that they are passages of judgment and salvation or restoration, a situation critics claim that it is inconsistent to be coming from the same prophet Micah. However, Willem Wessels' position that this is consistent with YHWH's nature is more convincing (Wessels, 2013:1). This has been a trend found in many prophets from the Hebrew Bible where oracles of judgment are juxtaposed with oracles of hope or restoration. Wessels' position seems to be in line with Hillers' (1984:3) view, who advocates the unifying explanatory approach, which considers Micah 1-7 from the perspective of sociological struggles of the eighth century. Hillers (1984:6-8) indicates that the book of Micah originated from the participation of Micah and his followers in a social protest movement that is of the millennialist type. However, other scholars strongly think that the entire book of Micah mitigates against one historical set of sociological struggles (Beal, 2016:12-13). There are many arguments and debates on the composition of the book of Micah (Mays, 1976; Smith-Christopher, 2015; Wessels, 2018, and many others). However, it is beyond the scope of this research to give an exhaustive account of the debate. What is of importance to this research is the establishment of a general period when Micah was active in Judah that is in the eighth century BCE.

2.4   THE POLITICAL CONTEXT OF MICAH

If Micah himself wrote out his messages, the date for the earliest written form of his work would be around 700 BCE. In a case that one of his disciples arranged his messages in their present form, the date would be the early seventh century BCE. If a later editor collected and arranged his messages, the date would still need to be early enough in the seventh century to allow time for his prophecy of Jerusalem's fall (Micah 3:12) to become familiar enough to be quoted in Jeremiah 26:18 around 608 BCE. The historical details of the political developments

during the mentioned kings' eras are recorded in 2 Kings 15:32—20:21 and 2 Chronicles 27–32.

Worthy of note is the contribution of Wright (2018) who fuses historical findings together with archaeological discoveries from the region. Biblically, Israel and Judah were small kingdoms whose misfortune was to occupy the land bridge where the regional powers of their world, Egypt and Mesopotamia, met and clashed. For much of their history, Judah and Israel were affected by political initiatives taken by their larger and more powerful neighbours.

The kingdom of Israel had become a strong state by the seventh century and had taken control of Judah (2 Ki 14: 1ff). It was extinguished more than a century before the Babylonians seized control of Judah. Its monarchs incited the wrath of Babylon's immediate forerunner, the Assyrian Empire, around the late eighth century. The extraordinarily successful military machine of Assyria tore the kingdom of Israel apart, piece by piece. After a protracted siege, its capital finally fell in 722 BCE. Without Judah, it is possible that the several centuries of this kingdom's existence would have been long forgotten. Scribes from the vanquished kingdom of Israel continued to read, copy, and enrich a few manuscripts from Israel. The foundation of the biblical story is this literary antiquity from Judah's defeated partner (and often rival). These political developments and conflicts between Judah and Israel created conducive environments for the suffering of people, both in ancient Israel and Judah. The migrations of people (refugees) that normally accompany such situations exerted pressure on the resources like land. The result would be the exploitation of the vulnerable groups in the society and deprivation resulted from the creation of large estates (latifundia) by the rich and powerful.

2.4.1   Imperial Neo-Assyrians and their impact on land issues

As Porter (1993:21-26) observed, Neo-Assyrian Empire was regarded as the largest Mesopotamian empire from the Iron Age during the period between 911 and 609 BCE. The Assyrians are known for having perfected the early methods of imperial rule that succeeding empires adopted (Elizabeth et al. 2015:28). Assyrians are assumed to be the first to use some iron weapons and employed advanced effective military tactics.

In the late tenth century BCE, Assyria emerged as the most powerful state in the world at the time after the conquests of Adad-nirari II (Tadmor, 1994:29). In addition, Assyria dominated the Ancient Near East, East Mediterranean, Asia Minor, Caucasus, and parts of the

Arabian Peninsula and North Africa, eclipsing and conquering rivals such as Babylonia, Elam, Persia, Urartu, Lydia, the Medes, Phrygians, Cimmerians, Israel, Judah, Phoenicia, Chaldea, Canaan, the Kushite Empire, the Arabs, and Egypt (Tadmor, 1994:30). During this period, Aramaic, in addition to Akkadian, was also made an official language of the empire (Frye, 1992:1-2).

Hansen (2014:1-2) reveals that Adad-nirari II and his successors made use of an exceptionally well-organised army. Shalmaneser III's rule lasted 35 years (859–824 BCE). Assyrian armies campaigned against neighbouring states like Babylon and Urartu in the spirit of expanding and enlarging their kingdom. Shalmaneser III fought an alliance of Aramean states headed by Hadadezer of Damascus and including Ahab, king of Israel, at the Battle of Qarqar in 853 BCE where there was no outright winner as the Assyrian army later withdrew (Hansen, 2014:1-2). Additionally, Shalmaneser III fought the neo-Hittite state of Carchemish in 849 BCE, and in 842 BCE, his army marched against Hazael, King of Damascus, taking over the city and exacting tribute. In 841 BCE, he also conquered Jehu of Israel, the Phoenician states of Tyre and Sidon and took tribute from them. Literature from archaeological evidence discovered from his black obelisk at Kalhu, records many military exploits of his reign (Hansen, 2014:1-2). The last four years of Shalmaneser's rule were internal revolts and civil war (Hansen, 2014:1-2).

Hansen (2014:1-2) shows that these internal disturbances gave the Babylonians to the south, the Medes, Manneans, the Persians to the north and east, the Arameans, and the Neo-Hittites in the west a chance to shake off Assyrian rule. Historically, these periods when Assyria was experiencing internal problems are important as they give us a clue why nations like Israel had time to prosper and expand their political boundaries. Urartu also took the opportunity to gain control of the region. Assyria did not expand further until 806 BCE when Adad-nirari III took the reins of power. Adad-nirari III (811-783 BCE) invaded the Levant and subjugated the Arameans, Phoenicians, Philistines, Israelites, Neo-Hittites and Edomites. In 796 BCE, he entered Damascus and forced tribute upon its king Ben-Hadad III (Hansen, 2014:1-2).

Further reading reveals the unfortunate death of Adad-nirari III in 783 BCE and was succeeded by less effective rulers and hence the period of true stagnation until the ascension of the Assyrian general (Turtanu) named Pulu. Pulu seized the crown under the name of Tiglath-Pileser III, and made sweeping changes to the Assyrian government, radically changing its

efficiency and security (Becking, 1992:8-19). He aimed to establish the Assyrian empire by conquering and subjugating the conquered kingdom's inhabitants and amassing taxes (Becking, 1992:8–19). Bright (1984:269) highlights the fact that Assyrian kings' records for the period under discussion correspond to the Biblical narrative at many points, for example, 2 Kings 15:19f.

Israel's kingdom became a vassal state when Menachem, the king, started paying tribute to Assyria. The short reign of his son Pekahiah saw the continuation of the vassalage status. However, everything changed when Pekah ben Remaliah took control of the kingdom from Pekahiah in 734 BCE. He instantly changed Israel's Vassal status along with other monarchs and stopped paying tribute to Assyria. The biblical account tells us how the king of Israel allied with the king of Syria and waged a war against Judah to force her to join the coalition against Assyria (2 Ki 16:1ff). 2 Kings 16:6 states that the king of Edom recovered Elath and chased away all the Judeans out of it. All these displaced people migrated back to Judah, and the result was a huge demand for land in Judah. The rich and the powerful could have been quick to take advantage of this political development, for there was certainly an upsurge in demand for land, and subsequently, the peasants were disadvantaged when they lost their inheritance (land) to the powerful in the society as we read in Micah 2.

Ahaz king of Judah, responded by appealing to Assyria for protection against the Syro-Ephraimite coalition that was attacking it (2 Ki 16:7ff). Tiglath-pileser III responded to this rebellion by fighting the kingdoms. He took control of the northern regions, Galilee and the Gilead, including the city of Gezer, between 733 and 732 BCE (2 Ki 15:30; Tadmor, 1994:80, 83, 86–89). These battles and city sieges resulted in a large number of casualties. When Pekah was assassinated, Hoshea, the son of Elah, was chosen to rule as a puppet. Israel was solely left in charge of the hills surrounding Samaria. When Hoshea rebelled and sought shelter from Egypt in 727 BCE, his dynasty in the Assyrian kingdom came to an end. According to 2 Kings 17:1–5, Shalmaneser V attacked Israel and destroyed the city of Samaria. When Shalmaneser V passed away in 722 BCE, revolts broke out throughout the empire. After seizing control of Assyria, Sargon II launched an aggressive push to stabilize the realm. Sargon II conquered Samaria in 721 or 720 BCE, putting an end to the Israelite kingdom (2 Ki 17:5–6; Becking, 1992:33–38). Many people died during the siege and the fighting, and some may have fled south to the kingdom of Judah (Finkelstein, 2013:154–55). This point raised by Finkelstein is important to our thesis. It can be concluded that there were migrations of people from the

kingdom of Israel that came to Judah, apparently increasing pressure on the already existing land scarcity. The result was the outcry we get from the prophet Micah when the rich, the rulers (the powerful) seized the land from the peasantry.

Micah (1:5) blames for the destruction of the people by the Assyrian armies on the basis of the atrocities of the cities of Samaria and Jerusalem (Matthews 1991:102). Smith-Christopher (2015:5) maintains that there was an the apparent economic flourishing of the elite of the Assyrian client states of Israel and Judah in the late ninth and eighth centuries BCE, leading up to the turbulent events of growing resistance to the Neo-Assyrian Empire in the last third of the eighth century. Micah 5:5 mentions אַשּׁוּר "Assyria" who invaded the land of Judah. It is reasonable to deduce that the elite Judeans who were likely the "leaders", "priests" and the "prophets, " as well as the Assyrian invaders, likely with the military, which were in the position of privilege and power are the people implicitly referred to in Micah 2:2. In addition, with the reference to the beating of swords into ploughshares and spears into pruning hooks, Micah 4:3 imagines the end of military activities characterised by violence and invasion and the resume of agricultural activities set for economic prosperity. Therefore, the Assyrian empire with the use of the military and the Judeans in the position of political, economic and religious power possibly confiscated the residential and agricultural land belonging to the powerless and under privileged Judeans.

The presence of Hezekiah in the Book of Micah points to the politics around the time of Sennacherib. Sennacherib gives his own version of Hezekiah's 701 losses in his annals:

> And Hezekiah, the Judean who did not submit to my yoke, 46 cities of his strong cities, fortresses, and small cities which were around them, which were without number, by beaten ramps and bringing battering rams, the assault of infantry, tunnels, breaches, and siege engines I surrounded, I conquered... What I spoiled from the midst of his country, I parceled out and gave to Mitinti King of Ashdod, Padi King of Ekron and Ṣillibel King of Gaza, and I reduced his country. (Chicago Prism iii: 18-39)[3]

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[3] Translated by Welch 87-88

Sennacherib's political claims point to the distribution of the conquered Judean lands to Philistine rulers. However, as opined by Tadmor (1966:9), there is little or no evidence of the immediate reoccupation of the conquered lands following the events of 701 and even the governance of a remnant Judean population by the Philistines in the eighth century BCE. What can be said with certainty is that the political and military activities of Sennacherib disturbed the situation in Judah. Politically, Hezekiah was subjected to heavy taxation, forcing him to initiate different ways of raising the required tribute. The peasants lost their lands to political elites and the military who had the muscle to grab whatever they wanted.

In 705 BCE, prior to 701 BCE, Sargon was killed in battle while driving out the Cimmerians and was succeeded by his son, Sennacherib (Bright, 1981:292). Sennacherib's first action was to assert his control over Cilicia by marching into Cilicia, defeating the rebels and their Egyptian allies that promised them help (Bright, 1981:292). Egypt had made some alliances with some nations within the Assyrian empire taking advantage of Sargon's death. According to biblical literature, Hezekiah of Judah, Lule, king of Sidon, Sidka, king of Ascalon, and the king of Ekron had formed an alliance with Egypt against Assyria as a consequence in 701 BCE (Isaiah 30:1-7; 31:1-3). Attacking the rebels, Sennacherib overcame the Egyptians, took control of Ascalon, Sidon, and Ekron, and expelled them from the area. He destroyed 46 cities and villages in his way as he marched toward Jerusalem, including the fiercely fortified city of Lachish (2 Kings 18:17; 19:8; Younger, 2018:29). Literature from the Bible claims that when Hezekiah prayed in the temple, an angel of the Lord murdered 185,000 Assyrian warriors at Jerusalem. Despite this, what exactly transpired is unknown (2 Kings 18-19). According to Sennacherib's story, Judah paid him tribute before he went back to his country.

Marrs (2003:5) gives us an in-depth discussion on the issue of Sennacherib's failure to capture Jerusalem and his subsequent abrupt departure. Literature reports numerous reasons proffered for the abrupt departure of Sennacherib. Marrs would want to think that Sennacherib received Judean tribute which accomplished his mission (Marrs, 2003:5). Marrs argues that Sennacherib heard the news of unrest (a possible coup) in Nineveh that came to the king's attention and he left abruptly (Marrs, 2003:5). Further, the fact that one of his sons assassinates Sennacherib about 20 years later seems to give support to the unrest rumour. The angel of death appears to be a product of the redactor whose motive is bent on showing the power of Yahweh in war against gentile nations. Marrs (2003:5) proffers that although Sennacherib certainly

does not attribute his troubles to Yahweh, his annals do intimate here that he turned to Nineveh to address difficulties in the capital city. Strikingly, Sennacherib gives undue attention in his palace reliefs to the sack or Lachish, suggesting that Jerusalem (a far more important trophy) escaped him (Marrs, 2003:5). Given the habit of Assyrian royalty to describe in detail their destruction and annihilation of enemy kings, Sennacherib's claim may implicitly provide testimony that his ultimate goal to destroy that most important Judean city, Jerusalem, ended in failure (Marrs, 2003:5). Further, the numbers mentioned by both sides seem daunting. Sennacherib claims he took 200,150 captives, an incredibly high count. Mars reveals that an Assyrian carnage of 185,000 soldiers may reflect the need for textual emendation (with a minor switch in letters, the number becomes 5,180) as suggested by Marrs (2003:5).

2.4.2   Archaeological issues and politics

Archaeological evidence of devastation levels dating to the Assyrian conquests, which was discovered in many places, supports the historical information provided above (Herzog, 1997:221-236; Stern 2001:4-9; Faust, 2015:767-773). This supportive evidence becomes handy to comprehending of the historical developments around the eighth century BCE in which Micah ministered. Micah 1:9-15 mentions places that are worthy of a brief consideration in the discussion of the archaeology of the Southern Levant. The places include: יְהוּדָה "Judah," and יְרוּשָׁלָם "Jerusalem" in v9; גַּת "Gath" and בֵּית לְעַפְרָה "Beth-le-aphrah" in v.10; שָׁפִיר "Shaphir," צַאֲנָן "Zaanan", and בֵּית הָאֵצֶל "Beth Ezel" in v.11; מָרוֹת "Maroth," and יְרוּשָׁלָם "Jerusalem" in v.12; לָכִישׁ "Lachish" in v.13; מוֹרֶשֶׁת גַּת "Moresheth-Gath," and אַכְזִיב "Achzib" in v.14; as well as מָרֵשָׁה "Mareshah," and עֲדֻלָּם "Adullam" in v.15. Micah 5 also mentions אֶפְרָתָה בֵּית־לֶחֶם "Bethlehem Ephrathah" in v.2. In addition, בָּשָׁן "Bashan", and גִּלְעָד "Gilead" are mentioned in Micah 7:14. The cities and villages constitute the context of Micah.

Because of the allusion to Assyria from the northern part of the Southern Levant, some cities and archaeological sites from the north are worth mentioning, namely, Tel Hazor and Tel Dan (stratum II) (stratum V). Further readings show that the excavations at Tel Kinrot uncovered what may be two destruction levels, one dated to the war of 733 and 732 BCE and the other to the end of the eighth century BCE. Literature shows that Tel Megiddo stratum IVA was destroyed or, at the very least, severely damaged (Itach, 2018:67). Further, the region of Samaria was also badly damaged (Itach, 2018:67). Tel el-Far'ah (N) (stratum VIId), Shechem (stratum VII), Kh. Marjameh, and along the Jordan Valley Tel Rehov (stratum

III), Tel Bet She'an (stratum P7), and Tel es-Sa'idiyeh (stratum V) are other cities in the area that were severely damaged or destroyed (Itach, 2018: 67). Additionally, rural locations bore the scars of Assyrian domination. Literature reveals archaeological evidence for the Assyrian destruction that was discovered in the northern portion of the kingdom and also in the vicinity of Samaria, despite the fact that few have been excavated, painting a clear image of the disaster (Faust, 2015:768-71).

King Shalmaneser III perfected the strategy of mass deportation initiated by Adad-nirari II and his successors (Parpola, 2004:5). These deported people would be put in a place away from their homeland. The reason for this policy, we are sure, was to neutralize these people and subsequently kill the ethnic identity of the conquered through inter-racial marriages that would follow. Eventually, this would also kill the spirit of nationalism. Itach (2018:70) gave the following three goals for the deportations by Assyria which support the afore-mentioned point: (i) it served to prevent revolts against Assyria (political- the same point that is also proffered above); (ii) It strengthened the Assyrian military strength by conscripting the deportees into the army (military), and (iii) it provided labour for the construction of cities and in agriculturally remote areas (economic). The same issue of deportation is mentioned in the Bible (2 Kings 17:24); however, it's probable that this tale was afterwards inserted into the book of Kings in order to demonstrate that the people living in Samaria during the Persian era weren't Israelites but rather the offspring of the deported people (as Ezra 4:2, 9-10). However, recent archaeological work has shed a lot of light in support of the deportees' presence. Several Assyrian texts found do confirm this Assyrian narrative on deportees (Becking, 1992:25–33). In addition, there is evidence of the clear steps that the king would take after military conquests of an area. The royal inscription from Sargon II, which was discovered in the palace of Khorsabad, narrates the capture of Samaria and its repercussions and is one of the most significant documents about the old kingdom of Israel and the source is quoted verbatim:

> At the beginning of my royal rule I…the town of the Samaritans I led away as prisoners [27, 290 inhabitants of it (and) [equipped] from among [them] 50 chariots for my royal corps… [The town I] re[built] better than (it was) before and [settled] therein people from countries [I] myself [had conquered. I placed an officer of mine as governor over them and imposed upon them tribute as (is customary) for Assyrian citizens (ANET 284:10–17).

Published works (e.g. Pecirkova, 1977:211-228, Zilberg, 2018:56-88) reveal that the historical context of the area following the Assyrian conquest and the foundation of the provinces can be better understood with the aid of these sources. Further, the Governors who were intended to serve the Assyrian empire's interests oversaw the provinces. However, the governors frequently became wealthy through a variety of businesses. Their duty was to demand custom duties from trade inside the province and to collect taxes on agricultural products produced there. The money from these taxes and duties was earmarked to service the huge needs of the empire, but occasionally governors used it for their own benefit (Pecirkova, 1977:211-228, Zilberg, 2018:56-88). Published literature reveals that archaeological findings like the fragments of royal stela found in the city of Samaria and also in the western Samarian region confirm the Assyrian presence (Itach, 2018:70). Other archaeological artefacts like administrative tablets were discovered at Tel Gezer, Tel Hadid, and Kh. Kusiya (Horowitz and Oshima, 2006:55-64, 100-101). Itach (2018:70) confirms not only of the Assyrian presence in the area but the Assyrian administration as well.

Biblical and Assyrian texts both attest to the fact that the Assyrians introduced foreigners to the Samaria region as early as Sargon II. Archaeological research uncovered a late Iron Age habitation layout in the northern Samaria region (Zertal, 1989:77-84). Further, numerous tiny rural sites in the Samaria region and Samaria (the city), Shechem, and Tel el-Far ah yielded bowls with peculiar imprints (N). Zertal (1989:77-84) hypothesises that a group of Mesopotamian deportees brought the concept of wedge-impressed bowls to the Samarian region. Data from excavated sites with this style of the vessel appeared following the Assyrian destruction of the Northern kingdom of Israel (Itach, 2018: 70-71).

2.4.3 Implications of the political developments in Micah's era

What can be said from the above discussion regarding the political developments in the eighth century BCE is that: (i) Assyria emerged to be a major superpower in Mesopotamia with expansion interests in the west. This dream was carried on by all the successive kings, mainly starting from Tiglath-Pileser III down to Sennacherib; (ii) the emergency of Assyria forced some different nations in the west, who were the obvious targets of Assyria, to form political alliances in preparation for an Assyrian siege. This development changed the political landscape in the Levant. Eighth-century prophets like Micah, Isaiah, and Amos have messages of the impending destruction to befall Israel and Judah; (iii) the dynamics of politics in the

Assyrian camp when she faced internal revolts, and attacks from nations like Urartu gave the nations in the Levant peace and a chance to develop their economies. This period of relative peace resulted in prosperity in Israel and Judah, as we also deduce from the above-mentioned prophets. Further, there developed a wide gap between the rich and the poor. Cases of injustices being perpetrated by the rich, the powerful against the poor, and peasants losing their land and houses are many in the messages of these eighth-century prophets, who became the voice of the voiceless; (iv) the destruction of Samaria (721BCE) forced a number of refugees to flock to Judah as proposed by Finkelstein (2013:154–55). Literature from 2 Kings 16:6 tells us that the king of Edom recovered Elath and chased all the Judeans who were living there. It can be argued that migrations of refugees from other places could have added pressure on the already scarce land in Judah, resulting in the rulers, the powerful, and the rich greatly disadvantaging the poor peasants of their land or taking advantage of the huge demand for food, land and exploited the available cheap labour. This resulted in the relative deprivation that was raised by Hillers (1984). Micah pronounces a judgment to befall Judah as Yahweh's Judgment against the sins of the people.

2.5 ISRAEL AND JUDAH'S ECONOMIES IN THE EIGHTH CENTURY BCE.

There is a need to engage in a debate on the identity of the peasants before discussing the economic issues of Israel and Judah. The rationale for this position is that peasants and the land issue during Micah's time are the major focus of this study who are presumed to have suffered relative deprivation that resulted from the establishment of latifundia by the powerful rulers and the military.

2.5.1   Peasantry during Micah's time

This section focuses on the peasantry in Judah. It is very important to establish conceptually the identity of the peasants during the eighth-century era, what type of land ownership existed, and how peasants were affected by *Latifundialization*. Literature from eighth-century prophets also shed light on the dynamics of peasant life, their livelihoods, and threats from the powerful and rich, how large estates (*latifundia)* grew and how this affected the peasant majority. Premnath (2018:1) raised some questions in his book which are so pertinent to our research. Questions like who owned land and how land ownership was acquired will be of much significance to this chapter. These questions raised by Premnath regarding ownership of land are of much value to our endeavour to understand the life and conditions of peasants during the -eighth-century period. It is important to first identify the peasants in the Book of Micah.

First and for the most, it is important to acknowledge that the word "peasant(s)" does not exist in the Book of Micah. However, the text presupposes the class of labourers that can be identified as peasants. For the discussion on peasants in Micah, Blessing O. Boloje's study, namely "Economic Piracy and Land Confiscation (MiCAH 2:1–5)" is enlightening. Itumeleng Mosala prefers the term "working class" mainly because of his materialistic reading of the biblical text which is borrowed from Gottwald and Marx, respectively. However, Mosala's description appears to be referring to the peasants.

Premnath (2018:1-5) presents that most historical studies of Israel and Judah can be characterised as particularistic which views history primarily in relation to the part played by important individuals and events with little interest in a systematic integration. In contrast to the particularistic approach, Premnath (2018:5) advocates for generic history, which attempts to study the changes that modify society as a whole. This generic approach can produce sound historiography because it can deal with both specific and systematic changes, thereby striking a balance between systematic integration and a particularistic approach.

Further, Premnath (2018:5) explains that in agrarian societies, land constitutes the primary economic base because the majority of the population are rural cultivators, we may call peasants. The people identified as having been robbed of their land in Micah 2 and those who are cheated in Micah 6 would be presumed peasants because of their vulnerability. However, Premnath (2018:7) argues that the term peasant lacks consensus in scientific literature, despite its constant use because there is a tendency to oversimplify it. Literature reveals an example of this oversimplification that peasants have been defined in terms of ownership of land. Despite the validity of these descriptions, the picture is more complex (Premnath, 2018:8). Further reading indicates that Premnath then adopted Landsberger's position and proposes two key dimensions in the case of the peasants as economic and political (Premnath, 2018:8). He also identifies technology and environment as important variables in understanding protest movements involving peasants (Premnath, 2018:8). The peasants were the marginalised group who did not have political and economic power. They survived on the food they produced in their fields. Those with political and military links could easily take advantage of this group and confiscate land to enlarge their estates.

Premnath (2018:8) understands peasants as small-scale rural cultivators who cultivate the land with access to simple technology (the art of producing food using subsistence farming equipment) for their own livelihood and for the transfer of the agricultural surplus to the

dominant ruling class. The two categories to be noted here are (1) production and (2) distribution. The position of Premnath on peasants given above is in agreement with Redditt (1972:319), who maintained that peasants in ancient Israel were food producers who paid rent and taxes for the right to farm on their pieces of land. Further, peasantry existed at the level of the household whose subsistence was on its own produce. Land possessed special value in peasant society, as already mentioned above. Land inherited from the previous generations was passed on to the descendants of the next generations to provide for their inherent subsistence. It was never sold to anyone outside the peasant community. When the peasant population was sparse, much land lay fallow and could be divided equally among the children in a household, maybe by use of lots (Micah 2:5). This type of land tenure can be described as a Patrimonial domain, where access to land is determined by lineage (Premnath, 2018:9). Premnath reveals that it is different from the Prebendal domain, where land is given as a type of grant to members of the bureaucracy in return for the services to the state, or the mercantile domain where land is viewed as private property, with conditions that allow the buying and selling of land (Premnath, 2018:9). Patrimonial domain seems to have been the type of land tenure system that was in operation in ancient Israel. The reluctance of Naboth to sell his land to king Ahab (1 Kings 21:1-6) could be explained in terms of the patrimonial domain because land that was in possession of the family was to be kept for future generations. The peasant viewed their land as their source of the livelihood, a sacred trust to be passed on, and their inheritance; rather than to be sold. Redditt (1972:322) brings in another important dimension about peasants; they consumed most of their products, and the majority of peasants were always in debt regardless of whether they owned their land or farmed that of someone else because of the rentals or taxes or price controls. Peasants could get into debt when the weather was not favourable that year for them to produce enough grain for their families. In this case they would end borrowing money to sustain themselves using their pieces of land as collateral security (Boloje, 2019:1). If the drought persisted for more than one season the majority of peasants would eventually lose their fields to the money lenders. Some peasants rented fields and paid taxes from their surplus sale. However, in the event that rain failed and there was drought, the said peasant farmers ended up selling themselves into slavery (Boloje, 2019: 1).

Mosala (1991:40) brings in an interesting dimension of the clan, *mishpahoth* in Hebrew which stands out as a protective association of families which operated to preserve the minimal conditions for the integrity of each of its member families by extending mutual help as needed

to supply male heirs, to keep or recover land, to rescue members from debt slavery, and to avenge murder. Mosala (1991:40) argues that the protective association of Israelite clans (the *mishpahoth*) presupposed the freedom and autonomy of Israelite households *(beth-avs)*. However, the liberator function of the *mishpahoth* firmly indicates that the reality was often oppression, indebtedness, dispossession, and death, as what faced Naboth. This point from Mosala consolidates the stark reality that peasant families faced from time to time.

The Book of Micah alludes to the economic exploitation and oppression as well as the disruption of family lives and the religio-cultural value of inheritance (Smith-Christopher 2015:84). Micah 2:2 says: "And they covet fields, and seize them; and houses, and they take them; so, they oppress a man and his house". The text articulates that the people in power desired the "fields" that were not belonging to them. Subsequently, the people with authority took the land by violence. The allusion to oppression represents a situation where the stronger people in power ceased the produce and labour of the weaker, giving nothing in exchange. In addition, the word "oppress" may also refer to violence, which is not confined to physical assault (Waltke 1993:637). However, prior (1988:126) is of the view that the word "oppress" in the text might be referring to giving of loans to the peasants and their abrupt closure. However, furthermore, Prior's (1988:126) view makes sense in saying that the verb "oppress" may refer to "using dishonest scales (Hosea 12:7-8) either by extortion, employing naked force (Isaiah 52:4; Jr 50:33) or by manipulating the legal system". The latter view finds more support in the references to scales in Micah 6. The parallel in Amos 5:7, 10-17 suggests that Micah also had in mind the notion of manipulating the court as alluded to by Prior. Thus "in corrupt courts the bureaucratic sharks finagled the farmers' patrimonies away from them" (Adu-Gyamfi 2020:89). The action of those in power is further interpreted in the statement "and a man and his inheritance". The latter statement induces a religious and cultural understanding among the Judeans of both the agricultural and residential land being an inheritance.

Micah 2:4 presents a proverb and lament: "We are utterly ruined; he has divided up the portion of my people! How? He has removed [it] from me; He has allotted our fields to traitors!" Noteworthy, the construct noun "the portion," (*chalaq* חלק) may be synonymous to territory and possession as well as heritage. Also, the verb "We are utterly ruined" (הרוסים לגמרי אנחנו) is rendered with emphasis to express the devastation of destruction caused by force and violence. Furthermore, Micah suggests that the territory as possession belonging to some people has been dispossessed. The interjection "how" serves to prepare the reader for the details

of being ruined, that is, the possession (the fields) being allotted and distributed to the "traitors". The text mentions three categories as classes of people involved in the loss of land exploitation, namely 1) the people who lost land, 2) the people who took the land from other rightful owners and assigned it to other people, and 3) the so-called "traitors" who received the confiscated land.

Furthermore, Micah 2:5 presents the disruption of the Judean norm and practice of allocating the land to people by means of lot. The text says: "Therefore you will have no one in the assembly of the Lord to divide the land by lot". Micah views the means of acquiring productive land other than by lot as unjust and in contradiction to the Judean religious and cultural norms. The text of Micah 2, therefore, presents the exploitation and oppression of the peasants by the peoples in the position of economic and political power.

2.5.2 The economic situation and the archaeology of the Southern Levant in Micah's era

This section of the study focuses on the economic situation of Israel and Judah during the eighth century BCE in order to establish the economic context under which the eighth-century prophets, particularly Micah of Moresheth-Gath, operated. There are so many sections in Micah, Isaiah, Hosea, and Amos that presuppose some economic activities that gave rise to the exploitation of the poor people, particularly the peasants. The study proposes to make use of the new discoveries in the field of Biblical Archaeology to collaborate the biblical accounts. The use of archaeological findings to unveil the economic activities of the eighth-century Israel and Judah have yielded so much information on industrial sites which were excavated and some artefacts that give some insights into the economic activities of the time (Wright, 2018:1-13). The employment of hermeneutics and archaeology in an attempt to understand the socio-economic situations in Israel and Judah has provided a fresh interpretation and insights into the books of eighth-century prophets.

Finkelstein and Silberman (2006:3) reveal that Israel (the vast northern Kingdom) overshadowed Judah in the early eighth century BCE because she had attained the pinnacle of her economic prosperity, territorial expansion, and diplomatic power. According to Finkelstein and Silberman (2006:3), the following elements are signs of Israel's economic prosperity: Samaria Ostraca, Samaria Ivories, Megiddo Horse Breeding and Training Industry, and Elaborate Hazor and Megiddo Water Systems. According to Finkelstein and Silberman the above elements provided evidence of a highly organised bureaucratic economy. Messages of

the eighth century prophets attest to this state of prosperity in Israel (Amos 5:11; 6:4-6; Hosea 12:1). The Deuteronomistic Historian narrative confirms the superiority of Israel over Judah (2 Kings 14:9-10).

Unlike in Israel, as shown above, there is a lack of archaeological evidence to prove that there was a developed economy in Judah in the early eighth century BCE as Kletter (1998:276) pointed out. There were no "(i) mass manufacturing of secondary products such as olive oil, (ii) standardised weights, and (iii) Lachish phase III, which dates to the late eighth century, is characterised by an advanced bureaucratic system, a fully organised settlement hierarchy, monumental building activities, and the mass production of secondary agricultural products, but pottery manufacture did not begin until then" (Finkelstein, 1999:35-52). This economic state of Judah lasted for about a century and a half, as suggested by Finkelstein and Silberman (2006:5). Reportedly, the Jerusalem city was very small during this period (the early eighth century BCE), covering an area of about 6 hectares (Shiloh, 1984:3). However, Judah's socio-economic character was revolutionised some several decades during the Lachish phase III. Further, the following factors are evidence of this socio-economic revolutionisation: (i) the city of Jerusalem developed to be the largest in the country- covering an area of about 60 hectares, and (ii) her population developed from a relatively sparse settlement to about 10-12,000 people (Broshi, 1974:21-26; Avigad, 1983:54-60; Reich and Shunkron, 2003:209-18; Geva, 2003:183-208).

Along with the aforementioned, archaeologists have discovered the following advancements in Jerusalem during the time period under consideration: "(i) a vast network of fortifications that encircled the city; (ii) a water supply system that brought water into the fortified city via the Siloam tunnel from the Gihon spring; and (iii) extremely ornate rock-cut tombs that were hewn around the city and indicated the presence of an elite, wealthy class" (Finkelstein and Silberman, 2006:5). There were significant increases in the number of settlements and the overall built-up area, which were not just limited to the city of Jerusalem but also the southern hill country and the northern part of Jerusalem (Ofer, 1994:104-105; Finkelstein, 1994:60-79).

Further, similar developments were also found in the Shephelah and the Beer-Sheba valley (Singer-Avitz, 1999:3-74). Finkelstein (1994:60-79) proffers that Judah attained her "maximum territorial expansion and unprecedented population density" before Sennacherib's

invasion in 701 BCE. Beer-Sheba and Tell Beit Mirsim, two well-planned towns in the countryside are examples of a highly ordered state (Finkelstein and Silberman, 2006:7). Further, the above two scholars are in agreement with Herzog (2002:87-101) who maintained that Beer-Sheba had well-built storehouses and elaborate water system. Studies by both Sass (1993:194–256) and Kletter (1998:276) reveal that the Siloam tunnel and tombs, monumental inscriptions, the number of seals, seal impressions, and ostraca which includes the standardised weights that first appeared in Judah, and the *lmlk* (*lemelek*) jars, as well as official seal impressions visible on some jars, all provide archaeological evidence for the existence of an advanced bureaucracy.

Based on the available archaeological evidence, it is certain that Judah's economy grew significantly and became more complex in the latter half of the eighth century BCE, with the introduction of mass-produced pottery (Ṣimḥônî et al, 1997:170-72) and large-scale, state-controlled olive oil production in the Shephelah—at Tell Beit Mirsim and Beth-shemesh (Eitan-Katz, 1994; Finkelstein and Na'aman, 2004). Further, Finkelstein and Silberman (2006:6) propose two major events as the cause of Judah's abrupt economic change: Judah's integration into the Assyrian global economy, which must have begun in the 730s under King Ahaz of Judah and Tiglath-Pileser III of Assyria. It is further stated that from 732 BCE Judah participated in the Assyrian-dominated Arabian trade, which accounts for the prosperity in the Beer-Sheba valley. According to Finkelstein and Na'aman (2004), Judahite olive must have been traded to Assyria and other customers, presumably via Ekron, following the fall of Ashdod and the establishment of Ekron under Sargon II.

2.5.2.1 Shephelah region

Because of the cities and villages mentioned in Micah 1, we here consider the Shephelah region. Scholars such as Hardin et el ((2012: 29-30) as well as Fantalkin and Finkelstein (2006:18-42), among others, identify the following cities and villages and sites as being in the vicinity of the Shephelah: Ekron-Tel Miqne (Philistine?); Timnah north Moreshet-gath/Tel Harassin; Beth-shemesh (closer to the Jerusalem region); Maroth/Jarmuth; west is Gath (Tell es-Safi- Tel Zafit);Asekah (Azekah); Sochoh; Adullam; Achzib?/Tell el-Beida; Libnah (Tel Bornat) to the south; Tell el-Judeida; Eleutheropolis; Mareshah; Khirbet Ajlan; Khirbet Summeily; Tel Sheqf; Tell el-Hesi; Lacish; Tel Beit Mirsim towards the east is Beth-zur; Taibeh; Hebron (maybe it is in the vicinity or region of Jerusalem); Beersheba Valley (such as

Arad XII, Tel Esdar II and Beersheba VII); Tell Beit Mirsim; and Tel Burna(t) or Libnah. Limited by the scope of the present study, I will consider some of the places.

Livestock

Worth considering is the data from zooarchaeological studies on the economy of eighth century BCE southern Levant that is on livestock farming (Sasson, 2008:113-134). Livestock was used for a range of products (i.e., meat, milk, and wool) rather than for specialised production of a particular product. As Sasson (2008:113-134) noted, "taphonomic analysis and body part representation of caprine and cattle in Tel Beer-sheba, Stratum II (eighth century BCE) point to a food maximising strategy", which sought to secure food in Judah (cf. Sapir-Hen, et el 2016:103-118). Although Tel Beer-sheba was an urban site where the elites resided in the eighth century BCE, no hints at selective exploitation of body parts were traced (e.g., meat bearing body parts) which can confirm the actual slaughtering of livestock in the region (Sasson, 2004:31-51; 2008:127). However, the trade of meat cannot be ruled out. Additionally, "Spatial distribution analysis of body parts in Stratum II at Tel Beer-sheba also showed no indications of social stratification, which is associated with a market economy" (Sasson 2008:127). But in the vicinity and surrounding areas of Tel Beer-sheba, sheep farming reflected "a survival subsistence strategy that strived for balance between the demand for wool—a product of sheep herding—and the demand for herd security, maintained mostly by goats" (Sasson 2008:127). Sasson (2008:127) further concludes that the livestock farming patterns that occurred in all periods of the Bronze and Iron Ages in the Southern Levant "points to a self-sufficient economy and optimal exploitation of subsistence resources". One may thus imagine that the wool from sheep became a commodity to generate income for the elite urbanite Judeans since zooarchaeological studies do not reveal who owned the livestock.

Other areas that have for long been viewed to be farmlands in the vicinity of Tel Beer-sheba, namely Tel el-Hesi and Tel Halif, have recently not escaped the attention of contemporary archaeologists. Expecting to find an agricultural village and community in the vicinity, Blakely and Hardin (2018:236) discovered an "administrative site of the tenth century BCE that was abandoned in the ninth century BCE" and an agrarian countryside that seemed "almost devoid of farmsteads, hamlets, and villages" in the eighth century BCE. Resolving this problem, and/or anomaly, they resorted to paleo-climatological studies and explanations. Archaeological data sets from geology, geography, and climatology, suggest that Tel el-Hesi

and Tel Halif were likely centers of shepherding and pastoral lifestyle built as forts to secure the border against Philistia during the ninth and eighth centuries (Wright, 2018:6-7). Distancing themselves from Finkelstein's (1996:225-242) deduction that the southern coastal plain of the Southern Levant and Shephelah reflects a "fully developed settlement system of the Philistine countryside", Blakely and Hardin (2018:236) underscore the finding that around Tel Hesi, towns, villages, and hamlets appear to be missing, a fact that in their view is largely unrecognised in the scholarship addressing the region. Furthermore, regarding their recent excavation at Khirbet Summeily, approximately 1.5 km northwest of Hesi, Blakely and Hardin (2018:254-255) observed the total absence of charred seeds in its archaeological record, despite 100 percent sifting of all soils and flotation samples of all loci, which they dated to the early eighth century BCE. While plenty of ash is found in one structure at Khirbet Summeily, replete with several tabuns /tannurs and a large fire pit, the scholars are puzzled by the absence of seeds and are also unclear about what was burnt in the pit, "since one would expect some seeds to survive the threshing process along with the chaff and straw" (Blakely and Hardin 2018:254). Hence, a conclusive argument cannot be made on whether the grain was raised and processed in the vicinity. However, based on their archaeological perspective, Blakely and Hardin (2018:255) carefully concluded:

> We believe the mounded fortresses in the Hesi region (Tell el-Hesi, Tell Sheqef, and Tell Kuneitirah) *[and Tel Halif]*[4] were maintained by a regional polity (Judah) and served to control the border region between Judah and Philistia. In particular they were further placed to control both the road and the best water in the greater region. Beyond protecting Judah's southwest border, we suggest the forts protected a pasturage around Hesi that was exploited by Judah primarily for sheep and goats, rather than as an agricultural hinterland during the ninth and eighth centuries BCE. Over 20,000 acres of land providing feed on the stalk would have been a valuable commodity to control and it would have required protection. Support for this idea can be found in the towns and villages mentioned in the Lachish district that are preserved in Joshua 15:37-41.

The Southern Levantine archaeology in the southern part of the Levant attest to the existence of livestock. The attestation is consistent with the text of Micah. Micah 6:6-7 alludes to

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[4] My insertion.

religious practices that were performed with cattle and calves, thus suggesting that some Judeans owned livestock. Hardin et el (2012:30) identify cattle pasturage in the vicinity of Khirbet Summeily, which they regard as "Zaanan", a place mentioned in Micah 1:11. The zooarchaeological remains at Khirbet Summeily also point to domestic species of sheep and goats (Hardin et al, 2012:34).

Agriculture

Finkelstein and Naʾaman (2004:74) argue that the olive oil production of the Judahite Shephelah in the eighth century BCE period was state organised and incorporated within the Assyrian regional economic system. For them, the argument is supported by the absence of finds of oil presses at Lachish, the royal administrative centre of Judah in the Shephelah, which is in contrast with the presses exposed at Ekron, the Philistine region as well as evident oil production and trade at the administrative centre Shechem, and the impressive trade city of Megiddo in Israel.[5] Furthermore, as Bunimovitz and Lederman (2011:47) argued, "The Judahite olive oil production could have never reached the scope of the highly specialised, tremendous Philistine oil industry that flourished at Ekron", especially during the seventh century BCE (also see Gitin, 1997:87). This holds true because in the eighth century BCE the oil industry in Judea was "incorporated within the social framework of the peasant communities in the Shephelah", hence "the Judahite rural settlements in this region were encouraged to join the organised olive oil production initiated by the state" (Bunimovitz and Lederman, 2011:47). Thus, it is reasonable to argue that the change from the clan-based economic system and patron-client networks to a centralised state system took place in the eighth century BCE Judah. In addition, the point that Shephelah is not a natural olive-orchard habitat points to the idea that the Judahite oil industry was state organised and incorporated within the Assyrian regional economic system to boost the oil production in Judah. Archaeobotanical evidence from the Judahite Shephelah, specifically from Lachish and from Tel Beth-Shemesh which includes plenty of olive wood remains that confirms olive oil installations at Beth-Shemesh at least from the twelfth to the seventh century BCE supports the preceding point. The claim of the Shephelah not being a natural olive-orchard habitat is made by Finkelstein and Naʾaman,

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[5] For a detailed study on the oil industry of Ekron see Gitin (1995: 61-79; 1997: 77-103; Wright, 2018):

(2004:74) and later supported by Bunimovitz and Lederman (2011:47). However, it seems evident that the olive oil installations existed at Beth-Shemesh.

Furthermore, archaeology of storage vessels at Beth-Shemesh in Stratum III, dated to the early eighth century BCE, reveals that dozens of holemouth jars were found in Area E, including many scoops, couple of *lmlk* jars, and a few pithoi (Katz and Faust, 2011:175-184). Although the architectural context is not clear, it is likely that the storage vessels were parts of a royal, state-administered storage system (Katz and Faust, 2011:176; Pecirkova, 1977:211-228, Zilberg, 2018:56-88). Although not decisive, Katz and Faust opine that the storage vessels served the olive oil industry in Judah, evidence for which was found nearby Beth-Shemesh. Katz and Faust's view that "additional holemouth jars, which were unearthed within installations to produce olive oil were found in the late eighth century BCE level, both during early excavations and by the more recent excavators" is also supported by Momigliano (1996: 139-170, especially Fig. 4), Bunimovitz and Lederman (2000:255) and Greenhut (2006:160). The view is inconclusive because it is not hard to connect the storage found in Stratum III to the silo and large building uncovered by Grant and Wright at some distance, and in turn interpret it as related to the storage of grain (Grant and Wright, 1939:70; also see Wright, 1962:131; Greenhut, 2006:160).

Archaeological evidence on the production and trade of olive oil may be related to the allusions of olive oil in the Micah text (Mi 6:7). The text refers to the plentifulness of olive oil. The Southern Levantine archaeology in the Shephelah region as well as the Micah text illustrate that productive land was utilised for pastorage and agricultural crop production. We now investigate the issue of land ownership in Israel and Judah.

2.6   LAND OWNERSHIP IN ISRAEL AND JUDAH

Levine (1996:223-242) argues that the issue of land ownership in both Israel and Judah is a major challenge. His main finding is that the biblical accounts "do not contain any actual documentation of land conveyance or deeds establishing ownership of property in Israel, nor are there any court records, official correspondence, or royal edicts from the kingdoms of northern Israel or Judah" (Levine, 1996:223-242). Further, Levine's position is shared by Rothlin and Le Roux (2013:1-8), who assert that the Bible, our oldest and most important textual source, was not written to provide economic or historical details about ancient Israel but rather to be a religious text that primarily focuses on the political history and theological

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ideology of the Israelites. Hence our choice to use hermeneutical tools on the biblical texts to be able to recover as much as possible, its "correct" religious, political, social, and economic contexts.

Israel had not become an independent society until the beginning of the Iron Age. Chaney (1986:53–76), one of the scholars who made significant contributions to the land debate in Israel and Judah, suggests that the people's relationship to their land was characterised by a combination of patrimonial and prebendal domains, typical of agrarian societies. He also claimed:

> The field which they and their king or war lord were able to conquer and hold by force of arms they let out to peasant producers, who regularly paid half or more of their production to the landlord in the form of various taxes and rents in return for access to the land. The elite had sufficient means to extract the largest possible surplus from the peasant majority, leaving it only the barest subsistence necessary to remain productive. Such was the socioeconomic system in the alluvial plains of Canaan when Israel emerged as [a]separate society in the adjacent hill country (Chaney, 1986:56).

Guillaume (2012:93) challenged Chaney's position, saying it was a reflection of social scientists' ideology rather than the reality in ancient Palestine. According to Guillaume's (2012:90-107) argument, there is evidence in the biblical materials that ownership of patrimonial land continued to be a significant institution of the private sector during the monarchic and later periods, despite the changes that the monarchy brought about to people's lives, as shown in the following passages: Ruth; 2 Samuel 14; 1 Kings 21:1–19. Even during the early monarchical period, there is evidence of private ownership of land; some of the examples are (i) Kish, father to King Saul, owned land (I Samuel 9); and (ii) Nabal, who owned sheep and land (I Samuel 25). In the next sections, the study now focuses on the following aspects: land consolidation, Royal grants of land, and Kings and officials in the land accumulation equation.

2.6.1 Land consolidation in Israel and Judah

This section looks at land consolidation in Israel and Judah during the monarchical period. There is textual evidence to indicate that certain kings acquired land through buying as well as through conquests. Also, certain individuals benefitted from land they received as royal grants.

2.6.1.1 Royal grants

Textual evidence suggests that some of Canaan were conquered and given as a gift, adding it to the crown's holdings (2 Samuel 8:1-6; 1 Kings 9:16). The available evidence is not adequate for an assessment regarding concerning king's property in both the united and divided kingdoms of Israel. There are instances where kings are seen purchasing land for themselves; for instance, David purchased the Arauna threshing floor in Jerusalem (2 Samuel 24), and Omri purchased the Hill of Samaria (I Kings 16:24). David also held a number of possessions, including olive trees, livestock, camels, sheep, storehouses, and overseers who were in charge of the labourers who worked the soil (1 Chronicles 27:25-31). Solomon also increased the royal estates through conquest and gifts (1 Kings 9:16; Ecclesiastes 2:4-7). Scholars do not agree on using the story of Naboth as evidence for the royal ownership of land increase in Israel (Ahlström, 1993:587; Lalfakzuala, 2016:64). Lemche (1988:151-152) asserts that Naboth declines to comply with the king's request since the requested land belongs to his family and cannot be sold, regardless of what the king would offer in exchange. However, the infamous Jezebel queen falsely accused him, sentenced him to death, and the government was able to seize the vineyard as a result. The prebendal realm was said to have predominated during the Monarchical period (1000–600 BCE) (Coote 1981:25-27). Coote (1981:27) clarifies:

> Patrimonial domain is exercised by persons who inherit ownership or control as a member of kinship groups. In Israel, ownership was usually passed from father to son. Whatever its origin, the primary understanding of the domain in Israel is patrimonial. Families or clans held domain over estates granted to them by Yahweh, to whom land ultimately belonged, and in the long run this domain was inalienable. Clan lands were called "grants" (*nachlah*, usually translated "inheritance") because they were granted by Yahweh and held by patrimonial.

The claim of Coote that the patrimonial domain was inalienable has been questioned by other scholars (e.g. Dearman, 1988:68; Guillaume, 2012:72). The prebendal domain, in

accordance with Coote (1981:27), is the other domain that gradually rose to prominence following the establishment of a monarchy. According to him, state officials have the right to use the prebendal realm, thanks to grants from the sovereign, the Landholder, who is the actual landowner. Therefore, the government has control over the revenue from the land rather than the actual property, which is owned by the sovereign. Prebends are these income grants, and Prebendal lords are the authorities who hold them. Custom, the sovereign's will, and the political stability of the time may all have an impact on the prebendal domain's longevity (Coote, 1981:27).

The above information from Coote is important to this research as it sheds light on how some state officials were involved in land issues. The centralization process must have undermined tribal authority, leading to a rise in social inequality, which in turn led to a rise in debt slavery and land alienation (2 Kings 4:1-7; Nehemiah 5:1-13; Isaiah 5:8; Jeremiah 34:8-16; Micah 2:1-2; Amos 8:5). Further, according to some researchers, with time, tenant farming became a more prevalent practice in agricultural operations in Israel and Judah (Coote, 1981:27; Lang, 1982:48-49; Chaney, 1986:53-76). In my opinion, the tribal land ownership was being replaced by latifundialization - those with money were buying out those who could not afford to pay for the communal land they owned. Hence, prophets like Micah came protesting on behalf of the affected farmers.

2.6.1.2 Royal grants given to individuals

In our introduction section in chapter 1, we suggested that land was granted to certain individuals by the crown as 'thank you' for the service rendered. Inferential evidence from the Bible suggests that certain people were indeed given land as royal grants, which led to the creation of some privately or family-owned land (1 Samuel 8:14, 22:7-8). In 1 Samuel 22:7-8, Saul's question to the Benjamites is of great interest regarding royal grants: "Listen to me you Benjamites: do you expect this son of Jesse to give you all fields and vineyards…" This practice is comparable to those in Egypt, Ugarit, Alalakh, and Assyria, where clients of the king were given property or other benefits in exchange for service (Dearman 1988:117–123). Levine (1996:229–231) concurs that this may point to the beginning of large-scale land ownership through royal grants. Sennacherib apportioned parts of the Shephelah to Padi the sobet (traitor) who was the king of Ekron for his loyalty (Micah 2).

In 2 Samuel 9:16 and 19, David annexed Saul's property but, out of respect for Jonathan, gave some of it back to Mephibosheth, Jonathan's surviving son, saying, "I shall restore to you all of the fields of Saul, your ancestor" (2 Samuel 9: 9). In 2 Samuel 16, when Absalom's rebellion broke out, David fled from his disobedient son. This is another crucial text. After learning of Mephibosheth's treachery, David reversed his earlier grant and gave the lands to Ziba, declaring: "Behold, all that is Mephibosheth's belongs to you". David eventually agreed to divide the fields between them after discovering that the steward Ziba had also duped him (2 Samuel 19:30). As pointed out by Whitelam (1979:146), such scriptural evidence is significant because it reveals the nature and make-up of the royal estates. The Israelite kings may have employed a group of clients who were given lands in order to supply the palace with goods. Chirichigno's (1993:119) observation on the action of David mentioned above, supports the notion that royal grants were given and redistributed. The king was typically able to seize private land and distribute it to his supporters (1 Samuel 8:14). The researcher is aware of the debate pertaining to this passage (1 Samuel 8:14) where Samuel gave a warning concerning the king's privileges and abusive tendencies against the people. The study is citing it here because in the passage, whether it is anachronistic to this period or an exaggeration, the point remains that such a practice was common in Israel. The study concurs with Lalfakzuala (2016:69), who suggests that the discovery of the kings of Israel and Judah possessing substantial estates is not surprising (2 Samuel 14:30; 2 Chronicles 26: 6ff). The monarch must have had enough land, then, to be able to give some of it to his elite officers in addition to his family (2 Samuel 14:30). Literature reveals that Prophets such as Micah and Isaiah protested against this prevailing royal philosophy since it was at odds with the traditional understandings of land (Micah 2:1-2; Isaiah 5:8-10): "..Woe to those who plan iniquity, to those who plot evil on their beds! At morning's light they carry it out because it is in their power to do it. They covet fields, and seize them, and houses, and take them. They defraud people of their homes; they rob them of their inheritance…" (Micah 2: 1-2).

2.6.2   Kings and officials in the land accumulation equation

One can wonder if the monarch was involved in the amassing of land in Israel and Judah aside from granting royal territory to chosen individuals. It is not explicit from the prophets' oracles that the kings were indeed involved in the acquisition of large estates. Instead, prophets went after the wealthy, the powerful, and the well-connected groups that were behind the growing concentration of property in the hands of a select few. It can be inferred from the prophecies of

Amos, Isaiah, and Micah that there are particular groups of people who are to blame for the eviction of the weak members of Israelite and Jewish societies. Further, the study uses the arguments raised by Simkins and Kelly (2014:2) that (i) the prophetic messages show evidence of having been recomposed during the late Judahite monarchy and again in the Persian period. From that redactional perspective, Simkins and Kelly (2014:2) argue that the recomposition changed the focus from peasant poverty towards monarchic nationalism and client-state cultus-highlighting the concerns of royal reform. (ii) Further, what clouds the picture of peasant poverty in these prophetic books is that they presume and allude to the economic institutions and dynamics of their day. However, they do not describe them in full because the first audience for these compositions had immediate knowledge of the social and cultural world presumed and addressed. Therefore, there was no need for such an elaboration.

The kings of Judah and Israel are shown to have had substantial estates through literary evidence (2 Samuel 12:8; I Chronicles 27: 25-31; 2 Chronicles 26:9-10). As was previously mentioned, Shemer sold the hill of Samaria to Omri, and David purchased the threshing floor of Arauna (2 Samuel 24:24; I Kings 16:24). The latter textual evidence, in general, suggests that some kings were active in land acquisition. According to Dearman (1988:113), the king's employees or officials were also likely given land from the royal domain. However, the evidence given here pertains to the earlier period, but there are no known cases of Kings purchasing land in eighth century BCE. However, the kings acquired land by means of conquering lands with the use of military as it is the case in the book of Micah. The present research grapples with the following questions: How did the kings of Israel and Judah come to own such vast estates? There are numerous answers to the above question. According to Davies (1981), one explanation is that "dynastic developments contributed to the growth of the royal estate". According to David's instance (2 Samuel 9:7; 12:8), it appears that the new king assumed control of the former king's possessions, and as a result, "much land may have been accumulated in this way". Regarding the king's acquisition of property, Dearman (1988:113) makes the following claim: "Perhaps the most damaging [method] would be through foreclosure, wherein a debtor would cede title to his property in exchange for the amortising of debt".

In a later instance, Nehemiah 5:4 describes the suffering of those who surrendered their land and loved ones to pay a king's tribute (This is a postexilic text but it could be reflecting the practice that had started long back). Another biblical example of the king obtaining property

involves land in which its owner had abandoned for an extended time. For instance, the story of the Shunamite woman in 2 Kings 8:1-6 suggests that the king had the authority to take possession of the abandoned property. As may be observed in the example of Naboth, it also appears that the monarch has the authority to acquire the property of criminals or those who have been sentenced to death (I Kings 21). Any condemned or criminal person's property would instantly revert to the crown. Naboth was wrongfully executed for blasphemy and sedition after refusing to cede his ancestral land to anyone, not even the king. The monarch then annexed the field.

There is no question that the king was to blame for the peasants' expulsion. It is plausible to believe that this may have also been the work of other strong organizations. In reality, the prophets rarely brought charges against the king, preferring to name officials with close ties to the monarchy. As was already said, these officials reaped the benefits of royal land accumulation through the redistribution known as land granting. In accordance with this method, a portion of the crown land was given to a royal servant or official in exchange for their returning a portion of the harvest to the royal family. Therefore, it is highly possible that the officials served as efficient implements of royal policy and bore a greater share of the blame for the eviction and displacement of small landowners. It is likely that there were strong associations where power was centralised in the hands of a small number of individuals based on the prophecies of the eighth-century prophets. These included the king, princes, military commanders, and officials of the royal court (Amos 6:1-3; Hosea 5:1; Isaiah 1:10, 23; 3:12-14; Micah 3:1); judges and legislators (Amos 5:7, 10, 12; Is 10:1-3; Micah 3:1); wealthy businessmen, large landowners, and moneylenders (Am 8:4-6; Hosea 12:7; Isaiah 5:8; Micah 2:1-2); and priests (Amos 7:10; Hosea 4:4-6; Micah 3:9,11). These dominant social groups held sway over the socioeconomic, political, and religious spheres.

Additional reading materials show that there is little question that they were helped by "the establishment to carry out the royal program and put pressure on the small landholder so that they would eventually give their properties to the crown" (Premnath, 1985:32). The elite technique of land confiscation or coordinated politics to monopolize the fertile land was likely combined with the royal ideology, which the prophets fiercely opposed. Albertz (1994:165) observes:

The object of the attack is the unbridled economic expansion of the great landowners, who put estate alongside estate until they are the sole property-owners in the land (Isaiah 5:8); their greed for more and more land, which forces out the small farmers and their families from their ancestral properties (Amos 8:4; Micah 2:9f) and disregards the principle of ancient Israelite property law: "a man and his house, a man and his inheritance" (Micah 2:1f).

The above discussion concludes that the kings, together with their officials or close associates, were also involved in the accumulation of large estates and the deprivation of small land holder farmers.

2.6.3 Impact of economics on the general populace

Lalfakzuala (2016:74-75) indicates that the introduction of the Monarchy in Israel altered the socio-economic and political situation, starting with the United Monarchy of David and Solomon. Scholars agree that it was not until the time of Solomon that the state of Israel achieved "a full-fledged agrarian national state" (Millard, 1991:19-27; Dearman and Graham, 2001:117-134). Further, the success of Solomon's rule lay in his exploitation of the economic potential of his empire (I Kings 4). The commercial activities of Solomon brought wealth into the state (I Kings 5:10; 9:26-28; 10:15-28). The scale and quantity of the state's initiatives, including the construction of the temple, the upkeep of the army and other sizable constructions (I Kings 9:15–20), the upkeep of the royal harem (I Kings 11:1-3), and the expansion of the royal court, caused the state's spending to exceed its revenue. All these could not be adequately sponsored by the agrarian economy. As a result, this led to the introduction of taxation and conscription policies, which were hated by the Israelites as oppressive policies and subsequently led to the division of the monarchy during the time of Rehoboam (1 Kings 12:1-20). According to Lalfakzuala (2016:75), these dynamics were present again throughout the ninth-century BCE during the reigns of the Omrides in the north and Jehoshaphat in the south, as well as during the reigns of Uzziah in the south and Jeroboam II in the north in the eighth century BCE. Israel and Judah's territorial expansion during the eighth century, especially during the reigns of Jeroboam and Uzziah, resulted in huge advances in political and military strength (2 Kings 14:23-29; 2 Chronicles 26:6-15). According to Bright (1981), Israel and Judah had reached new "heights of strength and affluence" by the start of the eighth century BCE after experiencing a "dramatic turnaround of fortune". Due to their relative freedom from

military and outside threats, Israel and Judah were able to expand their territories, carry out construction projects, and implement internal economic and administrative reform. Lalfakzuala (2016:75), assumed that the building projects which started in the ninth and eighth centuries required a large-scale labour force, forcing the king to deploy conscripted labour (corvées), with the peasant population bearing the majority of the burden.

Chirichigno (1993:125) commented on the state of poor peasants during the time of Jeroboam II and Uzziah, kings of Israel and of Judah, subsequently:

> The prophets Amos and Hosea make it clear that during this period, the small farmers of Israel and Judah were particularly vulnerable to the wealthy private and state sector landowners who made them debt slaves and obtained their property.

Chirichigno (1993:125) was making references to Amos 2:6-8; 5:8-12; Hosea 4:2; 5:10; 12:7-8, where the major issue is the oppression of the poor peasants by the rich, the powerful in the society (Micah 2).

The present study makes a digression from the main issue of the impact of economics on the general populace to a different but related issue of Hezekiah's tribute to Assyria. Rothlin and Le Roux (2013:1-8) made an interesting and very logical argument about Hezekiah's tribute to Assyria. According to Rothlin and Le Roux (2013:1-8) "Three hundred talents of silver and thirty talents of gold" (2 Kings 18:14) is a significantly larger sum than Hezekiah could have afforded with just agricultural income. Therefore, Rothlin and Le Roux (2013:1-8) argue for alternative sources of revenue for Hezekiah. The Bible does not proffer information of the other sources of revenue for Hezekiah since the authors of Chronicles and Kings had their theological and political motives (Rothlin and Le Roux, 2013:1-8). The situation of Hezekiah's tribute gets more mysterious in the sense that Ahaz, his father, had literally sent all the gold and silver from the Temple's treasury to Tiglath-Pileser III to get support against Syria and Israel (2 Kings 16:8-9).

This study presented many of the arguments raised by Rothlin and Le Roux (2013:1-8) in this section because of the richness of their facts. According to 2 Chronicles 32:27–29, Hezekiah enjoyed enormous wealth and honour. Hezekiah constructed storehouses for his returns of grain, new wine, and olive oil, as well as stalls for various breeds of cattle and pens

for the flocks. He also built himself treasuries for gold, silver, precious stones, spices, jewels, and every other kind of desired commodity. This tallies with the archaeological data presented above. In addition to his enormous fortune of flocks and herds, he also furnished himself with donkeys because God had made him extremely wealthy. From the biblical information in 2 Chronicles, Rothlin and Le Roux (2013:1-8) raised very important exegetical questions like "how did the Judaean king acquire such wealth to meet Sennacherib's demands? Or, in other words, which ways did the Lord use 'to bless' Hezekiah as suggested by the biblical narrators?"

Literature cited indicates textual and archaeological proof as new income possibilities for Hezekiah. Rothlin and Le Roux (2013:1-8) provide the following suggestions:

1. Trading of exportable Judaean agricultural goods for goods from other countries

Further, Rothlin and Le Roux (2013:1-8) argue that even though agriculture was regarded as the backbone of the Judaean economy, the following factors militate against the possibility that it was Hezekiah's sole source to cater for his Assyrian tribute payment:

(i)   Judah exported products like cereals, grapes, and olives (2 Chronicles 26: 10)

(ii)   Chaney (1993:253), Lowery (1991:37), and De Geus (1982:56-57), among other scholars argue that these products were insufficient in quantity and value (Rothlin and Le Roux, 2013:1-8). It is possible that Hezekiah did not rely on one source of revenue. The cumulative factor of many revenue sources, including the religious ones provided him with something adequate to pay off the tribute.

(iii) Trade was less appealing due to the great risk and perils involved, as well as the prohibitive prices of overland transportation caused by size and weight (Heichelheim 1965:244; Muth 2000:368).

(iii)   The surrounding Mediterranean countries of Judah were all producing basically the same crops, sufficient for their subsistence, and this would limit the possibilities of trading opportunities for Judah.

(iv)   Biblical laws prevented the sale of land outside family and clan as reported in Joshua 18:3 and 19:51.

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(v)   Since the farmers (country farmers) were already saddled with significant taxes and tithes imposed by the government (Exodus 30:13–14) and cultic authority, nothing more could be expected of them (Leviticus 27:30-33).

(vi)   New industry of *LMLK* jarsok and Ceramic Figurines.

A massive production system supported by a highly effective distribution network is a prerequisite for meaningful agricultural or artisanal products to contribute meaningfully to the economy (Rothlin and Le Roux 2013:1-8). The much-discussed *lmlk* jarsok that appeared during Hezekiah's reign and the Judaean ceramic figurines points to production on a larger and more organised scale, but their appearance in the archaeological record is limited to the Judaean heartland. Neither literary nor archaeological evidence is available to support either claims (Kletter, 2001:181-183). Kettler's position here needs to be interrogated further as there is archaeological evidence relating to *lmlk* jarsok and the Judean ceramic figurines.

1. A possible additional tax imposed on Judean men

Further, the possibility exists that Hezekiah, like Menahem of Israel, levied a tax on the men of Judah in order to satisfy the tribute requirements, but as was already mentioned above, the men of Judah were already burdened with significant taxes and tithes levied by political (Exodus 30:13–14) and cultic authorities (Leviticus 27:30-33). Therefore, other ways have to be explored.

2. Income from the religious reforms

Rothlin and Le Roux (2013:1-8) argue that despite the fact that Hezekiah restructured the religion and centralised worship in Jerusalem, both provide two quite different versions of Hezekiah and his reign, which religious considerations rightfully take precedence over political ones (2 Kings 18:4; 2 Chronicles 31; Miller and Hayes, 1986:349).

Literature indicates that Hezekiah appears to have unified the cult and all worship at the Temple in Jerusalem after the destruction of all high places in Judah (2 Chronicles 29). Accordingly, Le Roux assumes that this reform was very crucial for Hezekiah because all the resources which used to be directed to the upkeep and maintenance of these places were now channeled towards Jerusalem. All three major feasts (Feast of unleavened bread, feasts of the weeks, and feast of ingathering) were now celebrated at Jerusalem, resulting in the generation

of a substantial amount of money. The Deuteronomic permission to allow tithes to be redeemed for silver must have removed the burden of having to carry and transport the tithes to Jerusalem (Deuteronomy 14:24-26; Stevens 2006:94).

According to Rothlin and Le Roux (2013:1-8), the reformation gave Hezekiah a chance to alter the rituals, festivals, and cult's structure while also solidifying his position as the nation's leader and expanding his control over the people. Exodus (23:19), Leviticus (2:14; 6:26; 29; 7:6-10; 26:1-10; 27:5), Numbers (18:8-19; 26-28; 31:25-47), and Deuteronomy, show that the move also accomplished the following: (i) raised the status of both the temple and the capital city; (ii) removed the power and influence of the priests at local shrines throughout the entire country; and (iii) removed the means of livelihood, food and clothing from cultic personnel (Deuteronomy 14:28; 26:12; Rothlin and Le Roux, 2013:1-8). The order of Hezekiah for the people to feed the priests (2 Chronicles 31:19) achieved two things: (i) it prevented cultic personnel from being destitute and (ii) it also ensured cultic personnel's support for the reforms (Rothlin and Le Roux, 2013:1-8; Borowski, 1995:153).

Further analysis on the political front as given by Le Roux, the move by Hezekiah of centralising the cult in Jerusalem was meant to achieve the following: (i) create a bond between the royal city and the national sanctuary (ii) creation of the spirit of nationalism especially amongst the numerous refugees who came from the northern kingdom of Israel when war with Assyria was greatly expected (iii) this provided Hezekiah with a chance to invite the tribes of Israel in the northern Kingdom to participate in the Passover, thus getting a way to control them. Gottwald (1985:369) calls it an Anti-Assyrian programme.

Literature published from an economic standpoint, indicate that the following would have been accomplished: (i) a national census was likely taken during Hezekiah's reign for conscription purposes in preparation for war with Assyria, and it would have also been taken with tax purposes in mind; (ii) revenue from taxes would have helped finance Hezekiah's various building projects; (iii) equip the army and protect the trade routes; and (iv) establish a stable economy, (iv) Hezekiah ordered all tithes and taxes to be sent directly to the capital city, (v) reflecting a reorganisation of the tax system in Judah (2 Chronicles 31:10ff) .), and this effectively removed the bureaucracy that associated with the whole system (see Gottwald 1985:389), (vi) a portion of the tithes set aside for the priests and Levites would then be distributed from Jerusalem to the cities of Judah (2 Chronicles 31:14ff), and the sacrificial

system with all of its complexity was now under royal control along with the rest of the economy (Borowski 1995:153; Coogan 2006:328; Rothlin and Le Roux, 2013:1-8).

With the destruction of all high places of worship outside Jerusalem, major festivals were centralised in Jerusalem. All tithes were to be delivered to the Jerusalem temple. This, in reverse, boasted the domestic economy as thousands of religious people visited Jerusalem city, at least three times a year for a minimum of sixteen days, as Gottwald (1985:389) observed. The economic system of Micah's time deprived the poor people as the powerful people targeted the production of goods to be exported, probably they supplied cheap labour. Some would have lost their land through the debts system mentioned above. There was rampant corruption in the marketplaces as Micah preaches, the poor became the most affected group as they were on the receiving end.

2.6.4 Money lending (Usury)

Published literature show that in the ancient world, it was customary to charge interest on loans. According to Lalfakzuala (2016:85), the Code of Hammurabi sets a cap on annual interest rates for loans of grain at 33 percent and for loans of money at 20 percent; by contrast, Assyrian interest rates were typically 25 percent for money and as high as 50 percent for grain. As Chirichigno (1993:140) suggested, creditors must have greatly affected the smallholder farmers in the dispossession of the lands. Chirichigno's (1993:140) assertion that usury was the primary cause of the acquisition of land to the detriment of the poor in Israelite and Judean society had not received unanimous support from scholars. The "debt slavery theory" is questioned by Guillaume (2012) as a possible explanation for the reported widespread eviction and destitution of the rural peasant population. Lalfakzuala (2016:86) pointed out the lack of direct biblical prophetic proof against creditors in relation to the land. What cannot be denied, however, is the fact that literature on the eighth-century prophets seems to point to the exorbitant interest rates charged by creditors against the poor members of that society (for example, Amos 8: 4; Micah 2: 9). De Vaux (1973:170) informs that Israelites were allowed to borrow when they fell on hard times. Since the possibility of a profit-driven credit system cannot be ruled out, poor farmers may have been bankrupted by urban moneylenders (Nehemiah 5:1-8). Although Nehemiah was an exilic prophet, he could be mentioning a practice that had started long back. Other biblical accounts show some instances where impoverished people were compelled to sell dependents into debt slavery (2 Kings 4:1;

Jeremiah 34:8-16). Despite the lack of clear textual evidence on this issue, Lalfakzuala (2016:85) is convinced that money lenders played some part in the impoverishment of the poor.

Published literature indicates that like in the rest of the ancient world, early Israelite society was similarly rife with usury, although Israelite law forbade lending to other Israelites at interest (Exodus 22:25; Leviticus 25:36-37; Deuteronomy 23:19-20). The above texts allow us to discuss the problem of money lending in the eighth and early seventh century because they are composed of three authors, namely: (i) the non-Priestly author in the pre-exilic period, (ii) the Deuteronomistic writers revised the work of the non-P in the pre-exilic period and (iii) the authors of the Holiness Code revised both the idea of the non-P and D in the post-exilic period (Mtshiselwa, 2015). The book of Micah shows that money lending, indebtedness, confiscation of land and slavery were known practices in both the eighth and early seventh century BCE periods.

Perhaps the prohibition against taking interest stemmed from the perception that doing so would let one person to profit on another's man issue. However, the prohibition against usury does not necessarily mean that the law was always observed. Biblical texts like Psalm 15:5; Proverbs 28:8; as well as Ezekiel 18:8 reveal that interest-bearing loans were common in Israel. Even though it is from a later time after the exile, the book of Nehemiah has evidence that shows poor peasants had to borrow money and pay interest in order to pay the extremely high royal taxes (Nehemiah 5:2). As indicated above, Nehemiah, though an exilic prophet, he could raise an issue that had been part of the society from long back. The Jerusalem temple was also involved in the practice of lending at interest as indicated by some rabbinic sources (De Vaux, 1973:171). As assurance that the borrower would honour his pledge to return back the borrowed money, a surety was normally given but it was for a short period (Exodus 22: 25-26; Deuteronomy 24: 12-13). The law did not allow the creditor to enter the house of the debtor to take the pledge for himself (Deuteronomy 24: 10-11). This was to avoid all appearances of seizure, argues de Vaux (1973:171). Pledges of a person's livelihood were not allowed by law (Deuteronomy 24:6). If the poor person had given the garment as a pledge, the creditor was not allowed to keep it overnight because it was all the man had to cover himself overnight (Exodus 22: 25-26, Deuteronomy 24: 12- 13). According to de Vaux (1973:171), such items were not real pledges but only symbolic instruments, probative pledges. The orphan's ass and the widow's ox were real sureties which could be used for profit (Job 24:3). Nehemiah 5:3 indicates that some Jews pledged their fields, vineyards and houses in order to get corn, and Nehemiah

demanded restitution (Nehemiah 5: 11). Insolvency was the major cause of Israelites being thrown into slavery (De Vaux, 1973:171). Engaging bail or surety - a person who, when the debt matures, intervenes in favour of the insolvent debtor and assumes responsibility for the payment of the debt (Deuteronomy 31:10-11, De Vaux, 1973:174), could prevent the seizure of the pledged person or the actual debtor.

According to the socioeconomic background of the eighth-century prophets in Israel and Judah, as discussed above, the prophets' main concerns included the reality of debt and the subsequent slavery, as well as the establishment of large estates that contributed to the exploitation of the weaker members of society (Isaiah 5:8-10; Micah 2:1-2). As Chirichigno (1993:140-141) argues:

> The biblical accounts of the Monarchic period attest to the existence of both debt slaves and alienation of land in Israel, particularly during the eighth-century BCE and later. The existence of debt slaves and landless people may be attributed on the one hand to the burden of taxation, and on the other to the growing monopoly the rich landowning elite held over resources. Once this dependency is established the small landowners were often forced into procuring loans which involved high interest rates. While there are biblical laws which prohibit Israelites from exacting interest from one another (Exodus 22:25; Deuteronomy 23:19-20), it is likely that these provisions were ignored by many money-lenders during the eighth-century and later.

In the Ancient East, it was typical for small landowners to borrow from the wealthy during times of famine and drought. The impoverished slowly but surely fell into debt because they were unable to pay for the grain they had bought for food or for sowing. As the interest on that loan grew, rent capitalism's distinctive bondage in the form of slavery eventually resulted. In those years of acute hardship, the needy also mortgaged their property. Further, according to the legislation, the creditor is allowed to get a pledge as security from the borrower. Davies (1981:68) observed correctly when he said:

> The retaining of such a pledge would therefore have been quite legal and may indeed have proved profitable if it consisted of the land of the debtor or a member of his family. Although the creditor could never realise the value of the pledge by sale or exchange for the purpose of satisfying his claim, there is

nothing to suggest that he could not use it to his own advantage. Thus, under this system, the pledge may have served not merely as a guarantee of repayment but also as a mode of satisfaction for the creditor who was able to utilise the pledge in order to recover his capital outlay.

When the poor peasants could not repay their commitment, the wealthy people were likely to have obtained land via this strategy. Due to this, the moneylender effectively acquired their mortgaged land, leading to what Premnath (1985:32) referred to as "foreclosure by debt instruments", which the wealthy landowners used as a means of land acquisition. Dearman (1988:74) was in agreement with Premnath's (1985:32) position when he commented on Micah 2:1-2, that the prophet's phrasing and the context of the charges strongly imply that the confiscation was the result of a foreclosure due to insolvency.

Although there must have been some community effort to avoid it, it is obviously clear that ancestral property could be removed from a family due to debt in Israelite and Judahite society. The data presented above provide compelling justification for the conclusion that usury and debt slavery contributed significantly to the acquisition of land in Judah and Israel at the expense of the underprivileged peasants (Lalfakzuala, 2016: 88).

According to biblical texts (2 Kings 15:19–20; 18:14–15; 23; 33–35) and Economic Effects of Wars, the immense expense connected with building projects, chariot armies, and military equipment must have caused heavy taxation on the poor families.

The Assyrian campaign began in the west in the middle of the eighth century, the rulers in both kingdoms (Israel and Judah) had to pay enormous indemnities to the foreign aggressors; therefore, it is also logical to believe that there was a significant taxing load on poor families. Of course, this had to be extracted from peasants who owned land (2 Kings 15:19-20; 18:14-15; 23:33-35). One of the social scientists, Gottwald (1985: 360) argues:

Military adventurism and conspicuous consumption among the well-to-do had laid heavier conscription and tax burdens on the people. Debt foreclosures had concentrated land in the hands of profiteers. Once-productive land lay in neglect or had been devastated by war.

Further, according to an Assyrian monolith inscription of Shalmanesher III (858-824BCE), Ahab contributed 2,000 chariots and 10,000 infantries to the Israelite-Syrian allied forces that defeated Assyria at Karkar (or Qarkar) in 853BCE. Ahab's conflict with Damascus demanded much from the peasants as it required them to be absent from their farms for a long period. This resulted in the destruction of crops and payment of tribute (I Kings 20:30). Because of creditors and the drought that happened under Ahab's rule, the situation of the small landowner likely deteriorated (2 Kings 4:1), leading to the forced land loss of many small landowners (I Kings 17). The effects of the ninth century BCE drought, taxes, corvees, and military campaigns must have put a tremendous economic strain on the people of Israel; this development "tended to favour the position of big landowners", allowing them to increase "their landholdings through the acquisition of property lost on account of debt" (Chirichigno, 1993:123-124). Further research indicates that the situation of peasants in eighth-century Israel and Judah seems to have been as bad as during the ninth century. It is likely that there had been severe tax exaction during the eighth century. Additional evidence for this is provided by Amos 5:11a, which reads: "Therefore, because you levy a tax on the poor, and take from them levies of grain or grain tax." The situation depicted in verse 11a would be another specific instance of the type of indebtedness described more fully in Amos 2:6b-8. These appeared to endanger the poor's very survival by imposing disproportionate levies on natural resources. Amos 5:11a most likely refers to a taxation scheme utilised by local state officials to amass wealth and purchase land from low-income individuals (Lalfakzuala, 2016:90). According to Chirichigno (1993:126), forced tribute eventually evolved into debt slavery:

> While excessive taxation is one of the possible causes of debt slavery and alienation of land, it is also most likely that the control of resources and lending by the ruling elite, which included both state and officials and private land owners, caused many small farmers to sell their dependents and themselves into debt-slavery and eventually to sell their land.

It is important to consider the negative economic repercussions of war, particularly on the condition of agricultural land in the at-war nation (Lalfakzuala, 2016:91). Since the mobilization of militias during times of conflict brought numerous problems to the people back home, small farmers were additionally burdened by the economic impacts of war, which included crop loss. Due to the protracted departure of many physically fit men from their fields, vineyards, and flocks during the eighth century, it seems likely that there had been harsh tax

exaction (Lalfakzuala, 2016:91). Amos 5:11a, which states: "Therefore, because you levy a tax on the poor, and take from them levies of grain", offers more support for this. Verse 11a's description of the situation would be another specific case of the kind of debt that is further discussed in Amos 2:6b–8. These appeared to impose enormous natural produce taxes on the poor, endangering their very survival (Lalfakzuala, 2016:91). Amos 5:11a most likely refers to a taxation scheme that local state officials exploited to amass wealth and buy land from low-income individuals. The study can safely conclude that the phrase and/or words "money lending" do not exist in the Book of Micah. However, the problem of money lending existed in the eighth and early seventh century BCE period as attested in other biblical text composed from the similar period. In those books, such as the Covenant Code and Holiness Code, the poor were adversely impacted by the practice of money lending. The practice resulted in indebtedness, confiscation of productive land and residential land, slavery and so on.

2.7   AGRICULTURAL MARKETS (MICAH 6:10-12)

From the discussion above regarding Micah's political, socioeconomic, and religious contexts, it has been established that the situation in Judah radically changed during the reign of Hezekiah. Demographic changes have been accounted for by migrations that followed the capture of the northern kingdom of Israel by Assyria in 721-720BCE. The situation in Jerusalem became a conducive environment for the rich people who had access to commodities that were in demand. The demand for goods must have increased following the increase in population. From the message of Micah 6:10-12, it is clear that some bad business practices existed in the market, supposedly in Jerusalem. The rich, powerful people were now in charge of large tracts of land, and they also capitalised on the situation in the market to maximize their economic gains by using unscrupulous means. Like Amos in the North, Micah is also denouncing the use of the infamous false measures and false scales or lightweights.

This was a message to the people that did business in the city. It was a message about evil behaviour in business. Good business is not just about how to increase profits. That was how the people in business understood it. But when people obey God's commands, the result is a genuinely good business. It was very important to measure things by the correct method. It was very important to weigh things correctly. The laws on these things were very strict in Israel. There were laws on correct lengths, weights and quantities (Leviticus 19:35-36; Deuteronomy 25:13-16).

God accused Jerusalem's people of their evil behaviour in business. They were using false means to measure quantities of goods. They were using false means to weigh goods. That was the opposite of the way in which they should behave. They should act rightly. The king and his officials had decided what were the correct standards (2 Samuel 14:26).

Regarding the socio-economic issues addressed by the prophet, Micah 6:10-11 is significant as the author shifts the focus from a religious setting to the apparent markets. The noun, "the treasures" suggests a store or a treasury or a storehouse. The noun רֶשַׁע "of wickedness" associates the treasury and/as storehouse with immorality or unethical activity. In addition, the conjunctive "waw" attached to a noun, "ephah," that refers to a measure of grain is characterised by the noun "scant." Scantiness presupposes a practice of offering a barely sufficient product fitting its payment. Not only does Willem Wessels note that the ephah was used to measure dry products, but he also contends that "The cheating of customers in the market place, by using smaller measuring utensils than the agreed standard and the making of a profit in this way, was a disgrace" (Wessels, 2000:409). Micah 6:10 suggests that such a practice is abominable (detestable and unpleasant). The knout "of wickedness" is repeated in verse 11 to describe the scales in the *máximo divisor comum* (the greatest common divisor in mathematics and sales) noun "with scales", which is prefixed by the preposition "with." The usage of the repetition technique and the rhetorical question in verse 11 serve to elaborate on the misdeeds in the marketplace (Wessels, 2000:409). Additionally, the accusative statement "and with bags of false weights" further describes the corrupt and exploitive practice in sales at the markets. The relative pronoun, אֲשֶׁר "for" in verse 12 links verses 11 and 12. Micah 6:12 reads:

אֲשֶׁר עֲשִׁירֶיהָ מָלְאוּ חָמָס "For her rich men are full of violence,"

וְיֹשְׁבֶיהָ דִּבְּרוּ־שָׁקֶר "and Her inhabitants have spoken lies,"

וּלְשׁוֹנָם רְמִיָּה בְּפִיהֶם: "and their tongue is deceitful in their mouth."

The point that the rich people are mentioned immediately after verses 10-11 presupposes that the wealthy people are responsible for the unjust practices in the markets alluded to in the text. The study needs to emphasise the point that the rich people controlled the markets and that the poor peasant did not participate in the market as traders, but as consumers who were cheated.

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It is not clear whether the elite were Judeans or the wealthy from the neighbouring states or kingdoms. Nonetheless, the text problematises the corrupt behaviour of the rich people as well as the unethical conduct involving lies and deceit in the economic space of Judea. Merchants often used too small an object to measure a particular weight. In that way, they cheated the customer. The customer would then pay more for fewer goods. Those merchants were wicked. That was how God saw it. They were wicked because they did not measure weights and quantities in an honest way. The poor people still endured relative deprivation in all sectors of their life, and prophets became the voice of the marginalised and victimised citizens. The chapter has managed to follow its objective by focusing on the social and political settings of the eighth-century prophet Micah with the aim of establishing its comparability to the Zimbabwean situation. After considering the economic and political situations during Micah's time, the research now moves on to examine the religious context of Micah, which is also in line with its objective.

2.8   THE RELIGIOUS CONTEXT OF MICAH

This section focuses on the religious context of Micah with the aim of understanding the prophet's message in his condemnation of the prevalent religious atmosphere and practices. Micah condemned both Samaria (Israel) and Jerusalem (Judah) (Micah 1: 5-11f); therefore, it is necessary to look at the religious scenarios of both kingdoms. Daniel (1990:5) argues that separation of the united kingdoms of Israel, the two nations two competing ideologies resulted. Further, according to Daniel (1990:5) when the northern kingdom succeeded in forming a separate independent kingdom from that of Judah, the following developments occurred: (i) two different political and theological entities developed, (ii) the southern kingdom of Judah continued being faithful to the royal ideology of the Davidic covenant that Yahweh made with that house of David (Psalms 132:10-18); the northern kingdom could no longer allow its citizenry to travel to Jerusalem for worship at the Davidic shrine at Mt Zion. Instead, they made counter places of worship that had nothing to do with the house of David but that celebrated the worship centers of Israel's patriarchs, Jacob and Abraham (1 Kings 12:26-33; Genesis 12: 8; 28:10-19; 31:13; 35:1-3, 14-15); (iii) Whereas Judah depended on God's anointing of the Davidic dynasty for political leadership, Israel depended on charismatic individuals who arose from time to time; and finally (iv) the southern kingdom of Judah vehemently defended the supremacy of the Davidic covenant and Zion Tradition, while the

northern kingdom of Israel defended the sufficiency of the Mosaic covenant apart from the house of David.

When the two kingdoms of Ephraim (Northern kingdom of Israel) and Judah (Southern kingdom of Israel) were faced with the threat of the Mesopotamian empire builder, Assyria, especially under Tiglath-Pileser III, as mentioned above under the political context of Micah, eighth-century prophets declared that the political events of the times were instruments being used by Yahweh as a rod to punish his own people (Daniel, 1990: 5). The messages from the eighth-century prophets resonate well, despite their diverse origins. Literature available indicate that they all preached a message of social justice, perceiving their societies to be rife with social evils; they declared Yahweh's judgment against such evils. Amos produced a devastating attack on the northern kingdom against its gross immorality, heartlessness and dishonesty (Amos 2:6-8; 4: 1; 5:10-13; 6:4-7; 8:4-6). Further, Daniel (1990:6) says that Amos carefully chose the vocabulary used to describe the victims of power and greed in Israel; for example, צַדִּיק (*tsaddiq*)- righteous; אֶבְיוֹן (*evyon*)- the needy, the powerless; דַּלִּים (*dallim*) –the poor, the helpless, the weak;   אֲנָוִים (*anawim*)-the oppressed, the lowly, the underdog.

Biblical literature shows that Hosea used his broken marriage experience with Gomer as a mirror of Israel's broken covenant with Yahweh (Hos 2:2-13). Further, Daniel (1990:6) summarised Hosea's perception of Israel's sins as bankruptcy of inner goodness, אֱמֶת (*emeth*)- no faithfulness; לֹא הֶסֶד (*no hesed*) – no love, no covenant loyalty (the royal love that remains true to the covenant and binds a citizen both to Yahweh and to his fellow Israelite; אֱלֹהִים דָאת לֹא (*no da'ath Elohim*)- no knowledge of God in a covenant relationship. The Israelites were full of dishonesty, thievery, adultery, and drunkenness (Hosea 7:1-5). True penitence had been replaced by insincerity (Hosea 7:13-16), and Israelite religion had become syncretistic, to the point of becoming paganism (Hosea 8:2-6). Literature shows that Hosea emphasised that both the priests and the general populace had gone astray (Hosea 4: 7-9). Idolatry and Sacred prostitution had taken over the whole nation (Hosea 4: 10-14; 5: 3-4; 13:1-2). בֵּתֵל (*Bethel*) (the house of God) had become בֵּת אָוֶן (*Beth Aven*) (the house of wickedness) (Hosea 4:15; 5:8; 10:5).

The religious situation was no better in Judah, the other kingdom. Prophet Isaiah of Jerusalem condemned the social injustice (Isaiah 1: 17). Further, it looks like people had maintained the traditional worship forms in Judah because of their royalty to the Zion tradition,

but Yahweh was not interested in professional religion (Isaiah 1:10-17; Daniel, 1990:7). Religious leaders, such as priests and prophets, were no better; monetary gain became their target. Their attitude made the temple worship a stumbling block to genuine worship. Their leadership prevented the people from realising that sacrifices and rituals without the practice of love and justice were worthless. Liturgical ritual is empty and useless unless it is combined with moral integrity and good ethical conduct (Micah 3:3–8, 11; 6:6–7:6; Alfaro, 1989:6–8).

Magistrates were in the habit of receiving kick-backs and bribes, resulting in their failure to dispense justice in the courts (Isaiah 5:23). Legislation benefited the powerful only (Is 10:2). Land grabbing, which greatly disadvantaged the peasants, the smallholder farmers, was rampant (Is 5:8). The political leadership exhibited no care to what was happening to the defenceless; the orphan and the widow, to whom Yahweh announced his special care (Deuteronomy 10: 17-18; 14: 28-29; 16:13-14; Psalms 10:12-18; Proverbs 23:10-11). The position that this research proposed is that the powerful people mentioned in Isaiah and Micah who were involved in land grabbing included the political leaders and the officials from the military. This position is also echoed by Beal (2016:15), who argues that Micah 2:1-11 and 3:1-12 raise a serious accusation against the Jerusalem's political and religious elite. The political leaders were guilty of land fraud. They appropriated land from Judean landholders to fulfil surplus required for the increasing urban population that had resulted from the migrations from Israel into Judah after the destruction of Samaria. Micah, a contemporary of Isaiah, also stood for the peasants against the powerful landlords, condemning the land grabbing that deprived the peasants of their much-needed resources for their survival (Micah 2: 1-2; public officials are condemned for accepting bribes (Micah 3: 1-3) and the religious practitioners (priests and prophets) are condemned for self-aggrandizement (Micah 2: 6, 11; 3:5, 11) and for supporting the corrupt leaders and greedily performing their religious duties for money (Beal, 2016:15; Micah 3:1-12).

According to Daniel (1990:7), the messages of the eighth-century prophets regarding Yahweh's judgment against his own people brought shock to the Israelites since it was contrary to the popular notion, they were guaranteed divine protection and success since they were God's chosen people. Daniel (1990:7) argues that Israel's illusion of divine security in the north originated from the ancestral shrines, which were associated with important historical events in the lives of the patriarchs (Amos 5:4-6); Bethel was the place where God reaffirmed to Jacob the covenant of the land and the blessing of Abraham (Genesis 28:13-15). Again, this was the

place where Jacob's name was changed to Israel (Genesis 35: 6-15) as it happened in the first incident in Genesis 32: 22-32. At Beersheba, Abraham met king Abimelech, who blessed him, saying, "God is with you in everything you do," and they made a pact there (Genesis 21:22-27). Again, it was at Beersheba that Isaac received God's solemn promise that 'He was with him' (Genesis 26:23-24). Jacob also received God's assurance at Beersheba that "I will go down to Egypt with you, and I will surely bring you back again" (Genesis 46:1-4). Another important shrine was Gilgal, a camp in the west of Jordan where Joshua erected a memorial cairn representing the clans with the twelve stones, he had picked from the Jordan River (Joshua 4: 19-24), and the ancient covenant was renewed here as well (Joshua 5: 2-8). Gilgal was the battle headquarters for the conquests of Canaan (Joshua 9: 6; 10:6, 7, 9, 15, 43; 14: 6). Saul, the first Israelite king, was confirmed at Gilgal (1 Samuel 11: 14-15). According to Daniel (1990:8) the northerners regarded these places as a symbol of divinely guaranteed security for themselves since the promises were made to their ancestors by God. Therefore, Amos' words must have brought shock and disbelief to them when he said "Do not seek Bethel, Gilgal and Beersheba" and "woe to you who desire the day of the Lord" (Amos 5:4-6, 18-20). The Israelites had a false sense of security (Amos 6:1-2, 14; 9:10).

The Judaeans had their own sense of security tied to the promises made to the house of David. Zion was regarded as eternally secure (Psalms 46:1-7; 125: 1-2). The message of prophet Micah must have also shocked the people in the south (Micah 2:6-7; 3:11b). Time for destruction was ripe, both for Samaria and for Jerusalem. The Mesopotamian superpower, Assyria would wreak havoc in the south (Isaiah 10:28-32; Micah 1: 10-16). Robertson (2018:2) emphasised the message of Micah, who never lost his sense of identity and connection with the countryside and the people of that region. Personally, nothing much can be known about Micah, but he was deeply concerned with the plight of ordinary citizens. He felt compassion for the poor and the dispossessed. What is significant is that Robertson (2018:2) also noted that Micah held the leaders responsible for the suffering of the people. Micah is clear in his reprimand and accusations:

> For lo, the Lord is coming out of his place and will come down and tread upon the high places of the earth. Then the mountains will melt under him and the valleys will burst open, like wax near the fire, like waters poured down a steep place. All this is for the transgression of Jacob and for the sins of the house of Israel. What is the transgression of Jacob? Is it not Samaria? And what is the

high place of Judah? Is it not Jerusalem? Therefore because of you Zion shall

be ploughed as a field; Jerusalem shall become a heap of ruins (Micah 1: 3-6).

The prophet directs his rebuke, particularly against the "heads of the house of Jacob and the rulers of the house of Israel," those who abhor justice and pervert all equity. In the words of the prophet: "They build Zion with blood and Jerusalem with wrong" (3:9-10). Therefore - Zion and Jerusalem will be destroyed. Punishment must be rendered. The people will suffer for the sins of their leaders. "They did the crime, now they have to endure the time" (Robertson, 2018:2). The social and religious crimes for which Judah would face Yahweh's judgment in the form of a siege from Assyria were outlined bare by Micah. The following historical facts are the basis upon which Yahweh would be justified in punishing the people:

- God delivered them from slavery in Egypt;

- gave them leaders (Moses, Aaron, Miriam);

- blessed them through the foreign priest Balaam even against his own king's wishes; and brought them into the promised land (from Shittim to Gilgal) (Micah 6:4-5).

From a redactional perspective, a suspicious hand of the Deuteronomistic historian can be seen here, editing the prophetic books to add the reasons for the ultimate defeat of the people of God.

2.9   MESSAGE OF MICAH

Micah, who came from Moresheth-Gath, according to the superscription (Mi 1:1) proclaimed a message of social justice like Amos and Isaiah (see Micah 2:6 and Amos 2:12; 5:11; 7:10f). As mentioned above, Harrison's (1970:920) argument that Micah was familiar with the plea for justice, which Amos uttered given that Amos' birthplace, was twenty miles from the home of Micah is convincing. In the same vein, Micah could also have been influenced by Isaiah's message. There is a possibility that they both proclaimed their messages in Jerusalem. As argued above, Harrison (1970:920) identifies Micah 1: 10-16; 5:9-14 and Isaiah 2: 6ff; 5:8ff; as enough evidence for Isaiah's influence on Micah's message.

King (1989:1380) maintains that Micah did not espouse the Davidic-Zion tradition that created a sense of inviolability in Jerusalem City. Micah delivered a bitter oracle against Jerusalem (Mi 3:9-12). As we argued elsewhere in this thesis, Micah considered Jerusalem as

the centre of wickedness that housed the rulers and the military, the powerful, that expropriated land from the peasant farmers. Further in his message, Micah condemned the cities – Samaria in the north and Jerusalem in the south (Micah 1: 5-7). The destruction of Samaria in 722 BCE. by Assyria was cited as a warning to Judah of what would befall Jerusalem.

Ideologically speaking, Micah favoured the Moses-Sinai tradition of the northern Kingdom, with its emphasis on the exodus and Moses occupying centre stage (King, 1989: 1380). This can be a question of rural religion versus urban religion. Micah's heart had the interests of the oppressed peasants in the Judean countryside. The rich, the powerful and influential members of the society had reduced the poor peasant farmers to the most impoverished of living conditions (Micah 1:2f). Micah confined his prophetic interests to the problems arising from the social injustice perpetrated against the small landowners, farmers, and peasants. Literature reveals his strong warning against those who wrongfully deprived others of their possessions as God was devising a drastic punishment for them (Micah 3:1-4).

Further reading indicates that Micah did not confine his message to the rich and powerful over land grabbing issues, but he was also concerned with ethical issues. He castigated the religious leaders of his day for condoning and even encouraging immoral and depravity activities (Micah 2:11). He frowned on the crimes of the corrupt officials, both religious and political; for their exploitation of the people. For Micah, Priests, prophets, and judges were all self-serving and corrupt (Micah 3:5-8). This is the basis of Judah's punishment, with Assyria, a pagan nation, acting as God's instrument of punishment (Micah 5: 5).

Micah discerned that the underlying cause of social disintegration was the false sense of religious security based upon the erroneous supposition that the presence of God in the midst of the land was a sufficient guarantee of protection from misfortune and calamity (Micah 3: 11f). Subsequently, Micah boldly claimed that the absence of the characteristic ethical attributes of God in the life of the nation would bring its own severe punishment.

Micah's message was not, however, marked by pessimism through and through. He talked of Divine forgiveness and hope. Published works indicate that Micah crowned his message by speaking of the restoration of the temple and the salvation of the remnant, as well as the centrality of Jerusalem in the life of the nations (Micah 4: 1-5).

2.10   CONCLUSION OF CHAPTER

This chapter was guided by its objective, namely to establish Micah's political, socio-economic and religious contexts, with a view to find its parallel to the Zimbabwean context. This objective fit well with the hypothesis of the study namely that the poor peasants during Micah's time must have lost their land to the ruling class and the military that supported the rulers. This loss of land to the ruling class and the military must have been a major cause of deprivation and discontent. The political domination of Assyria created a situation of refugees' migration into Judah from the affected countries, resulting in the scramble for such resources as land. The poor people were on the receiving end as they lost their valuable land through the process of *Latifundialisation.* The end result was a feeling of relative deprivation. The study mainly relied on documentary analysis of primary and secondary sources. The theoretical framework of relative deprivation guided the study throughout the chapter. The chapter's findings are as follows:

- The study found that political developments during the eighth century BCE, especially the rise of the Neo-Assyrian Empire, affected the whole region of the Levant. Assyria's subsequent conquest of the Northern Israelite kingdom resulted in many refugees migrating to Judah. There was a remarkable increase in population in Judah – resulting in pressure on such scarce resources as land. Even at the expense of the underprivileged peasants, the elite, the influential, and the wealthy profited from the situation and obtained significant landholdings. This resulted in the relative deprivation that Hillers (1984) talks of in light of peasants in Judah. Micah announced a message of Judgment to befall Judah as Yahweh's punishment for the sins of the people (Micah 2: 1-3).

- There is textual evidence from the eighth-century prophets regarding land accumulation in the hands of the elite, the powerful, and the rich, who were responsible for displacing the powerless people, the poor peasant farmers in Israelite and Judean societies.

- Furthermore, the study also established that the elite, powerful people who were now in charge of the large tracts of land (*Latifundia)* in Judah also controlled the markets. They exercised some bad business practices (Micah 6: 10-12) in breach of the laws on business practices (Leviticus 19: 35-36; Deuteronomy 25: 13-16).

Having discussed the socioeconomic, political, and religious contexts that prevailed and affected peasants during the time of Micah, the research now moves on to chapter 3 to investigate how Micah's situation described above is parallel to the socio-political settings in Zimbabwe at the advent of colonialism.

CHAPTER 3

LAND DISCOURSE AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF SOCIAL, POLITICAL, ECONOMICAL AND LEGAL CONTEXTS OF ZIMBABWE

3.1   INTRODUCTION

Within the theoretical and conceptual framework of relative deprivation and *Latifundialization*, the study seeks to critic the land discourse against the background of the social, political, economic and legal contexts of Zimbabwe since the advent of colonialism in the country as well as its impact on indigenous Zimbabwean peasants. The socio-political and economic scenarios in Zimbabwe, then Rhodesia, changed with the coming in of the white settlers who migrated from South Africa in the 1890s into the country led by the British South Africa Company (BSAC). The BSAC was established following the amalgamation of Cecil Rhodes' Central Search Association and the London-based Exploring Company Ltd, which had originally competed to exploit the expected mineral wealth of Mashonaland but united because of common economic interests and to secure British government backing which provided its royal charter in 1889 (Galbraith, 1974: 88-90).

The book of Micah, informing our theoretical framework, acts as the window through which we understand and interpret the history and experiences of Zimbabwe's socio-political and economic situations. The migration of refugees into Judah which we discussed in chapter two, relates directly to the migration of the White Settlers from South Africa into Zimbabwe. Second, the growth of *latifundia* in eighth-century Judah that had adverse effects on peasants (Finkelstein and Silberman, 2006:7) relates to the growth of *latifundia* and the creation of native reserves reserved for black, indigenous people. This, too, had adverse effects on the black, indigenous people (peasants), and third, the invasion of the Assyrians on Israel and Judah relates to the taking over of the country (Zimbabwe) by the BSAP that eventually led to the first and Second Chimurenga being fought.

Further, as consistent with this study's theoretical framework, this chapter focuses on the growth of *latifundia,* which the study exposes through a detailed discussion of the legislations and land tenure systems that the white settlers created upon settling in Zimbabwe.

The chapter also discusses the impact of these legislations and tenure systems in the form of systematic deprivation that the indigenous people suffered through the loss of their fertile soil.

3.2   BACKGROUND TO LAND ISSUES IN ZIMBABWE

Land has significant social, spiritual, and political implications. It is regarded as a place of birth, a burial ground for ancestors, a location the creator chose for the transmission of knowledge to succeeding generations, and the final resting place for every child born on its surface. The sacredness of this trust, which underpins most land disputes on the continent, is shared by all African societies, who view land as a natural resource that must be preserved for future generations. The majority of other natural resources reside on land; hence disputes about who should own, manage, and govern that property frequently arises in relation to these other resources.

In light of the above statement, it is important to explore further the aspect of land in Zimbabwe. Natural resources like land have historically caused strife between different ethnic groups in Zimbabwe. Agriculture and trading have been practised in Zimbabwe since the tenth century. Shona Kings established enormous commercial networks, using the Swahili region to ship gold across the Pacific. Additionally, traders were engaging in relocating cultivation. Therefore, even before colonization, resources like land and livestock, among others, were both potential and real sources of conflict (Mupfuvi, 2014: 30). Shona oral history and archaeological data demonstrate that conflicts between ethnic groups took place over land and livestock even before the first European immigrants arrived (Mupfuvi, 2014: 30). Despite this, there was no lack of land at the time because shifting farming was common due to the region's small population. In addition to the aforementioned reality, Shona peasants had access to land through communal rights. The chief held land in trust for his people and distributed it to everyone who needed it. Shifting cultivation has been found to be effective at preserving the land and woods in areas of low population density.

With the onset of colonialism, whites had unfettered access to community lands that had been taken from native people, while the bulk of them endured abject poverty on smaller farms that were incapable of providing for a typical family. This type of land allocation went against egalitarian ideas, deprived the peasants, and led to conflict. Zimbabwean's lack of access to land as a result of colonialism sparked resentments that fuelled nationalism. The land was seen by colonialists as a productive asset, and a profitable asset signified security, which

encouraged investment and increased agricultural productivity. It is crucial to emphasize that the colonisers' definition of land was erroneous since they were ignorant of the black Zimbabwean peasants' conception of it and their intense commitment to it. In their varied civilizations, Zimbabwean peasants gave the land a variety of meanings. In addition to being valued as a productive asset, the land was also seen as a political tool, a mark of identity, a safety net for the underprivileged, and the place where the ancestors rested (Tomaselli and Mhlanga, 2012). Therefore, redistributive initiatives can be seen as a component of a larger emancipatory undertaking to eliminate land ownership and usage inequities. It's critical to consider what land means to Zimbabwe's native population. The following sections examine the numerous connotations the indigenous Zimbabwean peasants gave to land.

3.3   THE MEANING OF LAND TO THE INDIGENOUS ZIMBABWEAN PEASANTS

3.3.1   Land as an asset of production

Due to its connections to state riches and citizen well-being, the land is seen as a production asset. Because land gives people a place to live, an identity, food to eat, and other essential resources to meet their requirements, there is a close and fundamental relationship between land and people. Particularly in the case of indigenous people, this is true. Indigenous people produce food for their families from farming. Without land, there is no food, and without food, there is no survival; hence land means life to the indigenous black people. Any alienation of the indigenous people from productive land is a denial of that which is essential for their survival. The need to produce enough food for human consumption is in line with the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals. The need to end poverty in all its forms everywhere, end hunger, achieve food security, improve nutrition, and the promotion of sustainable agriculture are some of the underlined objectives in the UN document[6].

The argument for individual land ownership and acquisition by industrialised countries differs from that of an African peasant. According to Mupfuvi (2014: 31), land acquisition is required in affluent countries as a labour incentive, whereas under African communal systems, land rights are held based on recognised group membership. The group has socially recognised and sanctioned rules and conventions that manage the regulations of individual entitlements

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[6] https://www.undp.org/content/dam/undp/library/corporate/brochure/SDGs_Booklet_Web_En.pdf

(Mupfuvi, 2014: 31). Therefore, these rights are predicated on a system of institutional arrangements that are widely accepted in society and that both restrain and liberate people in their interactions with others. The land is not viewed as a commodity but is closely presented as the commonwealth of the people, which, when returned to the people, will provide a means through which people can control their destiny (Mupfuvi, 2014: 31). This viewpoint suggests that the reorganization of land ownership under the auspices of fast track land reform be viewed as an emancipatory endeavour. Land ownership with exclusive land rights has social benefits since it enables people to produce for and service all community members, helping to fund social programs that ensure a better living for everyone else. Tawney (1978:139) outlined the aforementioned scenario and emphasised that:

> "The law of the village bound the peasant to use his land, not as he himself might find profitable, but to grow the corn the village needed…Property reposed, in short, not merely upon convenience or the appetite for gain but on a moral principle. It was protected not for the sake of those who owned but for those who worked and those for whom their work provided. It was protected because, without the security of property, wealth could not be produced, or the business of society carried on."

Since the pre-colonial era, people in Zimbabwe have relied in one way or another on land-based resources for their means of subsistence and social stability. Governments, on the other hand, frequently highlight the symbolic and utilitarian worth of land. According to research done by FAO in 2006, the land is not primarily a marketable asset for many historically marginalised rural populations in developing nations. Instead, it serves as a safe foundation for them to raise their kids, provide for them, and plan for their future. Land as a location of belonging has traditionally been a significant source of social stability during times of crisis, such as unemployment. According to Utete (2003), people who go to metropolitan regions in pursuit of wage work still depend on the support of the families they left behind, and when they lose their jobs, they are taken back in by their relatives in the rural areas. Land should be viewed as both a productive asset and a way of life. Mhango (2023:74) is in agreement on the importance of land when he says:

> Although land is a God-given capital (gift) for all from which humans and other creatures get almost everything, they can produce food and other necessities such as air, water, natural duplication of rain, oxygen, and many more, it has a

lot to do with food production for sustaining life of almost everything human and nonhuman. Humans add value to land by working on it while animals and other things eat from what land offers them. For, life exclusively and heavily depends on it. Land is even more central than life if we consider the fact that individually; human life is very short and limited compared with land whose significance is indescribably forever. Actually, land is like an all-producing factory that has, since the beginning of life on earth, freely and well supplied all needs to all creatures all times.

3.3.2   Land as a place of belonging

Literature reveals that ZANU-PF's liberation narrative was influenced by the Shona concept of mwana wevhu, which is a fundamental tenet of Shona cosmology. In the official document of the Fast Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP), the land is espoused as defining the being of persons and the sovereignty of nations (Utete, 2003). This perspective affirms the idea of *mwana wevhu* by viewing life as emerging from, thriving, and ultimately coming to an end in the land through death and burial (child of the soil). In this context, "children" refers to all opponents of colonialism. Because it is the final resting place of ancestors, a source of national pride, a birthright, and a patrimony whose possession and use stand out as a symbol of political, cultural, and economic independence, land has spiritual significance. Because the predecessors' graves are still there, it follows that their umbilical cords were also interred there when they were born, and as a result, their successors have responsibilities to safeguard and defend that area. According to Chavunduka and Bromley (2012:31) these attributes of land are rarely understood by non-Africans. The attachment the indigenous people have to their land sometimes has nothing to do with its productivity but has everything to do with its broader meaning as a place of belonging. At a SADC summit in 2004, Benjamin Mkapa, the president of Tanzania who followed Ali Hassan Mwinyi from 1995 to 2005, expressed the same views:

> Let SADC speak with one voice and let the outside world understand that to us
> as Africans, the land is much more than a factor of production; we are spiritually
> anchored in the lands of our ancestors (Alden and Anseeuw, 2009: 174).

The stance taken above illustrates the psycho-spiritual value of land as a gift from God, just like water and air are. The fact that land is portrayed as a place of belonging, the home of the ancestors, and a representation of political, cultural, and economic freedom is sufficient

evidence of the many meanings that indigenous people in Africa, and Zimbabwe in particular, attach to their land.

3.3.3 Land as a political instrument

Since the early 1800s, land ownership has been a hotly debated political topic in Zimbabwe. Leadership in Zimbabwe during and after colonisation has utilised the land question as a tool for political manipulation at key times. Land, like in many other African nations, represents human dignity in Zimbabwe since people need it to survive. Politicians have traditionally used land concerns to their advantage by encouraging those who are landless to struggle for what is rightfully theirs (ancestral lands).

Land issues are closely related to poverty creation and, subsequently, political subjugation. Accordingly, Mosala (1991:16) in the entire social history of ancient Israel land was a fundamental means of production. As such, ownership or non-ownership of land formed the basis of the wealth or poverty of those people. This resonates well with Zimbabweans who suffered deprivation and poverty after their fertile lands were violently taken away by the white minority regime. Some were reduced to cheap farm labourers, others were forced to resettle in unproductive lands, and this reduced their yields.

Colonialists in Zimbabwe, by depriving peasants of their fertile soils, deprived them of the source of wealth creation, thereby reducing the peasants to cheap labour who would work for the white settlers to raise money to pay their taxes and for supporting their families. This was meant to keep the indigenous people poor and rely on the colonialists and white settlers, thereby drastically reducing their chances of rebelling against the white settler regime. This statement about the connection between landlessness and poverty echoes what Nelson Mandela declared in a campaign to eradicate poverty in the developing world:

> Overcoming poverty is not a task of charity; it is an act of justice. Like slavery and apartheid, poverty is not natural. It is man-made, and it can be overcome and eradicated by the actions of human beings (*The Telegraph,* 17 December 2013).

Poverty creation served a political purpose for the white settlers in Zimbabwe. For the white settlers, the indigenous people had to remain poor to prevent a possible revolt against the

white settlers, as mentioned above. Both Moyo (1995:8) and Kaulemu (2008:8) concur that the colonial legacy has left the majority of black Zimbabweans landless and destitute.

According to the principle of relative deprivation, people get convinced that their outcome is unfair compared to that of others who are comparable to them in the same circumstances (Maiese, 2003:3). In order to decrease deprivation or to meet their fundamental requirements, the poor peasants in Zimbabwe knew that a substantial part of their poverty was caused by tangible historical acts of deliberate seizure of their productive soils. According to Kaulemu (2008:11), justice should be regarded as making amends for past wrongs and compensating people who are currently suffering as a result of those injustices. Injustices against black people were supposed to be rectified when Zimbabwe obtained independence in 1980. Instead, Robert Mugabe, the country's newly elected prime minister, informed the people on the eve of freedom:

> We are called to be constructive, progressive, and forever forward-looking, for we cannot afford to be men of yesterday, backwards-looking, retrogressive and destructive… If yesterday I fought you as an enemy, today you have become a friend and an ally with the same national interest, loyalty, rights and duties as myself. If yesterday you hated me, today you cannot avoid the love that binds you to me and me to you. Is it not folly, therefore, that in these circumstances, anybody should seek to revive the wounds and grievances of the past? The wrongs of the past must now stand forgiven and forgotten… (De Waal, 1990: 48-49).

Further, one may argue that the current land crisis is partially caused by Zimbabwe's model of reconciliation without justice when it gained independence (Mupfuvi, 2014:35). Reconciliation, according to Moyo (1995:17–20), cannot occur until the root causes of the struggle for independence are exposed and directly addressed during the process of forging a new future. Mupfuvi (2014: 35) contends that in many civilizations, unresolved hate and a desire for vengeance sometimes lurk beneath the outward appearance of peace and harmony, Moyo's views are shared. Occasionally, these repressed feelings explode in violent altercations that could leave fresh scars (Mupfuvi 2014:35). The narrative that blacks were colonialism's victims serves as the foundation for peasants' colonial history and is still frequently used in political rallies. Additionally, the invasion of commercial farms by impoverished Zimbabwean peasants, such as those from Svosve village in Marondera, who claimed the farms belonged to

their ancestors, suggests that, in contrast to what the then Prime Minister claimed at Independence in his speech of reconciliation and forgiveness, people have not forgotten or forgiven.

The current land crisis in Zimbabwe is a result of the colonial legacy of an unequal land distribution policy that forcibly and violently removed black Zimbabweans from their ancestral lands, destroying the traditional concept of land whereby land was communally owned and managed by the community chief. The leadership of Zimbabwe has declared that liberation can only be fully achieved after regaining the land of their ancestors (Raftopoulos and Hammar, 2003:1-47), hence the Fast Track Land Reform Program of 2000. It is argued that the land question was the driving force behind the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe. For Zimbabwean peasants, the meaning of land goes beyond what is generally understood. The majority of Zimbabweans still live in poverty without access to land. In order to understand how the more than a century-old land grievance developed and how it contributed to the current state of deprivation and poverty experienced by the indigenous black majority, the following section analyses pre-colonial and colonial land tenure arrangements in Zimbabwe.

3.4   PRE-COLONIAL ZIMBABWE AND LAND TENURE SYSTEMS

Literature reveals that the emergence of complaints among communities that feel dispossessed of their traditional patterns of land use is believed to be largely influenced by land tenure and access. The issue of the pre-colonial landholding system in Zimbabwe (years before 1890, when the white settlers first entered Zimbabwe) is difficult to establish. According to Mupfuvi (2014:37), tenure systems explain who is permitted to hold land, under what conditions, and how people and land are related. Land tenure includes a variety of obligations and rights related to land, including those of individuals or groups over arable, grazing, and residential land, as well as information on how these rights are obtained, what they entail, how they work when holding, transferring, or inheriting land, and how they may be terminated (Mupfuvi, 2014:37). In many African societies, group membership governs land rights, and within the group, there are socially acknowledged and sanctioned laws and conventions that govern individual entitlements (Mupfuvi 2014:37). Mupfuvi's position on group membership given above is supported by Bromley (1989:871), who argues that a group is typically defined by common ancestry, common residence, or some combination of the two principles. Examples of such groups include an extended family, a lineage, or a village, and they frequently forbid the

alienation of land to outsiders in an effort to preserve their members' identity, cohesion, and security of livelihood. According to Bromley (1989:871), there is a system of reciprocal obligations and rights in which each member of the group has a responsibility to abide by the group's rules and a right to demand that others do the same.

It should be highlighted that how land is used affects how much food is produced and how well people are doing in general.

Further, when examining the development of post-colonial land use in Zimbabwe, Mupfuvi (2014:38) introduces the idea that "land use" refers to the users that any particular piece of land may be put for a certain amount of time under current environmental and technological conditions. The broad consensus is that shifting agriculture during the pre-colonial era led to the evolution of land use from hunting and gathering. According to oral tradition, the Shona practised shifting agriculture in the pre-colonial era due to the lower population density, large availability of land, and related resources.

Axe and hoe cultivation were the type of land usage connected with shifting agriculture. This method of land use entailed burning down trees that had been cut down and using the ash from those fires to plant crops. Land could only be used for agriculture for a short time—no more than four years (Mupfuvi, 2014:38). Usually, settlements would move together with the shifting of the fields. The availability of cow grazing land influenced the decision to relocate. Livestock production was a significant industry in Zimbabwe, where it was believed that there were roughly 500 000 cattle at the time of colonization (Rukuni 2001). Hoe cultivation with a semi-permanent shift was developed from shifting cultivation.

Mupfuvi (2014:38) shows that individual households within a given community often gained land through clearing virgin bush, by land transfer, and by inheritance due to the abundance of land and the small population. The village headman, who was in touch with the sub-chief or chief, helped people access land as long as they were politically acceptable in the community. As soon as the community bought the land, it guaranteed the individual's rights to use it as long as he did so. Any land [that] was not in use reverted back to the community. According to this, neither the individual nor the chief owned the land; instead, they both used it as their usufruct, holding it in trust for the sake of their people (Mupfuvi, 2014:39). The leader and his people worked together to directly produce their own food for survival. This model of land tenure is not very different from the one witnessed by the Judean society before

the land was accumulated in the hands of the few rich and powerful members of the society. It was an egalitarian society where all the people enjoyed equal access to the land.

Further, one may argue that the pre-colonial Zimbabwean tenure system represented the ideal socialist form of society and that the appeal of Marxist ideology in later Zimbabwean nationalism was partially a return to an idealised picture of an equitable society. All community members had the right to access land for habitation, pastoralism, agriculture, hunting, and fishing (Mupfuvi 2014:39). Even though the group owned the land, individual rights were protected. The security that various ethnic groups experienced was founded on an unalienable right to participate in community land (Mupfuvi, 2014:39). The traditional land tenure system deserves credit for being adaptable and robust enough to endure settler dominance's racial land allocation procedure. One can see the benefits of traditional tenure by owning and managing commonage land better than crop land. According to Mupfuvi (2014:39), the effectiveness of community decision-making, unified management of common property resources, and regulations that were upheld are what give traditional tenure its power. He continues by saying that traditional tenure was able to stop early speculation, land grabbing, and alienation since it did not permit a land market to grow. However, traditional land tenure can be criticised on the grounds that it is insecure because it is based on community membership rather than an individual title; this can deter conservation and improvement of natural resources as people externalize conservation costs to the community; and it is incompatible with the statutory system of property rights and the land market (Mupfuvi, 2014:39). It is now crucial to concentrate on the white settlers' introduction of land tenure structures and analyze how they affected the indigenous Zimbabwean peasants, and alienation. The situation of the loss of land to the ruling class and the military must have been a major cause of deprivation and discontent at the advent of colonialism. This resonates well with the conceptual framework of this study regarding the theory of relative deprivation, as well as the hypothesis that the poor peasants during Micah's time must have lost their land to the ruling class and the military that supported the rulers. This loss of land to the ruling class and the military must have been a major cause of deprivation and discontent.

3.5   COLONIALISM AND THE LAND ISSUE IN ZIMBABWE

Colonialism marked a new era in the history of the people of Zimbabwe. Colonialism came with the white settlers in 1890 as the study shall describe below. Colonialism led to relative

deprivation among the Zimbabwean peasants as they lost their prime land to the white settlers. The Zimbabwean peasants were reduced to destitutes, cheap farm labourers and some went on to reside in semi-arid and on fertile soils.

3.5.1 Impact of colonialism on land in Zimbabwe

In the 1880s, the BSAC, led by Cecil Rhodes, became interested in Zimbabwe and negotiated concessions and treaties with several Chiefs. Cecil Rhodes, who was unsuccessful in obtaining a second rand, established a system of land concessions to pay businesses and individuals for previous work and to spur speculative interest in Matabeleland, for example, the issue of the Fingo location where 177 cart owners were awarded land of 10 433 hectares with title by Rhodes for their service in ferrying the settlers from South Africa as mentioned in chapter 1 (Rukuni, 1994:42). As a result of these concessions, the Ndebele and later the Shona expressed alarm, and the indigenous people and peasants began to harbour nationalist inclinations.

Mupfuvi (2014:49) tells us of the various agreements were reached, with the Rudd Concession (1888) and the Lippert Concession (1889), signed by the colonialists and the Shona and Ndebele Chiefs, respectively, standing out. Cecil John Rhodes then utilised these concessions to take the land from the local indigenous people.

European nations began the race for colonies as a result of the Berlin Conference (1884–1885), which established the notions of "effective occupation" and "sphere of influence" (Mupfuvi, 2014:49). Treaties were signed with Shona chiefs by representatives of Europe. Rhodes, on the other hand, thought that Britain had the right to subjugate all undeveloped countries and that everyone would profit from adhering to British imperialist ideas (Gross, 1957:61). Rhodes declared that because his beliefs could be viewed as paternalistic:

> I contend that we are the finest race in the world, and that the more of the world
> we inhabit, the better it is for the human race. I contend that every acre added
> to our territory means the birth of more of the English race who otherwise would
> not be brought into existence. Added to this, the absorption of the greater portion
> of the world under our rule simply means the end of all wars. The objects one
> should work for are first the furtherance of the British Empire, the bringing of

the whole uncivilised world under British rule, the recovery of the United States, and the making of the Anglo-Saxon race but one empire (Gross, 1957:61).

Gross (1957:61) reveals that Rhodes had a crimson, British red, Union Jack-coloured vision of Africa. Rhodes amassed wealth from the De Beers Consolidated Mines and considered using it to invest in the transportation sector. From the South African cape to Cairo, Egypt, Rhodes envisioned a railroad running. The "Cape to Cairo" idea aids in explaining why Rhodes was so eager to colonise Zimbabwe (Mupfuvi, 2014:49).

3.5.2   The Rudd Concession 1888

Mupfuvi (2014:49) reveals that there were many concessions that were signed between the Ndebele kings and the white settlers. Among these are the Moffat Treaty of 1888 and the Tati concession of 1870, but the Rudd concession of 1888 and the Lippert concession of 1889 are of particular relevance to this study because of their enormous impact on the colonization of the territory between the Zambezi and the Limpopo rivers. These concessions, together with the Land tenures to be discussed in this chapter, form the basis of the deprivation that Hillers' theory highlighted in the case of the peasants in the eighth-century Judah.

On October 30, 1888, King Lobengula of Matabeleland granted three agents working for South African-based politician and businessman Cecil Rhodes, Charles Rudd, James Rochfort Maguire, and Francis Thompson, the Rudd Concession, a written concession for exclusive mining rights in Matabeleland, Mashonaland, and other surrounding territories in what is now Zimbabwe (Rotberg, 1988:132-133). Rudd allegedly made verbal agreements with Lobengula that were not included in the written contract, including "that they would not bring more than 10 white men to work in his country, that they would not dig anywhere near towns, etc., and that they and their people would abide by the laws of his country and in fact, be his people," as revealed by Helm (Keppel-Jones, 1983:77). Lobengula is believed to have heard Thompson explain in Setswana that they were simply looking to mine gold in the Zambezi-Limpopo watershed and were not looking for territory (Rotberg, 1988:259). A steamer on the Zambezi, 1,000 Martini-Henry breech-loading rifles, 100,000 rounds of ammunition, a cash amount of £500, and £100 per month for life are claimed to have persuaded Lobengula to accept the Rudd compromise (Keppel-Jones 1983:76). The king was impressed with the offer of weapons: he had at the time between 600 and 800 rifles and carbines, but almost no ammunition for them. The proposed arrangement would lavishly stock his arsenal with both firearms and

bullets, which might prove decisive in the event of a conflict with the South African Republic (Keppel-Jones, 1983: 76). None of Rudd's alleged oral conditions was in the concession document making them legally unenforceable (presuming they indeed existed), but the king apparently regarded them as part of the proposed agreement nonetheless. King Lobengula agreed to sign the Rudd Concession that read (and I quote it verbatim):

> Know all men by these presents, that whereas Charles Dunell Rudd, of Kimberley, Rochfort Maguire of London and Francis Robert Thompson of Kimberley, hereinafter called the grantees, have covenanted and agreed, and do hereby covenant and agree, to pay to me, my heirs and successors, the sum of one hundred pounds sterling, British currency, on the first day of every lunar month; and further, to deliver at my royal kraal one thousand Martini–Henry breech-loading rifles, together with one hundred thousand rounds of suitable ball cartridge, five hundred of the said rifles and fifty thousand of the said cartridges to be ordered from England forthwith and delivered with reasonable dispatch, and the remainder of the said rifles and cartridges to be delivered as soon as the said grantees shall have commenced to work mining machinery within my territory; and further, to deliver on the Zambesi River a steamboat with guns suitable for defensive purposes upon the said river, or in lieu of the said steamboat, should I so elect, to pay to me the sum of five hundred pounds sterling, British currency. On the execution of these presents, I, Lobengula, King of Matabeleland, Mashonaland, and other adjoining territories, in exercise of my sovereign powers, and in the presence and with the consent of my council of indunas, do hereby grant and assign unto the said grantees, their heirs, representatives, and assigns, jointly and severally, the complete and exclusive charge over all metals and minerals situated and contained in my kingdoms, principalities, and dominions, together with full power to do all things that they may deem necessary to win and procure the same, and to hold, collect, and enjoy the profits and revenues, if any, derivable from the said metals and minerals, subject to the aforesaid payment; and whereas I have been much molested of late by diverse persons seeking and desiring to obtain grants and concessions of land and mining rights in my territories, I do hereby authorize the said grantees, their heirs, representatives and assigns, to take all necessary and lawful steps to

exclude from my kingdom, principalities, and dominions all persons seeking land, metals, minerals, or mining rights therein, and I do hereby undertake to render them all such needful assistance as they may from time to time require for the exclusion of such persons, and to grant no concessions of land or mining rights from and after this date without their consent and concurrence; provided that, if at any time the said monthly payment of one hundred pounds shall be in arrear for a period of three months, then this grant shall cease and determine from the date of the last-made payment; and further provided that nothing contained in these presents shall extend to or affect a grant made by me of certain mining rights in a portion of my territory south of the Ramaquaban River, which grant is commonly known as the Tati Concession (Keppel-Jones, 1983:78).

Rudd, Maguire, and Thompson signed the concession once King Lobengula had finished writing his signature at the bottom of the document. As witnesses, Helm and Dreyer then also signed the concession (Keppel-Jones, 1983:78). Helm certified in a written statement that he had completely explained the accompanying document to Chief Lobengula and his entire Council of Indunas and that he had followed all Matabele Nation Constitutional usages before implementing it.

Figure 3.1 Martini-Henry breech-loading rifles

The Rudd concession served as the foundation for the royal charter granted by the United Kingdom to Rhodes' British South Africa Company in October 1889, and later for the Pioneer Column's occupation of Mashonaland in 1890, which started a white settlement, administration, and development in the nation that would eventually become Rhodesia, named

after Rhodes, in 1895. This is despite Lobengula's later attempts to disown the concession (Galbraith 1974:72–76).

3.5.3   The 1889 Lippert Concession

Mafa (2015:39) argues that Lobengula granted a 100-year concession over land to Eduardo Lippert, a German financier who was based in Johannesburg, but the concession was purchased by the BSAC in 1891 without Lobengula's knowledge. Mafa presents the contents of the Lippert concession as given by Mudzengi (2008:379):

> The sole and exclusive right, power and privilege for the full term of 100 years layout, grant or lease, farms, township buildings, plots and grazing areas; to impose and levy rents, licenses and taxes thereon and to get in; collect and receive the same for his own benefit; to give and grant certificates for the occupation of any farms, township, building, plots and grazing areas.

Further, Mafa (2015:39) noted that King Lobengula was not privy to the contents of this document as white fortune hunters exploited the King's inability to read and write to sign a document whose content was different to what he was told.

As evidence of deprivation that the indigenous black people suffered, Mafa (2015:39) informs us that in 1894 the BSAC promulgated the Matabeleland-Order-in Council, through which the BSAC assumed ownership of land by the right of conquest. Using the same Order in the Council of 1894, the indigenous people were allocated land in the Gwaai-Shangani area, which was 1,006,010 hectares as opposed to the 21,000,000 hectares they had occupied before the coming of the settlers (Mafa 2015:39). Indigenous people lost their productive land to the white settlers who were using some dubious concessions and land tenure systems. The BSAC under Jameson was allocating 6,000-acre farms to white troopers by forcibly displacing the Africans (Mafa, 2015:39). The action of Jameson here is parallel to the creation of latifundia that we noted in the case of the eighth-century Judah when commercial farming had been started by the elite. The result was a deprivation that was suffered by the peasantry majority who lost their communal land. Prophets from the eighth century, including Micah and Isaiah, are known to have denounced land speculators who plotted evil against the helpless peasants (Mi 2; Is 5). Furthermore, a hut tax of 10 shillings was imposed on indigenous people, and those who failed to pay the taxes were forced to work on the farms for no pay (Mafa 2015:39).

As a result, the Lippert Concession of 1889 had an impact on more than just Matabeleland because it permitted prospective settlers to purchase land rights from the local population before most of Mashonaland was actually occupied in 1890. The Union Jack flag was raised at Fort Salisbury, and the Pioneer Column arrived in 1890, ushering in a new era in the lives of indigenous people, and the start of land disputes (Mupfuvi, 2014:50). Large tracts of land were dug out for the BSAC settlers using the Lippert Concession in 1889. (Mupfuvi, 2014:50). During the time before colonization, indigenous peoples had used some of this land. In accordance with the Lippert Concession, Rhodes and his soldiers granted themselves the authority to expropriate territory between the Zambezi and the Limpopo rivers. They (European settlers) supplanted African land management techniques with their own. As British settlers arrived, traditional land tenure underwent an evolutionary shift. The above passage captured the objective of this chapter well; that of exploring the extent to which the book of Micah can speak to the Zimbabwean Land issue. The exploited poor peasantry in eighth-century Judean society regarded the Jerusalem city as the epi-centre of their exploitation by the rich and powerful elite who dwelt there (Micah 3:8-11). The agreements given above (The Rud Concession of 1888, and the Lippert Concession of 1889) represent the genesis of a systematic takeover of the land that belonged to the Zimbabwean peasants by the white settlers. This resonates well with the hypothesis that the poor peasants during Micah's time must have lost their land to the ruling class and the military that supported the rulers. This loss of land to the ruling class and the military must have been a major cause of deprivation and discontent. Therefore, the analysis of the land tenure systems is in line with the aim and objectives of the study.

3.6   UPRISINGS OF CHIMURENGA

Previous works indicate that the term Chimurenga is a Shona term with its political origins in the uprisings of the 1890s when the indigenous black people fought the white settlers from South Africa who had occupied their land (e.g. Martin and Johnson, 2012: v). These white settlers had come from Europe having, inspired by the resolutions of the Berlin Conference to get colonies for their kingdoms (Dimkpa, 2015:10). In that era, having colonies were huge asset in terms of international exchange negotiations and balance of power and a source of increase in military soldiers in colonies where there were massive native populations; hence rivalry amongst the European powers was inevitable (Dimkpa, 2015:7). The uprisings were defeated in 1897, and the indigenous people witnessed a systematic take-over of their most fertile lands

by settlers. This event in the Zimbabwean context makes one wonder whether the Judeans peasants experienced a similar or a related event. Studies of the villages and cities mentioned in Micah 1, show that they were not located in the fertile geographic area as compared to Lachish, Ekron, Beersheba and Jerusalem, where the products such as olive oil, wine and others were produced. One may deduce that the peasants resided on the unfertile lands, while the elites lived on the fertile lands.

According to Martin and Johnson (2012: v), the settlers introduced repressive legislation which eventually made the indigenous people virtual slaves in their own land. Narratives of the first Chimurenga of the 1890s were sustained by being passed from old generations to new generations by the elders. Martin and Johnson (2012: v) maintain that the Second Chimurenga was inevitable in the face of white settlers' obstinacy. Robert Gabriel Mugabe, in the foreword to the book of Martin and Johnson (2012:v), argued that the indigenous people came to realize that only through an armed struggle would they liberate their land from the white settlers and for that to happen, the liberation war required leadership with the necessary armed revolutionary orientation (Note that full discussion on the Second Chimurenga is given on Chapter 4).

This position raised by Mugabe above of a revolution was also motivated by the founding fathers of the OAU (now AU), namely: Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Haile Selase of Ethiopia, and Patrice Lumumba of DRC, among others. The founding fathers aimed to co-ordinate and intensify the co-operation of African states in order to achieve a better life for the people of Africa and defend the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of African states; and also the eradication of all forms of colonialism and white minority rule on the African continent, among other goals.

3.7   SHONA AND NDEBELE UPRISINGS – THE FIRST CHIMURENGA (WAR OF LIBERATION) 1896-1897

The First Chimurenga (War of liberation) which was identified as a protest movement in chapter one, should be understood in the context of the alienation of indigenous people from their land and the oppressive measures documented above. Thus, the Shona and Ndebele uprisings of 1896-7 (dubbed the First Chimurenga) which were ruthlessly suppressed, fit very well to be described as a consequence of relative deprivation as argued by Hillers (1984). The 1896 Rebellions contain important information on what could have happened during the First

Chimurenga. However, the available accounts are descriptions of white settlers who disregarded the cultural nuances, such as the contribution of spirit mediums during this war.

Dawson (2011:145) describes the First Chimurenga (1896 – 1897) as a "complex set of struggles over land, cattle and taxes rather than a planned, cohesive movement intended to overthrow the whites, neither the Africans nor the British were united". Dawson explores the causes and nature of the event of the First Chimurenga, dismissing the event from being an anti-colonial struggle. Nonetheless, Dawson acknowledges that "spirit mediums provided a form of cohesion, legitimate power, and spiritual authority" to the leaders of the First Chimurenga, thus showing the importance of religion in wars of liberation from various deprivations. The author points to the fact that "the confusion over their roles arises because spirit mediums did not exert their power directly when influencing secular politics". This confusion highlighted by Dawson is discussed by Fierman (1999:188), who points out that historians fundamentally disagree on whether spirit mediums were at most, integral to the First Chimurenga and, at worst, whether they existed at all. This debate is detailed in the works of Cobbing (1977), Ranger (1967) and Beach (1980).

Further, Ranger (1967) presents the argument that it is spirit mediums that were key figures in coordinating the First Chimurenga. In his work appropriately titled *Revolt in Southern Rhodesia 1896 – 1897*, Ranger posits that the Mashonaland and Matabeleland uprisings (First Chimurenga) were organised with the support and guidance of spirit mediums, particularly those from the Mwari cult, which acted as a centralising force that provided a platform for consultation and discussion among the Chimurenga leaders, thereby creating an intelligence network. According to Ranger, the sophistication of the Mwari cult shows that Africans had powerful institutions in place that provided purpose, direction and, indeed, guidance to the First Chimurenga.

Ranger (1967:146) details how the Ndebele political leaders, such as Umlugulu and Mpotshawana, were in contact with the spirit mediums from the Mwari cult upon which the counselling they received intimated that the drought, locusts, and rinderpest problems that befell the land around the time of the First Chimurenga were problems caused by the arrival of the white man. Thus, Ranger notes that the spirit mediums from the Mwari cult provided guidance and counselling towards the preparations for the First Chimurenga.

The role played by spirit mediums from the Mwari cult during the First Chimurenga is also revealed by Mutunhu (1979: 199). He writes that:

> The great task of politicising, mobilising, organising and preparing the Mashona and Matabele for war against the colonial rule and the settlers was done by the religious leaders of both ethnic groups. The chief architect of the anti-colonial war was Mkwati; the Chief Mwari Priest of the Mashona and the Matabele. He conceived and planned the war at his religious headquarters of Taba zi ka Mambo in the Matopo Hills (Mutunhu, 1979:199).

Mutunhu's study agrees with the work of Ranger in highlighting the integral role played by the spirit mediums from the Mwari cult. Mutunhu makes the case that spirit mediums were tasked with planning, raising the national consciousness for war and providing direction to the first Chimurenga. Both the Ndebele and the Shona people were defeated, resulting in the execution of Nehanda and Kaguvi, the Shona leaders. It is worth noting that Nehanda is said to have uttered the words "mapfupa angu achamuka" (my bones shall arise) before execution. This became a source of inspiration for the subsequent wars of liberation. Comparatively, the study notes the difference between Micah and Zimbabwean narrative. In Micah, the religious leaders are corrupt and seem to be working with the oppressor, which in the case of Zimbabwe, they are on the side of the oppressed.

Meanwhile the influx of white settlers into the country continued. This meant an increasing demand for land for the incoming white settlers. This resembles a scenario of the effects of migration in eighth-century Judah that was discussed in Chapter 2. The deprivation of peasants continued with the introduction of new legislation (Land tenure Acts to be discussed below) meant to enhance the position of the white settlers on the farms. Colonial land laws provided colonial land expropriation with a legal foundation. Many communities resisted, and they were frequently met with violence. Eventually, the forced relocations and land confiscations planted the seeds for the freedom war (Chitsike, 2003). During colonial times, land disputes grew to be the main cause of strife, and they still are today in post-independence Zimbabwe.

3.8   THE NATIVE RESERVES ORDER IN COUNCIL OF 1898

The infamous Native Reserves, located between the Zambezi and Limpopo rivers, were established for indigenous black people by the Native Reserves Order in the Council of 1898 (Mafa, 2015:40). This was in response to a deliberate, widespread expropriation of land by European settlers. The result was that Native Reserves were set up haphazardly in low-potential areas, which subsequently became the present Communal areas. It can strongly be argued that there is a strong relationship between poverty creation and massive land expropriation by white settlers. Mafa (2015:40) tells us that Leander Starr Johnson encouraged the white settlers to get as much land as they wanted, and Major Sir John Willoughby was granted 600,000 acres in Mashonaland by the then District Administrator. He also bought some land rights that had been given to pioneers who went in search of gold. Willoughby's Consolidated Company eventually accumulated 1.3 million acres of land (Mafa, 2015:40). Cecil John Rhodes's surveyor general, on accepting his post, was given 640,000 acres of land. These settlers were parcelling out land that belonged to the Shona or Ndebele (Mafa, 2015:40). This practice is parallel to the one reflected in the Book of Micah where the elites were apportioned land owned by the poor Judean peasants. This is consistent with the objective of this chapter and the theoretical framework of relative deprivation that resulted from *latifundialization*.

Further, it can be argued that Africans were deliberately impoverished in order to force them to go and work for the whites in their farms, mines and factories. Mafa (2015:40) informs us of the following various means used by the white settler farmers and administrators to force indigenous people to work on their farms for no payment: i. administrators like the Native Commissioners found their free labour through the chiefs, who would select men from among their subjects to go and work at their instruction. These were mainly for short periods on projects such as road building; ii. Violence was used, including kidnapping women until their husbands came or holding the chief hostage until the required number of men came forward; iii. The other source was those who could not pay hut tax, as already mentioned above; iv. another form of forced free labour was based on the tenancy. Those indigenous people who were within the white farmers' demarcated boundaries were forced to work for the farmer for no pay as a form of tenancy. This was called "kaffir farming", and the farmers deliberately built their homesteads within the vicinity of a number of indigenous people's villages so that they could have easy access to free labour. Mafa (2015:41) states that the amount of labour and the level of violence was striking, as recalled by one Native Commissioner who said:

The farmers did not pay for Native labour but compelled the Natives to work for them gratis, not indeed, at intervals, but almost daily, and at least three days per week, and if they did not do the work, they were flogged. They found it useless to complain to the then Authority, because by so doing, they got another flogging for daring to complain.

The sad picture above is a clear demonstration that the white settlers had both land ownership and physical domination and control over the indigenous people. The immigration of white settlers into Zimbabwe resulted in the confiscation of Zimbabwean people's land. This became a source of deprivation for the indigenous people, just like we have in the book of Micah, where the elite, the powerful, the rulers and the military confiscated the peasant's fields, and homes. Therefore, in both cases latifundialization became a source of relative deprivation for the affected farmers.

3.9 IMPACT OF LAW ON THE ISSUE OF LAND, GEO-POLITICS AND SOCIO-ECONOMICS IN ZIMBABWE

This section presents the impact of the law, the legislations introduced by white settlers to manage the estates they had taken systematically. The rationale for presenting this section is to demonstrate the impact of these laws on land ownership, geopolitics and socio-economics of the people of Zimbabwe.

3.9.1 The Land Apportionment Act of 1930

The Land Apportionment Act of 1930 was the result of the recommendation by the Morris Carter Commission of 1925 to divide land on racial grounds (Mafa 2015:41). This Act saw the partitioning of land into European and African reserves and the forceful evictions of Africans from their fertile land, which they had held for generations and to which they were spiritually attached, to barren land (Mafa, 2015). Indigenous black people were resettled in areas far away from major roads and railway lines, depriving them of a means of survival; the enjoyment of the transport infrastructure and approximately 51 per cent of the land was set aside for European settlers (Mafa, 2015:41). Mafa agrees with Mupfuvi (2014:48), who made a similar argument, that white settlers occupied the fertile highveld and built a network of roads and railways to help develop their mining and agricultural industries, while the majority of the colony's indigenous population was confined to underdeveloped Lowveld reserves. Table

below shows the resultant divisions, followed by a lengthy discussion of the commission's deliberations and the consequences of the Land Apportionment Act 1930.

Table 3.1 Land Distribution under the Land Apportionment Act 1930[7]

Designation	Area in Hectares	% of Country
European area	19,890,398	51.1
Native reserves	8,549,996	18.5
Unassigned area	7,200,850	12.0
Native Purchase area	3,020,868	7.8
Forest area	238,972	0.6
Undetermined area	35,832	0.1
Total	38,936,916	100
Total for black people use	11,570,864	29.7

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[7] See Moyana (2002:44).

European area	
Tribal Trust land	
Native Purchase	
National land	
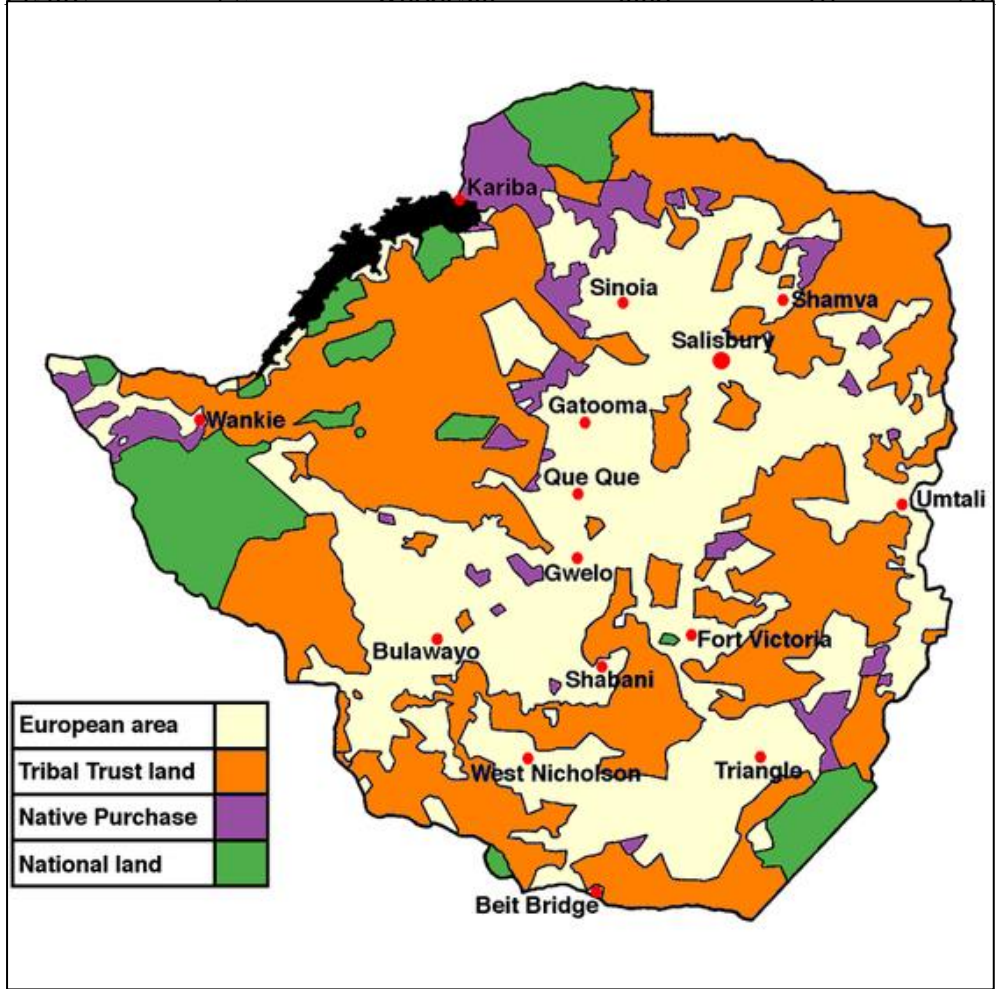
New conditions were introduced under the Land Apportionment Act of 1930, As Mafa (2015: 43) describes: "The right of Africans to land ownership was rescinded". Africans would be allowed to purchase land in areas known as Native Purchase areas. Only 81 Native Purchase Areas were allocated very close to Native areas; over 51 percent of the land, or 19,890,398 hectares of land, was assigned as White area, whilst 29.7 percent was given to indigenous people; it should be noted that during this period there were only about 50, 000 white settlers as opposed to 1,081,000 indigenous people. Most of these white settlers were acquiring this land for speculative purposes. Meredith (2002:113) states: "Within ten years of the arrival of the Pioneer Column, nearly 16 million acres– one-sixth of the entire land area of 96 million acres – had been seized by whites".

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[8] See http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Rhodesialand.png

The division of land between white settlers and indigenous people was formalised in the Land Apportionment Act of 1930. It is clear why the indigenous people detested the Land Apportionment Act of 1930. It was segregatory and vicious in the sense that Africans were relegated to very infertile areas, whilst their white counterparts were given fertile land at very cheap rates or no payment at all, as Meredith (2002:113) argues. As already mentioned above, the other important factor against this Act was that it was clearly designed to create poverty among the indigenous people, as Moyana (2002:46) suggests: "The pauperisation of the African was a necessary prelude to his conversion into a working hand to work the lands and mines of the ruling class". The settlers deliberately forced the indigenous people out of their land because the ulterior motive was to ensure that they worked for the white settlers for a very low wage. The result of all this was deprivation on the part of the indigenous people whose land had been taken and legislation enacted to seal the deal. This is in line with the hypothesis of this research that the poor peasants during Micah's time must have lost their land to the ruling class and the military that supported the rulers. This loss of land to the ruling class and the military must have been a major cause of deprivation and discontent. Therefore, by using Delbert R. Hillers' social scientific model of relative deprivation, this study can find meaning in the social, political and economic phenomena of land in the Book of Micah and the Zimbabwean context.

3.9.2   The implications of the Land Apportionment Act on indigenous people's economies

The Land Apportionment Act of 1930 had social, economic, and political effects on the indigenous people. It had serious negative effects on indigenous agricultural production as evidenced by the deterioration of agricultural output after the creation of reserves. The eviction of indigenous people from productive to unproductive dry land meant that there was a reduction in their crop and livestock production. Their livelihood was greatly disturbed as it depended on the land. Table 3.3 shows this decline in productivity.

Table 3.2: Production by Indigenous People Livestock[9]

Year	Cattle	Sheep	Goats	Yields in Bags

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[9] See Moyana (2002:46).

1923	927,343	262,432	779,614	3,483,650
1924	1,004,277	269,049	813,395	2,740,450
1936	1,547,623	234,769	765,624	2,991,630
1937	1,582,062	243,816	757,703	3,270,222
1939	1,570,310	234,748	647,569	3,160,999

Moyana (2002:46), Political Economy of Land in Zimbabwe.

An analysis of the figures in the table above shows that in 1923, before the Land Apportionment Act, the farmers were producing 3,483,650 bags of grain, whilst in 1939, the yield had dropped to 3,160,999. The figures for sheep and goats were also following a falling trend in that in 1923, the indigenous people kept 262,432 sheep, but by 1939 the figure had dropped to 234 748 – a 10 per cent reduction over a period of 16 years. The Land Commission reduced the carrying capacity of the land; the result was overpopulation and soil erosion. Overgrazing affected the quality of cattle among black communities and because of that, the cattle were awarded the lowest grade. Hence, their cattle fetched very low prices at the cattle market. Overstocking and overpopulation resulted in soil erosion, which culminated in reduced production. All this became a strong ingredient in poverty creation among the indigenous people. The Land Apportionment Act of 1930 created overstocking and overcrowding in all the provinces since the indigenous people had lost their land to the white settlers (Mafa, 2015:45). Therefore, Hillers' theory of relative deprivation and von Rad's concept of *Latifundialiazation* have been demonstrated here. The creation of large estates by white settlers using land taken from Zimbabwean indigenous people led to the experience of relative deprivation among indigenous people. This became the basis for future chimurenga movements as people fought to retrieve their land.

3.9.3   The 1951 Native Land Husbandry Act (see Appendix 4)

As mentioned, and discussed above, the Land Apportionment Act affected the black, indigenous people in many adverse ways. Large concentrations of people led to overstocking and soil erosion. To ease the pressure created by the Act of Land Apportionment of 1930, another land tenure act was introduced; the 1951 Land Husbandry Act by the colonial government. This Act further imposed and enforced conservation measures on land owned by indigenous people (Mafa, 2015:45). The thinking behind this legislation was that land degradation was taking place in the native reserves because of the lack of individual title to the land. Therefore, black, indigenous farmers were required to obtain a permit called a "farming permit" to cultivate the land and a "grazing permit" to graze livestock (Mafa, 2015:45). Other measures included restrictions on the number of livestock as well as soil and water conservation, a situation that further worsened the deprivation of the black, indigenous people. The rural people resented these measures, and compliance was erratic. Consequently, implementation of the Act was suspended in 1961 (Mafa, 2015:45).

When the colonial government faced a lot of opposition from the indigenous people, some of its officials suggested that the Land Apportionment Act needed to be repealed (Mafa, 2015:45). However, the white settlers were not prepared to repeal the Act. When Ian Smith's Rhodesia Front promised that they would keep the Act if they came to power, they won the election in 1962. An analysis of developments that accompanied this act (The 1951 Native Husbandry Act) fully demonstrates the hypothesis of this research and the objective of this chapter. The poor peasants during Micah's time must have lost their land to the ruling class and the military that supported the rulers. This loss of land to the ruling class and the military must have been a major cause of deprivation and discontent, a situation which is parallel to the Zimbabwean context described above.

3.9.4 The Land Tenure Act of 1969

The Land Tenure Act of 1969 repealed and replaced the Land Apportionment Act, and divided land into European, African and National land (Mafa, 2015:47). European and African land comprised 45,000 acres each, while National land stood at 6,500 acres (Mafa, 2015:47). This might appear to be an equal sharing of land between the indigenous blacks and the white settlers. However, when one considers the population of the white settlers against that of the indigenous black people and the fact that the white settlers had been allocated the best arable

rich fertile land, the inequality and injustice become glaring. The clear fact was that the Rhodesia Front wanted to perpetuate racial separation and white supremacy, and this further stirred strong nationalist opposition (Mafa, 2015:47) and resulted in the war of Liberation, popularly known as the Second Chimurenga/Umvukela. In addition to the issue of land, Ian Smith's 1965 UDI was also a major precipitation factor of the Second Chimurenga, as this meant a perpetuation of racial discrimination and other forms of segregation against the indeginous blacks.

Combatants were recruited and trained outside the country and infiltrated back into Zimbabwe as guerrillas (Martin and Johnson, 2012: v). On 28 April 1966, seven guerrillas of the ZANLA, a branch of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), died in Chinhoyi after a 12-hour battle with Rhodesian security forces, marking the beginning of a prolonged armed struggle that culminated in the attainment of independence on 18 April 1980 (Martin and Johnson, 2012:v). The Second Chimurenga may best be characterised as a confrontation between the colonised and the coloniser, between the land-hungry peasantry and the settler bourgeois land-mongers, and between the exploited working class and the capitalist entrepreneurial class (Martin and Johnson, 2012: vii). The war entered many stages until the Lancaster House Conference in 1979, when the warring parties agreed to a ceasefire. According to Mugabe (Martin and Johnson, 2012: vii), the Second Chimurenga was built and fought on the principle of land recovery, among other hosts of growing grievances. The study does not intend to give details of this war; there is so much literature regarding the Second Chimurenga. The study will revisit this area in the fourth chapter. The present chapter attempted to establish the link between the Second Chimurenga and the land issue.

As can be noted from the land tenure systems that were introduced in Zimbabwe at the advent of colonialism, rules were introduced that alienated the fertile land from indigenous Zimbabwean people, put restrictions on the number of livestock permitted per head, and divided the country into European, African and National land. This further exacerbated the deprivation amongst the indigenous Zimbabweans and created resentment and a determination to fight the white settlers to retrieve their land back.

3.10   THE ROLE OF AFRICAN TRADITIONAL LEADERS

African Traditional Institutions such as chieftainships, sub-chiefs, and village heads have been preserved both during the colonial period and even after independence. The white settlers saw

traditional institutions among the Africans as essential for government. They intentionally strengthened them or even imposed some, where they were non-existent. In the Land Apportionment Act, chiefs were made trustees of what was known as Tribal Trust Lands (Land belonging to the State but allocated to Africans whose Chiefs were the custodians). Through the Land Apportionment Act of 1930, Africans were disenfranchised from any personal claim to the land. The chiefs were happy as they interpreted this as recognition of their position in society. However, they were devoid of real judicial power. The same land designated as Tribal Trust Land was at the same time designated as Reserves. This meant that the state could reclaim it if they found any other use. For example, the state could find minerals in the land once allocated to Chiefs or get commercial farmers interested in the land. The state would simply evict the chief and his people and relocate the whole clan to a new location, for example, Chief Rekayi Tangwena of the Hwesa people in Nyanga area, in Manicaland. This Chief was a key figure in the Second Chimurenga. He is credited with offering so much resistance to the white minority regime, as well having assisted the former president, Robert Gabriel Mugabe and Movern Mahachi to cross into Mozambique when they were being tracked by Smith's soldiers.

During the war of liberation, chiefs were in a dilemma. Both the Rhodesian fighters and liberation fighters regarded chiefs as extensions of the government. A good number of chiefs and village heads lost their lives at the hands of the liberation fighters and government agencies as they both suspected them of "selling out." The role of traditional chiefs needs to be interrogated. Any sitting government has access to abuse this office for its benefit. The legislations that were passed from time to time by the state were given to the chiefs for implementation on their people. This worsened the situation of the chiefs. The indigenous people regarded the chiefs as an extension of government through whom taxes, laws, and other undesirable information reached the people and got implemented. For this reason, chiefs became part of the problem for the indigenous people.

3.11   LAND DISCOURSE IN THE INDEPENDENT ZIMBABWE

The rising black population in the communal areas struggled to survive in the years before independence (that is, 1890-1979) because of the generally subpar soils and low rainfall areas. Further, peasant communities were integrated into the national movement at the same time that the Second Chimurenga, a violent conflict that began in the mid-1960s, spread from the towns to the villages and communal areas. The Lancaster House Conference, which took place in

1979 as the Second Chimurenga's pinnacle, paved the way for the establishment of the Republic of Zimbabwe on April 18, 1980.

However, it should be noted that there was an internal peace settlement that saw Bishop Abel Muzorewa becoming Prime Minister in 1979, and named the country Zimbabwe-Rhodesia. This arrangement was not acceptable to the nationalists who were waging a guerilla warfare against the Smith regime. This led to the intensification of the war leading to the final independence in 1980.

The fundamental reasons for the war of independence were colonial land policy and practices. Equity and land equality were major concerns in the liberation war discourse during the conflict. In order to transfer land from the handful of commercial farmers to the vast majority of the African population, the new government at the time of independence was compelled to explore land redistribution.

When Zimbabwe gained its independence in 1980, it inherited a dual economy that was marked by a severely lopsided system of land distribution and the dominance of the white minority over the nation's land and water resources as indicated in the discussion above. The majority of the better agricultural land was owned and farmed by a small minority of white large-scale commercial farmers, while the black majority lived in traditional regions. Many laws passed during the colonial era, which led to the enormous expropriation of prime agricultural land by the colonial settlers and the subsequent marginalization of black people into communal areas, resulted in the inheritance of a dual structure of property ownership. The enormous problem and conundrum of redistributing land without necessarily reducing agricultural output lay before the new government.

Literature reveals that after 1980, the Government of Zimbabwe (GoZ) made great strides toward redistributing land to the country's black majority. The government launched the Intensive Resettlement Programme (IRP) to address three key concerns: unequal and inequitable land distribution, insecurity of tenure, and sustainable and sub-optimal land usage. It appears that the land question received primacy in governmental policies (GoZ, 1998). Resettlement programmes, consisting of four main patterns, were developed as a result of the government's land reform initiatives. Some of the schemes were created with the intention of giving land to those who were landless or who owned unproductive land. Other communities were set aside only for the purpose of producing commercial agriculture. Resettling mostly

those who had been displaced by the war, as well as the impoverished, landless, jobless, and destitute, was the justification. Under the "willing-buyer willing-seller" principle, white commercial farmers purchased the property for black people. Due to the enormous duties at hand during this early era, numerous state ministries were actively engaged in relocation initiatives (Moyo, 2004: 120). The following ministries were included: Agriculture, Local Government, Health, Transportation, Education, Construction, and Social Welfare.

The above programmes appeared to be in line with the socialist development plan of the new administration, which placed emphasis on equality and social justice and guaranteed the migration of the indigenous population to more productive territories (GoZ, 2000). By the middle of the 1980s, these attempts had essentially stopped. The GoZ first tried to speed up the sluggish land reform and relocation programme in the late 1990s. Previous works on land reform reveal that this comprised a cooperative donor-government programme that would begin with a two-year implementation phase that involved pilot testing (with new models of land reform and resettlement).

Further, Zimbabwe's Land Reform and Resettlement Programme Phase 1 (LRRP 1) covered the years 1980 to 1996 (Moyo, 2008). This phase included the Lancaster House Agreement's initial ten years of application and the more recent phase of the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP), which was introduced in 1991. Outside forces have largely influenced land reform in Zimbabwe because the Lancaster House Agreement and ESAP put the post-colonial state under intense international pressure, including calls for a market-driven land reform process (Mbaya, 2001 Study has shown that Phase 1 was clearly biased in favour of global trajectories (although also consistent with the interests of local white and black agricultural capital). This is greatly the reason why the government of Zimbabwe was unable to complete a more active relocation programme.

3.11.1 Phase 1 Resettlement Programme

There were four primary types of resettlement model projects between 1980 and 1996 that was outlined by Moyo (1995:96). In order to resettle individuals under these early resettlement schemes, the state used the Rural Land Act as a legal tool. There was no law that was enacted to outline neither the standards and guidelines for allocating and granting land resettlement, nor the rights and responsibilities of those who were relocated.

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Resettlement was initially centred on a rehabilitation strategy that benefited land-scarce and landless peasants as well as returning refugees and families uprooted by the war. As concerns about productivity and efficiency shifted over time, rural residents with agricultural experience and skills that could be verified were increasingly targeted. Over time, there were some changes which occurred in the kind and intensity of governmental planning, including post-settlement assistance.

In the first few years following independence, three important models (models A, B, and C) were launched. A "nucleus village settlement bordered by individual arable plots and communal grazing pastures" is how Moyo (1995:89) describes Model A. Each settler received a 2,500 square-meter residence stand. Additional readings indicate that each family received five hectares of cultivable land (in agro-ecological regions I and II). More hectares of arable land were distributed to settlers in drier areas. Further, each family in regions I and II were permitted to keep 5 to 15 livestock units on 20 hectares of land, whereas those in the drier regions were permitted to keep up to 200 units on larger grazing areas. Roads connecting all settlements to a rural service center, where government employees (agricultural extension and resettlement personnel, as well as health and education professionals) were part of the projects. Schools, clinics, feeder roads, boreholes, and marketing depots were all supplied as infrastructure (Chakona, 2011). Technical assistance with cropping and other services was also provided by agricultural research and extension staff.

Grazing, woodlots, water points and services were communal, and tenure was in the form of permits of occupation (Chakona, 2011). Literature also indicates that in terms of land tenure provisions, three permits were given (one permit for residence, another for cultivation and the other one for pasturing livestock). Further, initial permits were granted for a five-year term by the state minister in charge of resettlement (the Ministry of Land, Resettlement and Rural Development). Chakona (2011) argues that the ministry had the power to terminate all permits without reason as long as compensation was paid.

In some Model A developments, individuals were settled while the planning procedure was still in progress since the planning process was so bureaucratic and slow. The early "A" projects saw land invasion and as the population grew, arable plots were divided. The GoZ chose to conduct a parallel Accelerated Resettlement Programme between 1982 and 1984 in which settlers were placed on farms with no infrastructure at all. Because of the poor

performance of this program, the government began reconsidering it in order to build infrastructure starting in 1984.

The model B plan was created for cooperatives with 50 to 200 members who reside in a hamlet and share access to infrastructure and farmland. Adults were welcome to join. Profits were to be divided equally among all cooperative members, and settlers were expected to register as one. Individual cooperative members were permitted to keep cattle and maintain personal gardens on 0.5 hectares of land (Moyo, 1995). Beneficiaries who were primarily war veterans and previous known farmers received preference. The plan was for former commercial farms where the infrastructure (for instance, irrigation equipment) was presumed to remain present and undamaged since it was anticipated that the area would be used most effectively for agricultural pursuits. Further, credit was distributed collectively, and the government provided necessary agricultural equipment. Using the area for high-value, intensive businesses, irrigated crops, horticulture, piggery, and poultry was advised. The farmers were subject to a number of restrictions. Cooperatives were not permitted by law to construct buildings without the approval of the appropriate state minister, participate in commercial or industrial activity, or clear native trees from the property. Moyo (1995) reveals that the co-operative concept failed even though the majority of these "B" farms possessed high-tech irrigation and other farming equipment. The original cooperators quit the schemes, and those who persisted lacked the necessary expertise to manage such complex businesses.

Individual settler plots of land measuring an average of 10 hectares formed the foundation of the model C project. Chambati (2007) indicates that the Agricultural Development Authority (ADA), currently known as the Agricultural and Rural Development Authority (ARDA) was one state agency whose land the settlers used that was close to a core estate controlled by the state. The settlers produced "a common crop with the estate". As Chambati (2007) argues, ADA provided the settlers with the following services: research and training skills, credit, input supplies, and marketing services. Because they did not own land in their own names, women were not allowed to participate in the training programs. This practice was patriarchal and oppressive to women. The patriarchal behaviour is evident in the Book of Micah and the context of the eighth century BCE of the Southern Levant. Hillers' theory of relative deprivation remains relevant even in this discussion where the new government recognised and acknowledged the problem of land. The measures the government took were to address this issue of relative deprivation that had been created through *latifundialization*.

Further, these programmes, which are based on the nucleus concept and feature a central commercial estate and/or processing facility on the one hand and settler out-growers on the other, were developed to directly involve small farmers in more intricate and technically challenging farm enterprises, like the production of dairy and tobacco.

In general, many of the first migrants came from towns in traditional regions. It was necessary to redesign and reorganize the resettled people into villages and wards. The process of relocation was to be preceded by the customary area reorganization. When the families allocated resettlement plots were translocated, there was not enough room produced in most wards to justify reorganization.

A fourth model, Model D, as well as somewhat modified A, B, and C models, were introduced to the revised 1985 "Intensive Resettlement Policies and Procedures." Beneficiaries for models A, B, and C eventually had to meet requirements such as holding a Master Farmer certificate, owning farm equipment, and not working for pay elsewhere. In comparison to the first five years, the agricultural performance of the original three types was slightly better after 1985. The only changes made to Model A were the addition of the common field (known as Zunde in Shona) and an irrigation sub-model in which settlers were given 0,5 to 2 hectares of arable land. The A schemes often had higher productivity than communal or traditional sites. The model design for Model B included the addition of a game administration component. However, performance only slightly improved after 1985. In reality, a large number of the cooperative's members began defining individual allotments.

Model D was a test livestock model for the resettlement program for Matabeleland's drier agro-ecological zones IV and V. In the model, households in close-by customary regions had access to grazing lands. Every three to four years, each traditional community's access to the land was alternated in order to provide communal area grazing fields, time to recuperate from the effects of overgrazing. Further, communities were expected to contribute to maintenance and operation costs, such as ranch land management. Less than three of these systems have "been tried satisfactorily, particularly in Matabeleland South" (Moyo 1995:88). On 260,000 hectares of ranch property, 3,414 residents had been relocated under Model D by 1993, and 4,000 more were still waiting. Additionally, this approach was examined so that different communities might recommend improvements for access to ranch areas. The

inhabitants of Matabeleland rejected Models A, B, or C. A major portion of Model D was a failure.

There were further models implemented after these four. Literature cited for this study shows that the Three Tier Model, which replaced Model D, was notable. The property in these plans was divided into three sections: a residential and agricultural area for residential use; a grazing area for commercial usage, and a section for benefiting households to keep five animal units for daily use. In the province of Matabeleland South, this model was well-liked, and agricultural output was respectable.

Further, the government cabinet approved the 1994 Land Tenure Commission's proposals in 1995, changing the Model A design from villagised to self-contained plots. The failing Model B concept was also supposed to be redone and divided into standalone parcels. The original cooperative (B) model and model C were not used to distributing any new land, and the three-tier model was left alone.

With the obvious program purpose of decongesting overpopulated and overstocked settlements in customary regions, the "A" model was redesigned. Any individual plots were reclassified as small-scale commercial developments, which made them ineligible for the resettlement program. An additional modification was the promotion of a tenant programme. Further information indicates that large-scale commercial farms were broken up into medium-sized farms under this program, which was then leased to beneficiaries (Chatora, 2003). Previous studies show that there was little government support for the programme, however, persistent non-performers were evicted. The result was that the three-tier approach failed to deliver any notable achievements.

Table 3.3: Resettlement Designs up to 1999 (GoZ 2001)

No.	Model Scheme	Beneficiaries	Comments
1	Pre-independence A Comprehensive Commercial Settlement Plan	White settlers were interested in agriculture,	Most recipients found success.

		and prosperous commercial farmers. Government backing was substantial.	
2	Scheme for Small-Scale Commercial Farm Settlement	Black peasant farmers with credentials and expertise.	The first farmers made excellent progress.
3	Design C	Eligible Peasant Farmers	Performed admirably.
4	Tenant Plan.	Black Zimbabweans with agricultural skills, resources, or money.	Did not do all that well. There was not enough government assistance.
5	Previous Model A	The poor and resettling refugees.	Beneficiaries were once impoverished but are now not. They used to have nothing, but now they are peasant farmers.
6	Post-Model A	Eligible Peasant Farmers	The majority of beneficiaries have

			higher living standards. With government assistance, they may have accomplished more.
7	Triple-Tier Model	The grounds were overgrazed.	Not a particularly impressive performance.
8	Design B	Former agricultural labourers and landless peasants, ideally with some farming experience.	Unsuccessful
9	Design D	Overgrazed pastures.	Kept at the level of the pilot scheme. Failed miserably.

Table 3.1 summarises and ranks the effectiveness of the land reform program and resettlement designs from 1980 to 1999. Rankings are based on how well each design performs in terms of agricultural output and efficiency (i.e., from a "productivist" perspective as opposed to a "redistributive" perspective). Further, the pre-independence large-scale commercial settlement system scored first in terms of crop and animal output, efficiency, and effectiveness (and was continued on a gigantic scale up until the year 2000). This ranking is a result of decades of extensive and persistent (racially based) assistance to white farmers. Literature show that black farmers who received land after 1980 under the redistributive land reform process, particularly through designs A and C, did reasonably well in comparison to customary farmers.

The discussion above indicates the efforts made by the government of Zimbabwe to correct the land distorted distribution that had been instituted by the white settlers and alienated the indigenous Zimbabweans from their land. This was an attempt to solve issues created by relative deprivation and *latifundialization.* The objective of this chapter was to explore the extent to which the book of Micah can speak to the Zimbabwean land issue. The exploited poor peasantry in eighth-century Judean society regarded the Jerusalem city as the epi-centre of their exploitation by the rich and powerful elite who dwelt there (Micah 3: 8-11). In this case, the community of Micah mirrors the Zimbabwean community and its experience during the colonial rule by white settlers. The white settlers who migrated into the country in 1890 established a minority rule and deprived the majority of the native black people of their land through introducing discriminatory land tenure systems. The new government of Zimbabwe that came into office in 1980 instituted some measures to correct the land imbalances that had been created by the white settlers' government.

3.11.2 Policies and legal frameworks post-independence

Given the predominance of white large-scale commercial farms in Zimbabwe's rural areas, it was imperative that governmental interventions were required to redistribute land and its resources to the country's marginalised social groups to enhance their living standards. Between 1980 and 1999, a number of land-related laws and regulations, including those pertaining to the resettlement models mentioned above, were implemented to solve the land settlements concerns.

Literature reveals that from the Lancaster House Agreement of 1979 through the Fast Track Land Reform Programme of 2000, many strategies and frameworks have been used in the past. The 1980 Zimbabwean Constitution, the country's first after independence, provided the initial policy and legal framework for addressing the land situation. The Constitution stated that only extremely strict conditions, including prompt and adequate compensation, could allow for the forced acquisition of landed properties. As a result, the land would actually be purchased on a "willing-buyer, willing-seller" basis (see 1979 Lancaster House Constitution, Summary of the Independence Constitution, Declaration of Rights; V. Freedom from Deprivation of Property). This clause constrained the government's ability to select the land to be used for resettlement because it depended on what was available on the market. It also prevented government purchases because there were insufficient state finances for land

redistribution with market prices. As a result, a large portion of the property it acquired was in semi-arid areas.

The government aimed to address customary regions more directly while also implementing relocation programs through various methods (partially to relieve congestion in customary areas). Given that customary law predominated in defining the connection between land and women, the Communal Land Act of 1982 posed a significant legal barrier to women's access to land. Changes were made to Section 23 of the 1982 Communal Act in 1984, requiring district councils—the local state body responsible for communal lands—to create land use plans for each village within those areas and to grant settlement permits to the heads of each household within those villages. After modifications, Section 24(4) of the Communal Land Act specifies that the names of both spouses must appear on each settlement permit. Additionally, widows, girls who head households with children, and unmarried women who are heads of families are all eligible to acquire permits in their names (Communal Land Act of 1982, section 24[4]). This was a good move for gender parity because there are more and more female-headed households and households with orphaned heads in traditional communities. It was also part of a state-initiated movement in the early years of independence that undermined the power of rural chiefs; this process was reversed in the 1990s. Although Zimbabwe's shifting family structure is explicitly acknowledged in the amended Communal Land Act, the patriarchal nature of land relations is still deeply ingrained in customary lands. In this regard, Moyo (2004:117) observes that "localities tend to overlook legislative changes."

In order to combine the previously segregated white large-scale commercial farm rural councils with communal area district councils, the Rural District Councils Act was passed in 1988. The new statute enhanced the state's administrative control over the distribution of land and natural resources. The act gave the new councils "additional authority to safeguard widely used or held areas from being destroyed by individuals" and "to seek compensation for any damages" to resources (such as indiscriminately felling trees) (Moyo, 2004: 117). Further, council structures and the more overtly patriarchal system of chieftainships, which consistently consolidated their control over customary lands, continued to be at odds with one another. The Land Acquisition Act of 1985 was passed nationally in accordance with the "willing-buyer, willing-seller" program's principles. For any privately owned land that was put up for sale, the state was granted the right of first refusal.

The "willing-buyer willing-seller" failed to yield results because the white commercial farmers were not willing to sell their farms. Instead, they would prefer to sell their farms to private individuals instead of selling them to the government. This is where the government, through the 1985 Land Acquisition Act legislation granted the state the right of first refusal, or to object that arrangement. The idea was to force the white commercial farmers to sell their land to the state for onwards distribution. The "willing-buyer willing-seller" program faced a lot of resistance from those commercial farmers who occupied vast pieces of land. Maybe at this stage there was need to re-engage the white commercial farmers with another legislation that stipulated the maximum number of hectares of land each farmer could possess and lay off the remainder to government to facilitate a smooth transition of land to those who needed land. The white commercial farmers failed to read the mood of the government at this juncture and failed to do the right thing. The issue of land needed sober minds on both sides (i.e. the white commercial farmers and the state) to reach a compromise and adopt a win-win approach.

3.11.3 Fast Track Land Reform Program (FTLRP).

Fast track needs to be considered in light of prior land reform failures as well as in light of the political crises that arose in the 1990s. The FTLRP is undoubtedly a culmination of issues that have been brewing over the 1980s and 1990s period.

The Land Acquisition Act and the Constitution both underwent several revisions in the 1980s and 1990s to expand the scope of land reform and increase the quantity of land available for resettlement. Despite the verbal promises that were reached during the Lancaster House Conference, the former colonial power was not forthcoming in giving sizeable cash for land acquisition. The government successfully acquired only 3, 5 million hectares of land between 1980 and 1999, and only 71,000 families were relocated. Congested, overstocked, and overgrazed conditions persisted in the communal areas. Therefore, there has been little progress in improving the majority of Zimbabweans living in rural areas access to decent land and agrarian livelihoods. A struggling administration was under increasing pressure to expedite its land reform initiative.

To investigate the possibility of creating a brand-new constitution, the government appointed a panel in 1999 (GoZ, 2001). The final draft of the constitution includes provisions addressing the forceful seizure of land for relocating people, as well as requirements for the former colonial power to make amends for farms it had taken. The government would no longer

be compelled to pay compensation for the land it had purchased, with the exception of infrastructural improvements. A referendum was held in February 2000 to provide people the chance to approve or disapprove the proposed constitution. The majority of Zimbabweans decided to reject the draft constitution, mostly due to worries that it would concentrate power in the hands of the president.

The rejection of the 2000 draft constitution occurred in the background of hostility between the ZANU-PF party in power and the Movement for Democratic Change in opposition. During the June 2000 elections for the parliament, this animosity grew stronger. The ultimate result was increasing pressure (particularly from the war veterans) on the ZANU-PF government to resolve the land issue, given that it had been 20 long years since obtaining independence. After the referendum's results were made public, Second Chimurenga war veterans started occupying farms held by white people in impromptu rallies that quickly won the government's backing (Chitsike, 2003).

The ZANU-PF administration generally decried as illegal the intermittent occupation of commercial farms by communal and other farmers that occurred in the previous two years (1998 and 1999). The nationwide land occupations that began in early 2000 and initially resulted in the arrest and jail of occupiers were eventually legitimised by the government and normalised and regularised through the FTLRP (dubbed Third Chimurenga). White farmers were first instructed to live in harmony with the new "settlers" (these were the new black beneficiaries of the land reform program, and they included the Chimurenga war veterans and the general public). However, it soon became apparent that white commercial farmers would be evicted and the new settlers would entirely take over their lands. Throughout 2000 and into 2001, this rural dynamic swept the nation. The ruling party adopted the catchphrase "Land is the Economy, and the Economy is Land" (*The Herald,* 06 August 2000).

The government gazetted new laws to protect the new residents from eviction. Interestingly, it was agreed that any occupant wouldn't be relocated until a new location had been chosen for their new home. Following the elections in June 2000, the President, R. G. Mugabe, established what was known as a War Cabinet, whose main objective was to ensure that the land reform initiative was successfully completed (now dubbed the Third Chimurenga or war of liberation). The acquisition of commercial farms was therefore approached comprehensively and holistically, and the majority of the small, medium, and big self-

contained units were soon split into these three categories. A deadline for the existing owners (commercial farmers) to leave their property was established (in accordance with an amended Land Acquisition Act). The Ministry of Lands, Agriculture, and Rural Resettlement welcomed Zimbabweans who were serious about farming to apply for land; to be considered for the allocation of a farm plot. The applicants were expected to submit clear and concise project plans.

Further, the international community had conflicting reactions to this extreme exercise in Zimbabwe. On the one hand, land redistribution was acknowledged by the world's marginalised people as being vital to address racial injustices. In this regard, Worby (2001:478) observes that the farm invasions have sparked the widespread erosion or, more accurately, the collapse of freehold property forms that have supported the concentration of large-scale capitalist agriculture and the racialised distribution of land for more than a century. On the other side, there has been widespread and vehement disapproval from various groups within the world community who sympathised with those who were thought to have lost land and their properties. Some critics have questioned the timing of the exercise (beginning before the crucial June 2000 elections), claiming that any chance for a planned and orderly land reform was squandered for political considerations.

FTLRP ended up being the answer to the land problem that the government had been hesitantly seeking since 1980 in its own manner. The government of Zimbabwe was so encouraged by the level of redistribution that it declared that the land question had been finally resolved in 2005. This was just five years after the start of the Third Chimurenga. The 15 July 2000 launch of the fast track agenda marked a turning point in Zimbabwe's history since it radicalised the land reform movement. The Accelerated Land Reform and Resettlement Implementation Plan is the name given to it in writing. Although it undermines the more cooperative partnership system (including the combined state and civil society activities) represented in the Inception Phase Framework/Plan of 1999-2000, is a component of the Land Reform and Resettlement Programme, Phase 2 (1998). The FTLRP program's principal goals were to boost employment, relieve political pressure already in place, provide food security, decongest communal places, and reduce pressure on the land. The following methods were to be used to carry out the fast-track objectives:

- Start by acquiring 841 farms (2,1 million hectares) that white commercial farmers had previously identified and challenged;

- To proceed with additional acquisitions in stages, involving the redistribution of up to 5 million hectares over the course of three to five years;

- Acquire 125,000 hectares in each province for relocation; and

- On the 125,000 hectares per province, 30,000 families should be relocated.

Further, A1 and A2 are the two primary categories of resettlement farms covered by fast track. A1 farms are predominantly small, subsistence farms with a significant number of arable units (about 6 hectares per household), a farmhouse, and a shared pasture area. A2 farms are commercially-oriented farms, acquired by one relocated farmer (as a whole unit), or divided among several A2 farmers into smaller ones, more manageable, commercially viable pieces.

The FTLRP in Zimbabwe represent an era that culminated from the effects of relative deprivation and *latifundialization.* Zimbabwean peasant farmers who had lost their land to the white settlers during the colonial period had participated in the Chimurenga liberation struggle with the hope of regaining their lost land. Upon independence in 1980, this hope was rekindled (the study shall revisit this area in chapter 4, using the Shona novels) but the Lancaster House constitution would not allow government to do anything radical within the first ten years. All the effort to address the land issue through other legislations like the "willing-buyer, willing-seller" could not produce the expected results. As a result, the feelings of relative deprivation among the Zimbabwean peasants got worsened as they counted their losses (about the land and their nasty experiences during the liberation war).

The theory of relative deprivation and the concept of *Latifundialization* reveal that in the year 2000 the white people who were the citizens of Zimbabwe lost their agricultural land and were left discontent. Through the FTLRP the GoZ apportioned their large-scale commercial farms to other Zimbabweans. Although the FTLRP may be deemed as having addressed the dispossession of the land of the native Zimbabweans during the epoch of colonisation, it does seem on the other hand as reversing the act of dispossessing the land from one farmer to another.

3.11.4 New developments in the "New Dispensation"

Currently, the position on land in post-independence Zimbabwe is characterised by twists and turns. The Third Chimurenga witnessed the redistribution of forcibly acquired white commercial farms to native black Zimbabweans (mainly peasants) as discussed above. The exercise was not without challenges. There was a lot of criticism from all over the world as some interpreted this as a direct breach to property rights and human rights issues.

The country faced isolation from world financing organisations like the IMF and the World Bank. However, the former revolutionary president, Robert Gabriel Mugabe, maintained that the Third Chimurenga was necessary to correct the historical land imbalances. Literature cited argues that the newly resettled black, indigenous farmers have not been able to produce enough food, and this has resulted in the country facing a food deficit. This could be explained in several ways. First, there was no training for the newly settled farmers on sustainable farming methods that would enhance production. In other words, the majority of resettled farmers continued producing food through subsistence farming. Second, there was no financial capital to support the new settled farmers. The result was that many lacked the necessary implements to do serious farming. Third, many government input schemes were abused as the farmers resorted to selling those inputs for quick money. Fertilizers, seeds, diesel, and many other such inputs could be found easily being sold in farming areas. Widespread food shortages forced the country to import foodstuffs like maize and flour from neighbouring countries.

In light of the aforementioned challenges, the following questions arise: (1) should the poor peasants be given agricultural land? (2) Should they remain labourers of the elite in the large-scale commercial farms to safe guard food security? If the peasant will fail or have proven to have failed to productively use the agricultural land, one would then say it would have been economically beneficial to the nation for land to remain in the hands of white commercial farmers who proved to have used it productively for economic growth, for food security and for job creation in the nation. These are some of the critical questions, possibilities, and suggestions that face the FTLRP. Personally, I would have preferred a compromised position where part of the land was taken and given to newly settled black farmers, and part of it remained in the hands of the previous occupants (the white farmers) to mitigate loss of food production and to enhance job creation. The new black farmers would be trained on Sustainable

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Farming methods and have access to financial capital, not handouts, for meaningful production on acquired farms. In my opinion, the whole exercise seems to have been rushed politically, without proper planning and smooth implementation.

The coming in of a new regime under president Emerson D. Mnangagwa saw the introduction of new legislations like SI 62 of 2020 (see Compensation Bill Reference 1 in the Appendix) and Global Compensation deal discussed below.

3.11.5 Responses to the SI 62 of 2020

There was a lot of anxiety that followed the pronouncement of the Statutory Instrument 62 of 2020.[10] Many people interpreted this government position to mean a reversal of the Land reform program. Under the late Robert Mugabe, Zimbabwe's government ruled out giving back land to white commercial farmers, saying they (White farmers) grabbed it from black people during the colonial era. Addressing the members of Parliament, Temba Muliswa, MP for Norton constituency, challenged the Government to come clean and open on the new legislation. In a video recorded on 3 September 2020 in Parliament that went viral, Temba Muliswa[11] challenged the state to explain clearly how they would deal with black people who were already settled on land that is earmarked to be returned to the whites. He emphasised that the government had invited the previous white farm owners to come and repossess their farms. The land mentioned in the SI 62 of 2020 falls under the following categories mentioned in section 4 of the Bill:

> 4. "(1) These regulations apply to the following individuals who, prior to having their farms purchased from the State under a lease with an option to purchase, were the owners under a deed of grant or title deed (hereinafter in these regulations referred to as "acquired agricultural land"), or who had completed the purchase of their farms from the State.
>
> (a) individuals (or, in the event of death, their legally acknowledged successors);

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[10] See Appendix 1.

[11] See https://twitter.com/tembamliswa/status/1288776802505195521

(b) individual persons who were citizens of BIPPA (Bilateral Investment Protection and Promotion Agreement) or BIT (Bilateral Investment Treaty) country at the time their investments in agricultural land were compulsorily acquired under the Land Reform and Resettlement Programme (or where such persons are deceased, their legally recognised heirs);

(c) partnerships, if the partners who held any farm jointly were—

(i) indigenous individuals; or

(ii) citizens of a BIPPA or BIT country;

(d) private companies whose shareholding is wholly or predominantly owned by—

(i) indigenous individuals; or

(ii) individuals who were citizens of a BIPPA or BIT country.

(2) Where—

(a) an individual (whether indigenous or not) had completed the purchase of a farm from the State in terms of a lease with an option to purchase; and

(b) before obtaining title thereto from the State, the individual sold the farm to an indigenous individual in the expectation that a title deed or deed of grant will be granted; and

(c) before the title was issued in relation to such a farm, the farm was acquired under the Land Reform and Resettlement Programme; the indigenous purchaser may lodge an application in terms of these regulations."

Addressing the same parliament on the same issue, Tendai Biti, vice president of the MDC Alliance, explained that the Statutory Instrument 62 of 2020 lacks clarity on who is the rightful owner of the land. Biti explained that the state, being the custodian of the land, has the right to give land to the people using offer letters or lease agreements[12] This means that the

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[12] https://www.herald.co.zw/government-debunks-land-reform-reversal/.

new instrument from the point of view of Hiller's theory and von Rad's concept as well as in view of Micah, the GoZ seeks to confiscate the land from the unproductive indigenous Zimbabweans. This can be supported by the new emphasis on production. A land commission committee was set up to take stock of who is using or not using the apportioned land productively. This is meant to pave way for others who may produce better results.

However, Statutory Instrument 62 of 2020 is a new legislation that reverses the land reform program because it seeks to return the land to former white farmers from whom the land was compulsorily taken. However, it can be noticed from section 4 above that the beneficiaries of this legislation are not only white people. There are different categories listed who stand to benefit from this law.

3.11.6 President Mnangagwa's address on SI 62 of 2020

On the issue of white farmers and land President Mnangagwa remarked:

> A white farmer is a Zimbabwean farmer, we should look at it that way. We should begin to develop a culture among our people to accept together that we are one. Let the past remain behind. There are so many white farmers who don't have farms anymore as a result of the land reform, but I think they have a role to play in terms of skills in the farming sector (the white audience is seen clapping hands for the President for this speech) for productivity. All that is required is that we need more of such interaction where farmers' organizations invite me, and I articulate my policy to the people and the farmers, so you find comfort and you know what is possible and what not possible (Mnangagwa, 2018) is.

Furthermore, he explained that there are some senior chefs (politicians) in his party who have been in the habit of identifying well-performing farms which they take for themselves. According to the President, that has to stop in order to allow successful white commercial farmers to productively continue utilising the land for the country.

The tone from the President's speech is clear; land seizure is no more. A new position to accept back the white farmers because their expertise and skills are important for production.

The President admitted that the seizure and occupation of well-performing farms was a failure that marked the land reform program; hence production in the farming sector went down.

Like Micah, Mnangagwa is addressing the issues of greed on the part of senior politicians in his ZANU (PF) party who tend to continue taking over productive farms. But unlike Micah, Mnangagwa is not addressing corruption and bribes among the officials, military persons and politicians. Mnangagwa's focus is now on production and re-engagement with western powers.

Further, there was anxiety and uncertainty among new black farmers over the prospects of losing their farms after the government affirmed that it would return the land to some white farmers who were removed from their land under former president Robert Mugabe. A case in point, among many others, is that of Heinrich von Pezold, who lost part of his land in 2001, in Mazowe district, about 100 kilometers north of Harare, as Zimbabwe's government adopted a sweeping land reform policy and began forcing whites off their farms (Mavhunga, 2020). Now he may get it back under an agreement between German and Zimbabwean governments to protect private investments in their respective countries as BIPPA depicts. Further, the German national took Zimbabwe's government to the International Centre for Settlement of Investment Disputes. Based in Washington, the arbitration court ordered the Zimbabwe government to compensate von Pezold (Mavhunga, 2020).

Heinrich von Pezold is cautiously optimistic following the government's announcement that it would give back land to some white farmers (September 8, 2020 (VOA/Columbus Mavhunga). "It is a very positive step that the government recognises its international obligations. However, we have had such announcements before, and are looking for deeds and not words. We are interested in seeing what the government actually does," noted Pezold (Mavhunga, 2020).

Literature shows that a sixty-three-year-old Emilliana Duri, former Zimbabwean soldier, is one of those who received part of von Pezold's land in 2001. She hopes the government's repossession of land will not affect her. "It would be painful that the land that we fought for I am being asked to pave the way for a white person when he left, it's really painful. I will then start to ask: what did I fight for? It's the land only. So, I must not be displaced. Even for another black person because there is no one who is more important than the other. We are all equal. So, it's painful," noted Duri (Mavhunga, 2020). The peasants, in

this case, suffer the relative deprivation they once suffered during colonial times. On the other hand, the white farmers also suffered deprivation in 2001 when their farms were taken over. This means that deprivation is not linear but cyclical. The victim today can be the oppressor tomorrow. The elite, and the powerful, as seen from the theoretical framework, do possess the means and the resources to challenge and affect the operations of the peasantry.

Further, government authorities are seeking to reassure resettled black farmers in what some fear may be a reversal of land reforms. Government officials have emphasised that the Land Reform Program is irreversible and that there won't be significant agricultural disruptions because only a small number of indigenous farmers are likely to be affected by reallocations, and because only 37 farms are covered by BIPPA will be returned to farmers who lost their land.

Minister of Lands, Agriculture, Water, and Rural Resettlement Anxious Masuka stated yesterday that only indigenous farmers who lost their properties because of the Land Reform Program and those covered by BIPPA would be given a chance to reclaim their land (*The Herald*, 03 September 2020). The government defines indigenous farmers as people of Zimbabwean descent who were marginalised prior to 1980 and who had acquired land either directly or through government commercial farm projects prior to the land revolution (*The Herald*, 03 September 2020). Either their land would be returned to them, or they would get full payment for the agricultural land they had purchased and the improvements they had made to their farms. The Constitution's Section 295 (1) Subsection 2 additionally guarantees full compensation to anyone whose protected agricultural property was purchased (Constitution of Zimbabwe [No.20] Act 2013).

Notably, "the Zimbabwean Constitution is crystal clear, in Section 295, subsections 1 and 2, that we have an obligation to compensate for land and improvements for indigenous Zimbabweans, who make up only 1,3% of the 18 600 farmers who were allocated land. We also have an obligation under the Constitution to consider the BIPPAS and Bilateral Investment Treaty, which make up just under 1% of the 18 600 beneficiaries. These fit within the category that SI 62 of 2020 defines in detail. When an application is lodged with the minister, there is a consideration of whether, in the public interest and security of the country, there is merit in doing so. Where it is no longer possible, then compensation is offered," said Dr Masuka (*The Herald*, 03 September 2020).

Former owners who are still residing on the farms but who have not been regularised, according to Minister Masuka, should approach the appropriate Government offices right away to submit their applications. Masuka (*The Herald*, 03 September 2020) further said: "This indicates that the land reform programme is irreversible. So those that are there ought to follow the law because the land is vested in the State, and that category of farmers is 294 and again about one percent of the 18 600. Altogether the numbers that we are looking at addressing, redressing for the clarity we gave on Monday, affect a mere 3, 2 percent of the beneficiaries. You will not notice because it's a minute proportion of the beneficiaries." To make sure that everyone realised that land reform was irreversible, the minister emphasised that the ministry would explain the process in everyday language, even vernacular.

The discussion about anxiety that gripped the farming community of the newly settled black indigenous farmers indicate that deprivation is not linear but cyclical. The Zimbabwean peasant farmers suffered deprivation at the advent of colonialism when they lost their land to the white settlers who wanted to establish large estates *(latifundia)*. After the 2000 onwards farm invasions by war veterans and indigenous peasants, the white farmers experienced anxiety and deprivation over the loss of their land. When the new dispensation announced the compensation deal in 2020, there was again anxiety and deprivation among the settled black indigenous farmers over possibilities of losing their land to former white farmers. This means that issues of land are very much linked to feelings of relative deprivation. This also means that this chapter accomplished its objective in demonstrating that the book of Micah can speak to the Zimbabwean Land issue. The community of Micah mirrors the Zimbabwean community and its experience during the colonial rule of the white settlers. The white settlers who migrated into the country in 1890 established a minority rule and deprived the majority of the native black people of their land. The deprived indigenous people, much like peasants of Micah's time, resented the oppressive regime of the elite and powerful and subsequently, the Second Chimurenga liberation war was undertaken. Another aspect, which is important here is the fact that deprivation is cyclical not linear. The one who is the victim today can become the oppressor tomorrow.

3.11.7 The Compensation Global Deal

The government of Zimbabwe agreed to make compensation to former White commercial farmers for the improvements made on the farms that were compulsorily acquired for FTLRP.

The agreement was signed between government officials and representatives of the White Commercial farmers (see picture below on figure 3.3).

On the issue of the Global Compensation Deal, Masuka (2020) said:

The Global Compensation Deal clearly articulates that, and there is acceptance by both parties, that we now want to move to a second stage which is ensuring that we increase agricultural productivity, we increase production and profitability; agriculture becomes a business, and this country is way up into food security territory from now into the future. Government is genuine and has done the best under the circumstances and provision of the Constitution, which we overwhelmingly adopted in 2013.

The minister's focus is on increasing agricultural productivity, profitability and making agriculture a business. The focus and tone have shifted from that of eradicating land imbalances. The main objective is to improve food security for the country. It is possible that the minister is saying all these things in light of the criticism against FTLRP as having caused food insecurity in the country. Therefore, these new pronouncements can be regarded as mitigatory measures. However, emphasis on agricultural production and food security would bring anxiety to newly resettled indigenous farmers who were not finding it easy to secure good yields because of a number of factors that included costs of inputs, lack of mechanization implements, among other challenges. The anxiety is heightened in the face of the Compensation Deal which suggested to others a return of land to former white farmers.

The Minister for Justice, Legal, and Parliamentary Affairs Ziyambi also restated this view in Parliament in response to questions from the opposition regarding the significance of the new government policy, which has been understood incorrectly in many quarters. Minister Ziyambi stated that the announcement on compensation for white commercial farmers was not a reversal of the Land Reform Program. This was in response to queries from MDC Alliance Harare East lawmaker Tendai Biti. He stated to move forward and concentrate on production, "We are closing the Land Reform Programme right now."

He rejected the idea that Parliament ought to have been involved in the discussion of the compensation arrangement. "That is the role of the Executive, and we will only bring it to

Parliament for approval. If there is a need to use taxpayers' money, the Appropriation Bill for that will come to Parliament," Minister Ziyambi added.

In a previous interview with The Herald, Minister Ziyambi allayed concerns about a rollback of the land revolution by stating that "only two groups of farmers—black, indigenous farmers and white farmers who were protected by Bilateral Investment Promotion and Protection Agreements (BIPPAs) signed between Zimbabwe and their countries—would be offered land back by the government."

Statutory Instrument 62 has been interpreted incorrectly, leading some individuals to believe that the government was reversing its land reform policy. Meanwhile, Patrick Chinamasa (2020), the acting information and publicity secretary for ZANU PF, said that the revolutionary party jealously defended land reform.

Chinamasa declared during the weekly press conference of the ruling party, "The issues pertaining to the land question were settled in a referendum in 2013, giving rise to our current Constitution. Section 295 of the Constitution, as read with subsections 7 and 8 of section 72 of the Constitution, clearly spell out the issues pertaining to compensation for land under three categories: (i) land compulsorily acquired, which indigenous black Zimbabweans owned, (ii) land compulsorily acquired which was owned by citizens of other countries who enjoyed protection under Bilateral Protection Agreements (BIPPAs) and (iii) land falling outside of these two categories" (*The Herald*, 03 September 2020). It was the responsibility of the government to expedite the issuance of permits to the more than 350 000 households who benefited under the A1 scheme and the grant of 99-year leases to the more than 19 000 beneficiaries under the A2 scheme. This was to make the land redistribution program irreversible in practical terms and bring closure to the land question.

Figure 3.3: Ceremony for the compensation agreement for white farmers[13]

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[13] Zimbabwean President Emmerson Mnangagwa (left, rear) at a signing ceremony for the compensation agreement for white farmers, July 29, 2020. (Columbus Mavhunga/VOA).

© imago images/Xinhua

The picture above showing the proceedings at the signing ceremony of the Global Compensation Deal is important for a number of reasons: 1. it is evident that the "New Dispensation" in Zimbabwe is serious about making a change in the area of mending relations. 2. The new President of Zimbabwe, E. D. Mnangagwa, is seen monitoring the process to give credence to the whole process and thwart any criticism that would want to suggest other opinions contrary to the spirit of the engagement. 3. The whole process resonates with the "Zimbabwe is open for business" mantra. Hence, the inclusion of this picture in this research document is important as it is evidence of the above discussion on Global Compensation Deal.

The Global Compensation Deal represent a departure from first republic rhetoric of using land redistribution to solve some historical land imbalances. The focus is now on mending relations with the West, reengagement and opening new business opportunities for the country. Like what has already been mentioned, this deal represented a threat to those who felt that the land reform program was being reversed by the second republic. This means that deprivation is not linear but cyclic. At first it was the indigenous peasant who felt the relative deprivation when the land was confiscated by the white settlers' government. During the 2000 onwards land redistribution, the white farmers who lost their farms experienced relative deprivation. Now, when the Global Compensation Deed was signed, the newly settled indigenous peasant farmers and others felt that they were going to lose their land again.

3.11.8 The feasibility of the success of the global compensation deal

As John Robertson (a chief economist in Zimbabwe) commented that the cash-strapped government still has much to do before the land compensation issue can go away because "the money is not yet available." He also said, "even though they signed an agreement, it doesn't mean the money will now be distributed. Now that they have signed an agreement, they are going to use that agreement – no doubt – they are going to use that signature as a way to raise the money" (Robertson, 2020).[14] Finance Minister Mthuli Ncube (2020) said at the signing ceremony:

> In the agreement, we have given ourselves 12 months to run around the world, around Zimbabwe, to think of ways of raising this funding. We are determined that we will achieve that. It's also about pledges, not necessarily about cash being put on the table. It's about commitment.

Details of how much money each farmer or their descendants was likely to get, given the time elapsed since the farms were seized, were unclear, but the government said it would prioritize the elderly when making the settlements. Farmers would receive 50 percent of the compensation after a year and the balance within five years.

3.11.9 Analysis of the global compensation deal and the statutory instrument 62 of 2020

Both the Global Compensation Deal and the SI 62 of 2020 should be understood in view of global politics and economics. Published works reveal that two decades ago, Mugabe's government carried out, at times violent evictions of 4,500 white farmers and redistributed the land to about 300,000 Black families, arguing it was redressing colonial land imbalances (*Aljazeera,* 29 July 2020). This attracted a lot of local and international criticism. The imposition of sanctions on Zimbabwe by the West (Britain, USA, Germany and other European countries) has been interpreted in relation to this issue of compulsory land acquisition and redistribution. However, the West European countries (Britain, USA, Germany and other countries) have maintained that sanctions were a response to the following situation:

> The Mugabe Administration's undemocratic practices, human rights abuses, and economic mismanagement prompted the United States Congress to pass in

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[14] (July 29, 2020. (Columbus Mavhunga/VOA).

2001 (and amend in 2018) the Zimbabwe Democracy and Economic Recovery Act (ZDERA), which restricts U.S. support for multilateral financing to Zimbabwe until Zimbabwe makes specified political and economic reforms. In 2003, in response to widespread, government-sponsored violence that threatened regional security, the U.S. Department of the Treasury enacted targeted financial sanctions against individuals and entities responsible for undemocratic practices, human rights abuses related to political repression, and public corruption. In response to Mugabe's continued repression, the United States also placed travel restrictions against selected individuals, a ban on transfers of defense items and services, and a suspension of non-humanitarian government-to-government assistance (Phee, 2020).

The present regime of President Emerson D. Mnangagwa has been under pressure locally and internationally to improve the economy and the political reforms necessary for the establishment of democratic space in the country. The country, therefore, is in dire need of foreign investors to bring the much-needed investments. This would result in job creation and stabilize the economy of the country. The President is under pressure to prove that he is different from his predecessor, Robert Mugabe, who was a hardliner to withstand any pressure from the West. As soon as he was sworn in as president, Emerson D. Mnangagwa embarked on a world tour preaching that Zimbabwe was open for business. These trips were followed by the signing of some "mega deals," most of which remain to be realised. Hence, the Global Compensation Deal and the Statutory Instrument 62 of 2020 are meant to mend relations with the West and end Zimbabwe's isolation. This explanation is supported by the Mnangagwa (2020) speech that:

> It brings closure and a new beginning in the history of the land discourse in Zimbabwe. The process which has brought us to this event is equally historic as it is a reaffirmation of the irreversibility of land as well as a symbol of our commitment to constitutionalism, the respect of the rule of law and property rights (Mnangagwa, 2020).

Mnangagwa said he hoped the agreement would make investors and critics of his government believe that Zimbabwe respects the constitution. However, he ruled out

compensating for the actual land taken from the whites and given to peasant farmers (Mavhunga, 2020).

Further, Andrew Pascoe (2020), the president of the Commercial Farmers Union of Zimbabwe, said the agreement he signed with President Emmerson Mnangagwa at the State House would bring relief to members who were driven off their farms in the early 2000s. He further states that "After almost 20 years of conflict over the land issue, representatives of farmers who lost their land through the fast track reform program and representatives of the government have been able to come together to see a resolution of this conflict" (Pascoe 2020). For him the agreements he signed with Mnangagwa are a miracle.

However, as aforementioned, the position on the Global Compensation Deal and SI 62 of 2020 has attracted much criticism from the war veterans, newly resettled black farmers and even the opposition parties, who all think the president has sold out. According to Magaisa "the compensation agreement could send an interesting signal to the West." When it comes to other areas of concern, however, he does not believe that Zimbabwe will be able to improve relations as hoped (Ehl, 2020).

Magaisa added that, "At the end of the day, without attending to the big issues — the human rights issues, the economic mismanagement, the electoral malpractices, political rights violations and so forth — I don't think Zimbabwe will be able to restore the relations that it wants with the Western community," he said. "We have already seen very vile rhetoric from the ZANU PF party in the same week of this agreement, calling the American ambassador a thug and threatening to expel him from the country. So, it doesn't provide any confidence at all" (Ehl, 2020). The sentiments expressed by Magaisa in the above cited article indicate that attempts to resolve the land issue by compensating the commercial white farmers without addressing the bigger issues of democracy, human rights violations and other related issues to good governance, would not provide much confidence in the second republic of Zimbabwe.

Before the FTLRP, Zimbabwe was known as the breadbasket of Southern Africa in terms of food production. However, it should be emphasised that despite the Fast Track Land Reform Program years ago, food security in the country has remained critical. Food Production on farms has remained very low; the country has been forced to import maize and mealie-meal from neighbouring countries to avert hunger in the country. Even though there are other factors

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like the drought that can be used to explain the low food production on the farms from newly resettled farmers, mismanagement remains the major challenge.

If agriculture is to be taken as a business in this country, there is a need to adopt an approach that is geared towards production. Those who cannot fully utilize their land should have their pieces down-sized and given away to capable people. This way, we contribute to the United Nations Developmental Goals to eradicate poverty, and hunger, increase production, among other things, and enhance sustainable development among our people. This UN position is also echoed by the African Union which emphasises the promotion of sustainable development at the economic, social and cultural levels as well as the integration of African economies (The African Union Commission, 2002 AU Handbook).

However, in Zimbabwe, many farms have been turned into wild grass farming zones with zero production. Maybe this should be the time to revisit the question of owning the farms. Proper planning coupled with the training of farmers are essential components to enhance production on these farms. From this study's theoretical framework, the people who were resettled on the farms in question were people who were already deprived of education because of the country's colonial past. Therefore, they will remain deprived even in their quest to produce on these farms because the system deprived them from the very beginning. Hence, the need to adopt new approaches to transform them into well-trained farmers.

3.12   CONCLUSION OF CHAPTER

This chapter has focused on the objective of exploring the extent to which the book of Micah can speak to the Zimbabwean land issue. The exploited poor peasantry in the eighth-century Judean society regarded the Jerusalem city as the epi-centre of their exploitation by the rich and powerful elite who dwelt there (Micah 3: 8-11). In this case, the community of Micah mirrors the Zimbabwean community and its experience during the colonial rule of the white settlers. The white settlers who migrated into the country in 1890 established a minority rule and deprived the majority of the native black people of their land and some important resources. The deprived indigenous people, much like peasants of Micah's time, resented the oppressive regime of the elite and powerful and subsequently, the Second Chimurenga liberation war was undertaken. The hypothesis of the study was that that the poor peasants during Micah's time must have lost their land to the ruling class and the military that supported the rulers. This loss of land to the ruling class and the military must have been a major cause of deprivation and

discontent. By using Delbert R. Hillers' social scientific model of relative deprivation, we can find meaning in the social, political and economic phenomena of land in the Book of Micah and the Zimbabwean context.

The chapter started with the background to the land issue in Zimbabwe where land was in the hands of the chief in trust for his people and distributed to everyone who needed it, just as it was in Judah during the eighth century when land was held communally. Everyone who needed it had access to it. The situation in Zimbabwe changed with the coming in of the white settlers. So, the migration from south to north of the BSAC changed everything for the local people, just like the migration of refugees from the Northern kingdom of Israel when it was attacked by Assyrian forces into Judah. The peasants who had enjoyed using the land communally were subjected to pressure by those who had money, the elite. Demand for land increased and rulers, and possibly the military started to plot evil against the poor peasants to confiscate their land as we hear from Micah 2: 1-5.

The study also covered the meaning of land to the indigenous people under the following subheadings: Land as an asset of production; Land as a place of dwelling; and Land as a political instrument. The pre-colonial land tenure system in Zimbabwe was noted to be difficult to establish just what Levine (1996:223-242) established in the Old Testament eighth century Judah.

The study discussed several land tenure systems that were negotiated, signed and introduced that led to the systematic take-over of the indigenous peasant land in Zimbabwe, thereby creating feelings of relative deprivation as the whites started establishing the large estates (*latifundia*) at the expense of the local people. This chapter used the theoretical framework of Hillers' relative deprivation and von Rad's concept of *latifundialization.*

As a way of conclusion, it can be argued from published literature that a small minority of white large-scale commercial farmers owned and farmed most of the fertile agricultural land. Further, the majority of the national population made up exclusively of black Zimbabweans, farmed in the lower rainfall regions and poorer soil areas. This dual structure of land ownership was a result of various pieces of legislation introduced during the colonial era, which resulted in the mass expropriation of prime agricultural land by the white colonial settlers and the subsequent marginalisation of black people into reserves now known as communal areas as mentioned above. The issue of access to land was, therefore, a major rallying point that led to

the second war of liberation (Second Chimurenga). Like what was noted in Chapter two, *Latifundialization* led to the deprivation of the peasant life in eighth-century Judah, the same can be said of the peasant life in modern Zimbabwe in the early years of the advent of colonialism. Migration of people into Judah was a factor that affected the peasants of that country. In a similar fashion, the migration of white settlers into the land between the Zambezi and the Limpopo rivers greatly affected the indigenous black people who also practised peasant farming as noted above.

The number of concessions and land tenure systems analysed in this chapter was meant to justify a systematic takeover of the indigenous black man's land by the white settlers as mentioned above. However, the result was a creation of nationalist opposition and the subsequent introduction of the second war of liberation (Second Chimurenga). This confirms the theory of Hillers (1984) that relative deprivation would eventually lead to the formation of movements of protest. Further, the Second Chimurenga (or fight for liberation) in Rhodesia in the 1970s was largely fuelled by the land dispute, which also became crucial to Zimbabwe in the post-independence period. The colonial era's land confiscations severely impacted against the agrarian activities of the African peasant population as a whole since they forced people into isolated customary regions. Arguably, the Zimbabwean government failed for more than twenty years to address the land question in an assertive and serious manner, which had a knock-on effect in the post-independence era. The FTLRP was a response to socio-political, economic and historical factors.

The New Dispensation of the second republic facing economic challenges and global pressure, made a compromise by agreeing to sign the Global Compensation Deal and introducing the Statutory Instrument 62 of 2020. The major purpose, as discussed above, is to win International acceptance, end the country's isolation and win over the much-needed investors. Hence, the president's new economic mantra, "Zimbabwe is open for business."

The next chapter focuses on interpreting and analysing the second Liberation war as a nationalist opposition to the minority white settler regime. The major interest is to analyse the centrality of the issue of land to the second Chimurenga (second war of liberation). The chapter will focus on the district of Goromonzi as a case study, as well as a close analysis on the selected Shona novels that dealt with the theme of land.

CHAPTER 4

THE SECOND CHIMURENGA AND LAND IN GOROMONZI DISTRICT

4.1   INTRODUCTION

Set within the theoretical framework of relative deprivation and the conceptual framework of *Latifundialization,* the chapter investigates the issue of land and the second Chimurenga in the Goromonzi District in Zimbabwe. In addition, the chapter studies the issue of land in the epoch of pre-colonial, colonial and independent Zimbabwe in selected Shona novels, utilising the indigenous knowledge systems. The book of Micah envisaged a war that would cause the destruction of the city of Jerusalem (Micah 3: 12). The exploited poor peasantry in eighth-century Judean society regarded the city of Jerusalem as the centre of their exploitation by the rich and powerful elite who dwelt there (Micah 3: 8-11). Ideally speaking, the deprived people would wish the destruction of those they perceive to be causing their misery or deprivation. There is an anticipation of a better regime to be brought by a bigger and more powerful authority. The deprived people normally would interpret that God is on their side and would assist in removing the established oppressive system. The interface between religion and politics is realised. In this case, the community of Micah mirrors the Zimbabwean community and its experience during the colonial rule of the white settlers. The white settlers who migrated into the country in 1890 established a minority rule and deprived the majority of the indigenous black people of the land and other important resources. The deprived indigenous people, much like peasants of Micah's time, resented the oppressive regime of the elite and powerful. Therefore, it can be argued that the Bible remains relevant to different situations.

The preceding chapter dealt with land tenure systems from the colonial Zimbabwe and ended on the note of an environment ripe for a war of liberation. Therefore, the present chapter focuses on the question of the centrality of land deprivation as a cause for the Chimurenga movement. As probed from an earlier study, relative deprivation would lead to the formation of protest movements by those who feel deprived and segregated from what is rightfully theirs (Jeje, 2011). One fascinating aspect of the second Chimurenga war of liberation is the age of people who skipped the country to train as liberation fighters in neighbouring countries. The majority of them were of young age, which Fay Chung also noted when she wrote: "Many of them were young children who had quit school to participate in the freedom war. The majority were young adults in their early 20s" (Chung, 2006:76).

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This begs the question; how much of land deprivation would such an age group understand? This makes it necessary to analyse the efficiency of the theory of relative deprivation in explaining this aspect. This is achieved through reading documentary material on the second Chimurenga narratives, analysing the messages of the ideological training of the guerrillas in Mozambique and Zambia, as well as analysing fictional literature related to the land issue, which was produced before and after the war of liberation. The outline of the chapter will be as follows: recruitment of liberation fighters; the political and ideological training in Mozambique; The district of Goromonzi; the historical context of Goromonzi district; The Goromonzi economic condition; the Goromonzi district's land use and tenure; Land controversies communal farmers in the Goromonzi district face; New tenure patterns and land occupations in the Goromonzi district; Existing structures of land governance; Land Government institutions currently existing; Selected Shona Novels and the land issues; A Feso Conspectus (1956); Exegesis of Feso; A conspectus of Dzasukwa –Mwana-Asina-hembe (1967); An exegesis of Dzasukwa-Mwana-Asina-Hembe; Conspetus of Kuridza Ngoma nedemo (1985); An exegesis of Kuridza Ngoma nedemo; and then the conclusion to the chapter.

4.2   RECRUITMENT OF LIBERATION FIGHTERS

As indicated in the introduction to this chapter, recruitment of would-be freedom fighters is of major interest to this study since we are appraising the relevance of the theory of relative deprivation of Hillers (which he applied to the book of prophet Micah) to the Zimbabwean land question. To argue that pupils of school-going age, as young as fifteen years, understood land deprivation is to overestimate reality. We need another convincing explanation. Fay Chung, a renounced ZANLA ex- combatant who joined the War of liberation from Zambia, where she was lecturing at the University of Zambia in the Department of Education, talks of community memory as an explanation to why young people joined the war (Chung, 2006: 27). She grew up in Harare (then Salisbury), with her family. Her grandfather, Yee Wo Lee, from a large Chinese peasant family, had come to Rhodesia in 1904. Yee Wo Lee could not inherit land in China because he was the fifth child in the family, but he was given an education.

Yee Wo Lee travelled to Africa in search of land because he had a peasant's attachment to the soil. However, the racial restrictions put in place by the imperialist white settlers in Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe), put an end to his goal. These rules prohibited selling the best land

(land with fertile soils), as our examination in the previous chapter suggests. Blacks have access to the worst soils and land. The land laws did not cater for those who were neither black nor white. From a social scientific perspective, the biased legislation on the land Tenure system created a fertile ground for conflict among the deprived masses. The long-desired farm was never available for Fay Chung's grandfather to purchase. Chung alleges that she was taught about the selfishness of white people and their refusal to let other races possess land at a very young age (Chung, 2006:27). The following passage below from Chung is intriguing because she claims that at the age of four, she was already conscious of the wickedness of racial laws and discrimination:

> From a very early age, we learnt that the whites were greedy and would not allow other races to own land. My grandfather was very deeply interested in politics. Every day he would be reading about the latest developments in world politics, and every day he would be discussing political issues with his best friend, the Somali. At the age of four, I would stand next to my grandfather's chair, listening to the two of them discussing the strengths and weaknesses of world leaders such as Hitler, Churchill, Chiang Kai Shek, Mao Tse Tung, and Roosevelt. My grandfather had been a great supporter of Sun Yat Sen, from whom he had learnt his nationalist politics in China, but was very suspicious of Mao Tse Tung (Chung, 2006:27-28).

The above-described scenario from Chung's childhood experience cannot be generalised to explain how all young people came to have knowledge of land deprivation. Her situation was an isolated case. Young people in Zimbabwe joined the liberation struggle in many ways. Many of us who grew up during that period never had the same experience. Chung (2006:71) also brings in another dimension and explanation to account for her eventual move to join the liberation Movement in Zambia. When she came to Zambia in 1971, she came across about 400 University students from Rhodesia. President Kaunda had made the decision that one of his biggest gifts to Zimbabweans would be the university-level training of labour. Fay Chung began discussing politics with this gathering of professors and students. Additionally, Kaunda permitted all liberation and democratic organizations in Africa to seek asylum in Zambia, which had gained its independence in 1964 (Chung, 2006:71). Published works indicate that Lusaka became the centre of the liberation struggles in Angola, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, and Zimbabwe. Zambia also welcomed professionals from all over

Africa, especially those from nations that were going through difficult times, like Ghana and Nigeria under various military regimes, including Uganda under Idi Amin (Chung, 2006:71). Therefore, Chung (2006:71) agrees that during the first ten years of her independence, Zambia gained significance for serving as a symbol of hope for all of Africa and a meeting point for intellectuals and freedom fighters from throughout the continent. Zambia pushed for Pan-African unification. Along with the aforementioned, Chung also notes that roughly 3000 Zimbabwean freedom fighters from the two main liberation movements, ZANU and ZAPU, called Zambia home. For its guerrillas, ZANU maintained two camps: one near the Mozambican border, known as Chifombo, and the other, known as the Farm, just outside of Lusaka. However, as more secondary and college students quit their classes to join the liberation war, the number kept rising (Chung 2006:71). Chung (2006:75) adds crucial information concerning the existence of roughly 90,000 primarily Karanga peasant farmers who had migrated from the south-western region of Zimbabwe (formerly Rhodesia) to the Zambian province of Mumbwa, a fertile farming region. According to Chung (2006:75), many of the young peasant volunteers for independence came from this Mumbwa hamlet in Zambia. The fact that ZANLA experienced a serious recruit scarcity between 1965 and 1972 is another significant point mentioned by Chung (2006:75). Only young, impoverished peasant people from Mumbwa were ready to participate in the war for freedom. This had two effects: (i) many of the oldest and most seasoned freedom fighters had only received a limited amount of primary education, and some were even illiterate; (ii) the majority of Mumbwa peasant families in the liberation struggle also meant that members of the Karanga tribe were disproportionately represented among the early recruits. The issue of poverty noted above as a push factor for the youths from the Mumbwa community to join the liberation further consolidates the aspect of deprivation in the whole matrix of the liberation struggle.

Fay Chung reveals that the Zimbabwean Mumbwa community in Zambia had another nasty experience. Zimbabweans suffered greatly from Zambia's traditional system of land tenure, which was centred on chiefs granting land. The chiefs would take back the field with the ripening crops from the laborious Zimbabweans after they had cleared virgin land and planted crops, giving them a new plot of virgin land to clear (Chung 2006:77). These events let Zimbabweans realise that Zambia was not their country and that, despite their best efforts, they would never be permitted to develop. This realisation brought a new resolve to fight the settlers back home to regain their country. This is another indication of the repercussion of

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relative deprivation in relation to land tenure systems as discussed in the previous chapter. It is not surprising then that the Mumbwa farmers fed the ZANLA guerrillas throughout the liberation, each farmer contributing bags of maize to feed the liberation fighters (Chung 2006:77).

From the conversations done in the Goromonzi district, some war liberation fighters, also known as war veterans in this discussion, indicated that guerrillas from neighbouring countries forcibly took many recruits from various schools to train as liberation fighters, a fact also acknowledged by Chung (2006:77). The guerrillas would come by night to these various mission schools and addressed the pupils during night vigils (*pungwes*). Later on, the pupils were taken as groups into neighbouring countries like Mozambique and Zambia. The use of force was also confirmed by a war veteran interviewee, Mabhunu Muchapera (by the way war names were given to hide the real identities of the liberation fighters to protect their families back home who could face victimisation from the Rhodesian minority regime) and I quote him verbatim:

> We recruited youths from the Dande area. It was not very difficult to recruit these youths because they knew about the war in Mozambique, and so they understood when we told them that we also wanted to fight for our country. Some of the recruits actually had to force to join the liberation struggle. In my group, I was with Cde Nhamo; he is now in Glendale. I recruited him in Dande, just after Mavhuradonha Mountain. After recruiting him, he became our guide in that area. In my group, we didn't need to use force to recruit comrades, but I know the group that took students at St Albert's Mission, had to use force. That was the abduction, and it was necessary at that time (Nhamo, 2020)

Even though the majority of war veterans deny the element of using force in the recruitment of liberation fighters, there is ample evidence to suggest that coercion was part of the system. Chung (2006:77) highlighted that she could see both the good and bad sides of the liberation struggle. Young Zimbabwean males were captured and coerced into serving in the ranks of the liberation army by both ZANU and ZAPU, which was one of the characteristics of the time (Chung, 2006:77). Numerous students who fled colonial Rhodesia in quest of scholarships at foreign colleges were compelled to enlist in the military. Josiah Tungamirai was one such a victim, who would later become the ZANLA's top leader (Chung, 2006:77).

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In this case, the relative deprivation theory cannot be used to explain the reason for joining the war. Coercion and massive politicisation can be better explanations. Sabelo (2011:55) brings in the point of political and ideological training of both ZIPRA and ZANLA guerrillas. He argues that these guerrillas passed through military and political education in the rear bases in Mozambique and Zambia to the extent that they became different from the conventional armies. They became highly politicised, if not indoctrinated to the extent of operating as military cum political units (Sabelo, 2011:55). These guerrillas became active recruiters of the masses on behalf of their nationalist parties.

From the above position, it can be argued that the majority of people who then joined the liberation movement did so not because they were conscious of their relative deprivation on issues like land. Rather, they were politicised, mobilised, and recruited by the guerrillas who first went for training in neighbouring countries and came back to Zimbabwe to conscientise others. Coupled with this issue of mass mobilisation is the promise of educational opportunities to the recruits. This fact was clearly spelt out by one of the war veteran interviewees, whose Chimurenga name was Wafawanaka, and I quote her verbatim:

> We volunteered to join the liberation struggle after a rally that had been addressed by Cdes Rex Nhongo, Badza and Nhari. They told us that if we joined the liberation struggle, we would be sent to school, and we got interested. These were the early days of the struggle, and this was one of the ways they used to recruit people. So, we volunteered to join, thinking that we were to be sent to school. Our family's first and second born, Paul and Lameck, had already joined the struggle. They were later arrested and subsequently died from the effects of torture by the Smith regime. So, in our family, we already knew about the liberation struggle, but when we agreed to join the struggle, we thought we would be sent to school (Wafawanaka, 2020)

Chung (2006:76) contends that the adolescents who had been starved of their educational possibilities during the colonial system also mention the desire to continue their education as a driving force. Therefore, the kind of deprivation these youths experienced was not in land but in education.

Munochiveyi (2014) rejects the dominant nationalist narrative that stresses the critical mobilising role of African nationalist leaders, in which ordinary people blindly follow the

leadership of elite nationalists. He argues for a more nuanced understanding of the complex and often-contested encounter and dialogue between ordinary rural and urban Africans on the one hand and radical African political activists on the other (Munochiveyi, 2014:1). Further, for Munochiveyi (2014), many ordinary men and women in both rural and urban Rhodesia formulated critiques of colonialism that led them to act in unison with those elite nationalists who formed and led political organisations. This process resulted in political cross-fertilisation and dialogue, where neither urban workers nor rural peasants were simply led. Many young people decided to go and join the liberation struggle because of the influence of this political cross-fertilisation and dialogue.

Another aspect was the increased African political agitation and urban civic disobedience that resulted from the minority government's intensified long-term policy of arresting and silencing dissenting voices (Munochiveyi, 2014). This attempt by the settler government to silence any opposing voice resulted in many youths being fed up and frustrated with this intolerant political development at home. They then decided to follow others to fight for their liberation. Those who felt a closure of their democratic and political space in a country they considered their own can use relative deprivation to account for the eventual decision to join the liberation struggle.

The "son of the soil" (*mwana wevhu* in the Shona language) theory, fits very well in explaining the strong feeling that gripped most young people who flocked to join the liberation movements in different parts of the world. According to Govindarajulu (2017:2) the doctrine of "Sons of Soil" underlies the view that a state specifically belongs to the main linguistic group inhabiting it or that the state constitutes the exclusive "homeland" of its main language speakers who are the "sons of the soil" or the "local residents". All others who live or are settled there and whose mother tongue is not the main national language are declared outsiders. These outsiders might have lived in the country for a long time or have migrated there more recently, but they are not regarded as the "sons of the soil".

During the years when many states were fighting colonialism in Africa, many indigenous "young people" were caught up in a wave of nationalism and patriotism and felt the "Son of soil" motif so strongly that they could hardly resist the urge to go and fight for their nations and resources.

Fearon reveals that the son(s) of the soil concept can lead to conflict between members of a majority or minority ethnic group concentrated in some regions of a country and relatively recent, ethnically distinct migrants to this region from other parts of the same country (Fearon, 2004:283). Further, the members of the majority or minority group think of their group as indigenous and as rightfully possessing the area as their group's ancestral home. The idea of "conflict" here refers to competition and dispute over scarce resources such as land, jobs, educational quotas, government services, or natural resources. Some xenophobic attacks witnessed from some countries in Africa and other parts of the world could have their roots in sons of the soil and the subsequent competition over scarce resources. It is not the scope of this research to fully discuss the son of soil theory.

The issue of migrants and the subsequent pressure over natural resources, such as land, in eighth-century Israel and Judah was discussed in chapter 2 as pointed out above. The issue of deprivation and *latifundialization* were key in the recruitment and joining of the liberation struggle. Scholars might differ on the reasons, but in one way or the other relative deprivation forms the basis of the whole process.

4.3   POLITICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL TRAINING IN MOZAMBIQUE

The leadership of the liberation struggle realised the need to win the support of the peasants at home, without which the war would not have continued. ZANLA forces had to be a politicised army that identified with the aspirations of the people, according to Chung (2006:79). When locals would turn on the rebels to the colonial authorities during the relatively unsuccessful 1960s, this was the lesson learned. ZANLA started to develop a group of political commissars whose tools of war were not physical force, but rather ideas, principles, and ideology (Chung, 2006:79). The most powerful officials in the liberation army who were in charge of gaining the public support were the political commissars.

Analysing the populace' grievances and the rule of behaviour made up the two foundations of political education. The ZANLA Code of Conduct was summarised in the well-known liberation fighter song *Nzira DzeMaSoja* also known as the "Soldiers' Guide", performed quite often at rallies and based on a confluence of Maoist, Christian, and traditional beliefs. Chung (2006:79) claims that the three primary codes of conduct in the later Code of Conduct are as follows:

- Always follow directions.

- Don't even steal one needle or thread from the crowd.

- Submit everything you've obtained.

The eight points of focus also included:

- Speak courteously

- Make ethical purchases.

- Give all you borrow back.

- Avoid hitting or cursing at others.

- Avoid harming crops.

- Do not harass or abuse women.

- Do not mistreat prisoners.

However, it is still a matter of debate on how these tenets were affected and followed. Literature reveals that the method for assessing complaints was based on Paulo Freire's method,[15] in which the general populace was asked to express their complaints and, through discussion with the freedom fighters, come to an understanding of the significance of the liberation struggle. The land question, inadequate educational opportunities, poverty, and unemployment were major issues. The ambitions of the populace could be expressed in this way. The guerrillas had to listen carefully. The culture and opinions of the populace had to be respected. Additionally, they had to incorporate the concerns and goals of the populace into their routine tasks (Chung, 2006:80). An analysis of the above development that resulted in the creation of the office of political commissars reveals that the grievances of the peasants were not given priority. These grievances of peasants were incorporated as a way of courting the peasants' support. Hence, the grievances were used as a red herring. If this argument is correct,

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[15] Freire is a well-known Brazilian educator who promulgated a system of teaching based on an analysis of the concerns of the people.

then the theory of relative deprivation concerning land was mainly an issue of the peasants and not the political leadership.

The analysis above is in tandem with Mugabe's philosophy which mentions the right of the nation to self-determination as the primary reason why the liberation war was fought (Mugabe, 2001:360). Mugabe, however, confirms categorically that the question of land was the basis of fighting the settlers from the onset of colonialism (Mugabe, 2001:36). Mugabe wrote his book to argue for the justification of the Third Chimurenga, The FTRLP. Hence, it is more of a propaganda emotionally laden document.

Part of the research assignment was to do conversations with the war veterans and the peasants who have been settled in the Goromonzi district in Mashonaland East province, as mentioned in the delimitation section in Chapter 1. It is important to briefly describe the Goromonzi district, the area that provided the much-needed natural setting for the participants for the field research.

4.4   THE DISTRICT OF GOROMONZI

Published works reveal that one of the nine districts in Mashonaland East Province, Goromonzi District, is primarily rural (see Map 4.1). Further, Chikomba, Murehwa, Mutoko, Hwedza, Marondera, Mudzi, Seke, and Uzumba Maramba Pfungwe are the other districts in the province. Marondera to the east, Harare to the west, Manyame to the south, and Murehwa and Domboshava to the north form its borders. Mashonaland East Provincial Census Report (2002:18) reveals that Goromonzi is a district that is situated between the cities of Ruwa and Marondera, some 32 kilometres southeast of the nation's capital Harare. Further, Goromonzi, the district with the greatest population in Mashonaland East Province (13, 68 %), has a population of 1,127,413 people. 96.16% of these people live in rural areas, and the remaining 3.84 % lives in urban areas (Mashonaland East Provincial Census Report, 2002:18). Goromonzi has a total size of about 254,072 hectares or 2,459 square kilometres. According to the Goromonzi district's 2002 Census, 77,509 men and 78,251 women reside in rural regions in the district. There are 10,867 males and 11,171 females living in cities, respectively (Central Statistical Office, 2002). Males make up 49.7% of the population overall, while females make up 50.3%.

Map 4.1: The Purple patch on the Green belt represents Goromonzi District's location in Zimbabwe's Mashonaland East Province (Chakona, 2011).

Mashonaland East Provincial Census Report (2018:18) indicates that the district had 21 rural wards in 2001, but delineations made in advance of the 2008 Presidential elections resulted in a rise to 26 rural wards. To counteract the urban bias towards the opposing parties, certain urban wards were amalgamated with rural ones during this procedure (Murisa, 2010). There are nine more wards that are a part of or comprise Ruwa Urban. Goromonzi District benefits from and takes in the consequences of urban development as a result of its proximity to Harare. This is due to the fact that the city's growth is governed by the Harare Combination Master Plan, which includes the surrounding areas (Goromonzi Administrative Centre included).

4.5   HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF GOROMONZI DISTRICT

Salisbury District, as it was formerly known during the colonial era, has evolved into Goromonzi District. Palmer and Parson (1977:265) claim that the territory had "been practically all pegged as farms as early as 1897" because of its proximity to and agricultural potential around Rhodesia's capital, which was Salisbury, now Harare. Palmer and Parson (1977:265) reported that at the time of its founding, it had a total of nine reserves: the Chikwaka, Musana, Chinamhora, Jeta, Kunzwi, Musungu, Nalire, Seki, and Gwebi (Marongwe, 2008). The Chinyika Reserve was established in 1909, when the Native Commissioner made changes to the other reserves. Muda, Marirangwe, Shangure, and No. 4 were the four Native Purchase Areas in Salisbury District as of 1941, as Europeans occupied more than two-thirds of the district's fertile arable land.

The district was later divided into multiple districts, one of which was Goromonzi. In Goromonzi, there are three major chieftainships namely, Chinamhora, Rusike, and Chikwaka, with the latter in authority and in control of the majority of the territory. Chiefs Chinamhora and Chikwaka belong to the Soko-Murewa and Nzou-Samanyanga totems, respectively (Marongwe, 2008). The majority of Goromonzi served as the Vashawasha people's original home, and it still is. They are a component of the Chief Chinamhora-governed Zezuru Shona dialect. As a member of the Bantu tribes, the Vashawasha are thought to have come from Ethiopia. They made their home in the Chishawasha region, which is named after the Vashawasha people in the Zezuru language (Vambe, 1972). Further, due to fighting, the Vashawasha settlement in the district forced the Rozvi-Shonas to relocate, while those who remained behind were assimilated into the Vashawasha culture. These evictions caused the Vashawasha people to break into separate tribes and, in a way, prepared the ground for later evictions carried out by and for European farmers or settlers. Due to their proximity to white supremacy established in Fort Salisbury, the Vashawasha people became the first victims of land grabbing by the colonial Pioneer Column (Marongwe, 2008). This scenario is in tandem with my conclusion in chapter two on the effects of commercial land developments in eighth-century Judah and how people who lived in the vicinity of places earmarked for cities were affected. They had to give in to the pressure of being moved from their communal land to pave the way for the construction of cities and *Latifundialization.* Marongwe (2008) indicates that the area of the Chishawasha people, before Europeans settled it, extended from the Mukuvisi River's eastern bank to the Mapfeni River's western bank, a distance of slightly more than 30

miles and from Marondera (previously Marandellas) in the south-west to Mazowe in the north (more than 40 miles away). Following colonisation, Father Hartmann, a Jesuit priest who served as chaplain to the Roman Catholic Pioneer Column members, was given the lush land in the Chishawasha region. Father Hartmann then went on to find the St. Ignatius of Loyola Mission station. In chapter one, I mentioned a similar case of the Fingo location where 177 colonial settlers were offered 10 433 hectares of land in Matabeleland as payment for services, they offered in ferrying the colonial settlers from South Africa using their caravans (Rukuni, 1994:42). What is clear in both cases (the Chishawasha and the Fingo) is a reflection of what was obtained in other places of the country (Zimbabwe) during colonial times. Therefore, the eighth-century context of the book of Micah mirrors the Zimbabwean situation during colonial times.

The Vashawasha people's white neighbours developed trespass laws which eventually served as the primary means of defending white freehold property in rural areas (Marongwe, 2008). Previously, communities could freely and unhinderedly stroll to and from nearby locations, such as Goromonzi, Makumbe, Murehwa, and beyond. Chief Chinamhora previously owned the majority of what is now Harare during the pre-colonial era. Chief Chinamhora's territory comprised the following suburbs/townships in the present day: Epworth, Mabvuku, Tafara, Borrowdale, Chisipiti, Zimre, Ruwa, and Glenlorne (either in or near Harare). This has occasionally brought up the possibility of land restitution claims (Moore 2002; 2005; Matless, 1992). Additionally, as Marongwe (2002) notes that during the recent occupations and fast-track restructuring, farms owned by white farmers who were notorious for abusing their labourers or having tense ties with their communal neighbours were targeted.

Therefore, the study can conclude that both the theory of Hillers and the concept of von Rad are proven to be useful. Also, the objective of this present chapter has been achieved, that is to expose the land grab and relative deprivation specifically in the district of Goromonzi. In addition, the study highlighted how the text and context of Micah assist us in unlocking the context of Zimbabwe in which the issue of loss of land came up clearly.

4.6   THE GOROMONZI ECONOMIC CONDITION

Goromonzi has a long history of being renowned for its communal and commercial agriculture, mining, tourism, and urban development (Marongwe, 2008:175). Commercial agriculture and tourism were among the industries most impacted by FTLRP. In the community regions,

subsistence farming has been practised on average plot sizes of 3 to 4 acres, or around 1.5 hectares, in each household (Goromonzi Rural District Council [GRDC], 2000). Residents relied on rain-fed agriculture because there were no irrigation systems in the communal grounds before 2000. The district's primary dams were all private dams located on the expansive commercial farms, in addition to the absence of irrigation systems in customary areas.

Up until 1999, economic activities in Goromonzi and a sizeable portion of all formal employment depended on industrial farms that produced flowers and vegetables in greenhouses for export to Europe. Therefore, after 1999 the new black owners of the commercial farms were deprived of the access to the European markets, which was a preserve of the white farmers.

The fast-track land initiative has rendered these commercial farms inactive. Traditional farmers cultivate maize, pumpkins, and other crops on smallholdings in traditional settings. Vlei cultivation has become extremely popular; vleis are regions often or for long enough lengths of time saturated with surface or ground water to maintain flora that is normally adapted to such conditions (Mposi, 2020). The majority of vlei use is in the form of modest commercial vegetable gardens in residential areas near to Harare, including Goromonzi (Mposi, 2020). These gardens are acknowledged as a vital resource that has contributed significantly to the food security of smallholder households in Zimbabwe, particularly during periods of low rainfall when crop productivity on sandy soil is low. The neighbourhood has been a significant source of vegetables to Mbare Msika, Harare's central market.

A substantial dairy farming operation was launched in Chikwaka, a development project that involved 348 commercial farmers. Further, 118 farmers were transporting milk to Juru Growth Point, which was strategically placed to accept the milk from the farmers, and another 209 farmers were actively involved in the project itself. Marketing was carried out through the establishment of milk collecting, testing, and bulking facilities, with transportation to Dairy Zimbabwe Limited (DZL) in Harare, according to a Goromonzi Rural District Council report (GRDC, 2000:20). 30% of the milk produced in Chikwaka was sold to people, schools, and other organizations, while 70% was transferred to DZL. The milk project was disrupted by the FTLRP and all supply had to stop according the people in the area.

Literature shows that Arcturus was home to a private firm known as the London and Rhodesian Mining and Land Company (LONRHO), which was a significant player in the gold

mining industry and an important source of local income. Chinyika, Green Mamba, Umtenje, Regent, Ceylon, and Genesis Mines all have subsidiary mining operations. Arcturus and Gladstone Mines reportedly produced more than 50 kg of gold per month through underground mining, according to GRDC (2000); nonetheless, the mining industry's contribution to the district's infrastructure, finances, or development was relatively small. (Marongwe, 2008:176).

The national museums actively participated in bringing people to the rock paintings at Domboshava, making it a popular tourist site in the region. Along the Shamva route, there were additional tourist destinations such Mermaids Pool and the Ewanrigg Botanical Gardens. Private recreational facilities, such as the Enterprise Golf, Ruwa Country, and Goromonzi Country Clubs, were also available, which served as significant gathering places for white commercial farmers. The said places remined in the hands of private owners. FTLRP targeted agricultural land only.

4.7 THE GOROMONZI DISTRICT'S LAND USE AND TENURE

Cited works reveal that land in the district has been historically under pressure from industry, business, residential construction, and agriculture. The district had 257 commercial farms before FTLRP and popular surrounding communal lands were Chinamhora Communal Lands, Chikwaka Communal Lands, Chishawasha Communal Lands, and Chinyika Communal Lands (Marongwe, 2008:4). Prior to FTLRP, the district's three main categories of land use and tenure were state lands, small-scale commercial farms, and customary large-scale commercial farms (LSCF) (see Table 4.1 and Map 4.2).

Table 4.1: Categories of Land Use and Tenure in Goromonzi (pre-FTLRP Period).[16]

Land–Use Category	Measurements (in hectares)	Percentage of Total
Common Areas (for general use)	91 446	33,3 %

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[16] See the figures from the Ministry of Lands, Agriculture, and Rural Resettlement, 1996.

LSCF	154 549	58,94 %
Parks for recreation	1 499	0,99%
SSCF	13 136	5,1%
Public Lands	5 823	1,67%
Total	**266 453**	**100%**

Commercial farmers mostly grew maize, tobacco, soya beans, seed maize, paprika, and flowers; smaller areas were utilised for horticulture. The state was worried that obtaining property for resettlement in Goromonzi might compromise the effectiveness and efficiency of LSCF (Weiner, Moyo, Munslow, and O'Keefe 1985). Commercial farms in Goromonzi, however, were criticised for not using all of their lands productively. For instance, according to Marongwe (2008:183), only 25,927 hectares, or 14.4% of the total 179,771 hectares under the LSCF, were used in the 1981–1982 agricultural season.

The agricultural activities of Goromonzi varied before the FTLRP. Land use in the LSCF was highly varied, as revealed in the GRDC Socio-Economic Study of 1996 (See also Murisa, 2010; Marimira, 2010; Jowah, 2010). The primary activity, which took up nearly 60% of the total area that was gazetted for agricultural output, was livestock husbandry. Following this were 25% of the farmers who engaged in horticulture, mostly growing beans, peas, and flowers; nevertheless, this land use only accounted for 2% of the commercial farmland due to the low land requirements and high level of productivity. The situation described here is similar to the intense agricultural activities that took place during the time of Hezekiah in eighth-century Judah (Klettler, 2001: 181-183).

Additionally, it was projected that 24% of the farmers in Goromonzi grew important products, including tobacco and maize (seed and grain). Commercial farmers in the area expanded their land use diversification efforts by branching out into the care of wildlife (Moyo, 2000). In particular, wildlife production used 7.17% of the area used by commercial farmers,

or 6.45% of them (Moyo, 2000; Reed 2001). Land use on commercial farms during the time before the FTLRP is depicted in the table below (Table 4.2).

Table 4.2: Land Use Trends in Goromonzi's Commercial Farms (pre-FTLRP Period)[17]

Farming Enterprise	Number of farmers	Percentage	Hectares Use	Percentage
Crop Farming	22	23.26	5 453	27.99
Livestock	30	29.18	10 818	58.76
Ostrich	3	2.20		
Wild Animals	7	7.0	1 407	7.81
Horticulture	20	24.73	225	1.25
Others	11	13.63	809	4.19
Total	**93**	**100.00**	**18 712**	**100.00**

According to information from the GRDC Report of 2000, only a small portion of commercial farmers (49.2%) used water from boreholes, 32.8% had access to dams for watering crops, and another 18% used water from nearby rivers (Marongwe, 2008). The district had no dams owned by the Ministry of Water Resources and Energy Development by the year 2000 (Marongwe, 2008). Farmers were actually expected to pool their resources and build their own dams. Gilnockie Dam was a typical example of this plan.

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[17] The table is extrapolated from the 2001 GRDC Rural Master Plan.

It should be emphasised that the people of Goromonzi district had been finding employment in the surrounding commercial farms prior to the FTLRP. They also benefited from the farm products like milk, meat, eggs, vegetables, fruits, and many others. When FTLRP took over the place, many local people found themselves out of employment. Goromonzi district is very close to the capital city, therefore beneficiaries of the land reform were mainly big politicians from the city, who managed to grab large portions of land. The general population which benefited were given the 6 hectares per family under the A1 settlement module. This explains why there exists a sense of unfairness amongst the indigenous peasants, even though they also benefited. Those who failed to be resettled continued to look for employment from the new land occupiers. However, these workers claim that remuneration is no longer the same as they used to get from white commercial farmers. In addition, the majority are not paid on time by the new black owners, a situation that seems to trigger the sense of relative deprivation to the workers.

Map 4.2: Goromonzi's land is classified as communal (LSCF, and SSCF.) (Marongwe, 2008)

Goromonzi District Land Classification
FIRST EDITION
Information as at July 1998
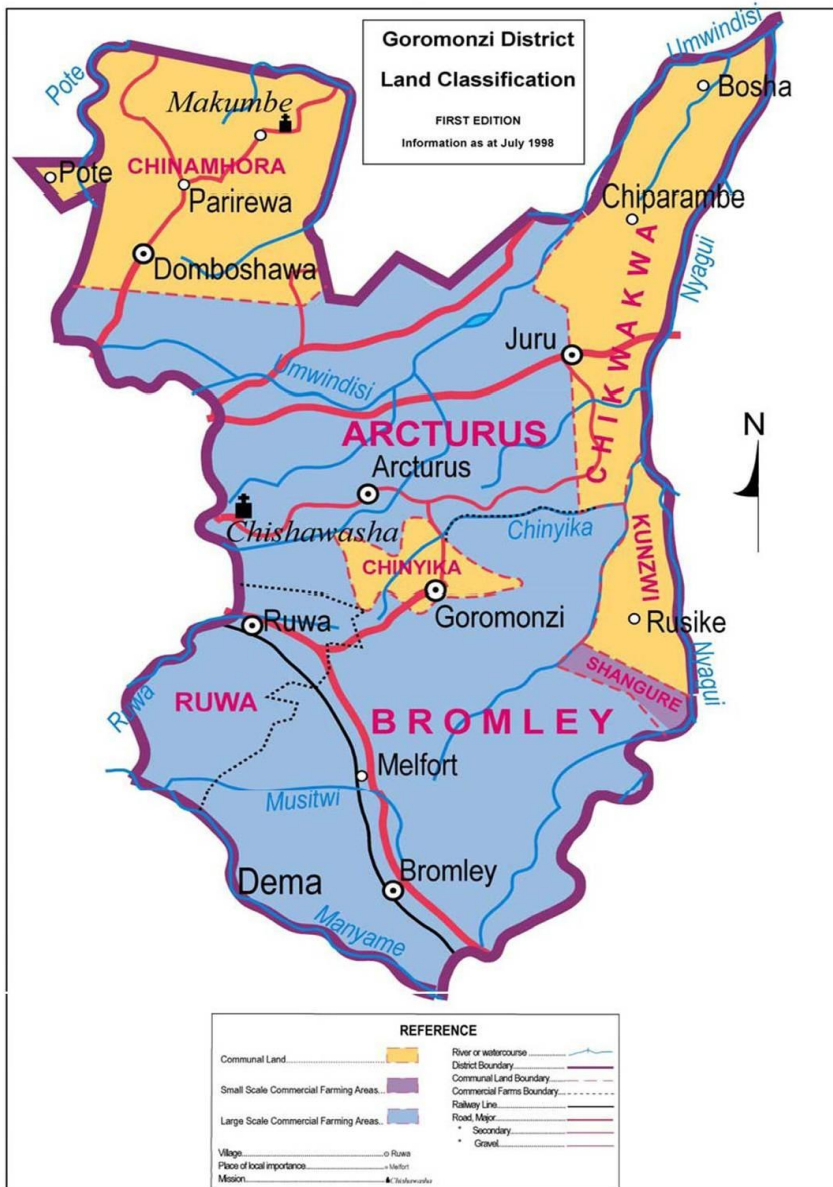
4.8   LAND CONTROVERSIES COMMONLY FACED BY FARMERS IN THE GOROMONZI DISTRICT

Numerous causes are cited for the district of Goromonzi's land issues. There has been a persistent issue with squatter settlements in the area. Marongwe (2008:184) points this up after accessing the minutes of the meeting held by the Goromonzi Rural District Council. The minutes frequently mention illegal settlements, such as living near rivers and selling community land. In addition, relocation caused by development projects, particularly dam construction, has occurred. Chakona (2011) proffered that due to the district's unofficial status as an economic centre for the LSCF, no farm had been purchased for resettlement for 20 years, which led to the development of squatter camps. The land reform initiative in Goromonzi did

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not benefit community residents during the 1980s and 1990s, and as a result, some residents decided on their own to occupy commercial farms or grazing properties in communal areas.

People from Harare sought land for residential use because communal lands are nearby, primarily in Chikwaka, Chinamhora, and Chinyika (GRDC, 2000:26). This, together with the LSCF's former farm labourers competing for rural livelihoods both inside and outside of Goromonzi, led to an increase in population pressure on land in the district. A similar trend of migrations that increased pressure on natural resources like land in eighth-century Judah was discussed in chapter two. Many people were relocating there in quest of rural properties (GRDC, 2000:14). In the years between 1980 and 2000, the GRDC received 1,000 requests for land. 31% of the migrants came from Harare, the neighbouring fields, and other districts, while 69% of them were originally from the district, including communal farmers.

The Goromonzi District Council encountered a significant obstacle in the form of the persistent squatters' issue. A great deal of worry was raised regarding the frequent incursions into the established grazing schemes and the destruction and, in some cases, theft of paddock fencing, during the meeting held on June 17th, 1999, at its Ruwa offices (Marongwe, 2008). The council's position was, however, very conflicted. For instance, the Council meeting of February 17th, 2000 (Marongwe, 2008) underlined the necessity to legalise all illegal settlers in the region, with the exception of those who had set up residence on grazing land in traditional areas. Council frequently let individuals establish themselves in grazing areas, such as at Yafelli Village in the Chinyika ward. Murape ward, which no longer contained grazing or arable land, was designated as a residential area in response to the urgent land scarcity (Marongwe, 2008:186). Some residents of the district were acting unethically by selling land while also approaching the council to request resettlement land. The GRDC decided that all squatters were to be evicted by July 31, 2000, as the new wave of land occupations (which began in early 2000) advanced and reached their height.

Further, records from the GRDC indicate that in the 1990s, traditional leaders and council employees participated in unlawful land distribution. In reality, council staff was urging more people to seek safety in the area. The Agriculture, Natural Resources and Conservation Committee meeting minutes from the 13th of August 1999, which emphasised the importance of protecting natural resources, specifically land, support this in particular (Marongwe, 2008:84). The minutes from the meeting make it evident that the District Administrator (DA) was responsible for granting chiefs and headmen the authority to allot land

in violation of the law, which further fuelled illegal settlements. The chiefs and headmen were not exempt from nepotism because it was said that they were giving their sons land. Additionally, land sales were growing at an increasing rate.

It can be argued that relative deprivation in some cases led to illegal settlements and/or occupation of empty lands for residential purposes. In addition, this section showed that failure to address issues of deprivation may in some instance lead to intolerance on the part of the poor peasants and perpetuate violation of laws on the land in question. Hillers' analysis is premised on protests which stem out of situations of deprivation. Such actions as described above can resemble movement of protests by the poor peasants who become tired of waiting a redress of their situation.

4.9   NEW TENURE PATTERNS AND LAND OCCUPATIONS IN THE GOROMONZI DISTRICT

Prior to 2000, the district did not undergo resettlement mostly because of the region's fertile agricultural land. It was deemed, in a way, to be a region best suited for LSCF (containing horticulture, beef, maize, dairy, and soya beans) with irrigation infrastructure that aided intensive agriculture. The government's commitment to upholding the interests of commercial farming between 1980 and 2000 led to the district being designated as a no-go area for relocation (Tshuma, 1997; Selby, 2006). Sadomba (2008:105) asserts that the land occupations of 1997–1998—during which groups seized approximately 20 farms from the Chikwaka Communal Lands—threatened to jeopardise this privileged position. Even after a government-initiated High Court Order that resulted in evictions, the occupations persisted, with the Zimbabwe Republic Police (ZRP) storming the farms and expelling the occupants (Sadomba, 2008:106). However, Goromonzi District farms saw land occupations in 2000 (as did all other districts in the nation as a whole).

The Third Chimurenga or declared land occupations, began in the year 2000. In the case of Goromonzi, by March 2000, the district had already been home to 16 large-scale commercial farms, and as the invasions grew more frequent, the number of occupied farms continued to rise (Marongwe, 2008). Veterans of the war were employed in these fields, and their numbers ranged from 1 to 15 (see Table 4.3 below). Published literature reveal that the land occupations in the Goromonzi District (as elsewhere in the country) were motivated by

politics, given the declared position of war veterans on land and their crucial participation in organising and maintaining the occupations (Chaumba et al., 2003). It is also noteworthy that, as was the case with Caledonia and Chishawasha farms, urban residents participated in the occupations in quest of land due to Goromonzi' proximity to Harare. Residents from Mabvuku, Tafara, Ruwa, Zimre, and other surrounding residential neighbourhoods were straining on these farms. Here the study takes note of urban to farm migration resulting in pressure on the aforementioned farms. This scenario of migration was noted as a factor that increased pressure on communal land in eighth-century Judah as was discussed in chapter 2.

Table 4.3 Goromonzi's land occupations as of May 2000[18]

Farm's Name	Space (Hectares)	Number of Peasants	Number of Veterans of war	Percentage of Veterans of War
Antlanda	547	33	9	24
Divonia	914	1	6	100.7
Osibis	590	65	7	6.8
Ramari	**	12	3	9
Estate of Mt. Shanon	570	13	2	23
North of Chipfumbi	621	9	4	32
Riseholme	497	3	1	28

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[18] See Marongwe (2008). The figures are adapted from various War Veterans Association Documents. Noteworthy, ** means that the figures are not known.

Woodsford	696	11	3	13
Chabwino	670	7	2	12
Chibvuta	1067	36	2	2.5
Borrowdale Estate of Rumani	482	2	5	101
Isur Umri	2620	2	3	102
Radolphia	**	1	4	103
Mt. of Olimbus	2837	21	5	24
Manhenga	610	50	15	21
Cogal	941	13	3	23
Estate of Melfort	1472	123	3	4.1
Woodlacks	**	2	4	100
Riverside	**	1	5	102
Melfort Estate of Fordyce	1277	2	8	97
Total	**16437**	**407**	**94**	**928.1**

As mentioned above regarding the fertile soils in this district and its proximity to the capital city, the farms were occupied by political military personnel with correct connections, and some war veterans, while poor peasants merely received some 6 hectares per family under A 1 resettlement model. Some resettled peasants expressed their gratitude for the small pieces (6 hectares for A1 farmers) of land they received, but they expressed the feeling that senior politicians benefited more than the rest. The senior politicians in the ruling party, ZANU PF, had access to large farms, and some managed to get more than one farm. Their point was exonerated when it was revealed that the former head of state, Robert Mugabe, owned 14 farms covering over 16 000 hectares, acquired in 2000 (*Newsday* - January 5, 2018).

Everson Mushava revealed that the Mugabe family owned the following farms: Gushungo Estates (4 046 hectares) in Mazowe; Gushungo Dairies (1 000 hectares); Iron Mask Estate in Mazowe (1 046 hectares); Sigaru Farm in Mazowe (873 hectares); Gwebi Wood (1 200 hectares) in Mazowe; Gwina Farm in Mazowe (1 445 hectares); Leverdale Farm in Banket (1 488 hectares); and Highfield Farm in Banket (445 hectares). In Norton, they own Cressydale Estate (676 hectares); Tankatara Farm (575 hectares); John O'Groat Farm (760 hectares); Clifford Farm (1 050 hectares) and Bassiville (1 200 hectares), putting the land holding of Mugabe's family to about 16 000 hectares (Mushava, *Newsday*, 5 January 2018).

Mushava also revealed that Mugabe's close relatives that, include his late sister Sabina, his nephew Leo, and his brother-in-law Reward Marufu, were also reportedly multiple farm owners. Several other ZANU PF bigwigs are also multiple farm owners (Mushava, *Newsday*, 5 January 2018). On 19 June 2019, President E. D. Mnangagwa said, "The main issue we have identified is the issue of multiple farm ownership, especially among people in higher offices. For example, I know of one lady who has 16 farms: Dr Stop It." ("Dr Stop it" refers to Grace Mugabe, the wife of the former head of state).

Statistics show that by 2010, President Robert Mugabe and his top allies controlled close to 40 per cent of the 14 million hectares of land seized from about 4,500 white farmers since 2000 (Mushava 2012). For that reason, some critics of the land redistribution programme say it has been an act of transferring land to high-profile people and not the landless – a political programme meant to institutionalise looting (Mushava 2012).

It seems that this re-allocation of productive land was not different from the apportionment of land in the book of Micah as the military personnel, in which some officials

often benefited. In the year 2000 the poor peasants in Zimbabwe continued to be deprived of productive land. Therefore, the New Tenure Patterns and Land Occupations in the Goromonzi District did not usher redress of deprivation. Furthermore, the point that the land was given to the war veterans in 2000 in Zimbabwe triggers a question for the chapter about who the land was given to in Micah. This is very important.

4.10   EXISTING STRUCTURES OF LAND GOVERNANCE

In the district, 243 of the 257 farms were gazetted for resettlement under the FTLRP, while 14 farms remained ungazetted (Chakona, 2011). In accordance with a state commission study from 2003 (PLRC), 70 farms were removed for unrelated factors. Overall, 43% of the land in the district was allocated to A1 programs, and 57% of it was reallocated under the A2 model. The government intended for 60% of the redistributed land to go to A1 farmers and 40% to go to A2 farms; therefore, this went against their goals.

Previous studies, like Marongwe (2008) indicate that FTLRP has produced a new agrarian structure in Goromonzi district that takes into account both A1 and A2 farms. Further, prior to the fast track, there were four types of commercial farms in the district: small-scale, medium-scale, large-scale, and peri-urban commercial farms. There were also traditional farms. Some sources indicate that following the fast track, just 1% of the district's land is currently used for LSCF, 14% is used for medium- and small-scale commercial farming, 9% is used for peri-urban farming, 47% is used for small-scale farming on communal lands, and 29% is used for the A1 model (Marongwe, 2008).

A total of 33,933 hectares from 49 former commercial farms were allotted for the A1 model, creating more than 1,800 new plots. For small plots, the average size was 6 hectares, whereas, for larger plots, it was 47 hectares. Further, in comparison to the villagised model, new plots were often larger than those during the last resettlement period of 1980–1999, when an average settler received 5 hectares of arable land. Chakona (2011) reveals that the A1 model, the farms' proximity to the nearby communal areas of Seke, Chikwaka, Musana, Chinamhora, Gwaze, and Rusike appears to have had an impact on how they were distributed spatially.

The changes that occurred in Goromonzi district after the FTLRP are consistent with developments in other places where the program took place. While on the one hand life was somehow disrupted on the farms as a result of FTLRP, on the other hand the program brought an inclusion of various players into the farming activities as compared to the few commercial

farmers who were utilising the area. In my view, the exercise represents empowerment of indigenous people who were previously marginalised. Government should take an interest in knowing the beneficiaries to iron out corruption when such programs take place.

Sentiments from some war veterans indicated that many war veterans who were on the war front, fighting during the liberation struggle, did not benefit much from the land redistribution exercise in comparison to what they termed "refugees" who were leading the war from neighbouring countries like Mozambique and Zambia. These "refugees" benefited more because they received large tracts of land; perhaps it was due to their privileged positions in government. This explains why today we still have war veterans demonstrating, demanding land and a respectable income for their upkeep. The war veterans' anger is understood in light of reports regarding multiple farm ownership among government officials. It is alleged that the former first family of the late Robert Mugabe owns more than 20 farms. The land issue has remained a conflicting issue even after the FTLRP. However, it is beyond the scope of this research to delve into the details of who benefited most from the FTLRP. A separate study would be necessary for that discussion.

4.11 SELECTED SHONA NOVELS AND THE LAND ISSUES

Enthused by the discourse on land in the Book of Micah and set within the theoretical framework of relative deprivation and the conceptual framework of *Latifundialization*, the present research casted the land discourse against the background of social, political, economic, and legal context of Zimbabwe. Furthermore, in a narrowed approach the present study investigated the issue of land and the Second Chimurenga specifically in the Goromonzi District in Zimbabwe. Since, the indigenous people of Zimbabwe lost their land to white colonists it is fitting to now investigate whether a tool from the Indigenous Knowledge Systems, namely, Shona novels, would assist us to reconstruct the issue of land in Zimbabwe.

Gudhlanga (2016:147) correctly noted that Zimbabwean Shona novels she selected, in their different historical epochs, the fictional works collectively address the issue of dispossession of land among Indigenous black people by the white colonial masters. All the selected works attempt to highlight the deprivation that the indigenous black people had to endure because of colonial settlers' expropriation of their land. Gudhlanga (2016:147)

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indicated that the novels vividly give a picture of the indigenous black people who suffer the consequences of the dispossession of land and other resources. The suffering that the indigenous black people have endured compelled them to fight the colonial masters to regain their lost land. Gudhlanga (2016.147) explains why some of these selected works, especially those set after independence, go a step further to discuss how the indigenous black people have taken steps to redress the racial, colonial and gender injustices in land ownership. Gudhlanga's findings are important for this study that traces issues of deprivation amongst the indigenous black people that resulted in armed struggle to regain the lost land.

4.11.1 A Feso Conspectus (1956)

Gudhlanga (2016:147) cited *Feso* by Solomon Mangwiro Mutsvairo, which is important because it was the first novel to be published in the Shona language before the war (The Second Chimurenga). The novel is an allegorical critique of the colonialist establishment (Mandova and Wasosa, 2012). Gudhlanga (2016:147) noted that the novel is set in the pre-colonial period and centres on Chief Nyan'ombe, who leads the VaHota people and chief Pfumojena of the VaNyai people. Gudhlanga (2016) noted that Chief Nyan'ombe lives peacefully with his people, while Pfumojena is a despot who oppresses his people. During this pre-colonial period, the Shona people, represented by both chiefdoms (the VaNyai and VaHota), were a self-sufficient agrarian society which supplemented crop husbandry with animal husbandry. Importantly, the book depicts pre-colonial setting as a world of abundance where indigenous people could freely access wildlife, timber, and other resources (Mutsvairo, 1956:3-4). The indigenous Zimbabweans had ample access to cow grazing places, wood for building homes, wildlife to replenish domestic meat, and even firewood from the forests (Mutsvairo, 1956:3). A number of years of food security were provided for by the Shona people's fertile land and ample food production (Mutsvairo, 1956:3). The novel presents the VaHota people as humans who lived in the Mazowe area, which is part of the country's Agro-ecological Region 2 and provides a lot of maize and other crops for the country (Gudhlanga 2016:148). As shown by Mutsvairo (1956:9) the Shona society also engaged in some artisan work like mining, among others.

In the novel, Chief Nyan'ombe is presented as a senior bachelor who has reached marriageable age and wants to marry the most beautiful woman befitting a chief. Such a woman is only found in the land belonging to Chief Pfumojena (Gudhlanga, 2016:148). Her name is

Chipochedenga, Pfumojena's beautiful daughter whom he did not want to get married. Strangely so, Pfumojena, as Gudhlanga (2016:148) noted from Mutsvairo's work, would rather have his daughter act as a trophy to be admired by his subjects during his numerous planned social functions in which they just feasted and admired the chief's daughter (Mutsvairo, 1956:18). According to Gudhlanga (2016:148) the chief would execute a person who dares to come near Chipochedenga. To add to the evil character of Pfumojena, he was a tyrant who, through his "traditional medical practitioners," would falsely accuse people of witchcraft and treason (Gudhlanga, 2016:148). Further, those who were accused of such were killed, and Pfumojena takes over their homesteads, farmlands, and cattle. It is reported that Pfumojena accumulates his wealth by stealing from his subjects in this way (Mutsvairo, 1956:37). Gudhlanga (2016:148) cited that "some people who are lucky enough and do not get killed after these false accusations live in servitude working for the chief in his fields or herding the cattle (which he acquired unscrupulously) for no payment" (Mutsvairo, 1956:37).

Reportedly, the king, Nyan'ombe sent his most trusted commander, known as Feso, to get him the most beautiful and eligible young lady who happened to be the chief's daughter in Pfumojena's land, for him to marry (Gudhlanga, 2016:148). "Feso embarked on an adventure to chief Pfumojena's land. The journey is not without challenges as Feso meets some dissidents who had run away from Pfumojena's dictatorship and now live in the jungle" (Mutsvairo, 1956:27). "He further faces some challenges at Pfumojena's palace, but he, as an eponymous character, overcomes the challenges and manages successfully to take Chipochedenga to Nyan'ombe" (Mutsvairo, 1956:42 in Gudhlanga, 2016:148). However, Chief Nyan'ombe and his people accept Chipochedenga, and she is crowned the queen of the VaNyai people. Gudhlanga (2016:148) relates that Pfumojena learns that his daughter is at Nyan'ombe's palace, and he follows her resulting in a war breaking out between himself and Nyan'ombe. In the narrative, Nyan'ombe is defeated, and Pfumojena takes back his daughter. However, unknown to him, his daughter, now the queen of the VaHota people, had planned with her husband to set an ambush on Pfumojena during his numerous feasting and drinking functions (Gudhlanga 2016:148). "Eventually, Nyan'ombe ambushes Pfumojena after such a feasting function and all of Pfumojena's soldiers, who were drunk, are easily defeated. Nyan'ombe takes back his wife" (Gudhlanga 2016:148).

This study follows Gudhlanga's explanation that the plot of Feso is viewed as an allegory of the struggle for control over land in Rhodesia between the native population and

the white settlers (Gudhlanga, 2016:149). The interactions between Pfumojena and his subjects, as well as the conflict between Pfumojena and Nyan'ombe, have made this point very evident. The return of Nyan'ombe's territories and those of the VaNyai people, who had been driven from their homes by Pfumojena, coincides with Nyan'ombe's victory over him. Pfumojena most likely stands in for the colonial empire, which usurps authority from neighbouring states and the indigenous population (Gudhlanga, 2016:149). The land dispute between Pfumojena and Nyan'mbe is settled amicably at the book's conclusion, when Nyan'ombe is given back all of his lands (Gudhlanga, 2016:149). Vambe (2006:267) in Gudhlanga, asserts that inside *Feso* Mutswairo "resolves the land question in a harmonious way."(Gudhlanga, 2016:149). Beyond the narrative of the book under discussion, land disputes between Africans that are portrayed as occurring in Zimbabwe after independence undercut this chosen ending (Gudhlanga, 2016:149). Therefore, the calm restoration shown in Feso is not exactly what exists in Zimbabwe after gaining independence because there are ongoing disputes over land ownership that have not yet been settled and remain a source of contention. This analysis of Gudhlanga is important to this study as it argues that deprivation continues to be experienced by the indigenous people over land issues even after the war of liberation ended and the attainment of independence in Zimbabwe.

4.11.1. An exegesis of Feso

This study relies on Gudhlanga's analysis of Feso who argues that the pre-colonial society is portrayed by Feso as self-sufficient, food secure, and economically thriving. Not in the western sense, where there are private property rights to land, the land is owned in this novel. The chiefs, who according to African mythology are the guardians of the land, are the community proprietors of the land and distribute it to the populace. There is no individual ownership of the land. The chiefs, who are in charge of overseeing the land, in the African realm distribute the land to the people on behalf of the ancestors. The chiefs are in charge of awarding land in Feso, where it is not private property but rather a part of the spiritual universe (Gudhlanga, 2016:167). This analysis exposes issues of deprivation in relation to land issues. The chiefs' roles in land custodianship in pre-independence Zimbabwe were severely affected with the coming in of the white settlers.

Gudhlanga (2016:167) further explains that in the novel *Feso*, male figureheads were given land by the chief, and women had access to it through their male family. Although at first

glance one would appreciate the fact that women had access to land, the point remains that the society was patriarchal as women needed male figures to access land. In traditional Shona society, access to land that belonged to the spiritual realm was important for both men and women, and bachelors had no right to receive land allocations; they could only receive land allocations after being married. It is however, strange that a bachelor chief would own land. Due to the fact that men in traditional communities did not own the land, leaders like Pfumojena had no trouble robbing people of their property. Gudhlanga's explanation is also important to this study as it explains the different notions of land ownership in African traditional cosmology where land belongs to the community for the good of everyone.

Gudhlanga (2016:168) further explains the importance of land in the pre-colonial Shona society as portrayed in *Feso*. Families derived their sustenance from the land through traditional means. The self-sufficient nature and communal access to land in pre-colonial society is brought out in the opening paragraph, where it is said,

> *Kare munyika yeMazoe mairimwa zvirimwa zvizhinji kwazvo nehurudza dzavatema dzaivemo. Waiona zviyo zvizere mumatura gore negore zvisingashayiki kana kupera.*
>
> *Zve, maive namasango akanga aine miti nemharuparu dzakati twasa, dzine ngundu yamashizha namaruva pamusorosoro payo. Vanhu vakanga vasingambotambudziki kana voda kuvaka dzimba namatanga emombe neezvimwe zvipfuwo zvavakanga vakapfuwa. Mapango aive mirwi; huni dzakaisa musana kunze, dzakangoti bvu namasango; mharuparu dzokuvakisa dzimba naidzowo dzakaita rurasademo namasango* (Mutsvairo, 1956: 1 quoted in Gudhlanga, 2016:168).

Gudhlanga (2016:168) translates the preceding paragraph in the following manner:

> Long time ago, in the Mazowe area, renowned African farmers used to produce abundant grain that could last for many years. Also, there were forests with very tall trees that had lush foliage. People never had problems when they were looking for building materials for their houses and kraals for their cattle and other domestic animals that they kept; they could easily fetch these from their

forests. The forest was awash with trees for timber and firewood that they could easily fetch for their everyday use.

Concurring with Gudhlanga (2016:168), the profusion of domestic animal grazing areas and large harvests provided sufficient evidence that the pre-colonial Shona civilization "owned" fertile land that supported their way of life. The land was not privately owned as it is the case at the present Zimbabwe, but owned by the community as a whole. Households had access to the productive lands. As argued above, the migration of white settlers into Zimbabwe resulted in the confiscation of fertile land when the white settlers grabbed it from the local indigenous people. The result was relative deprivation that the indigenous black people experience.

Gudhlanga further reveals that before colonialism, the Shona people lived prosperous lives in which everyone contributed equally to the welfare of the community, as shown by Mutsvairo (Gudhlanga, 2016:169). Although it is not explicitly stated, it can be inferred from the agricultural activities that were undertaken then that the people of African descent had access to fertile areas rather than the tsetse-infested and barren areas to which they were dumped by the colonial invaders (Vengeyi, 2015). The indigenous people had access to productive land. In the Agro-ecological Region 2 of Zimbabwe, which was formerly the breadbasket of the nation and the region, Mutswairo highlights the fact that Africans had access to the fertile soil of the Mazowe area. This region has very good rainfall and fertile soils and is conducive for the production of cereals like maize and other crops that need moderate to high rainfall and good temperatures (Gudhlanga, 2016:169).

Gudhlanga (2016:171) further points out that Mutswairo shows male and female Africans entering enormous areas of land covered in very tall grass, a sign of a particularly productive region. Vambe (2006:265) asserts that "the tall grass depicted in Feso portrays a mythical time of Guruuswa in which the Shona people lived cordially on their land". Vambe further claims that "the tall grass depicted in Feso conveys the meanings of times of plenty when land gave abundantly to its owners." "Such an understanding depicted the moral economy of the imagery of stable identities, and of plentiful land, that sustained the ideology of African cultural nationalism in the 1950s when the novel was written" (Vambe, 2006:265 in Gudhlanga, 2016:171). Concurring with Gudhlanga (2016:171), through the images of the Guruuswa story, Mutsvairo eloquently depicts pre-colonial Shona civilization as a time when

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everyone had access to bountiful lands. The Shona people had already started to experience the impacts of the colonial legislation that had stripped them of their land by the 1950s.

Gudhlanga (2016:171) further argues that in the past, when black people jointly possessed productive lands, their lives had been better; they were neither poor nor in need of the land, which had since been taken away from them. This point cements the sentiments of this study that deprivation was a direct result of loss of land by the indigenous black people as they lost their fertile soils to the white settlers. Conclusively, Gudhlanga (2016:171) maintains that Mutswairo is praised as a cunning author for his ability to hide the land confiscation in his allegorical Feso and successfully published the book. The poem "Nehanda Nyakasikana" (Mutswairo, 1956:35–36), which some nationalists repeated to find motivation to oppose the colonial regime and reclaim their lost territory was of critical value for many nationalists in the 1950s. This study, therefore, made extensive use of ideas brought in by Gudhlanga in her analysis of Mutsvairo's *Feso*, as it fully depicts the situation regarding the Shona people before and during colonialism in Zimbabwe.

4.11.2 A Conspectus of *Dzasukwa-Mwana-Asina-Hembe* (1967)

This study utilised another Shona novel that Gudhlanga (2016:149) analysed in her thesis, namely: *Dzasukwa-Mwana-Asina-Hembe* by Patrick Chakaipa which was first published in 1967. Gudhlanga relates that "the novel is a social critique of the progressive disintegration of Kufahakurambwe's family as a result of excessive beer drinking. Some families portrayed in the novel, though they have not totally collapsed like Kufahakurambwe's family, have also suffered the effects of alcoholism, which is now practised by many people in the native reserves in the novel" (Gudhlanga, 2016:149). Other families in the Guvi reserve area have also suffered because of excessive beer drinking (Chakaipa, 1967:108).

According to Gudhlanga (2016:149) "the novel portrays how the colonial establishment, which has availed new methods of acquiring and owning land in the colony, has dispossessed the indigenous people." The novel revolves around Kufahakurambwe and his family, who are now residents on Vhuka's farm, where Kufahakurambwe works as a foreman (Chakaipa, 1967:3). This analysis is important to this study as it is consistent with the theme of relative deprivation that could have resulted in the land dispossession by white settlers. From the novel it can be noticed that many people in the surrounding reserves also desired to be at Vhuka's farm because it was the only place where they could get some form of livelihood. The

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surrounding reserves were barren, infertile, and unfit for human habitation (Gudhlanga, 2016:150). A few "lucky" ones managed to go and work on the farm. The farm offered security in terms of accommodation - farm workers were accommodated there and are presumed to have a better source of livelihood, for they lived on food rations and handouts from the farmer (Gudhlanga, 2016:150; cf. Chakaipa, 1967:21). As presented in the novel, the black people had very few options and their future and aspirations revolved around working on the farm (Gudhlanga, 2016:150). Beer brewing for sale became one of the few options the people pursued in the surrounding reserves (Gudhlanga, 2016:150) as a source of livelihood (Chakaipa, 1967:53). The people could not grow any meaningful crops to sustain themselves in the barren areas (Gudhlanga, 2016:150). This analysis from Gudhlanga resonates well with this study's emphasis that joining or taking part in the Chimurenga war was direct result of deprivation that resulted from *latifundialization*. Kufahakurambwe's words neatly captures the sentiments emanating from beer brewing for sale:

> *Kumusha zvino kwaipa chaizvo. Kare hwahwa hwaiva hwenhimbe kana hwokunwa pachena. Izvozvi zvavava kuti mharadzo inonwirwa kumusha, kuda kunoita doro rehoka mwanasinahembe. Munofunga kuita here ikoku amai vaPaurosi? Kugara nokugara kwakaita madzitateguru edu makambonzwa zvichinzi hwahwa hwaitengeswa muno mumusha? Iyesu patiri nhasi takakura tisingazivi kuti mhamba inotengeswa, takatozvionera muchirungu* (Chakaipa, 1967:2 in Gudhlanga 2016:150).

Gudhlanga (2016:150) offers the following translation of the preceding statement:

> The rural areas are now very bad. In the past beer was only for work parties or just to drink for free. The beer that was used to mark the end of a work party is now drunk at home and not in the fields where the work is done; it means that people now want to sell beer for a work party. Do you think this is right mother of Paurosi? Ever since the times of our ancestors, have you ever heard that beer was sold in our home areas? We grew up not knowing that beer was for sale; we first learnt of that in the colonial establishments.

The study agrees with Gudhlanga's sentiments that women in the native reserves have been reduced to brewing beer for a living, something unheard of in traditional pre-colonial societies (2016:150). This resonates well with this study's position that relative deprivation in

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association with the absence of fertile lands is the genesis of poverty in many affected communities in rural areas. Women are unable to raise any significant crops on the sparse reserves they have been given. White people like Vhuka, who owns huge parcels of land (*latifundia*) and whose position is in fertile places where crops thrive, have taken over the fertile areas (Chakaipa, 1967:3 in Gudhlanga, 2016:150). When Kufahakurambwe returns by bicycle from the reserves and arrives at Vhuka's farm, he attests to the property's fertile rich soils and the area it covered (Chakaipa, 1967: 3). Because land as their source of subsistence was taken away, the indigenous black people—both men and women—are left with no source of livelihood. Gudhlanga (2016:151) maintains that in order for humans to be able to sustain their way of life, they must have access to natural resources such as land, water, plants, wildlife, and other things.

Gudhlanga (2016:151) presented the story of Kufahakurambwe and a select group of adults, adolescents, and children who comprised the labourers on Vhuka's farm. The farm foreman, Kufahakurambwe, was hand-selected by Vhuka to help him run his farm by keeping an eye on the other black employees. Vhuka started producing tobacco on the land, not the staple foods like maize that the local populace would eat, like every other colonial master on the farms. Instead, he cultivated tobacco, the lucrative golden leaf that proves that the colonial farm setup was built at the expense of the native population. This analysis from Gudhlanga above resonates well with this study's argument that colonization led to both deprivation and poverty, creating necessary conditions for indigenous black people to offer their services as cheap labour for the benefit of the coloniser. All these conditions became a "fertile bed" for the genesis of the liberation struggle.

Gudhlanga (2016:151) reiterates what is presented in novel by showing that a bell is used to time the work of native labourers. What should be grown and on what day is determined by Vhuka. Indigenous men and women no longer have the privilege of choosing what to plant on the land that belonged to their forefathers. Even on Christmas Day, farm labourers are permitted to work (Chakaipa, 1967:25–28 in Gudhlanga, 2016:151). When there is a lot of work to be done on the farm, Vhuka occasionally hires additional, inexpensive labour from the neighbourhood. The person sent to look for such labour is Kufahakurambwe. He typically forgets to return to work early after going to the reserves and goes on beer binges, which causes him to miss deadlines. He occasionally comes back to work after being away for four days. Due to the foreman's lack of responsibility and dependability, Vhuka finally fires

Kufahakurambwe on one of these occasions (Chakaipa, 1967:44 in Gudhlanga, 2016:151). Wadyazheve, the farm school instructor, takes over the foremanship after Kufahakurambwe is fired from his job, and Kufahakurambwe and his family relocated to his home in the neighbouring native reserve (Chakaipa, 1967:73 in Gudhlanga, 2016:151).

The banished Kufahakurambwe's experiences in the native reserve are described by Gudhlanga (2016:152). In beer drinking binges, Kufahakurambwe and his wife Mai Mavis compete. Mavis, the couple's daughter, assumes control of the home while the parents are engrossed in booze. She puts in a lot of effort to procure meals for the household. Mavis is able to feed the family thanks to Mai Paurosi (who assisted her), a dedicated woman who toils diligently to raise crops on the unforgivingly desolate area (Chakaipa, 1967:82 in Gudhlanga, 2016:152). Additionally, she sells some of the crops, making some extra cash that she saves for later use. Despite her efforts to be frugal, her mother steals the money she sets away and spends it on beer drinking (Chakaipa, 1967:86). By selling the few animals he had, Kufahakurambwe further devalues the family's property and spends all the proceeds on alcohol. Mavis and Paurosi have teen intercourse because they lack parental supervision, and Mavis becomes pregnant as a result (Chakaipa, 1967:78). The baby she gives birth to passes away shortly after birth. Her parents never accompany her to the hospital because they are too busy drinking beer. In the city of Gwelo, Mavis leaves her family and works for a white woman (Chakaipa, 1967:94 in Gudhlanga, 2016:152). David, her brother, works on the farms and never returns. Gredhes, her sister, remains at home and continues to suffer neglect at her parents' hands. The above passage is important in exposing the consequences of deprivation: the total disintegration of the family. Gudhlanga (2016:152) relates what finally transpired to the parents after showing the effects to the children of the family. Mai Mavis makes friends with Mhofu, a married city worker. They conspire to have Kufahakurambwe killed so that they may simply have an adulterous relationship without Kufahakurambwe interfering. Mai Mavis and her boyfriend use a bottle of brandy that Mhofu delivers from the city to entice Kufahakurambwe to a remote location where Mhofu axes him to death (Chakaipa, 1967:103–104 in Gudhlanga, 2016: 152). When these two criminals are eventually apprehended, Mhofu receives the death penalty and Mai Mavis receives a lengthy prison term. Gredhes, who Mavis brings to the city and stays with, is the reason for her return (Chakaipa, 1967:104–112 in Gudhlanga, 2016:152). Wadyazheve and Mavis finally get married. Alcoholism ostensibly destroys the Kufahakurambwe family. As mentioned above, there are grave consequences of deprivation

on the African society, family and individuals in the indigenous black community. All this is very important to this study as it builds a case on the need for a movement of protest against the white settlers in pre-independence Zimbabwe.

4.11.2. An exegesis of Dzasukwa-Mwana-Asina-Hembe

This study agrees with Gudhlanga's (2016:152) assertion that *Dzasukwa-Mwana-Asina-Hembe* by Patrick Chakaipa, published in 1967, is the perfect example of how African people were removed from their land. In the story, neither men nor women have access to the productive land any more. In the novel, colonialism and its accompanying agents of urbanization, Christianity, and assumed modernity are shown to have made new ways of gaining access to land possible in the colony (Biri, 2015:165 in Gudhlanga, 2016:152). Literally translated as "the beer pots have been washed while the children walk naked," the colonial phrase *Dzasukwa-Mwana-Asina-Hembe* refers to how the dispossessed men and women now spent all of their combined resources on alcohol at the expense of their families (Gudhlanga, 2016:152).

As mentioned in chapter two regarding land ownership in Micah, the novel also represents a form of ownership that is foreign to Africa and has estranged both black men and women from their land. It demonstrates how indigenous men and women have been deprived of the land they once jointly possessed (Gudhlanga, 2016:152). The new ownership structure prioritises private property ownership above collectivism or communal ownership (Gudhlanga, 2016:152). This is the argument pursued by this study in relative deprivation and *latifundialisation* as the bases of Second and Third Chimurenga.

As demonstrated in chapter 3 of this study, colonial statutes, including the Matabeleland Order of Council, Land Apportionment Act, and Native Husbandry Land Act, which firmly cemented the division between African and European territories, led to the land being a European private property. The Land Apportionment and Native Land Husbandry Acts regarded indigenous people as "natives." The term "native" is pejorative since it denies the indigenous population certain rights and advantages, such as the right to land. This is brought out by Muchemwa (2015:115), who reaffirms what the colonial settlers meant by the term native when he remarks:

> When we Europeans call people natives, we take away from them anything that
> suggests that they are human beings. They are, to us, like the forest which the

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western man falls down or the big game that he shoots down. They have no tenure of land. Their tenure of land is as precarious as that of the animals that they find. What shall we, the lords of creation, the white people, do with the natives we find?

Muchemwa effectively conveys how white immigrants saw native black people as things that might be used as bargaining chips for land expropriation. This explains why the colonial settlers confiscated the native black people's land and sold them into slavery, using them as free slave labour for their own benefit. They saw the native black people as a resource that could be easily exploited. Both men and women in *Dzaskwa-Mwana-Asina-Hembe* have lost their ownership of their property and have been placed in colonial native reserves or are struggling to make ends meet on the colonial farm (Gudhlanga, 2016:152).

Therefore, the colonial laws granted white settlers' access to valuable property, which they then expanded into farms that represented the pinnacle of colonial eviction (Gudhlanga, 2016:152). Chakaipa in *Dazsukwa-Mawana-Asina-Hembe* uses a social critique of alcoholism to show the impacts of colonial seizure of land from black men and women, much as Mutswairo does in Feso by using an allegory to explore land issues (Gudhlanga, 2016:153). Even while the plot of the book seems to be about alcoholism on the surface, it actually shows how black people—both men and women—were violently driven out of the productive areas they had previously occupied. Due to the strict censorship regulations of the Rhodesia Literature Bureau, which forbade anything that was politically subversive to the government, Chakaipa uses a social satire of drunkenness (Gudhlanga, 2016:153). This observation is vital to this study as it consolidates the reason for including the novels in this study in an attempt to show the centrality of land to the Chimurenga movements and to relative deprivation that Delbert R. Hillers discusses in relation to the prophetic book of Micah.

The white colonists (the Empire), often if not all the time, used a tactic of "divide and rule." A conflict would be engineered to make black people to fight and kill each other. One black person would be chosen to lead others; of course, he will be under the rule of the white master and be used to control other black people. In the present novel we have a similar case. This argument tallies with what happened in the context of Micah. Padi was initially the friend of the Judean people. He was sent to Jerusalem and freed by Assyrian Empire and given power

and apportioned land of the Judeans, hence the Judean later called him a sobet, that is, a traitor. A former friend made an enemy of the Judean by the empire.

4.11.3 Conspectus of *Kuridza Ngoma neDemo* (1985)

In her research of works in regard to land concerns, Gudhlanga (2016:154) highlighted Aaron Chiundura Moyo's novel *Kuridza Ngoma neDemo* (1985). Gudhlanga points out that before there was any type of government-sponsored land resettlement, *Kuridza Ngoma neDemo* was the first publication to expose the issue of land dispossession in Zimbabwe after independence (Gudhlanga, 2016:154). This was a means of meeting the expectations of the people following the black achievement of freedom in 1980. The novel reveals that the true motivation for starting the war—regaining the land—had not been addressed (Gudhlanga, 2016:154). The drama, which took place in 1985, focused on a crucial issue of land redistribution before the government relocation programme, which did not begin until after 1985. The play carried out the government's ideological endeavour, which had been dragging for too long (Gudhlanga, 2016:154).

Gudhlanga (2016:155) introduces the play, which is centered on the peasants who had been evicted by colonial laws and is set in the newly independent Zimbabwe. After experiencing the terrible repercussions of land dispossession, the play's characters decide that it would be better to take part in the liberation movement and get their land back. The violence of the colonial administration, which was determined to prevent peasants from recovering their land, caused some of them to lose their families, houses, and everything they owned. The colonial government severely punished these peasants by destroying their farms, killing them, and taking the lives of their loved ones. These peasants believe that now, so soon after independence, is the ideal time for them to reclaim their land. After learning that ZANU PF had won the elections, they were ecstatic and thought that all of their wishes, goals, and aspirations—everything they had battled for—were going to come true. The peasants—men and women—quickly migrated to the underutilised farms of the white men or raided the productive farms. In order to help them evict the new black immigrants from their fields, the displaced white farmers sought refuge in the law enforcement officers. This novel presented by Gudhlanga is pertinent to this study as peasants formed the major focus group from the first chapter. Peasants were the most affected of all groups in as far as land deprivation is concerned.

Gudhlanga (2016:155) cites Tinazvo's account of leading a group of peasants and their families as they take over a white man's farm. These farmers feel that by reclaiming the land once owned by black people, they are achieving the liberation struggle's objectives. In the early years of independence, both men and women take part in the invasion of farms. Gudhlanga (2016:155) argues that Moyo captures this fulfilment of the black people's aspirations when Tinazvo says to his ex-combatant son, Saraoga whose war name is Hondo, who has just returned from the war:

Patakangonzwa kuti jongwe rahwina takabva tangoita murambamhuru tichiuya mupurazi rino. Dai ndisina kuzoita zvekusarura vanhu kwavo, nzvimbo ingadai yatove diki. Munhu chipfuwo haadi kuona pane chisango chine mafuro kwawo. Zvino pano tiri kuita vekupepeta sezviyo. Vhunza amai vako ava vagere apa ava. Taurirai mwana amai bhoi (Vave kuseka) (p. 39) … Wave kupenga mwana. Uri kuda kundinyadzisa manje mukati mevanhu vangu. Munhu wakomuredhi anoda kutya mupurisa here chaizvo? Ndopinda pai nokunyara nhai Hondo? Unoziva kuti, ini handina munhu andakadenha kwete. Purazi rino takabvuta kubva kumubhunu asina musoro. Uyu ndiwo mubayiro weduwo wenhamo dzatakaona muhondo. Hapana airara mumba napamusana penyaya dzenyika. Kana amai vako ava, vairova morari yakaoma kwazvo. Huku, mbudzi dzangu dzose ndakapedza ndichibikira imi vana kuti murove hondo makasimba. Kana mbatya ndaitenga. Mombewo ndidzo dzakabvutiwa namabhunu. Musha wose wakapiswa ndokusara ndangova kugara pamhene. Izvi hazvina kundigumbura nokuti ndaiziva kuti taiva tiri muhondo. Zvino hondo yapera kudai izvi muri kuda kuti tirambe tichingogara mumasango here mabhunu achingotambisa nyika yedu kudai. Saka mwana handisi kuda kumbokuvanzira pano handisi kuzobva (Moyo, 1985:43 in Gudhlanga 2016:155).

Gudhlanga translated the above Shona passage as follows:

"When we heard that ZANU PF had won, we quickly rushed to occupy this farm. If I had not screened the new settlers, this farm would have been very small. Human beings are like animals; they quickly rush to greener pastures. But here we are, screening people who can join us on this farm. Ask your mother who is seated over there. Tell your child's mother of our son (They laugh) … You are not serious, my son. You want to disgrace me amongst my people.

How can an ex-freedom fighter fear a policeman? Where do you want me to hide after you have disgraced me? You know I have not wronged anyone, no. We forcefully got this farm from a white farmer who was underutilising it. This is our reward for all the problems we faced during the war because of this land issue. Even your mother here also participated in pungwe meetings. All my chickens and goats got finished when we slaughtered them for the freedom fighters such that they could get the energy to fight this war. I even bought clothes for the freedom fighters. Also, my cattle were stolen by the white man. My homestead was burnt down and I was left with no decent place to live. This did not dismay me because I knew that we were fighting a war. Now that the war is over, you want us to continue living in the barren areas whilst the white man is underutilising the fertile land like this? So, my son, I do not want to lie to you; I am not vacating this farm".

According to Gudhlanga (2016:156), Tinazvo's peasants believed that the end of the conflict heralded a new age in which they could realise their dreams from the liberation struggle, which included reclaiming their property. The former combatant is now aware of the government's program of rapprochement and the fact that common people, such as peasants, cannot just seize land as Tinazvo and his group have done. The former independence fighters Hondo and Shinga advise their parents to return to the desolate areas and merely wait for the government's resettlement scheme. They are urged to only live on land that the government would have given them legitimately (Moyo, 1985: 44 in Gudhlanga, 2016:156).

Although the government's land resettlement program has not yet started, the ex-fighters encourage the peasants to wait for it. For this reason, Hondo constantly encourages his father to occupy land that the government has given to him. Sentiments presented by peasants here are similar to sentiments this study realised in the Goromonzi area where the majority of resettled farmers got some six hectares per family under A1 scheme. The issue featured again when the study probed on who became the major beneficiary of the land reform programme.

According to Gudhlanga (2016:156), the government dispatched law enforcement agencies to evict those who had taken over the land. The white guy first dispatches Toro, his farm security guard, to inform the peasants to leave his property. The peasants severely beat Toro because they couldn't comprehend why a black person would support a white man in continuing to occupy their property. Toro, who is black, is expected to support the peasants and let them remain on the land that they have repossessed from the white man. The farm is

seen as a compensation for all the difficulties they encountered during the war (Gudhlanga, 2016:157).

Gudhlanga (2016:157) also presents the play's structure, demonstrating how the white guy depends on the law enforcement officials dispatched by the government to remove the peasants from the farm. The peasants represented by Tinazvo and his group are aware that the government does not support them in taking the white man's land by force, despite the fact that the new settlers beat up the policeman. This explains why the government keeps sending law enforcement officers to remove them off the farm owned by a white guy. The villagers believe the appearance of the children of their former combatants heralds the start of a fresh conflict with the police, who want them to leave the property. Tinazvo and his coworkers, though, are perplexed by what Hondo and Shinga say. These two ex-combatants make it plain that they are not engaged in a conflict to evict the white farmer by force. Hondo (Moyo, 1985: 44 in Gudhlanga 2016:157) says to his father, *Yangu hondo ndakarwa ikapera baba. Iyi yamave kutaura a, ndeyenyuwo. Hamufi makaikunda nokuti haina gwara* (I have fought my war and won it my dear father. This war you are making reference to is yours. You will never win it because it has no real focus). What has been presented in this passage above reflects the reality versus the ideological propaganda of the war times. Literature shows that the expectations of both the guerrillas and peasants (*povo*), as informed by ideological and political messages and songs during the liberation war were radically altered when reality set in (disillusionment).

Gudhlanga (2016:157) also claims that the peasants rejected the philosophy of reconciliation, which the newly independent government adopted and which "turn[s] swords into ploughshares" (Mugabe, 1980 cited in Mazuruse, 2010). Because they are ignorant of this idea of reconciliation, the peasants reject it. They desire vengeance for the war's grievances. Due to the fact that Shinga's father, Rukato, was a sellout during the war, Tinazvo rejects Shinga as his daughter-in-law. Tinazvo and his companions' families had endured a lot of hardship because of Rukato during the war. Tinazvo is still looking for Rukato to exact retribution for the wrongs he did to his family during the conflict (Moyo, 1985: 48 in Gudhlanga 2016:157). Gudhlanga agrees that peasants are still resentful of the war, as was stated above. Soon after independence, reclaiming farms that had been plundered from the white man was encouraged by war doctrines at *pungwe* gatherings (Gudhlanga, 2016:157). The peasants were unable to recognise that this was war propaganda, which was simply intended to mobilise and conscientise the populace. When the conflict is over, the former freedom fighters

enter a new era knowing full well that what they taught in *pungwe* meetings was unreal. Due to this, Hondo and Shinga re-educate the peasants and instruct them to return to the reserves—the desolate areas where the colonial administration had abandoned them—and dwell there (Gudhlanga, 2016:157).

The drama concludes by illustrating the peasants' disenchantment. When the law forbids them from residing on the farms owned by white males, they feel misled. The idea of reconciliation is likewise disapproved by the peasantry. Shinga was expelled from Tinazvo because her father was a sell-out who lived in their region throughout the liberation fight. They completely disregard the fact that Shinga herself was a freedom fighter who battled to liberate the nation, which they now appear to be enjoying. The drama finishes by demonstrating how the peasants believe they have been duped and misled by the new government, which has kept forcing them to remain in arid regions even after gaining independence with no end in sight to their predicament. The struggle for freedom has been in vain, and white people would continue to live on fertile land while black people are confined to desolate reserves that are not suitable for human habitation (Gudhlanga, 2016:158).

4.11.3.1 An exegesis of Kuridza Ngoma neDemo

According to Mafa et al. (2015) as presented in Gudhlanga (2016:241), Zimbabwe inherited a racially skewed pattern of land ownership that favoured whites (Tshuma, 1997). The dispossessed Zimbabweans took up guns and battled the colonial authorities to reclaim their land in an effort to correct these land ownership inequities. From 1896 until 1980, when the nation at last achieved independence, the fundamental objective of the Chimurenga wars (liberation fights) was to reclaim the productive land plundered by the colonial overlords (Magosvongwe, 2013; Mafa, et al. 2015). According to Baxter (2010:512), "Politically, land was the root of the Chimurenga just as it had been in 1896, and its potent issue had never been off the agenda since the imbalance of land distribution would keep the revolution alive and the enemy more or less unchanged." Land was the primary motivator for the liberation struggle. To this end, Sadomba asserts that Smith lost the war as a result of the fact that everyone involved in the liberation effort, even the combatants, saw land as an essential element of their life. The veterans of the battle anticipated receiving the land for which they had fought once the country gained independence in 1980 (Sadomba, 2008; 2011). For those who had taken

part in the liberation movement, especially the peasants and the war veterans, redressing the disparities in land ownership was a priority.

Even though the first aim of the peasants was to correct the colonial, racial and gender disparities in land ownership, the newly independent state adopted a strategy of reconciliation in which it forgave all of its enemies and made allies with them. Race and gender disparities in land ownership remained unaddressed. Concerning reconciliation Mazuruse (2010: 32) argues that:

> In his inaugural address on Independence Day in 1980 the then Prime Minister of Zimbabwe, Robert Gabriel Mugabe stunned the whole nation by declaring reconciliation as the cornerstone of his government's policy in the new Zimbabwe. Reconciliation offered a constitutional safeguard for white settlers, ensuring they retained their elitist place in the new Zimbabwean state.

Gudhlanga (2016:241) relates that the new government ignored the racial and gender disparities in land ownership, which were the primary impetus for conducting the liberation movement, by implementing this new policy. To maintain white private property, the unequal distribution of land ownership by race and gender—which had not been corrected—was sidestepped. Mazuruse and Chung both agree that through reconciliation, the post-independent government "made a lot of noise about the rights of white farmers, but no attention was paid to the rights of poor peasants who wanted to regain the land that had been taken away from them by colonial settlers" (Mazuruse 2010:32; Chung, 2006: 98). The Second Chimurenga war, which ultimately brought about Zimbabwe's independence, had taught the peasants that the fundamental goal of the conflict was to reclaim the land they had lost, therefore this confused them. Through *pungwe* meetings and war propaganda, they were led to believe that they would quickly seize the farms owned by white people after gaining independence (Kriger, 1992; Makaudze, 2009; Chigidi, 2009; Viriri, 2013).

The position taken by the ex-liberation (Hondo and Shinga) fighters in the story when they encouraged their parents to vacate the white man's farm brings a paradox. How could people who fought for the land seem to be taking a back seat in reclaiming that which they fought for? This actually supports my earlier suggestion that the issue of land was used as a red herring for getting support from the peasant masses, who, in the political ideology, were to act as water and the freedom fighters would be the fish.

As Gudhlanga (2016:242) argues, it should be mentioned that the general public, who had endured these land dispossessions for a very long period, wanted the government to complete the land reform exercise quickly. The restrictions imposed by the Lancaster House constitution, which brought about Zimbabwe's independence, left it powerless. The Lancaster House Constitution respected private property, as was stated before in chapter two (Moyana, 2002; Mafa et al., 2015). As a result, the white colonial estates that black men and women yearned to occupy were out of their reach. Additionally, the Lancaster House Constitution stipulated that changes to the document should not be made for ten years (Tshuma, 1997; Moyana, 2002, Chung, 2006; Mafa et al., 2015).

Magosvongwe (2009: 85) argues that The Lancaster House Constitution upheld the privileges of the 1930 Land Apportionment Act and the Land Tenure Act of 1969, yet these had to go if the new government was to make any meaningful strides in redressing the colonial land imbalances. As shown in *Kuridza Ngoma Nedemo* (1985), such colonial laws that persisted in independent Zimbabwe left the peasants with no choice but to promptly grab land to address the colonially created racial and gender disparities in land ownership as presented in Gudhlanga (2016:242).

Gudhlanga (2016:242) argues that as was suggested during pungwe sessions, the newly independent government refrained from severe actions like forcibly seizing the land. Instead, the government adhered to established procedures in order to acquire land that had been seized from black people by white people using its policy of reconciliation and the Lancaster House constitution (Chung, 2006; Mazuruse, 2010; Mafa et al., 2015). Additionally, under the new regime, the white farmers were safeguarded by the new administration, which upheld private property rights as outlined in the new constitution, which was created and adopted at Lancaster House in London and governed Zimbabwe at the time. The Constitution of Lancaster House provided protection for farmers. Therefore, the government would ensure that protected private property and farms owned by white farmers were safeguarded by the Lancaster House Constitution through law enforcement officials like the police.

Gudhlanga (2016:243) further noted that the World Bank's willing seller-willing buyer policy was designed to serve as a model for land redistribution or reform. White farmers served as the willing sellers, initially offering the Zimbabwean government land they weren't using (Tshuma, 1997; Mafa et al., 2015). In the World Bank-sponsored land reform, the government

of Zimbabwe served as the willing buyer, purchasing the underutilised land that was made competitively available for the purpose of resettling landless people. The equivalent of the land's market value was given to the willing seller by the state. Additionally, all land transactions in Zimbabwe were given to the government (Lahiff, 2005; Moyo and Yeros, 2005b). The government would then purchase this land from the white land owners on a willing-seller, willing-buyer basis in the requisite foreign currency, and the former would then distribute the acquired land to the peasants who needed land.

Gudhlanga (2016:244) argues that the procedure took so long that, in 1985, five years after gaining independence, the Zimbabwean government still lacked the necessary land for redistribution. The evicted black peasants became impatient and were upset because they didn't understand why the land, they had fought for was difficult to reclaim. It is also important to keep in mind that the white farmers who sold land to the government under the "willing seller, willing buyer" policy did so on property that they didn't want, that was largely unproductive and idle. As a result, unlike in the second phase of the land reform program, the government did not receive fertile land under this policy (Mafa et al., 2015).

Cited works, such as Sachikonye (2003), show that there was still no significant land reform beyond the Lancaster House Constitution's period of expiration in 1990. "By 1997, only 71 000 households had been resettled on 3.6 million hectares of land," according to Sachikonye (2003:230), "which was a far cry from the target of 162 000 households". Resettling only a small portion of those who were initially expected to do so illustrates how slowly the government-sponsored land reform program was progressing. When discussing the first phase of the land reform program, Mupondi states: "Efforts made by the ZANU PF government to resettle people in the 1980s and 1990s were commendable but insufficient to meet the growing need for land from the people" (Mupondi, 2015:185) as cited in Gudhlanga (2016:144). Conclusively, Gudhlanga correctly notes that the government's willing seller-willing buyer policy, which served as the foundation for the land reform process, moved slowly and left many people unhappy because they were forced to live in the arid reserves for years after independence. Disgruntled peasants were forced to divide up previous white farms among themselves as a result of this. As a result, during the early years of independence when the government abided by the latter, the Lancaster House Constitution's stipulations forced starving peasants from their farms, as shown in *Kuridza Ngoma Nedemo*.

The Afrocentric perspective is profoundly ingrained in *Kuridza Ngoma Nedemo*. It offers the peasants the power to address land inequalities rather than remaining powerless victims who wait for an outside force to help them escape their current political predicament. Both male and female peasants take responsibility for improving their own situation. They don't wait for the government, which is incredibly slow to address the racial and gender inequalities in land ownership that remain today. The restless and resentful peasants, represented by Tinazvo and his associates with their families, refuse to be relegated to the background of history and are instead at the forefront of bringing about a shift in land ownership. In his drama *Kuridza Ngoma Nedemo* as presented in Gudhlanga (2016:244), Moyo portrays the peasants as having taken part in the liberation fight and having a clear understanding of its objectives. After gaining independence, the era of implementation for correcting colonial inequities in land ownership ought to have begun. The peasants were unable to understand why they were still forced to endure hardship in the crowded communal reserves while white people continued to live on the fields they had fought for. Through Tinazvo and a gang of other peasants that invade a farm right away after independence, Moyo skillfully conveys this. When Tinazvo (Moyo, 1985: 5-6 in Gudhlanga, 2016:250) tells Toro, the farm security guard who has been sent by the white farm owner to evict them from the land, the achievement of the goals of the fight is brought out:

> *Saka chitaurai nyaya yenyu mupedze vamupurisa. Regai kuda kutipedzera nguva yedu, Bhasi wenyu anoda kuti tibve tichienda kupiko? Ari kuziva here kuti tave muZimbabwe, nyika yave yemunhu mutema? Ari kuzviziva here izvi? Mira kupindura! Purazi rino rine mbeu chaizvo. Isu sevanhu vakarwa hondo nemabhunu aya, takafunga zvekuti titame kubva kujecha kusina mbeu tichiuya mupurazi rino rine uchi nemukaka. Ko ndizvoka zvatakafira. Kana bhasi wako akada kutibvisa pano, chokwadi pfuti dzinorira patsva. Inga mubhunu wacho achakarara dzedanda! Anoda kuita zvekuvhaira kunge zvinonzi akauya akabereka purazi rino achibva naro kuHingirandi. Rino iri ipurazi redu isu. Ko chatisina kuita pamazuva ehondo chii? Kubikira takabikira, mabara, mabhambo nezvimwe zvakadaro, zvainaya mukati medu kunge mvura yemunhuruka. Ko ndiri kunyepa here nhasi hama dzangu?* [So, tell us your story and finish Mr Policeman. Please do not waste our time, your Boss wants us to leave this farm for which place? Does he know that now we are in independent

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Zimbabwe, which is governed by black people? Does he know all this? Wait a bit before you respond! This farm is very productive. As people who fought this liberation struggle with the white men, we decided to vacate the barren areas where nothing can grow and come to occupy this farm, which flows with milk and honey. This is the reason why we fought the war. If your white boss wants to evict us from here, surely, we will resume fighting again. This white man has to wake up from his deep slumber for he does not seem to know that the blacks are now in charge of governing the country! He wants to behave as if he came from England carrying this farm on his back. This is our farm. What is it that we did not do during the war that entitles us to this fertile farm? We cooked for the freedom fighters; we dodged the bullets and landmines that were like rain in our villages. Am I not telling the truth today my dear comrades in arms? (Gudhlanga, 2016:250)].

"Moyo (1985:5-6 in Gudhlanga 2016:250) gives a picture of the peasants, both male and female, as justified for taking over the land because they have duly participated in the liberation struggle. Both men and women took part, aiding the liberation fighters with food and concealment and fighting alongside the guerillas" (Ideas and content in Gudhlanga, 2016:250-251 citing Moyo). Moyo's use of rhetorical questions reveals the inability of the peasants to understand why the government is now attempting to expel them from the farm they have lawfully taken because they deserve it. They helped the liberation fighters carry out the liberation struggle, thus because of their assistance, they are eligible to get this land. The Chinese leader Mao Tse Tung's maxim that "the people are the sea and the freedom fighters are the fish swimming in the sea" (Mao tse Tung, 1917) was adopted by the freedom fighters. Therefore, for the liberation struggle to be successfully carried out, the peasants greatly contributed. Just like a fish's power is in the water, the freedom fighters' power to fight and win the war was in the people, the peasants who fought alongside them and gave them the support they needed to carry out the liberation struggle. Moyo conveys that the peasants recognised the reasons why they had fought the conflict, to reclaim their land, through the image of peasants, men with their wives, as symbolised by Tinazvo and other villagers who sacrificially occupied the white man's farm in the early 1980s. They were more aware of this objective than those in power who were delaying the process of giving land to the landless. In the play, the peasants do not get why they must continue to endure hardship in the sandy,

unproductive regions while the white man continues to own fertile land after independence. In order to achieve the liberation struggle's goal of giving black people more land, the peasants were forced to leave the sandy soils and ad hoc take over the farms of white people. The colonial regime committed atrocities against the peasants, but they are not a submissive group; they have the power to right those wrongs. In order to write their own history, the peasants are walking in front rather than choosing a subsivient position in their history (Mazama, 2003). Together, men and women are taking part in the symphony to free themselves from colonial land dispossession (Hudson-Weems, 2007). The author is adamantly arguing for the transfer of land among the peasants who are densely populated in the arid reserves, which are incapable of supporting any significant crop output.

Magosvongwe and Makwavarara (2015:48) contend that "while the whites had vast tracts of land that lay unused, the blacks were packed and congested in barren reserves like mice." This statement highlights the issue surrounding land ownership in post-independence Zimbabwe. Peasants who understood the motivations behind the fight could not allow such a situation to persist in an independent Zimbabwe. Only 15% of potentially arable European land was being cultivated (Hanlon et al. 2013). Hanlon et al (2013) also support the view that Rhodesian farmers underutilised the land. Additionally, Riddell (1978, in Gudhlanga 2016:252) states that 30% of all farms in Rhodesia were insolvent. As a result, the peasants made the decision to voluntarily occupy these enormous farms that white farmers could never fully utilise in order to forward the goals of the liberation movement. Although the focus is on peasants, it is well known that both sexes participated in ad hoc land occupations because most invaders came in groups of families, like Tinazvo and other peasants did when they invaded the farm of a white man.

Gudhlanga (2016:252) believes that it is the social responsibility of writers to address the delicate issues of the society they live in. Because his work was not viewed as subversive in Zimbabwe after independence, Moyo has the audacity to talk about concerns related to land redistribution today. At a time when the administration seems to have forgotten the objectives of the liberation fight, to redistribute land to the landless peasants, he feels it is his job as a writer to remind the government of the crucial concerns of land redistribution. This is influenced by the African worldview, according to which a man receives land after being married.

This study agrees with Gudhlanga (2016:254) that it is commendable that Moyo (1985) dared to write about how the government had fallen short of the objectives of the independence fight. He recognises that the former colonial rulers needed a practical means of reclaiming the land because they would never have voluntarily given up the land they had taken from black people. He looks beyond the government's legislative apparatus. When the play was first published in 1985, it was a taboo to occupy a piece of land without permission, therefore the government dispatched law enforcement to evict the new "land owners" from the white man's farm. Gudhlanga (2016:263) noted that as a writer, Moyo understood that the language of the erstwhile colonial overlords was that of forceful occupation. While some people were still absorbed in the excitement of independence and celebrating its origin, Moyo shows courage in writing about disappointment and treachery. By 1985, he is quick to see that although some people may be celebrating, the true motivation behind the liberation movement had not yet been established. He emphasises the destitute status of black people forcefully (Gudhlanga, 2016:263).

Thus, the fictional works by various novel writers tell a story about land, the effects of land occupation by the white settlers, the expectations of peasants regarding their participation in the war of liberation, and their disillusionment. From the fieldwork, other disillusionments amongst the resettled peasantry are the real beneficiaries of the land redistribution exercise through the FTLRP are the government officials and some big wigs in the party who managed to get very big farms, not the small pieces they themselves got, and who also enjoy unlimited access to input scheme products and mechanisations.

4.12 CONCLUSION OF THE CHAPTER

The chapter has established that the issue of land was of utmost importance to the peasants, as we appraised Hillers' theory of relative deprivation. The views of both war veterans and newly resettled farmers interviewed in Goromonzi district concur that the Second Chimurenga was triggered because of the land issue. The views presented in the fictional work novels presented above further solidify this position by highlighting that the whole nation (indigenes) suffered land deprivation, which became the major reason they supported the Second Chimurenga war of liberation. Local people yearning for farmland had no patience to wait for the ten years that the Lancaster House Constitution recommended before the land redistribution would commence after independence.

The willing buyer-willing seller program (discussed in chapter 3) that the state adopted in the early years of independence did not yield the required results. The white settlers did not realise the gravity of the matter. Spontaneous land occupations followed and became what eventually became known as the Fast Track Land Redistribution Program. From our discussion above, the majority of peasant farmers received six hectares under the A1 land scheme. The state policy on land redistribution was one farm per family. The controversy did not dodge this contested issue of land. Manase (2019:1) agrees that there is a huge body of conflicting studies and public perceptions on the causes, justification, and impact of the land invasions and the subsequent FTLRP in Zimbabwe. The Western world condemned the compulsory acquisition of "private farms" that belonged to white commercial farmers. The FTLRP was marred by chaos, violence, and torture. Many white commercial farmers lost their lives and properties. The majority of farm workers lost their livelihood and some became destitute. Consequently, sour relations between Zimbabwe and Europe resulted because their kith and kin were affected in this contested exercise.

Evidence from the above discussion indicate that senior politicians from the ruling party, ZANU PF, are the major beneficiaries of the FTLRP. This conclusion has supported the position of some war veterans from Goromonzi who argued that senior government officials who were not on the war front benefitted more than the majority of the people. The privileged elite managed to acquire more farms, which had all the resources: dams, farmhouses, irrigation implements, livestock, and many such items found on the farms they compulsorily acquired. In most cases, the farm owner was chased away and had no time to take anything from his or her farm. Thus, they left everything to the benefit of the incoming occupant. The issue of deprivation continued to be felt amongst some sections of society, who believed that some people benefitted more than everyone else.

The country is eagerly awaiting the results of the 2020 Land Audit results. Whilst flashing out the multiple farm owners and ensuring a fair and equitable distribution of land is important, emphasis should be placed on the production and sustainable use of the allocated land. That way, sanity can be brought back to the agricultural sector.

This chapter has achieved its objective by demonstrating the relevance of Hillers' theory of relative deprivation that resulted from the issue of land confiscated by the whites to form large estates *(latifundia)*. The case of Goromonzi district and the Shona novels clearly

demonstrate the experiences of the peasants. Therefore, the Second Chimurenga was fought on the basis of land. The following chapter presents the synthesis of the Relative Deprivation theory which opens way to the study's thesis.

CHAPTER 5

AN APPLICATION OF THE RELATIVE DEPRIVATION THEORY TO THE LAND QUESTION: THE BOOK OF MICAH MEETS THE ZIMBABWEAN CONTEXT

5.1   INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents a consolidated summary of the findings of this study. The project focused on appraising the centrality of Land in the First and Second Chimurenga wars of liberation in Zimbabwe since a general ideological claim associates land with the First and Second Chimurenga narratives. The project also investigated the text of Micah. The research employed the use of Delbert R. Hillers' social scientific model of relative deprivation as a theoretical framework and two concepts, namely; relative deprivation and *Latifundialization,* to find meaning to the socio-economic and political phenomenon of land in the Book of Micah and the Zimbabwean context.

The research gap and/as refreshed contribution that this study pursued was a development of Hillers' theory of relative deprivation due to loss of land. Hillers is of the conviction that the peasants in the eighth century Judah lost land to the rich people, most likely the merchants of the time. However, the circumstances that led to the plight of the poor have not quite been investigated. For example, this study finds it difficult to see how merchants would have found time to fully utilise the land while most of the time they were out trading their goods. This study's point of departure and hypothesis was that the poor peasants must have lost their land to the ruling class and the soldiers who supported the rulers. This loss of land to the ruling class and the military must have been a major cause of deprivation and discontent. This position finds support from Smith-Christopher (2015:21), who says:

> I argue that what has been missing in the previous analysis of Micah the person
> and Micah the book is a major emphasis on the specifically military
> expropriations that were part of the context of late eighth-century Shephelah
> existence. Therefore, the most effective way to understand Micah in his
> historical, geographical, and ideological context is to read his message as a
> regionally-oriented religious and political challenge to the oppressive economic
> and military interests of the elite of Jerusalem.

A similar situation occurred in Zimbabwe, then Rhodesia, when the white ruling minority used military forces to evict the indigenous black people (peasants) from their lands to give way to white settlers, some of whom had been white ex-servicemen who were returning from World War II (Mushunje, 2009:15).

Von Rad's concept of *Latifundialization* was used to aid Hillers' theory of relative deprivation to explain the circumstances that led to the peasants' loss of land in Micah's time. Using Micah's book as a theoretical framework for our study of the Zimbabwean situation, a comparative situation was identified, for example, the case of Fingo location in Bulawayo, where 177 owners of the caravans that ferried settlers into Zimbabwe were given endowments of 10433 hectares of land (Rukuni, 1994:42). Therefore, the need to create large farm estates *(latifundia)* for the white settlers, ex-service white men from previous wars and other government officials led to the removal of indigenous black people (peasants) from their original farming areas to specially designated areas with poor soils and erratic rainfall pattern. This made the book of Micah very relevant in understanding the plight of peasants in Zimbabwe during the colonial era.

5.2   INFERENCES FROM THE LITERATURE REVIEW

As way of conclusion, the literature review section gave the study some insights into the role played by peasants in situations affecting their interests (Hobsbawn, 1959:6). Gerhard Von Rad's discussion revealed a close affinity between Isaiah and Micah in their opposition on the *Latifundia* economy of the ruling classes in Jerusalem. The hereditary pieces of land of many impoverished peasants were joined together (Micah 2:1-5, Isaiah 5:8; von Rad, 1965:150). Von Rad noted the conflict between the land tenure system of the Monarchy in Israel and Judah that put emphasis on the commercialisation of Land against the tribal ideals where land was owned as an inheritance. Many scholars viewed prophets such as Micah, Isaiah and Amos, to name but a few, as defenders of the ordinary, powerless peasants, widows and orphans in Israel and Judah. In Israel and Judah, the importance of land to daily existence and survival was established in the seventh century BCE. John Bright, for example, argued that Micah's attack followed the classic prophetic pattern, with stress, perhaps because of his own humble origins, on socio-economic abuses, particularly the oppression of peasant landholders by the wealthy nobles of Jerusalem (Micah 1: 2-9; 2:1-8; Bright, 1981:293).

John Bright's position that Micah could have been influenced by the old traditions of Mosaic religion and hence his rejection of any form that went contrary to this (Bright, 1981:294) was important to this study as it explains how a prophet's message is affected by his social environment. Micah was not affected by the Zion theology like Isaiah, his contemporary, and therefore, his message is a reflection of his social milieu.

The study concluded that from a Social Conflict perspective, maybe this was a clash between primitive Yahwism and developed Yahwism in the urban areas. Yahwism, which was being practised in rural areas, was different from Yahwism which was being practised in urban areas; that was city religion versus country religion. People in these respective places had different interests. In rural areas, people looked at Yahweh as the provider of daily food, justice, righteousness and as a judge. Whereas in urban areas, Yahweh was associated with power, hence he was seen as a powerful king to protect his people and the city. In his message, Micah imagined Yahweh entering his case against his people, who had forgotten his gracious acts towards them in the past, and also that his demands - which are just and merciful behaviour and humble obedience - cannot possibly be satisfied by any conceivable heightening of cultic activity (Micah 6:1-8). Micah pronounced a doom on Judah of total proportions, including the plundering of Jerusalem and the Temple as a heap of ruins in the forest (Micah 3:12).

Hillers' (1984:4) statement that from time immemorial, all over the world, groups of oppressed people have always combined together to seek changes in their condition and that deprivation is the common underlying factor for their coming together motivated the researcher to apply this theory to the Zimbabwean situation where peasants had similar experiences under the white colonial regime. The First and Second Chimurenga is regarded as movements of protests using Hillers' insights on Micah. Hillers identified the issue of land as the source of deprivation in the community represented by Micah, the eighth-century prophet (Hillers, 1984:5). Hillers (1984:5) argues that the prophet (Micah) complains beyond doubt, voicing the feelings of many in his region. He denounced individuals who plot evil and wrongdoing while they are still in bed and then carry it out when daybreak arrives because it is within their power to do so: those who covet fields and steal them, houses and take them, who oppress a man and his family, an owner and his property (Micah 2:1-2). Elsewhere, this is also echoed in brief, obscure saying, "You drive the woman of my people out of her pleasant dwelling" (Micah 2:9; 6:9-11, 16); here "deprivation" is the underlying factor.

Bakare's views deserve special attention. He wrote a theology of Land in Zimbabwe where he analysed the messages of the eighth-century prophets who condemned the elite, the powerful, and the wealthy class for the suffering of the poor, the vulnerable, and the peasants (Bakare, 1993: 21). I concur with Bakare (1993:21) that *Latifundialization* caused the problems for peasants during Micah's time.

Ranger's work on the experiences of the African peasantries of Zimbabwe, Kenya and Mozambique became important to this study as it revealed peasant consciousness and resistance in Zimbabwe in the midst of attempts by the white settler state to redirect their day-to-day existence through the enforcement of "good farming practices," controlled agricultural prices and cattle culling (Ranger, 1985). This formed the background to peasant support to such political parties as African National Congress, National Democratic Party, ZANU, ZAPU, UANC, and others, formed during the time. Ranger's work became important to this study aimed at understanding the deprivations that peasants experienced in Zimbabwe as a result of the white settlers' seizure and occupation of land belonging to indigenous villagers.

Simkins and Kelly (2014:3) claimed that the eighth-century prophets Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, and Micah contain a substantial portion of the Bible's discourse on peasant poverty (Simkins and Kelly, 2014:3). They further claim that the picture has been blurred by several factors because there was a recomposition of the materials in these prophetic books during the late Judahite monarchy and again in the Persian period (Simkins and Kelly, 2014:34). This recomposition, they argued, shifted the focus from peasant poverty to monarchic nationalism and client-state *cultus* (Simkins and Kelly, 2014:34). Their bold argument is that the eighth-century composition presumes and alludes to the economic institutions and dynamics of their day, but they are not described narratively or in full because the first audiences of the compositions had immediate knowledge of the social and cultural world presumed and addressed (Simkins and Kelly, 2014). On the contrary, no modern reader can presume such knowledge, and therefore, these scholars advocate for a careful historical work for any twenty-first-century reader to understand the relevant context of this prophetic discourse on peasant poverty (Simkins and Kelly, 2014:3).

The position above is important to our study as it exposes the redactional works and influence of the ruling monarchies. Therefore, the careful historical work they advocated for

would enhance comprehension of the relevant context of the prophetic discourse on peasant poverty.

Premnath did a commendable job in his book by exposing the social reality of eighth-century BCE. Israel and Judah and the prophetic oracles of Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, and Micah reveal the significance of their prophetic message and vision in today's context (Premnath, 2018). Most importantly, Premnath focused on various dimensions of land accumulation by the upper class and its effects on the poor (Premnath, 2018). For this reason, his work became very relevant to this study in unearthing the social and economic realities of peasants in Ancient Israel in relation to land. The literature review section proved that land issues and peasants' livelihood were very much connected. As such, the exploitation of the poor peasants by the elite, and the military, powerful people caused untold deprivation and suffering for the poor class of society. Eighth-century Prophets stood on the side of the oppressed people in line with Mosaic Yahwism to denounce powerful members of their society for not having mercy and for planning evil instead (Micah 2. 1-2; Isaiah 5: 8 ff).

Mosala (1987: 109) who uses a historical materialist method to reconstruct the social system and practices behind the text of Micah in commitment to the black struggle for liberation from capitalism, racism, sexism and imperialism in South Africa offered important insights to this study. Mosala used the material conditions of the Book of Micah to argue that the most fundamental means of production in Palestine throughout all ancient historical epochs was the land. People needed land to settle in as families (Beth 'a voth) and as associations of extended families (*mishpahoth*) (Mosala, 1987: 111).

Mosala's understanding of the significance of land as a fundamental means of production in light of Palestine's different ecological zones of dramatic contrast resonate well with Zimbabwe's different ecological regions based on rainfall pattern and soils. The situation in Palestine (ancient Israel) compares well with the situation that existed in Zimbabwe regarding the struggle for the occupation and indeed possession of the more favourable portions of the land. The indigenous black people in Zimbabwe were removed from fertile soils and got settled in poor sand soils, with poor rainfall patterns. This became a form of deprivation that eventually led to Chimurenga wars of independence.

5.3   MICAH'S POLITICAL, SOCIO-ECONOMIC, AND RELIGIOUS CONTEXTS

Summarily, the political, socio-economic and religious situations of Micah that was given in chapter 2, is that this formed the theoretical framework for the study. This was in line with Smith-Christopher's (2015:2) position that serious scholarship acknowledges historical context of biblical texts, and the contemporary context of the scholar's own historically and socially informed reading of the biblical text. Smith-Christopher (2015:3) further noted the ancient impact of militarism in society in the book of Micah. Smith-Christopher advocated for the international, regional and local contexts of Micah for the comprehension of the book. Therefore, the larger geopolitical context and the human impact of the massive physical and economic violence of Neo-Assyrian, Neo-Babylonian, and indeed Persian imperial designs needed to be considered (Smith-Christopher, 2015:3). The ambitions of Assyria to expand her borders westward eventually affected the kingdoms of Israel and Judah.

5.4   MICAH THE PERSON AND AUTHORSHIP OF THE BOOK

The issue of authorship was considered first before getting into other issues. The form-critical analysis regarding the importance of the superscription (Micah 1:1) on matters of authorship was accepted. The superscription states that the author is "Micah of Moresheth." The name Micah (מִיכָה) is a shortened term for Micaiah (מִיכָיְהוּ) meaning "who is like you Yahweh" (Harrison, 1970:919). This is not a question but a confirmation of God's greatness. The place mentioned in the superscription as Moresheth was taken as the same place known as Moresheth Gath, which was in the southwest of Jerusalem, about 30 km from the city. Moresheth-Gath was most likely the Gath mentioned in 2 Chronicles 11:8, which functioned as a defence city of Jerusalem which Rehoboam built, located around twenty-five miles southwest of Jerusalem. Onyenuru (2016:1) argues that Micah must have lived in the small village of Shephelah, located at the low foothill of Southwest Palestine, halfway from Jerusalem to Gaza. The association of Micah with the Shephelah district of Judah is significant to this study since some agricultural economic activities associated with this place. This would confirm Micah's condemnation of *Latifundialization* and the subsequent deprivation of the peasantry (Micah 2:1-2). The proximity of Moresheth to Jerusalem could be used to explain the similarities between Micah and Isaiah's messages (Harrison, 1970:920; see Micah 1:10-16; 2:1-5; 5:9-14; Isaiah 2:6; 5:8; 10: 27ff;). The above assessment is influenced by the social scientific theory, which tries to identify the social factors that influenced the prophet's message.

The significance of Micah's message was still felt almost a century later during the time of Jeremiah (Jeremiah 26: 17-19) when the prophet Jeremiah was on trial. On that occasion, some of the elders of Judah invoked the ministry of Micah and his message of judgment to remind the leaders of Judah that Jeremiah, just like Micah, had preached the destruction of Jerusalem:

> And some of the elders of the land arose and said to all the assembled people, 'Micah of Moresheth, who prophesied during the days of King Hezekiah of Judah, said to all the people of Judah: Thus says the LORD of hosts, Zion shall be ploughed as a field; Jerusalem shall become a heap of ruins, and the mountain of the house a wooded height (Jeremiah 26:17-18).

The elders then reminded the people in the temple that Hezekiah and the people of Judah did not put Micah to death. Instead, they feared the Lord, prayed for God's favour, and as a result, the Lord changed his mind and did not bring about the judgment that Micah had pronounced against the city and against the temple (Jeremiah 26:19).

On the dating of the prophet's book, we stand guided by the editorial words of the superscription, which put Micah's ministry in the days of Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, kings of Judah whose reigns spanned from 759-687 BCE (Mi 1:1). This position is accepted as authentic by many scholars, both old and recent, including but not limited to Mays (1976), Allen (1976), Bright (1981), Waltke (2007), Wessels (2013), and Bartley (2016). Conservative biblical scholars attribute almost the entire Book of Micah to his authorship. However, critical scholars contest this view and attribute much of the material to others. It is agreed, generally that Micah composed chapters 1 through 3. Critical scholars reject chapters 3-5 primarily because they foretell specific events in the sixth century B.C.E., long after Micah's death. Others accept chapters 6-7 as belonging to Micah but some reject that position because the chapters contain elements of a universalistic religious outlook, which was not widely present until well after Micah's day.

5.5   THE POLITICAL CONTEXT OF MICAH

2 Kings 15:32–20:21 and 2 Chronicles 27–32 contain details of the political developments during the kings mentioned in the superscription of Micah. In the eighth century, the kingdom of Israel had become a powerful state and had established control over Judah. But it was extinguished more than a century before the Babylonians seized control of Judah. Its monarchs incited the wrath of Babylon's immediate forerunner, the Assyrian Empire, which aroused the

late eighth century. Assyria's extraordinarily successful military machine tore the kingdom of Israel apart piece by piece. After a protracted siege, Samaria, the capital, surrendered in 722 BCE.

5.5.1   Neo-Assyrian Empire

After Adad-nirari II's conquests, Assyria became the most powerful state in the world in the late 10th century BC (Tadmor, 1994:29). Assyria overpowered and subjugated rivals like Babylonia, Elam, Persia, Urartu, Lydia, the Medes, Phrygians, Cimmerians, Israel, Judah, Phoenicia, Chaldea, Canaan, the Kushite Empire, the Arabs, and Egypt to establish its dominance in the Ancient Near East, East Mediterranean, Asia Minor, Caucasus, and portions of the Arabian Peninsula and North Africa (Tadmor, 1994:30). Adad-nirari II and his successors made use of an exceptionally well-organised army. Shalmaneser III's rule lasted 35 years (859–824 BCE). Each year the Assyrian armies campaigned against neighbouring states like Babylon, Urartu in the spirit of expanding and enlarging their kingdom. At the Battle of Qarqar, fought by Shalmaneser III in 853 BCE against an alliance of Aramean states led by Hadadezer of Damascus and including Ahab, king of Israel, there was no clear victor because the Assyrian force later fled (Hansen, 2014:1-2). In 849 BCE, Shalmaneser III battled Carchemish, a neo-Hittite state, and in 842 BCE, his army marched on Hazael, King of Damascus, capturing the city and levying tribute. He also overthrew Jehu of Israel, the Phoenician states of Tyre, and Sidon in 841 BCE, and exacted tribute from them. Archaeological evidence from his black obelisk at Kalhu documents numerous military victories during his rule (Hansen, 2014:1-2). Internal uprisings and civil war occurred during Shalmaneser's final four years in power. These internal upheavals allowed the Babylonians to the south, the Medes, Manneans, and Persians to the north and east, the Arameans and the Neo-Hittites to the west to overthrow Assyrian power.

In my opinion, these periods when Assyria was experiencing internal problems are important as they provide a clue why nations like Israel had time to prosper and expand their political boundaries. Urartu also took the opportunity to gain control of the region. As a result of all these occurrences, Assyria did not continue to grow until Adad-nirari III assumed control of the country in 806 BCE. He conquered the Levant and ruled over the Israelites, Neo-Hittites, Arameans, Phoenicians, and Philistines. He arrived in Damascus and ordered Ben-Hadad III to pay tribute (Hansen, 2014:1-2).

The period of true Assyrian stagnation continued until the ascension of the Assyrian general (Turtanu) named Pulu, who seized the crown under the name of Tiglath-Pileser III, and made extensive changes to the Assyrian government, radically altering its efficiency and security. Adad-nirari III died much earlier, in 783 BCE, and was succeeded by less effective rulers (Becking, 1992:8-19). In order to construct the Assyrian empire, Tiglath-Pileser III sought to invade, subjugate, and tax the people of the fallen countries (Becking, 1992:8–19). Bright (1984:269) agrees that the Biblical narrative and Assyrian monarchs' records for the time period under review frequently line up (2 Ki 16: 1ff). This study is interested in the invasion of Israel by Sargon of Assyria in 721 or 722 BCE because it may have added to the already severe land shortage in Judah (Finkelstein, 2013:155–55). When the wealthy, the mighty (the kings), and the peasants attempted to seize the land, the prophet Micah cried out in protest.

5.5.2   Archaeological evidence on the destruction of ancient Israel

There is archaeological evidence to support the historical details of the Assyrian conquest in the region. Destruction layers from the Assyrian conquests have been discovered in numerous places (Herzog, 1997:221–36; Stern, 2001:4–9; Faust, 2015:767–73). This supportive evidence becomes handy to the understanding of the historical circumstances of the eighth century BCE in which Micah ministered.

5.5.3   Archaeological evidence on deportations

King Shalmaneser III perfected the strategy of mass deportation initiated by Adad-nirari II and his successors (Parpola, 2004:5). These deported people would be put in a place away from their homeland. The reason for this policy, this study argues, was to neutralise these people and subsequently kill the ethnic identity of the conquered through inter-racial marriages that would follow. Eventually, this would also kill the spirit of nationalism. Itach (2018:70) gave three goals for the deportations by Assyria, and this supports our point: (i) it served to prevent revolts against Assyria (political- the same point that is also proffered above). (ii) It strengthened the Assyrian military strength by conscripting the deportees into the army (military) and (iii) it provided labour for the construction of cities and in agriculturally remote areas (economic). The Bible makes reference to a similar topic of deportation (2 Kings 17:24). But it's probable that this tale was afterwards inserted into the text of kings to demonstrate that the people who lived in Samaria during the Persian era were not Israelites but rather deportees' descendants (Ezra, 4:2, 9-10). However, recent archaeological work has shed a lot of light in support of the

deportees' presence. Several Assyrian texts found do confirm this Assyrian narrative on deportees (Becking, 1992:25–33).

The territory of Samaria was settled by foreigners by the Assyrians, possibly as early as the era of Sargon II, according to both Assyrian and biblical texts. Archaeological research uncovered a late Iron Age habitation layout in the northern Samaria region (Zertal, 1989:77-84). Numerous tiny rural sites in the Samaria region, as well as Samaria (the city), Shechem, and Tel el-Far ah, yielded bowls with peculiar imprints (N). Zertal (1989:77-84) hypothesises that a group of Mesopotamian deportees brought the concept of wedge-impressed bowls to the Samarian region. According to data from excavated sites, this style of the vessel appeared following the Assyrian destruction of the Northern kingdom of Israel (Itach, 2018:70-71). This correspondence of data from the discipline of archaeology is handy in augmenting and authenticating the available historical data.

5.5.4 Assyrian siege of Judah

The death of Sargon in 705 BCE in a battle while driving out the Cimmerians was followed by widespread alliances against Assyrian authority (Bright, 1981:292). Sennacherib, his son, succeeded him, and he (Sennacherib) moved fast to assert his control over Cilicia by marching into Cilicia, and defeating the rebels together with their Greek allies that promised them help (Bright, 1981:292). Egypt had made some alliances with some nations within the Assyrian empire taking advantage of Sargon's death. Hezekiah of Judah, Lule, king of Sidon, Sidka, king of Ascalon, and the king of Ekron had formed an alliance with Egypt against Assyria as a consequence in 701 BCE (Isaiah 30:1-7; 31:1-3). Sennacherib launched an assault on the insurgents, capturing Ascalon, Sidon, and Ekron while also defeating and expelling the Egyptians from the area. He destroyed 46 cities and villages in his way as he marched toward Jerusalem, including the fiercely fortified city of Lachish (2 Kings 18:17; 19:8; Younger, 2018:29). The Bible claims that when Hezekiah prayed in the temple, an angel of the Lord murdered 185,000 Assyrian warriors at Jerusalem. Despite this, what exactly transpired is unknown (2 kings 18-19). Whatever happened, this study concluded that a heavy tribute was imposed on Judah by Assyria.

5.5.5 Analysis of the political developments

The study made the following conclusions from the political developments of the eighth century BCE: (i) Assyria emerged as a major superpower in Mesopotamia with expansion

interests in the west. All the successive kings carried this dream, mainly starting from Tiglath-Pileser III down to Sennacherib, (ii) the emergency of Assyria forced some different nations in the west, who were the obvious targets of Assyria, to form political alliances in preparation for an Assyrian siege. This development changed the political landscape in the Levant. Eighth-century prophets like Micah, Isaiah, and Amos have messages of the impending destruction to befall Israel and Judah. (iii) The dynamics of politics in the Assyrian camp when she faced internal revolts, and attacks from nations like Urartu gave the nations in the Levant peace and a chance to develop their economies. This period of relative peace resulted in prosperity in Israel and Judah, as we also deduce from the above-mentioned prophets (Isaiah, Amos, Hosea, and Micah). However, there developed a wide gap between the rich and the poor. Cases of injustices being perpetrated by the rich, the powerful against the poor, and peasants losing their land and houses are many in the messages of these eighth-century prophets, who became the voice of the voiceless; (iv) the destruction of Samaria (721BCE) forced a number of refugees to flock to Judah as argued by Finkelstein (2013:154–55). 2 Kings 16:6 tells us that the king of Edom recovered Elath and chased all the Judeans who were living there. It can be argued that migrations of refugees from other places could have added pressure on the already scarce land in Judah, resulting in the rulers, the powerful, and the rich greatly disadvantaging the poor peasants of their land. This resulted in the relative deprivation that Hillers argued (Hillers, 1984). Micah pronounces a judgment to befall Judah as YHWH's Judgment against the sins of the people.

5.6   INTERTEXTUAL ANALYSIS OF LAND QUESTION AMONG PROPHETS

The issue of land is not confined to Micah alone. There is textual evidence to confirm that the issue of land was of concern among the prophets during the eighth-century period. Isaiah 5:8-10 and Micah 2:1-3 both address the issue of *latifundialization*. The two prophets (Isaiah and Micah) have a similar message. They ministered in Judah, responding to the same issue of *Latifundialization* and deprivation of the poor peasants. Scholars accept these passages to be authentic to the two prophets (Brueggemann, 1998:63; Hillers, 1984:31; Kessler, 1999:113; Wolff: 1990:74-75). The prophets' strong criticisms in these oracles are enough evidence that the confiscation of smallholders' land was an abrogation that deserved condemnation by those who felt sorry for the victims. Amos and Hosea also express similar views in the Northern kingdom (Amos 3:15; 5:10-13; Hosea 5:10). It is surmised that the seizure of the land of

smallholder peasant farmers during the eighth century BCE resulted in deprivation to peasant farmers as Hillers proposed (Hillers, 1984).

It can also be noted that Isaiah's words of accusation (Isaiah 5: 8) "Woe to you who join house to house, and field to field" indicated a large-scale accumulation of lands in the hands of a certain group of people that negatively deprived the common populace. According to Clements (1980:61), "The joining together of houses and fields evidently refers to the formation of large cultivated estates by absorbing neighbouring property." The rich and powerful people in the society did this. Brueggemann (1998:51) considers Isaiah's protest against the combination of "houses-fields" as a warning against general economic policy whereby big landowners buy up and crowd out small farmers in what we might now term agribusiness. The study concluded that what is seen here, in essence, is a clash of tribal ideals on communal property versus the new urban land tenure system, where land ownership is determined by one's ability to buy and own the land, even if that land was communally owned.

5.7   MICAH AND THE DEUTERONOMISTIC HISTORIAN

Some scholars noted some redactional activities that link the book of Micah and the exilic period. Beal (2016:4) identified Micah 1:1, 3-7, 9 as belonging to the exilic period because the rationale for Jerusalem's destruction is the same as 2 Kings 17:19 and 2 Kings 21:13- texts from the exilic redaction of the Deuteronomistic History. The study concluded that scholars who argue for exilic editorial materials in the book of Micah are in agreement with the position of Simkins and Kelly (2014:34) that prophetic material underwent recomposition during the Judahite monarchy and as well as in the Persian period. The study is persuaded by Hillers' (1984:3) position that proposes a unifying approach and regards the message of Micah as one of revitalisation.

5.8   ISRAEL AND JUDAH'S ECONOMIES IN THE EIGHTH CENTURY BCE

The study argued for a close relationship between peasants and the economy of the eighth-century Judah; therefore, it is important to establish the identity of these peasants, their type of land ownership, and how they got affected by *Latifundialization*.

5.8.1   Identification of peasants in the Eighth Century BCE

Premnath (2018:1-5) advocated for a generic approach in place of a particularistic approach, because it produces sound historiography; it can deal with both specific and systematic

changes, thereby striking a balance between systematic integration and a particularistic approach. For Premnath (2018:5), agrarian societies value land as the primary economic base because the majority of the population are rural cultivators, which we may call peasants. However, he argues that the term peasant lacks consensus in scientific literature, despite its constant use because there is a tendency to oversimplify it (Premnath, 2018:7). An example of this oversimplification is that peasants have been defined in terms of ownership of land control of the production process. Despite the validity of these descriptions, the picture is more complex (Premnath, 2018:8). Premnath then adopted Landsberger's position and proposes two key dimensions in the case of the peasants as economic and political (Premnath, 2018:8). He also identifies technology and environment as important variables in understanding protest movements involving peasants (Premnath, 2018:8).

Therefore, the study adopted Premnath's (2018:8) understanding of peasants as small small-scale rural cultivators who cultivate the land with access to simple technology for their livelihood and for the transfer of the agricultural surplus to the dominant ruling class. The position of Premnath on peasants given above is in agreement with Redditt (1972:319), who maintained that Peasants in ancient Israel were food producers who paid rent and taxes for the right to farm on their piece of land. Land inherited from the previous family was passed on to the descendants of the next generations to provide for their inherent subsistence. It was never sold to anyone outside the peasant community. When the peasant population was sparse, much land lay fallow and could be divided equally among the children in a household. This type of land tenure can be described as the Patrimonial domain, where access to land is determined by lineage (Premnath, 2018:9). Patrimonial domain seems to have been the type of land tenure system that was in operation in ancient Israel. The reluctance of Naboth to sell his land to King Ahab (1 Kings 21:1-6) could be explained in terms of the patrimonial domain because land that was in possession of the family was to be kept for future generations. The peasant viewed their land as their source of the livelihood, a sacred trust to be passed on, and their inheritance; rather than to be sold.

The description of peasants above is very similar to the identity and experiences of peasants in colonial Zimbabwe, where peasants had no title deeds to their pieces of land but were communally-owned. This makes Micah's book ideal for understanding the experiences of the Zimbabwean peasants during the colonial era.

5.8.2   The economic situation in Micah's era

The study noted that many sections in Micah, Isaiah, Hosea, and Amos presuppose some economic activities that gave rise to the exploitation of the poor people, particularly the peasants. The insight from archaeological findings that collaborates with the biblical accounts brought new understanding into the economic activities of the time (Wright, 2018: 1-3). The study summarised that the employment of hermeneutics and archaeology in an attempt to understand the socio-economic situations in Israel and Judah had provided a fresh interpretation and insights into the books of eighth-century prophets.

According to Finkelstein and Silberman (2006:3), Israel (the great northern Kingdom) overshadowed Judah in the early eighth century BCE because she had reached the pinnacle of her economic success, leading to geographical expansion and diplomatic domination. The Samaria Ostraca revealed a highly structured bureaucratic economy; the Samaria Ivories, the Megiddo horse breeding and training sector, and the intricate Hazor and Megiddo water systems all contributed to its conclusion. Messages of the eighth century prophets attest to this state of prosperity in Israel (Amos 5:11; 6:4-6; Hosea 12:1). The Deuteronomistic Historian narrative confirms the superiority of Israel over Judah (2 Kings 14:9-10).

There is lack of archaeological evidence to prove that there was a developed economy in Judah in the early eighth century BCE (Kletter, 1998:276). Prior to Lachish phase III, which began in the late eighth century and features an advanced bureaucratic apparatus, a fully developed settlement hierarchy, monumental building activities, and mass production of secondary agricultural products, there were no (i) standardised weights, (ii) mass manufacturing of secondary products like olive oil, and (iii) pottery (Finkelstein, 1999:35-52). This economic state of Judah lasted for about a century and a half, as suggested by Finkelstein and Silberman (2006:5). The city of Jerusalem was very small during this period (the early eighth century BCE), covering an area of about 6 hectares (Shiloh, 1984:3).

However, Judah's socio-economic character was revolutionised several decades during the Lachish phase III. The following developments serve as proof of this socioeconomic revolution: (i) Jerusalem grew to be the greatest city in the nation, with a 60-hectare area; and (ii) its population increased from a small settlement to between 10 and 12,000. (Broshi, 1974:21-26; Avigad, 1983:54-60; Reich and Shunkron, 2003:209-18; Geva, 2003:183-208).

In Jerusalem during the time period under consideration, archaeologists discovered the following advancements: (i) a massive network of fortifications encircling the city; (ii) a water supply system that brought water into the fortified city via the Siloam tunnel from the Gihon spring; and (iii) incredibly ornate rock-cut tombs carved throughout the city, indicating the presence of an elite, wealthy class (Finkelstein and Silberman, 2006:5). There were significant increases in the number of settlements and the overall built-up area, which were not just limited to the city of Jerusalem but also the southern hill country and the northern part of Jerusalem (Ofer, 1994:104-105; Finkelstein, 1994:60-79). Similar developments existed in the Shephelah and the Beer-Sheba valley (Singer-Avitz, 1999:3-74). According to Finkelstein (1994:60-79), Judah attained her "maximum territorial expansion and unprecedented population density" before Sennacherib's invasion in 701 BCE. Other archaeological findings that proved that the Judahite state resembled a high level of the organised state include (i) monumental Inscriptions-Siloam tunnel and Siloam tombs, (ii) the number of seals, seal impressions and ostraca (Sass, 1993:194-256), (iii) Kletter (1998:276) includes the standardised weights that appeared for the first time in Judah, and (iv) the *lmlk (lemelek)* jars with officials' seal impressions, seen on some jars confirming the existence of an advanced bureaucratic apparatus.

The study came to the following conclusions based on the available archaeological evidence: (i) Judah's economy experienced significant growth and increased complexity in the latter half of the eighth century BCE, which was characterised by the mass production of pottery; and (ii) the Shephelah experienced large-scale, state-controlled olive oil production at Tell Beit Mirsim and Beth-shemesh. (Eitan-Katz, 1994; Finkelstein and Na'aman, 2004). The study also adopted Finkelstein and Silberman's (2006:6) explanations, which include the following: (i) Judah's integration into the Assyrian global economy, which must have begun in the 730s during the reigns of King Ahaz of Judah and Tiglath-Pileser III of Assyria (from 732 BCE Judah participated in the Assyrian-dominated Arabian trade). Again, this explains the prosperity in the Beer-Sheba valley: (ii) after the fall of the Northern kingdom in 721–720 BCE, Finkelstein and Na'aman (2004) contend that Judahite olive must have been traded to Assyria and other customers following the destruction of Ashdod and the rise of Ekron during the days of Sargon II.

5.8.3   Demographic growth in Judah

The research proved a rapid population rise in the late eighth century BCE, especially in Jerusalem and throughout Judah. As was previously noted, the size of Jerusalem City increased from approximately 6 hectares to approximately 60 hectares, and its population increased from approximately 1000 to over 10,000. Additionally, Judah's rural communities had a significant increase in population. From approximately 34 to approximately 122 communities were present in the hill area south of Jerusalem by the late seventh century (Ofer, 1994:104-105). In the Shephelah district where Moresheth was located the number of settlements also increased from about 21 in the Iron II A to 276 in the late eighth century (Finkelstein and Silberman, 2006:8). After Assyria conquered Israel, the only plausible explanation for this dramatic numerical expansion was the flow of refugees from the North into Judah (Finkelstein and Silberman, 2006:8). Sennacherib's destruction of the Judahite Shephelah and Beer-Sheba valley in 701 BCE was followed by a steady influx of refugees into Jerusalem and the southern hill region of Judah (Finkelstein and Silberman, 2006:8). In conclusion, Judahite society, economics, and demographics underwent a complete change. Judah's population dramatically changed from being "pure" Judahite to being a mixture of Judahites and ex-Israelites who had fled the direct Assyrian control that resulted in the conquered Kingdom of Israel. Judah went from being an isolated, developing tribal state to a developed state, fully incorporated into the Assyrian global economy (Finkelstein and Silberman, 2006: 8).

5.9   LAND OWNERSHIP IN ISRAEL AND JUDAH

Levine (1996:223-242) noted that the biblical records neither contain "any actual documents of land conveyance or deeds establishing ownership of land in Israel nor are there court records, official correspondences and/or royal edicts from either the kingdoms of northern Israel or Judah." This observation serves as the basis for the study. Before Israel became a separate society at the start of the Iron Age, Chaney (1986:53-76) proposed that a blend of patrimonial and Prebendal domains, typical of agrarian cultures defined the people's relationship to their land. Chaney's approach was questioned by Guillaume (2012:93) for reflecting the mindset of social science experts rather than the actuality in ancient Palestine. According to Guillaume's (2012:90-107) argument, there is evidence in the biblical materials that ownership of patrimonial land continued to be a significant institution of the private sector during the monarchic and later periods, despite the changes that the monarchy brought about to people's lives, as shown in the following passages: Ruth; 2 Samuel 14; 1 Kings 21:1–19. There is proof of private land ownership even during the early monarchy period, with some instances being:

(i) Kish, the father of King Saul, was a landowner (I Samuel 9); and (ii) a certain Nabal possessed a large amount of land and had 3,000 sheep (I Samuel 25).

5.9.1   Land consolidation in Israel and Judah
5.9.1.1 Royal grants

Conclusively, the study cites scriptural evidence showing that some of Canaan was annexed to the crown lands through conquest and the giving of gifts, such as 2 Samuel 8:1-6 and 1 Kings 9:16. The investigation also revealed other instances where kings are depicted purchasing land for themselves, such as David purchasing the Arauna threshing floor in Jerusalem (2 Samuel 24:21) and Omri purchasing the Hill of Samaria (I Kings 16:24). David also held a number of possessions, including olive trees, livestock, camels, sheep, storehouses, and overseers who were in charge of the labourers who worked the soil (1 Chronicles 27:25-31). Solomon also increased the royal estates through conquest and gifts (1 Kings 9:16; Ecclesiastes 2:4-7).

The study valued Robert Coote's (1981:25–27) contention that, during the Monarchical period (1000–600 BCE), Prebendal domain—in which officials of a state expropriated some grants from a sovereign who held ultimate ownership of the land—replaced patrimonial domain as the predominate form of the domain. Therefore, the government has control over the revenue from the land rather than the actual property, which is owned by the sovereign. Prebends are these monetary endowments and Prebendal lords are the authorities who hold them. Coote's position is important to this research study as it sheds light on how some state officials were involved in land issues. The centralisation process must have undermined tribal authority, leading to a rise in social inequality, which in turn led to a rise in debt slavery and land alienation (2 Kings 4:1-7; Nehemiah 5:1-13; Isaiah 5:8; Jeremiah 34:8-16; Micah 2:1-2; Amos 8:5).

5.9.1.2 Royal grants given to individuals

Summarily, the Bible contains compelling evidence that suggests certain people did receive royal land grants, which led to the creation of some privately owned or family-owned land (1 Sm 8:14). In 1 Samuel 22:7-8, Saul's question to the Benjamites is of great interest regarding royal grants: "Listen to me you Benjamites: do you expect this son of Jesse to give you all fields and vineyard...?" In Egypt, Ugarit, Alalakh, and Assyria, clients of the king were given property or other benefits in exchange for their services, as reported by Dearman (1988:117–

123). Levine (1996:229–231) concurs that this may point to the beginning of large-scale land ownership via royal grants (*Latifundialization*). The study also noted the same practice in Zimbabwe during the colonial era. The case of Fingo location in Bulawayo was given as an example where 177 caravan owners were granted 10433 hectares of land as payment for their service in ferrying the white settler from South Africa, a fact mentioned above.

Another passage that is pertinent is found in 2 Samuel 9:16 and 19, when David annexed Saul's property but, out of respect for Jonathan, gave some of it back to Mephibosheth, Jonathan's surviving son, saying, "I shall restore to you all of the fields of Saul, your ancestor" (2 Sm 9: 9). When Absalom's rebellion started in 2 Samuel 16, David ran away from his son. After learning of Mephibosheth's treachery, David reversed his earlier grant and gave the lands to Ziba, declaring: "Behold, all that is Mephibosheth's belongs to you." The above analysis concurs with Lalfakzuala's (2016:69) study which argued that it is not surprising to learn that the kings of Israel and Judah had substantial estates and were able to grant some not just to members of their families but also to their elite officials (2 Sm 14:30; 2 Chr 26:6ff) (2 Sm 14:30). Isaiah and Micah were among the prophets who protested this prevailing royal ideology since it was at odds with traditional understandings of land (Mi 2:1-2; Is 5:8-10).

5.9.2   Kings and officials in the land accumulation equation

As was already pointed out, it is not explicit from the prophets' oracles that the kings were indeed involved in the acquisition of large estates. Instead, the prophets went against the wealthy, the prominent and powerful groups in charge of the slow accumulation of property in the hands of a select few. It is possible to infer from Amos', Isaiah's, and Micah's prophecies that particular groups of people were accountable for the uprooting of the weak in Israelite and Judaean cultures. The study relied on the following arguments raised by Simkins and Kelly (2014:2): (i) the prophetic messages show evidence of having been recomposed during the late Judahite monarchy and again in the Persian period. From that redactional perspective, Simkins and Kelly (2014:2) argue that the recomposition changed the focus from peasant poverty towards monarchic nationalism and client-state cultus - highlighting the concerns of royal reform. (ii) What clouds the picture of peasant poverty in these prophetic books is that they presume and allude to the economic institutions and dynamics of their day but without describing in full because the first audience for these compositions had immediate knowledge

of the social and cultural world presumed and addressed, therefore, there was no need for such an elaboration.

As was already pointed out, conclusions were drawn based on literary evidence suggesting Judah's and Israel's monarchs owned substantial estates (2 Sm 12:8; I Chr 27: 25-31; 2 Chr 26:9-10). Many ideas have been put forward to demonstrate how the rulers of Israel and Judah obtained vast estates. The research supported the following justifications:

(i)   According to Davies (1981), "dynastic changes contributed to the enlargement of the royal domain". As may be observed in the example of David (2 Sm 9:7; 12:8), it appears that the new king assumed control of the old king's possessions, and as a result, much land may have been accumulated in this way;

(ii) As Dearman (1988:113) argues thus: "Perhaps the most pernicious [way] would be through foreclosure, whereby a debtor would transfer title to his property in return for the amortising of debt."

(iii)   Nehemiah 5:4 is a later instance in which the suffering of individuals who committed their land and loved ones to pay a king's tribute is documented. (iv) Land that had been abandoned by its owner over an extended length of time was another biblical example of how the king acquired property. For instance, the story of the Shunamite woman in 2 Kings 8:1-6 suggests that the king had the authority to take possession of the abandoned property. (v) As may be shown in the example of Naboth, it also appears that the monarch had the authority to purchase the property of criminals or those who had been sentenced to death (I Kings 21).

The investigation came to the conclusion that eighth-century prophets recognised strong alliances where authority was vested in a select few. These included the king, princes, military commanders, and officials of the royal court (Am 6:1-3; Hos 5:1; Is 1:10, 23; 3:12-14; Mi 3:1); judges and legislators (Am 5:7, 10, 12; Is 10:1-3; Mi 3:1); wealthy businessmen, large landowners, and moneylenders (Am 8:4-6; Hos 12:7; Is 5:8; Mi 2:1-2) priest (Am 7:10; Hos 4:4-6; Mi 3:9,11). The socioeconomic and politico-religious sectors were under the control of these influential groups in society. These influential groups in society were given backing from the establishment to implement the royal agenda and exert pressure on minor landowners in order to persuade them to eventually cede their holdings to the crown (Premnath, 1985:32).

The study, therefore, established a conclusion that the kings together with their officials or close associates were also involved in, one way or the other, in the accumulation of large estates and the deprivation of small landholder farmers.

5.9.3 Impact of economics on the general populace

The introduction of the Monarchy in Israel altered the socio-economic and political situation in Israel, starting with the United Monarchy of David and Solomon (Lalfakzuala, 2016:74-75). Scholars agree that it was not until the time of Solomon that the state of Israel achieved "a full-fledged agrarian national state" (Millard, 1991:19-27; Dearman and Graham, 2001:117-134). The success of Solomon's rule lay in his exploitation of the economic potential of his empire (1Kings 4). The commercial activities of Solomon brought wealth into the state (1 Kings 5:10; 9:26-28; 10:15-28). The scale and quantity of the state's initiatives, including the construction of the temple, the upkeep of the army and other sizable constructions (1 Kings 9:15–20), the upkeep of the royal harem (1 Kings 11:1-3), and the expansion of the royal court, caused the state's spending to exceed its revenue. Not all these could be adequately sponsored by the agrarian economy. This resulted in the introduction of other measures, such as taxation and conscription, which people resented (1 Kings 12: 1-20). The analysis agreed with Lalfakzuala's (2016:75) assertion that the large-scale labour requirements of the construction projects undertaken in the ninth and eighth centuries forced the king to deploy conscripted labour (corvées), with the peasantry bearing the brunt of the burden.

The prophets Amos and Hosea make it clear that during this time, the small farmers of Israel and Judah were particularly vulnerable to the wealthy private and state sector landowners who made them debt-slaves and obtained their property, according to Chirichigno's (1993:125) commentary on the condition of poor peasants during the time of Jeroboam II of Israel and Uzziah of Judah. Chirichigno (1993:125) was making references to Amos (2:6-8; 5:8-12) and Hosea (4:2; 5:10; 12:7-8) where the major issue is the oppression of the poor peasants by the rich, the powerful in the society.

The study went into great depth on the several methods that King Hezekiah might have utilised to pay his Assyrian tribute budget ("Three Hundred Talents of Silver and Thirty Talents of Gold") (2 Kings 18:14). Of the many suggestions discussed, Hezekiah's religious reformation that saw the centralisation of worship in Jerusalem (2 Kings 18:4; 2 Chronicles 31)

was taken as a way of diverting all the resources, which used to be for the upkeep of the various high places of worship outside Jerusalem, towards Jerusalem.

5.9.4   Money lending (Usury)

The study noted that it was customary in the ancient world to charge interest on loans. According to Lalfakzuala (2016:85), the Code of Hammurabi set a cap on annual interest rates for loans of grain at 33 percent and for loans of money at 20 percent. By contrast, Assyrian interest rates were typically 25 percent for money and as high as 50 percent for grain. Chirichigno (1993:140) suggested that creditors must have greatly affected the smallholder farmers in the dispossession of the lands. Therefore, what cannot be denied is that the eighth-century prophets seem to point to the exorbitant interest rates charged by creditors against the poor members of society (Amos 8: 4; Micah 2: 9). De Vaux (1973:170) informs this thesis that the Israelites were allowed to borrow when they fell on hard times. Urban moneylenders may have destroyed poor farmers since it is possible that there is a profit-driven loan system in place (Nehemiah 5:1-8). Instances exist in the biblical accounts where impoverished people were compelled to sell dependents into debt slavery (e.g. 2 Kings 4:1; Jeremiah 34:8-16). Lalfakzuala (2016:85) is also convinced that moneylenders played some part in the impoverishment of the poor (peasants). According to the socioeconomic background of the eighth-century prophets in Israel and Judah, the prophets' main concerns included the reality of debt and the subsequent slavery as well as the establishment of large estates that contributed to the exploitation of the weak people (Isaiah 5:8-10; Micah 2:1-2).

5.10   AGRICULTURE MARKETS (MICAH 6:10-12)

The study noted that Micah's political, socioeconomic, and religious contexts radically changed during Hezekiah's reign. Demographic changes that saw the population of Jerusalem multiplying were accounted for by migrations that followed the capture of the northern kingdom of Israel by Assyria in 721-720 BCE. The situation in Jerusalem became a good environment for the rich people who had access to commodities that were in demand. The demand for goods must have increased following the increase in population. From the message of Micah 6:10-12, it is clear that there existed some bad business practices in the market, supposedly in Jerusalem. The rich, powerful people were now in charge of large tracts of land and capitalised on the situation in the market to maximise their economic gains by using unscrupulous means. Like Amos in the North, Micah is also denouncing the use of the infamous

false measure and false scales or lightweights. The study noted that the issue of markets is very tricky everywhere. The rich and the elite who had taken charge of the farms were the same people who also controlled the markets. Therefore, the peasantry experienced deprivation everywhere. When they came to sell their produce in the markets, they would meet the same people who disadvantaged them in their farms through *Latifundialization*. Amos captured the economic situation very vividly. He denounced the rich for excessive oppression of the poor (Amos 2: 6-7), and the wives of the rich were also condemned for encouraging their husbands to oppress the poor so that they will bring food and drink home (Amos 4:1). The same people who were involved in the oppression of the poor by practising unethical business practices in the markets, overcharging their refuse, using false measurements to disadvantage the needy, could also afford to bribe the judges in the courts of law. The judges would give no true judgment. Hence, the judges are also guilty of accepting bribes and leading in the miscarriage of justice (Amos 6:12). The same influential people would flock to the places of worship to give thanks, offerings and other sacrifices to God (Amos 4:4-5). Therefore, God rejected their sacrifices and offerings (Amos 5: 21-23). The only condition that God advised them to do was to let justice roll on like a river and righteousness like an ever-flowing stream (Amos 5:24).

A similar situation is witnessed here in Zimbabwe. White commercial farmers who controlled the large farms also controlled the markets. They did not find problems in exporting their products to international markets. Even the local retail and manufacturing industries offered those markets for their produce without hustle. The few white commercial farmers, who remained in Zimbabwe doing farming, had no problem accessing the local and international markets. One would speculate the above scenario as a result of either long-time connections or a biased economy where social capital reigns. Ironically, the newly resettled black, indigenous farmers have difficulties in penetrating those markets, locally and internationally, even if their selling prices are lower than those being charged by commercial white farmers. A case of tobacco farmers comes to mind. Year in and year out, these black, indigenous farmers complain over lower prices and malpractices in the markets.

5.11 LAND DISCOURSE AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF SOCIAL, POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND LEGAL CONTEXTS OF ZIMBABWE

Summarily, chapter 3 assessed the socio-political and economic setting in Zimbabwe at the advent of colonialism, with a particular focus on the land discourse. The study noted that the socio-political and economic scenarios in Zimbabwe, then Rhodesia, changed with the coming

in of the white settlers who migrated from South Africa in the 1890s into the country led by the BSAC. First, the study used the prophetic book of Micah, forming the theoretical framework, as the window through which to understand and interpret the history and experiences of Zimbabwe's socio-political and economic situations. The migration of refugees into Judah, which we discussed in chapter two relates directly to the migration of the White Settlers from South Africa into Zimbabwe. Second, the growth of *latifundia* in eighth-century Judah that had adverse effects on peasants (Finkelstein and Siberman, 2006:7) relates to the growth of *latifundia* (white commercial farms) and the creation of native reserves reserved for black, indigenous people. This, too, had adverse effects on the black, indigenous people (peasants). Third, the invasion of the Assyrians on Israel and Judah relates to the taking over of the country (Zimbabwe) by the BSAP that eventually led to the first and Second chimurenga being fought. In consistency with the theoretical framework, the study focused on the growth of *latifundia,* and this was achieved by analysing the legislations and land tenure systems introduced by the white settler regime upon settling in Zimbabwe.

5.11.1 The meaning of land to the indigenous Zimbabwean peasants

The study emphasised the value of land in Africa, and Zimbabwe in particular, as a resource that transcends economics and has a breadth of social, spiritual, and political significance, in agreement with Alao (2007:63). The discussion in this chapter clarified the following meanings and significance of land in Africa: (i) Land as a productive asset is connected to giving people a place to live, a sense of identity, access to food, and other necessities. The study noted that the need to produce enough food for human consumption is in line with the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals. The UN document's underlined objectives are the need to end poverty in all its forms everywhere, end hunger, achieve food security, improve nutrition, and promote sustainable agriculture. (ii) In the official FTLRP document, the concept of land as a place of belonging is promoted as a way to define both the existence of people and the sovereignty of nations (Utete, 2003). Land is spiritually significant because it is the birthplace of our ancestors, a piece of our national legacy, and a patrimony whose possession and use stands out as a symbol of political, cultural, and economic independence. (iii) Since the early 1800s, Zimbabwe has experienced intense political conflict over the use of land as a political tool. Land represents human dignity in Zimbabwe since people rely on it to survive. Conclusively, challenges of land are closely related to poverty creation and political subjugation subsequently. Colonialists in Zimbabwe, by depriving peasants of their fertile

soils, deprived them of the source of wealth creation and thereby reduced the peasants to cheap labour who would work for the white settlers to raise money to pay their taxes and for supporting their families.

5.12   PRE-COLONIAL ZIMBABWE AND LAND TENURE SYSTEMS

According to Mupfuvi (2014:37), tenure systems outline who is permitted to hold land, under what conditions, and how people and land are related. The study noted that the issue of the pre-colonial landholding system in Zimbabwe is difficult to establish, just like the situation that Levine noted in the Old Testament eighth century Judah (Levine, 1996:223-242). The study, however, supported Mupfuvi's (2014:37) assertion that in many African groups, land rights were managed by group membership and that within the group, there were customs and rules that governed individual entitlements.

In general, hunting and gathering gave way to shifting agriculture during the pre-colonial era as land usage changed. According to oral tradition, the Shona engaged in shifting agriculture in the pre-colonial era due to the lower population density, plenty of land, and related resources.

Axe and hoe cultivation were the type of land usage connected with shifting agriculture. This method of land use entailed burning down trees that had been cut down and using the ash from those fires to plant crops. Land could only be used for agriculture for a short time—no more than four years (Mupfuvi, 2014: 38). According to Mupfuvi (2014: 38), individual households within a specific village typically gained land by clearing virgin bush via land transfer, and by inheritance due to the availability of land and the sparse population. This is supported by the study. The village headman, who was in touch with the sub-chief or chief, helped people get to land as long as they were politically acceptable in the community. As soon as the community bought the land, it guaranteed the individual's rights to use it as long as he did so. According to this, neither the individual nor the chief owned the land; instead, they both used it as their usufruct, holding it in trust for the sake of his people (Mupfuvi, 2014: 39). The study concluded that this model of land tenure was not very different from the one witnessed from the Judean society in chapter 2. Previously, the land was accumulated in the hands of the few rich and powerful members of the society. It was an egalitarian society where all the people enjoyed equal access to the land.

5.13 COLONIALISM AND THE LAND ISSUE IN ZIMBABWE

Numerous agreements were reached, two of which stand out: The Rudd Concession (1888) and the Lippert Concession (1889), which were signed by the colonialists and the respective chiefs of the Ndebele and Shona peoples (Mupfuvi, 2014:49). (See Chapter 3 for the details of these concessions). Cecil John Rhodes utilised these concessions to take the native black people's land. European nations began the race for colonies as a result of the Berlin Conference (1884–1885), which established the notions of "effective occupation" and "sphere of influence" (Mupfuvi, 2014: 49).

The indigenous black people waged wars of resistance (The First Chimurenga) against the white settlers but were defeated in 1897. The indigenous people witnessed a systematic takeover of their most fertile lands by settlers. According to Martin and Johnson (2012: v), the settlers introduced repressive legislation which eventually made the indigenous people virtual slaves in their own land. Memories of the first Chimurenga of the 1890s lived on being passed from old generations to new generations by the elders.

Robert Gabriel Mugabe, in the foreword to the book of Martin and Johnson (2012: v) argued that the indigenous people came to realise that only through an armed struggle would they liberate their land from the white settlers, and for that to happen, the liberation war required leadership with the necessary revolutionary orientation. This position was also motivated by African founding fathers (such as Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Haile Selase of Ethiopia, Patrice Lumumba of DRC, and many others) of the OAU that later changed to AU. The aims of the founding fathers comprised the following: to co-ordinate and intensify the co-operation of African states in order to achieve a better life for the people of Africa; to defend the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of African states, and also to eradicate of all forms of colonialism and white minority rule on the African continent, among other goals.

After the defeat of the indigenous black people in First Chimurenga the influx of white settlers into the country continued. This meant more demand for land for the incoming white settlers. This resembles a scenario of the effects of migration in eighth-century Judah that was discussed in Chapter 2. The deprivation of peasants continued with the introduction of new legislation. Colonial land laws provided colonial land expropriation with a legal foundation. Many communities resisted, and they were frequently met with violence. Eventually, the forced relocations and land confiscations planted the seeds for the freedom war (Chitsike, 2003).

During colonial times, land disputes grew to be the main causes of strife, and they still are today in post-independence Zimbabwe. The white settler regime adopted the Native Reserves Order in Council of 1898 (Mafa, 2015:40). Mafa (2015: 40) tells us that Leander Starr Johnson encouraged the white settlers to get as much land as they wanted and Major Sir John Willoughby was granted 600,000 acres in Mashonaland. (ii) The Land Apportionment Act of 1930 was the result of the recommendation by the Morris Carter Commission of 1925 to divide land on racial grounds (Mafa 2015:41). This Act saw the partitioning of land into European and African reserves and the forceful evictions of Africans from their fertile to barren land; leaving the land, which they had held for generations and to which they were spiritual, attached, (Mafa, 2015). The study noted that The Land Apportionment Act of 1930 had social, economic, and political effects on the indigenous people. It had serious negative effects on indigenous agricultural production, as evidenced by the deterioration of agricultural output after the creation of reserves. (iii) The Native Land Husbandry Act (1951) was meant to remove Blacks remaining in white areas and to enforce freehold tenure for the whites. Large concentrations of people led to overstocking and soil erosion. To ease the pressure created by the Land Apportionment Act of 1930, another land tenure act was introduced by the colonial government; the Land Husbandry Act 1951. This Act further imposed and enforced conservation measures on land owned by indigenous people (Mafa, 2015:45). The thinking behind this legislation was that land degradation was taking place in the native reserves because of the lack of individual title to the land. Therefore, black, indigenous farmers were required to obtain a permit called a "farming permit" to cultivate the land and a "grazing permit" to graze livestock (Mafa, 2015:45). Other measures included restrictions on the number of livestock as well as soil and water conservation, a situation that further worsened the deprivation of the black, indigenous people. The Land Tenure Act of 1969 repealed and replaced the Land Apportionment Act and divided land into European, African, and National land (Mafa, 2015:47). The research study concluded that the systematic alienation of the indigenous black people from their land eventually resulted in the formation of movements of protests (Political parties) to fight a war of liberation. Hence deprivation and *Latifundialization* form the conceptual framework to explain the genesis of protest movements in Zimbabwe and many other parts of the world.

5.14   THE ROLE OF AFRICAN TRADITIONAL LEADERS

The study questioned the place and role of traditional institutions such as chieftainships, sub-chiefs, and village heads. These traditional roles have been preserved both during the colonial period and even after independence. The white settlers saw traditional institutions among the Africans as essential for government. They intentionally strengthened them or even imposed some, where they were non-existent. In the Land Apportionment Act of 1930, chiefs were made trustees of what was known as Tribal Trust lands (Land belonging to the State but allocated to Africans whose Chiefs were the custodians). The same land designated as Tribal Trust Land was at the same time designated as Reserves. This meant that the state could reclaim it if they find any other use. For example, the state could find minerals in the land once allocated to Chiefs or get commercial farmers interested in the land. The state would simply evict the chief and his people and relocate the whole clan to a new location.

During the war of liberation, chiefs were in a fix. Both Rhodesians and liberation fighters regarded chiefs as extensions of the government. A good number of chiefs and village heads lost their lives at the hands of the liberation fighters and government agencies as they both suspected them of "selling out." The role of traditional chiefs needs to be interrogated. Any sitting government has access to abuse this office for its benefit.

5.15   LAND DISCOURSE IN THE INDEPENDENT ZIMBABWE

According to the report, Zimbabwe had a dual economy upon attaining independence in 1980, with the white minority in control of the nation's land and water resources and a highly skewed structure of land distribution. The majority of the indigenous black population lived in communal areas, while a small minority of white large-scale commercial farmers owned and farmed most of the better agricultural land. Due to several laws passed during the colonial era led to the colonial settlers' widespread expropriation of valuable agricultural land and the subsequent marginalisation of black people into communal areas. There is now an inherited dual structure of property ownership.

The study found out that the Zimbabwean government (GoZ) made great progress in transferring land to the country's black majority following independence. The government launched the Intensive Resettlement Programme (IRP) to address three key concerns: unequal and inequitable land distribution, insecurity of tenure, and sustainable and sub-optimal land

usage. The land question apparently received primacy in governmental policies (GoZ, 1998). The government started land reform initiatives, which led to the development of resettlement programs that included four main models. Some of the towns intended to distribute land to the poor or those who owned unproductive property. Other towns were set aside exclusively for the production of commercial agriculture. The main goal was to resettle war refugees, landless people, the impoverished, the unemployed, and the destitute. Under the "willing-buyer willing-seller" principle, white commercial farmers were forced to sell their land to black people (Moyo, 2004:120). The study noted that the Constitutional stipulations that no landed property could be acquired compulsorily except under very stringent conditions, including immediate and sufficient compensation, effectively meant that land would be acquired in practice on a "willing-buyer willing-seller" basis. This provision limited the government's choice of land used for resettlement (because it was contingent on what was on offer on the market), and it also inhibited government purchases because of limited state funds for market-priced land. Consequently, much of the land it acquired was in semi-arid regions.

The study concluded that the various land model schemes that the GoZ tried with little success form the background of the FTLRP. In order to increase the amount of land available for resettlement and to facilitate land reform more generally, several amendments were made to the constitution and the Land Acquisition Act during the 1980s and 1990s. These changes aimed to end the deprivation that peasants continued to experience years after independence. Despite the verbal promises that were reached during the Lancaster House Conference, the former colonial power was not forthcoming in giving sizeable cash for land acquisition. From 1980 to 1999, the government acquired only 3,5 million (hectors) land and had 71,000 households resettled. Congested, overstocked, and overgrazed conditions persisted in the communal areas. As a result, for the vast majority of Zimbabweans living in rural regions, there had been no progress in increasing their access to excellent land and agrarian livelihoods, a blatant instance of unresolved deprivation. A struggling administration was under increasing pressure to expedite its land reform initiative.

According to the report, the government established a commission in 1999 to consider creating a fundamentally new constitution (GoZ, 2001). The final text of the constitution included clauses leading to the seizure of land for relocation, and the former colonial power was also required to pay compensation for farms it had seized. With the exception of infrastructure upgrades, the government would no longer be required to compensate for the

land it had acquired. In February 2000, a referendum was held to allow citizens to accept or reject the proposed constitution. The majority of Zimbabweans decided to reject the draft constitution, mostly due to worries that it would concentrate power in the hands of the president.

The study noted that invasions of white-owned farms started in 2000 after the rejection of the draft constitution mentioned above. The nationwide land occupations that began in early 2000, which first resulted in arrests and detentions of occupiers, were quickly legitimised by the government and regularised and normalised through the FTLRP (dubbed Third Chimurenga). White farmers were initially instructed to live in harmony with the newly arrived "settlers," but it soon became apparent that these white farmers were to be evicted, and their lands were entirely taken over by the settlers. This rural dynamic spread throughout the country during 2000 and into 2001. In this context, the ruling party adopted the slogan "Land is Economy, and the Economy is Land." The government put in place emergency legislation to protect the new settlers from eviction. Any occupiers would only be removed once alternative land had been identified for resettling them.

The study took notice of the FTLRP reactions. Within the international community, there were conflicting reactions to this FTLRP operation in Zimbabwe. On the one hand, it was acknowledged by the world's marginalised populations (those who had experienced similar deprivation) that land redistribution was required to address racial inequities. According to Worby (2001:478), the farm invasions are to blame for the widespread deterioration or actual collapse of the freehold property forms that have supported the concentration of large-scale capitalist agriculture and the racialised distribution of land for more than a century. On the other side, there has been widespread and vehement disapproval from various groups within the world community who felt sympathy for those who were thought to have lost the exercise. Some critics have questioned the timing of the exercise (beginning before the crucial June 2000 elections), claiming that any chance for a planned and orderly land reform was squandered for political considerations.

5.16   ZIMBABWE NEW DISPENSATION AND LAND QUESTION

The study noted the introduction of the SI 62 of 2020 and the Global Compensation Deal as emanating from a number of factors:

(i) Pressure from the international community for Zimbabwe to respect the rule of law, especially in consideration of land under BIPPA.

(ii) The need to end Zimbabwe's international isolation and promote the country's new mantra of "Zimbabwe is open for business."

(iii) The need for Zimbabwe to clear its image and to stand so that the country can access international funding from international funding institutions like IMF and World Bank.

(iv) The country needs to create an enabling economic environment that attracts foreign investors and direct funding for the creation of the much-needed employment in the country.

(v) Hardliners in the ZANU PF party are now being replaced by new blood that prefers to adopt a new stance that is in tandem with global politics and economics.

5.17 THE SECOND CHIMURENGA AND LAND

The study ended by probing the extent to which the book of Micah can speak to the Zimbabwean Land issue. The exploited poor peasantry in the eighth-century Judean society regarded the city of Jerusalem as the centre of their exploitation by the rich and powerful elite who dwelt there (Micah 3: 8-11). Ideally speaking, the deprived people would wish the destruction of those they perceive to be causing their misery or deprivation. There is an anticipation of a better regime to be brought by a bigger and more powerful authority. The deprived people normally would interpret that God is on their side and would assist in removing the established oppressive system. The interface between religion and politics is realised. In this case, the community of Micah mirrors the Zimbabwean community and its experience during the colonial rule of the white settlers. The white settlers who migrated into the country in 1890 established a minority rule and deprived the majority of the indigenous black people of the land and other important resources. The deprived indigenous people, much like peasants of Micah's time, resented the oppressive regime of the elite and powerful. Therefore, the study concluded that the Bible remains relevant to different historical situations.

From the conversations carried out in Goromonzi district, in Mashonaland East Province, among the resettled war veterans and indigenous peasant farmers, the study concluded that the issue of land was at the centre of the Chimurenga wars of the liberation struggle. However, the deprivation theory could not fully account for the reasons why recruited cadres joined the war; given their ages. Hence, other explanations were sought that ranged from mass politicisation and indoctrination, coercion and even lies for non-existent educational scholarships, just to lure young people to join the war. The "Son of the soil theory" was also used to account for the strong desire gripping most young people who flocked en mass to join the liberation struggle.

According to the study, FTLRP led to a new agrarian structure in the Goromonzi district, taking into account both A1 and A2 farms. Prior to the fast track, there were four types of commercial farms in the district: small-scale, medium-scale, large-scale, and peri-urban commercial farms. There were also traditional farms. Both resettled war veterans and peasant farmers were appreciative of the gains received from FTLRP. However, they noted that the real beneficiaries were the senior government officials who managed to get large tracts of land (*Latifundialization* in reverse).

5.18 DATA FROM SHONA NOVELS ON LAND ISSUES

The study noted that in Zimbabwean Shona novels in their different historical epochs, the fictional works collectively addressed the issue of dispossession of land among Indigenous black people by the white colonial masters. All these selected works highlight the deprivation that the indigenous black people had to endure because of colonial settlers' expropriation of their land. The novels vividly give a picture of the indigenous black people who suffered the consequences of the dispossession of land and other resources. The suffering that the indigenous black people have endured compelled them to fight the colonial masters so that they could regain back their lost land. This explains why some of these selected works, especially those set after independence, go a step further to discuss how the indigenous black people took steps to redress the racial, colonial and gender injustices in land ownership. The dispossessed indigenous people were not passive recipients of the socio-economic and political injustices perpetrated against them but were determined to fight to regain their lost land. They were at the forefront of the struggle for land reclamation.

5.19   BENEFICIARIES OF THE FTLRP

The study noted that senior politicians from the government are the real beneficiaries of a program that was tautly meant to benefit all the landless people in Zimbabwe. The senior politicians in the ruling party, ZANU PF, had access to large farms, and some managed to get more than one farm. This point is supported by the evidence that the former head of state, Robert Mugabe, owned 14 farms covering over 16 000 hectares, acquired in 2000 (Newsday - January 5, 2018). The same article also revealed that Mugabe's close relatives, including his late sister Sabina, his nephew Leo, and his brother-in-law Reward Marufu were reportedly multiple farm owners. Several other ZANU PF bigwigs are also multiple farm owners (Mushava E. 2018. *Newsday*, 5 January).

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

6.1   INTRODUCTION

The main question of this study is: To what extent may the book of Micah speak to the Zimbabwean land question today? Based on this question, the research hypothesis states that the poor peasants during Micah's time must have lost their land to the ruling class and the military that supported the rulers. This loss of land to the ruling class and the military must have been a major cause of deprivation and discontent. By using Delbert R. Hillers' social scientific model of relative deprivation, a parallel present itself between the socio-economic and political phenomenon of land in the Book of Micah and the Zimbabwean context. Following this hypothesis, the present chapter presents the summary and findings.

6.2   FINDINGS

The study established that land is an important and conflicted resource in the world over (Judah and Zimbabwe included). As such, land needs to be managed well and fairly, lest the powerful people in various societies deprive the less powerful. This fact is well supported even by the information in the literature review and the conceptual framework of relative deprivation and *Latifundialization*.

Hillers' theory of relative deprivation speaks to the Zimbabwean situation as well as cases of deprivation emanating from unequal access to land (fertile land) which were rampant during the colonial era, as was the case in eighth-century Judah. The peasants of Micah found a voice for their plight against the powerful members of their society in the message of the prophet Micah. The book of Micah thus mirrors the experiences of the indigenous peasants who endured unfair treatment at the hands of the white minority regime in Zimbabwe. The need to establish large tracts of land (*latifundia*) for their farming activities and for the ex-servicemen led the white settler regime in Zimbabwe to evict the indigenous peasants from their well-producing farms to poor soils, known as Reserves. That situation is similar in many ways to the experiences of the peasants of Micah's time, especially when the Judean population increased due to migrations of refugees from the Assyrian conquered nation of Northern Israel. The demand for land subsequently increased in Judah, resulting in the rich and powerful

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members of the society taking over land that belonged to the poor peasants (Micah 2: 1-2; Isaiah 5:8). Elsewhere in the study, we also cited the fact of the migration of white settlers into Zimbabwe as having increased the demand for more land. As indicated above, Premnath (2018) did a commendable job in his book by exposing the social reality of eighth-century BCE. Premnath reaffirmed that Israel and Judah and the prophetic oracles of Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, and Micah, reveal the significance of their prophetic message and vision in today's context. Most importantly, Premnath focused on various dimensions of land accumulation by the upper class and its effects on the poor. For this reason, his work became very relevant to this study in unearthing the social and economic realities of peasants in Ancient Israel in relation to land. As such, the study found that the experiences of the peasants in the book of Micah mirror the experiences of the indigenous peasant farmers in Zimbabwe during the colonial era.

The study noted that the white settlers created the legislation (land tenure) to affect a systematic takeover of the indigenous peasant farms. As mentioned above, this was followed by their eviction to impoverished soils (Reserves), and we argued that it became the basis of poverty creation amongst the indigenous people. The main aim on the part of the white settlers was to create a cheap labour force that would work on the newly acquired farms to raise money for sustenance and pay various taxes demanded by the white minority regime.

The situation above found confirmation from the war veterans of the liberation struggle and the fictional works represented in the novels analysed in chapter 4. In line with relative deprivation, the political, socioeconomic, and legal contexts demanded a radical response. The Chimurenga wars were such responses, and indigenous peasants supported the wars because they were convinced that they had found a voice to speak for them and eventually recover their lost land. The study found that this is the main reason the indigenous people were agitating to take over the white settlers' farms soon after independence. This fact is clearly demonstrated in the fictional works.

The study also found that the issue of Markets mentioned in Micah 6: 10-12 relates well to the Zimbabwean situation. The white commercial farmers who controlled the land grabbed from the indigenous peasants during colonial times also controlled the markets. The indigenous peasants suffered various injustices when they wanted to sell their produce. They would get poor grades for their grain, cattle, and other produce. This kept the gap widening between the rich white and the poor blacks. The unfortunate thing is that this trend did not end with the attainment of independence in Zimbabwe. The powerful, rich people (who happen to be black)

now own big farms and control the markets. They still disadvantage the small-scale farmers. For example, in the case of Tobacco, small farmers do not have direct access to markets. They are usually forced to sell their produce to middlemen (who buy their tobacco at very low rates and sell the same commodity at the auction floor for a higher price). Apparently, this is an area that requires a full investigation of its own.

Another important finding from the study is the issue of beneficiaries of the FTLRP. The issue of land deprivation was a reality amongst the peasants and other black, indigenous people. Hence, the wholesome support of the liberation movements by the deprived people. After the war, the real beneficiaries appeared to be the people who were directing the revolution. Two issues support this fact: 1. the difference in sizes of the farms. The majority of peasants (some war veterans included in this group) received some small portions of land; as big as 6 hectares for A 1 models; whilst almost all the powerful politicians acquired very big farms of 200 or more hectares with direct access to farming implements (tractors, Combine harvesters, planters, etc.) and other resources offered by the government. 2. As established in chapter 3, the elite had access to multiple farms. The Mugabe family acquired more than 14 farms with a total hectarage of 16 000 hectares. Many senior politicians fall in this group of multiple farm ownership. It appears that those who led the revolutionary parties used the various deprivations that people (the peasants, the majority of the citizenry) had to get support. This might also explain why it took twenty years to address the land reform issue by the government. It is worth noting that the government arrested peasants who took it upon themselves to occupy commercial farms immediately after independence.

6.3   CONTRIBUTION TO THE FIELD OF STUDY

This study's contribution to the field of knowledge is that using Hillers' theory of relative deprivation and von Rad's concept of *Latifundialization,* in this case, the source of deprivation is the land that motivated people to stand up against colonialism. We can identify two communities at the beginning, which are the black community versus the white community. The two revolutionary parties, ZANU and ZAPU used the Marxist –Leninist Model of Communism from the Soviet Union and China as their ideology to mobilise people to fight against the white settlers in the war of liberation in Zimbabwe. At the beginning, everyone was identified as a community; there were no divisions (rich, elite, powerful, learned, poor, uneducated, rural, or urban); it was simply black versus white. The war was fought, and the message of fighting the minority regime to get back the lost land and freedom was constantly

ushered to the people to keep everyone focused and motivated. After the war was won and independence came in 1980, there came what we can call the spoils of war. There was now inclusion and exclusion concerning the spoils. If we went into the war as one community, but after the war, there is now the issue of inclusion versus exclusion when it comes to the spoils, why? Why do we now see the elite, the powerful (the presidium, the Cabinet ministers, the Army generals, including their close connections) versus the povo (the general populace that supported the war), the war veterans who were at the forefront of the war fighting? There is now a redefinition of Communism when it comes to the spoils, that is, the resource (s), of which we were all deprived. This process of exclusion versus inclusion determines who would benefit more from the war and who would benefit less. In Africa, revolutionary parties fought the oppressive regimes as one community because they had a common deprivation(s), but after the war, there was a redefinition of communism regarding the spoils. The elite, the powerful people, benefit more as compared to the povo, and the rest of the populace. As a result, those excluded would always feel deprived by the powerful, the elite and the cycle of poverty will continue for those excluded. Deprivation is not linear but cyclical. The oppressed today can become the oppressor tomorrow when they get an opportunity.

6.4   RECOMMENDATIONS

The study recommends that:

(i)   There should be further research on the problems of small-scale farmers in Zimbabwe in light of Market challenges, as echoed by Micah, the eighth-century Prophet.

(ii)   The studies on Micah in relation to issues of land and deprivation in Africa can add value to the forum of BiAS (Bible in Africa Studies). This forum is collecting a series of essays and monographs on the Bible in Africa and Africa-related Biblical Studies with the hope of opening up a forum of academic exchange on an international level.

(iii) Government move fast to deal with issues of multiple farm ownership, as this will avail more land to those who are still waiting to be resettled.

(iv) Government remain resolute in the fight against corruption in the allocation of farms, and allocations of input schemes like the presidential input scheme, which has often been criticised for being partisan.

(v) Government should ensure some kind of in-house training on proper management and the use of good farming methods for the new occupants.

(vi) In addition to the above recommendation, emphasis should be on production and sustainable development. For all resettled farmers, those passionate about producing for the country should replace non-performers.

(vii) Government should resuscitate industry to create the much-needed market for farming produce. This way, the country and its population will benefit from value addition realised in selling finished products.

(viii) People facing deprivations of various kinds in life should draw inspiration and courage from the messages of the eighth-century prophets like Micah, Isaiah, Amos, and Hosea, who condemn social injustices that are perpetrated on the less powerful people of the society by the powerful and influential members of the society. The powerful people should also hear the same eighth-century prophets' bold message that God abhors the exploitation of the weaker members of society. Instead, God calls everyone to participate in the creation of a just society where everyone is created with respect because he or she is created in the image of God. The Bible message will always remain relevant to different historical, socio-economic, religious and political situations.

6.5   CONCLUSION OF CHAPTER

The chapter summerised the findings of the study, and proffered the contribution of the thesis to the field of study. It was explained in the thesis why the issue of deprivation and the need to address it in society is a perennial problem. The research also suggested recommendations to be made as part of the research effort to contribute meaningfully to the sustainable development of the nation in areas of land distribution and management. Micah's importance to African issues has been suggested, particularly in line with the aspirations of BiAS.

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[CAP. 20:29

Land Commission (Gazetted Land) (Disposal in Lieu of Compensation) Regulations, 2020

ARRANGEMENT OF SECTIONS

Section

1. Title.

2. Interpretation.

3. Object of regulations.

4. Identification of persons to which these regulations apply.

5. Submission and processing of applications.

6. Documents to be submitted with applications.

7. Consideration of applications by committee.

8. Procedure after consideration of an application.

9. Effect of alienation.

IT is hereby notified that the Minister of Lands, Agriculture, Water and Rural Resettlement has, in terms of section 21 as read with section 17 of the Land Commission Act [Chapter 20:29], made the following regulations: —

Title

1. These regulations may be cited as the Land Commission (Gazetted Land) (Disposal in Lieu of Compensation) Regulations, 2020.

Interpretation

2. In these regulations— "acquired agricultural land" means land (or any piece thereof) compulsorily acquired under the Land Reform and Resettlement Programme; "alienate" in

relation to a farm compulsorily acquired under the Land Reform and Resettlement Programme means to transfer ownership of it to a person referred to in section 3;

Land Commission (Gazetted Land) (Disposal in Lieu of Compensation) Regulations, 2020 "application" means any application made in terms of section 4, and "applicant" shall be construed accordingly. "BIPPA or BIT country" means a country with which the Republic of Zimbabwe has concluded a Bilateral Investment Protection and Promotion Agreement or a Bilateral Investment Treaty; "committee" means the committee appointed in terms of section 4; "identity document" means a valid passport, or a notice or identity document issued in terms of section 7 of the National Registration Act [Chapter 10:17], or a valid driver's licence containing an identification number assigned to the holder thereof under the National Registration Act [Chapter 10:17] "Land Reform and Resettlement Programme" means the programme referred to in the definition of "A2 farm" of the Act; Object of regulations 3. The object of these regulations is to provide for the disposal of land to persons referred to in section 4, who are, in terms of section 295 of the Constitution, entitled to compensation for the acquisition of previously compulsorily acquired agricultural land. Identification of persons to whom these regulations apply 4. (1) These regulations apply to the following persons who, before agricultural land owned by them, was compulsorily acquired under the Land Reform and Resettlement Programme (hereinafter in these regulations referred to as "acquired agricultural land"), were the owners thereof under a deed of grant or title deed or had completed the purchase of their farms from the State in terms of a lease with an option to purchase—

(a) indigenous individual persons (or where such persons are deceased, their legally recognised heirs);

(b) individuals who were citizens of a BIPPA or BIT country at the time their investments in agricultural land were compulsorily acquired under the Land Reform and Resettlement Programme (or where such persons are deceased, their legally recognised heirs);

(c) partnerships, if the partners who held any farm jointly

were—

(i) indigenous individuals; or

(ii) citizens of a BIPPA or BIT country;

(d) private companies whose shareholding is wholly or predominantly owned by—

(i) indigenous individuals; or

(ii) individuals who were citizens of a BIPPA or BIT country.

(2) Where—

(a) an individual (whether indigenous or not) had completed the purchase of a farm from the State in terms of a lease with an option to purchase; and

(b) before obtaining title thereto from the State, the individual sold the farm to an indigenous individual in the expectation that a title deed or deed of grant will be granted; and

(c) before the title was issued in relation to such a farm, the farm was acquired under the Land Reform and Resettlement Programme; the indigenous purchaser may lodge an application in terms of these regulations.

Submission and processing of applications

5. (1) Any person listed in section 4 who wishes to obtain title to a piece of acquired agricultural land that was formerly his or her farm may apply in writing to the Minister, who shall refer all such applications to the committee.

(2) The Minister shall constitute a committee which shall receive and process applications from persons referred to in section 4, with a view to recommending to the Minister whether or not to alienate the land in question to the applicant.

Land Commission (Gazetted Land) (Disposal in Lieu of Compensation) Regulations, 2020

(3) The committee shall be headed by the Director of the Department of Lands Management, who shall be deputised by the Legal Adviser of the Ministry of Lands, Agriculture, Water and Rural Resettlement.

(4) The committee shall further consist of three other members employed in the Ministry, appointed by the Minister on an ad hoc basis or for terms not exceeding twelve months.

(5) The Minister shall ensure that the membership of the committee is gender balanced.

Documents to be submitted with the application

6. (1) An applicant must submit—

(a) a copy of the deed of grant or title deed or lease with an option to purchase in respect of the farm for which title is sought to be obtained (and in the latter case, proof satisfactory to the committee that all the instalments due under the lease agreement were paid); and

(b) his or her identity document of the applicant, and if the application is made by the applicant in his or her capacity as an heir, and the death certificate of the deceased; and

(c) in the case of an applicant who is a citizen of a BIPPA or BIT country, the following in addition to the documents referred to in paragraph (a) and (b)—(i) a copy of the relevant BIPPA; and (ii) a passport or passports showing that the applicant was a citizen of the BIPPA or BIT country when the farm was acquired and continues to be such a citizen at the time of the application; and (iii) if the farm in question was held by a partnership, proof satisfactory to the committee that the applicants constituting the partnership were citizens of a BIPPA or BIT country; (d) individuals referred to in section 4(2) proof satisfactory to the committee that— (i) they purchased the land in question from persons who had completed the purchase of their farms from the State in terms of a lease with an option to purchase; and

(ii) they purchased the land in question prior to the gazetting of such farm; and (iii) with the expectation that a title deed or deed of grant will be granted to them.

(e) in the case of an applicant who is an indigenous person claiming title to the farm held by a private company, proof satisfactory to the committee that the applicant wholly or predominantly owned the company at the time the farm was acquired.

(2) If any document submitted with an application is queried by the Director of Land Management or the Legal Adviser, further proof may be required in the form of (but not limited to) the following documents as may be appropriate— (a) an agreement of sale relating to the farm before it was acquired; (b) a certificate of no interest made in terms of the Land Acquisition (Right of First Refusal for Rural Land) Regulations,1992, or an affidavit executed in terms of section 6 of the same regulations or in terms of the Land Acquisition (Disposal of Rural Land) Regulations 1999; (c) any record showing proof of payment for the farm before it was acquired by the State; (d) an affidavit from the applicant deposing to such facts as the

Director of the Department of Land Management or Legal Adviser may require. Consideration of applications by the committee

7. (1) For the avoidance of doubt, it is declared that these regulations do not confer a right or legitimate expectation to obtain title to any piece of acquired agricultural land upon persons who may otherwise qualify to obtain such title.

(2) In considering whether to recommend any application for approval by the Minister the committee shall take into account any of the following considerations as seem to it to be relevant to the application—Land Commission (Gazetted Land) (Disposal in Lieu of Compensation) Regulations, 2020

(a) whether the farm in question is wholly or partially occupied by A1 permit holders or holders of 99-year leases;

(b) whether the applicant in question is in occupation of the farm or a part of it;

(c) whether (on the basis of previous policy directives issued by the Minister that are known to the committee) granting the application would be contrary to the interests of defence, public safety, public order, public morality, public health, regional or town planning or the general public interest.

(d) whether the State on its own discretion prefers to pay compensation in respect of the acquired agricultural land in question.

Procedure after consideration of the application

8. (1) If in the opinion of the committee—

(a) an applicant qualifies to obtain title to a farm in part or in full, the committee shall make the appropriate recommendation to the Minister;

(b) an applicant does not qualify to obtain title to a farm in part or in full; the committee shall inform the applicant in writing accordingly and give him or her reasons why he or she does not qualify.

(2) In considering a recommendation of the committee, the Minister shall invite the Land Commission to make representations, if any, on the recommendation within a period (not being less than seven days) specified by the Minister.

(3) The Minister may reject any application on the basis that granting it would be contrary to the interests of defence, public safety, public order, public morality, public health, regional or town planning or the general public interest.

(4) The Minister shall notify every applicant in writing of the outcome of his or her application and, where the application is rejected, the reasons for the rejection.

(5) The Minister's decision upon an application shall be final.

(6) If the Minister accepts a recommendation to alienate any piece of acquired agricultural land, the Minister shall direct the Director of the Department of Land or the Legal Advisor to inform the applicant in writing accordingly.

(7) The Minister shall ensure that a person whose application has been successful receives the transfer of the land in question under the individual registered title.

Effect of alienation

9. (1) Alienation of a piece of acquired agricultural land comprising a farm to a qualifying applicant in terms of these regulations shall be a final settlement of any claims that the applicant may have from the State in respect of compensation.

(2) Alienation of a piece of acquired agricultural land comprising only part of a farm to a qualifying applicant in terms of these regulations shall be a final settlement of any claim for compensation to the extent that the application is successful.

Land Commission (Gazetted Land) (Disposal in Lieu of Compensation) Regulations, 2020

Supplement to the Zimbabwean dated the 6th March, 2020. Printed by the Government

Appendix 2:

Rudd Concession by King Lobengula of Matabeleland (1888)

Know all men by these presents, that whereas Charles Dunell Rudd, of Kimberley; Rochfort Maguire, of London; and Francis Robert Thompson, of Kimberley, hereinafter called the grantees, have covenanted and agreed, and do hereby covenant and agree, to pay to me, my heirs and successors, the sum of one hundred pounds sterling, British currency, on the first day of every lunar month; and further, to deliver at my royal kraal one thousand Martini-Henry breech-loading rifles, together with one hundred thousand rounds of suitable ball cartridge, five hundred of the said rifles and fifty thousand of the said cartridges to be ordered from England forthwith and delivered with reasonable dispatch, and the remainder of the said rifles and cartridges to be delivered as soon as the said grantees shall have commenced to work mining machinery within my territory; and further, to deliver on the Zambesi River a steamboat with guns suitable for defensive purposes upon the said river, or in lieu of the said steamboat, should I so elect, to pay to me the sum of five hundred pounds sterling, British currency. On the execution of these presents, I, Lobengula, King of Matabeleland, Mashonaland, and other adjoining territories, in exercise of my sovereign powers, and in the presence and with the consent of my council of *indunas*, do hereby grant and assign unto the said grantees, their heirs, representatives, and assigns, jointly and severally, the complete and exclusive charge over all metals and minerals situated and contained in my kingdoms, principalities, and dominions, together with full power to do all things that they may deem necessary to win and procure the same, and to hold, collect, and enjoy the profits and revenues, if any, derivable from the said metals and minerals, subject to the aforesaid payment; and whereas I have been much molested of late by divers persons seeking and desiring to obtain grants and concessions of land and mining rights in my territories, I do hereby authorise the said grantees, their heirs, representatives and assigns, to take all necessary and lawful steps to exclude from my kingdom, principalities, and dominions all persons seeking land, metals, minerals, or mining rights therein, and I do hereby undertake to render them all such needful assistance as they may from time to time require for the exclusion of such persons, and to grant no concessions of land or mining rights from and after this date without their consent and concurrence; provided that, if at any time the said monthly payment of one hundred pounds shall be in arrear for a period of three months, then this grant shall cease and determine from the date of the last-made payment; and further provided that nothing contained in these presents shall extend to or affect a grant made by me of certain mining rights in a portion of my territory south of the Ramaquaban River, which grant is commonly known as the Tati Concession.

(signed by Lobengula, Rudd, Maguire, Thompson, Helm and Dreyer)

I hereby certify that the accompanying document has been fully interpreted and explained by me to the Chief Lobengula and his full Council of Indunas and that all the Constitutional usages of the Matabele Nation had been complied with prior to his executing the same.

(signed by Helm)

The original written copy of the Rudd Concession from

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rudd_Concession

Appendix 3:
The Land Apportionment Act 1930

The Land Apportionment Act was a law passed in 1930 by a settler government in Rhodesia.
It was a law governing the distribution of land into white and black owned.

It was necessitated by the need to promote white or settler agriculture.

In Rhodesia there were 96 000 000 acres of land and 49 000 000 acres was allocated to whites (51%) and this land was given to 50 000 settlers while 21 000 000 acres was allocated to blacks who had a population of over a million people (1 081 000). The rest were forest.

What influenced the Land Apportionment Act of 1930?

1. The LAA of 1930 was influenced by the 1923 Constitution.

2. It was influenced by Morris Carter Commission of 1925 which advocated for division of land into white and African land.

3. It was influenced by the need to reduce competition between black and white farmers.

4. It was influenced by the need to get cheap labour force for white farmers and was only possible after impoverishing black people.

It was influenced by the need to promote settler interests as suggested by Godfrey Huggins.

Nature of settlers' land/white farmers' land.

1. Settlers got large tracts of land.

2. The land was spacious.

3. The land had a low population density.

4. The land allocated to settlers was fertile and had rich and good soils.

5. The land received high rainfall totals.

6. The land was close to the market centres.

7. The land was close to roads and railway lines.

8. Yields were high due to nature of soils and high rainfall.

Nature of black-land/African farmers' land

1. Land allocated to black farmers was small in size.

2. African farmers were overcrowded in the reserves where they were settled.

3. The land allocated to blacks had high population density.

4. Land allocated to blacks was infertile, rocky, sandy, and had poor soils.

5. Land allocated to blacks received low rainfall totals.

6. Geographical position of land allocated to blacks was far away from roads and railway lines as well as far away from market centres.

7. Because of the nature of soils and rainfall totals yields were low.

Yields were low and poor.

There was overstocking and overgrazing resulting in soil erosion and serious land degradation.

Africans were located far away from market centres, roads and rail, making commercial farming impossible.

It ended competition between black and white farmers.

Appendix 4
The Land Husbandry Act (1951)

• Europeans saw that the Land Apportionment Act could not suppress the desire of Africans to own land

• The land and environment were also deteriorating at a faster rate in natives reserves

• So, to improve the situation they passed the land Husbandry Act of 1951

• The act was to replace communal ownership of land among natives with private ownership

• Each family was allocated 8 acres of land which could not be subdivided among their children and this conflicted with existing traditional beliefs

• The power to distribute land was stripped from chiefs to distribute land and given to the District Commissioners

• Compulsory conservation methods were introduced to regulate farming practices

• Compulsory conservation methods were introduced to regulate farming practices

• These were the construction of contour ridges, destocking and storm drains

• The number of cattle owned by African families was limited to five

• Those who failed to get in the reserves had to work for Europeans in mines and factories

• Africans were forced to get involved in public projects such as construction of dams, bridges and roads

• Failure to comply with the provisions of the Act was subject to punishment either by fine payment of imprisonment

• The act was rejected by natives and paved way for the starting of the Second Chimurenga

• This project failed, was abandoned in 1961 and replaced by the Land Tenure Act.

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THE LAND HUSBANDRY ACT 1969
No. 22 of 1969
[Date of Assent: 23rd April, 1969]
[Date of Commencement.' 16th May. 1969] Gazette 23
ACT
To control and improve, in respect of agricultural land, the use of land, soil conservation, water resources, irrigation and certain agricultural practices, and to provide for incidental or connect ted matters. Enacted by the Parliament of Lesotho.
1. This Act may be cited as the Land Husbandry Act 1969. Citation
2. In this Act and in the regulations, unless the context I!'Terprela.otherwise requires- lion "agriculture" means all activities relating to crop production, to the keeping, breeding or raising of livestock, and to the forestry; and the word "agricultural" shall be construed accordingly; "chief" has the same meaning as is ascribed thereto in subsection

(1) of section 2 of the Chieftainship Act 1968; " livestock" means cattle, horses, donkeys, mules, sheep, goats, pigs, poultry, rodents and such other species of animals as the Minister may prescribe by Notice in the Gazette; and "Minister" means the Minister responsible for Agriculture.

3. (l) The provisions of this Act and of the regulations Application shall not apply to an area of land whenever and for so long as that of Act land is not agricultural land in terms of subsection (2).

. (2) An area of land is not agricultural land whenever and for so long as that land is not in fact being utilised for the purpose of the growing of crops or the grazing of livestock and
(a) is being held in accordance with a mineral title granted in terms of the law governing mining rights; or
(b) is being held in accordance with an allocation made in terms of section 93 of the Constitution foe one or more of the following purposes: -
(I) residential use (including stables, kraals and similar structures);
(Ii) Government use (including roads, stock-paths and footpaths), institutional use or commercial use (all exclusive of the growing of crops or the
grazing of livestock); (iii) burial of the dead.

Power to make regulations in respect of agricultural land

4. (1) Subject to subsection (3), the Minister, in respect of agricultural land, may by Notice in the Gazette make regulations which in his judgement ensure that land is employed in the most beneficial uses, promote soil conservation, proper management of water resources and proper irrigation, and promote certain good and prevent certain bad agricultural practices.
(2) 'In particular; but without prejudice to the generality of the foregoing, such regulations may in respect of agricultural land-
(a) prescribe the use to which land may be put; that is, allow, prohibit, limit or control on designated land or upon the e occurrence of designated circumstances, the 'growing' of crops

or species thereof, the grazing of, livestock or species or breeds thereof, or the carrying out of other uses;

(b) prescribe the precautions to be taken to prevent erosion that' may-be caused by the cultivation "of land or by, roads, stockpaths or footpaths by the controlling drainage and by requiring the provision or construction and maintenance of contour farrows, storm drains or grass strips 'of such specification and nature as may, be pre-" scribed. "

(c) prohibit or restrict the cultivation and grazing of designated land and the banks of streams and the draining and cultivation or grazing of: public streams including vleis, ' sponges, marshes, swamps and reed beds; "

(d) provide for the preservation and protection of water, resources, including springs, vleis, sponges and marshes and the source, course and banks of streams, and in particular control the placing, design and use of dams;

(e) Prescribe the e type of lay-out, levelling and draining to be adopted on land to be cultivated under Irrigation and prescribe the circumstances in which such irI-igate1!, land shall be drained and the proper methods to be' 'employed in applying water to irrigated land; "

(f) prescribe the principles to be adopted in the reduction of the number of livestock on designated land; - "

(g) or regulate, control and restrict
(i) the number of persons who may be permitted to graze livestock on designated land; and
(ii) ' the number' and species or breeds of livestock that a person may graze on designated land;
(h) 'prolife; for, control of grazing and the introduction of veld or pasture management;
(i). r regulates and... control the manner of watering and the ': -movement of livestock;
(j)-", prohibit; restrict or control the drawing of sledges, ploughs or logs along any constructed road, stock-path or footpath; and

(k) provide for proper management of trees and other natural flora.

> (2) The Minister shall, prior to making any regulations under this section, consult with the Principal Chief or the Ward Chief having jurisdiction over any agricultural l land in respect of which the proposed regulations are to be made.

(4) For the e avoidance of doubt, it is declared that provisions of the Declaration of Basotho Law and Custom Numbers 7(1) and 7(3) of the Declarations commonly known as Part 1 of the Laws of Lerotholi (Revised Editi on, 1959) are subject to the provisions of any regulations made under this Act.

> 5.The Minister may consult, in respect of any matter regarding which he has the power to make regulations, with such Government officials or other persons, and at such times and places as the Minister deems appropriate.

> 6. (1) The regulations may confer a power or impose a duty upon a Chief, or subject to the law relating to the public service upon an Inspector appointed in terms of section 9, in order to carry out the provisions of this Act and the regulations.

(2) The regulations may empower a Chief or an Inspector, generally, or in particular cases, to enter without warrant upon land at any time for the purpose of-

(a) exercising a power conferred, or performing a duty imposed, in accordance with the provisions of subsections

(1) or (3) of this sect ion; or

(b) ascertaining whether there is or has been a contravention

of the provisions of the regulations.

(3) The regulations may confer a power upon any society, co-operative or other association of persons and, subject to the agreement of that society, co-operative or other association,

impose a duty upon such organisation in order to carry out the provisions of this Act and the regulations.

7. (1) The regulations may constitute offences with regard to the contravention of, or failure to comply with, provisions of the regulations or with regard to obstructing or otherwise impeding the carrying out of those provisions.

(2) The regulations may prescribe a penalty to be imposed on a person who is found guilty by a court of law of an offence constituted under subsection (1) which penalty, in relation to a first conviction for an offence, may be a fine not exceeding fifty Rands or, in default of payment thereof, imprisonment for a period not exceeding three months, and, in r elation to a subsequent conviction for a similar offence, may be a fine not exceeding one hundred and fifty Rands or, in default of payment thereof, imprisonment for a period not exceeding nine months.

8. (1) Different regulations may be made under this Act for different areas of land for different types of soil, for different types of cultivation, for different species of crops or for different species or breeds of livestock.

Consultation Powers and duties of chiefs and inspectors Of Tences **and penalties**
Application of and exemption from regulations
Appoint**ment Of inspectors Repeals**

(2) The Minister may provide by Notice in the Gazette that a person or class of persons is exempt, subject to such conditions as the Minister may prescribe, from the operation of a provision of a regulation made under this Act.

9. Subject to the law relating to the public service, the Minister may appoint any person in writing and by name or office as an Inspector for the purpose of this Act and the regulations.

10. To the extent not previously repealed the laws set forth below are hereby repealed with effect from a date to be fixed by the Minister by Notice in the Gazette. Different dates may be so fixed for the repeal of different provisions of these laws.

By-Laws Numbers 4, 5 and 6 of the Rural Areas (Grazing Control, Pounds and Trespasses) By-Laws, 1963 (Government Notice No. 24 of 1963).

Paramount Chief's Rules Numbers 11, 28, 31 and 32 of the Rules commonly known as Part II of the Laws of Lerotholi

(Revised Edition, 1959).

Paramount Chief's Orders Numbers 4, 5, 5(bis) 5(ter) and 13 of the Orders commonly known as Part **III** of the Laws of Lerotholi (Revised Edition, 1959)