

Gender, Politics and Land Use in Zimbabwe

1980–2012

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**Gender, Politics and Land Use in Zimbabwe
1980–2012**

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List of Abbreviations

AFC	Agriculture Finance Cooperation
AREX	Department of Agricultural Research and Extension
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination
CFSAM	Crop and Food Assessment
CFU	Commercial Farmers Union
COTTCO	Cotton Company of Zimbabwe
DDF	District Development Fund
DFID	Department of International Development
DLA	Department of Land Affairs
CESCR	Convention on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
EPZ	Export Processing Zone
FAO	Food and Agricultural Organisation
FTLRP	Fast Track Land Reform Programme
GAD	Gender and Development
GMB	Grain Marketing Board
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IMF	International Monetary Fund
LAMA	Legal Age of Majority Act
LRAD	Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development
LRRP11	Land Reform and Resettlement Programme Phase Two
LSCF	Large Scale Commercial Farms
MDC	Movement for Democratic Change
NCA	National Constitutional Assembly
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
PFTLRP	Pre-Fast Track Land Reform Programme

PLAS	State Purchase for Lease
SAPs	Structural Adjustment Programmes
SLAG	Settlement African Land Grant
SSCF	Small Scale Commercial Farm
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNECA	United Nations Economic Commission for Africa
WFP	World Food Programme
WID	Women in Development
WLLG	Women and Land Lobby Group
ZANLA	Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army
ZANU PF	Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front
ZIC	Zimbabwe Investment Centre
ZIPRA	Zimbabwe People`s Revolutionary Army
ZWD	Zimbabwean Dollar
ZWVA	Zimbabwe War Veterans Association

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1

Background to the Study

Introduction

In this chapter, a background to the study is provided. The following issues are covered: background to land politics in Southern Africa in general and Zimbabwe in particular; land ownership in pre-independent and independent Zimbabwe; Lancaster House Agreement and its implications on agrarian reforms in independent Zimbabwe; a brief review of the first decade of agrarian reforms in Zimbabwe and precursors to Fast Track agrarian reforms. The chapter also focuses on the statement of the problem, research questions, significance and justification of the study. Limitations and delimitations of the study are also examined. Main terms used are defined in the context of the study. Finally, the chapter provides an outline of the whole investigation, giving a synopsis of each chapter.

Background to the Problem

In most post-colonial countries, calls have been made for land redistribution as a way of redressing the perceived colonial injustices in land tenure systems. Literature is replete with evidence that at independence, Southern African states inherited skewed land ownership in favour of white settlers (Marongwe 2003). Kuhnen (2010: online) notes that:

Land tenure and agrarian reforms are among the most prevalent topics of discussion in developing countries today. This indicates the importance of the pertinent problems for development in its economic, social as well as political aspects. . . .

it is popular in newspapers and at academic conferences; it is taken into account in development plans and plays a role in assemblies of political parties; it is discussed in a very revolutionary tone by radical political groups and is paid lip-service even by those who are reluctant to change the existing agrarian structure.

The agrarian reform dynamics in South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe have to be understood within the framework of colonial land policies and legislation that were designed essentially to expropriate land and natural resource property rights from the indigenous people in favour of the white settlers. Moyo (2004: iii) reiterates that ‘Colonial land policies institutionalised racial inequity with regard to land in southern Africa...’ While conceding that conditions are not homogeneous in Southern African countries, Lahiff (2003) identifies four broad themes that make the land question a common phenomenon or a common thread spanning the southern Africa region. These are:

- The shared history of colonialism, and with it the dispossession and impoverishment of people, which shapes both patterns of landholding and discourses around the value of different types of land use;
- The growing impact of neoliberal globalisation, in terms of both direct influences on agriculture and rural economies generally and on policies being promoted by national governments and international agencies;
- The ongoing impoverishment of the mass of rural population and extreme precariousness of rural livelihoods. High rates of unemployment, poor returns to small-scale agriculture, lack of access to social services such as health and education, recurring drought and rampant (and largely unaddressed) HIV/AIDS pandemic serve to erode existing livelihood activities and perpetuate relative and absolute poverty in rural areas; and
- The re-emergence of the rural poor as political actors, to varying degrees throughout the region.

Lahiff’s fourth point is evidenced by the involvement of the rural economically-marginalised Zimbabweans and veterans of the war of liberation and their collaborators in the invasion of farms belonging to settler whites since 2000. This heralded the Fast Track agrarian reform.

Faced with a skewed distribution and ownership of land in favour of former colonial settlers, the new independent states are faced with the daunting task of redistributing land equitably as a way of correcting the colonial injustices in land tenure and use (agrarian reforms). This is the case within Africa and without. Nearer home (Zimbabwe), literature is replete with evidence of agrarian reforms with varying levels of success in Mozambique. With the exception of recent developments in Zimbabwe, acquisition of land for

agrarian reforms has been based on the 'willing seller willing buyer' (market-based) approach. In this approach, the seller sells his/her land at the going market price. The arguments in favour of this approach are purported to be that it does not disturb the agriculture industry, the mainstay of most African economies and it does not scare away foreign direct investment. However, if recent developments surrounding agrarian reforms in Zimbabwe are anything to go by, the 'willing seller willing buyer' approach might be problematic. Reasons why the Zimbabwean government abandoned this approach are discussed in Chapter Three.

This comparative study on Zimbabwe's agrarian reforms may provide countries such as South Africa and Namibia with valuable lessons, as these countries attempt to implement sustainable agrarian reforms. As succinctly opined by Marongwe (2004), in Southern Africa the land discourse is essentially a debate on community livelihoods. Werner (1997) further posits that agrarian reforms are therefore viewed as preconditions for socio-economic development. In line with the conceptualisation of agrarian reforms as prerequisites for socio-economic development, ZANU (PF) adopted the link between land and the economy as its campaign theme in the 2002 and subsequent parliamentary and council elections. As argued by Ruswa (2007:2), 'It is not possible to discuss the land question in Zimbabwe without making reference to the colonial legacy which has shaped land reform in the post independence era'. What follows is a synoptic overview of the land question from a historical perspective. This is meant to contextualise the research problem. Detailed discussions of issues raised in the following section are subjects of Chapters Three to Five.

Land Politics in pre-and Independent Zimbabwe

Conflicts between colonialists and the indigenous people in the then Rhodesia centred mainly on the land issue (Kriger 1992). This inequitable distribution of land resulted in Africans waging liberation struggles in order to reclaim their land from their colonial masters. The process of reclamation of land and redistributing it to the indigenous people is fraught with problems and has resulted in the present-day land crisis in many parts of Africa and other continents.

Ruswa (2007) candidly captures the colonial statutes that legalised the expropriation of land from indigenous people. These statutes are briefly considered below. In 1888 Cecil John Rhodes and King Lobengula signed the Rudd Concession Agreement. King Lobengula viewed the Agreement as being

limited to gold mining only. In 1889 the Lippert Concession Act encouraged the British South African Company (BSAC) to buy concessions in Zimbabwe from the British Government, with the revenue being repatriated to London. In 1890 Cecil John Rhodes sent an invading force of white settlers (the Pioneer Column) who set up their capital at Salisbury (present-day Harare). The indigenous people (Shonas and Ndebeles) considered this an affront to their sovereignty. Lebert (2003) states that within the first decade of European settlement in Zimbabwe, the indigenous people (Shonas and Ndebeles) rebelled against the forced alienation from their land. The First Chimurenga (war of liberation) erupted in 1896 as indigenous people attempted through armed struggle to drive the settlers out, and to reclaim their territory. This rebellion lasted until 1897, but ultimately failed as the indigenous people were defeated by superior settler weaponry.

In 1898 the Native Reserves Order in Council Act was enacted which created the infamous Reserves, later known as Tribal Trust Lands (TTLs) (today's Communal Lands). The indigenous people were dumped into these Native Reserves. The reserves were set up haphazardly, mostly in low-potential farming areas, characterised by low rainfall, high temperatures, mosquitoes and tsetse-flies (a vector of *nagana*) that decimated a greater percentage of the indigenous people's livestock. By 1914, white settlers who constituted 3 per cent of the population controlled 75 per cent of the economically productive land, while indigenous people (97 per cent of the population at the time) were forced to occupy 25 per cent of mostly low productive land (*The New African Year Book* 2003).

In 1930, The Land Apportionment Act formalised the separation of land between indigenous people and the white settlers. This was premised on the recommendations of the Morris Carter Commission of 1925. For a detailed discussion of the outcomes of this Act in terms of percentage land allocation, refer to Chapter Three. Commenting on The Land Apportionment Act, *The New African Year Book* (2003: online) states that:

The Land Apportionment Act of 1930 excluded Africans from that half of the country that contained the best farming land, despite the fact that Africans constituted over 95% of the population. This confinement to the poorest land accomplished the desired end of forcing Africans into the labour market. At the same time, the Industrial Conciliation Act of 1934 banned Africans from entering skilled employment. The Africans were forced to work for more subsistence wages on white farms, mines and factories in virtual servitude. In this manner, the state, through the control of black labour, subsidised the growth of white agriculture, mining and industry.

In 1965, The Tribal Trust Lands Act changed the name of the Native Reserves to Tribal Trust Lands (TTLs) and created trustees for the land. By 1976, 4,5 million indigenous people (seven tenths of the population), forcibly and violently removed from their traditional home areas, had been crowded into these infertile TTLs. The overcrowding naturally led to massive problems of land degradation, low productivity, overstocking and overgrazing. From a historical perspective, the Land Apportionment Act of 1930 was the key in the process of deprivation in colonial pre-independent Zimbabwe (Vudzijena 1998). This saw the transfer of prime land to the minority white settler community while marginal infertile land was given to the black majority, though Curtin (2008) claims that most of the appropriated land by the white settlers was in what he terms the alleged inferior land categories (agro-ecological regions III, IV and V) (see Chapter Four on description and discussion on Zimbabwe's agro-ecological regions). Rukuni (2006:29) notes that:

Agricultural policy during the colonial era from 1890 to 1980 focused on acquiring as much land as possible to settle whites on large farms in the high-potential areas. This policy was supported by a system of laws and controls to ensure that whites maintained a monopoly of economic and political power through land allocation, research and technology, marketing and service institutions, and pricing policies.

As a result, by the time of independence in 1980 land ownership patterns were highly skewed. Vudzijena (1998) highlights the fact that land was disproportionately shared between 6,000 large-scale commercial farmers (whites), owning 47 per cent of the land, 800,000 communal farm families (blacks) controlling about 49 per cent and 8, 500 small-scale commercial farmers (blacks) controlling 4 per cent of total agricultural land. The land ownership pattern at independence can be defined as dualised (Rukuni 2006), divided along racial lines.

The above scenario illuminates the centrality of the Land Question in the war of liberation (Chimurenga). The war of liberation culminated in the signing of the Lancaster House Agreement of 1979. Embedded in this Agreement were the following key issues: Land for resettlement was to be acquired through 'willing seller willing buyer' approach, being funded by the British Government. Underutilised land could be compulsorily acquired for agricultural purposes. The conditions laid out in the Lancaster House Agreement were to remain in force for a period of 10 years during which period it could only be amended by a 100 per cent parliamentary majority. Ruswa (2007:3) states that 'Section 52 (3) (b) (i) of the Lancaster House

Constitution, as read with subsection (4), stipulated that “provisions concerning fundamental rights (including property rights could not be amended for ten years without an affirmative vote of the National Assembly”. However in 1988, Britain discontinued funding land acquisitions due to a number of factors. This resulted in a few people being resettled (refer to Chapter Four for the reasons which made the British Government to discontinue). Although some impatient indigenous people tried to take the law into their hands by resettling themselves, the Zimbabwe Government stood its ground and ensured that the process was orderly. For a detailed discussion of the Lancaster House Agreement and Agrarian Reforms, refer to Chapter Four.

The Zimbabwe Government embarked on a land redistribution programme after attaining independence in 1980 (Marongwe 2004). This was the first phase of resettlement, which is referred to as the Pre-Fast Track in the context of this investigation. Major aims and objectives of the agrarian reforms are discussed in Chapter Four. The Zimbabwe Government had set itself targets which were not achieved due to a number of reasons (see Chapter Four for the reasons).

Prompted by unachieved agrarian reform targets, in 1990 the constitution of Zimbabwe Amendment (No.11) authorised the compulsory acquisition of any land, including that which was efficiently utilised, which served as a precursor to the listing of more than 800 large farms. The Zimbabwe Government embarked on the Fast Track agrarian programme in July 2000 (Marongwe 2004). Reasons which led to this development are discussed in Chapter Four. The western media reports that these raids appear to have benefited the top hierarchy in the ruling party and government. It is hoped that the empirical phase of the investigation will shed more light on the question of who benefited from the Fast Track phase of land redistribution (the redistributive nature of Fast Track agrarian reform). Before Fast Track agrarian reforms, the Zimbabwe Government had initiated the Pre-Fast Track agrarian reform based on a number of models (See Chapter Four for a comprehensive description and discussion of various resettlement models). Chapter Four also discusses the fate of farm workers whose employers' farms were acquired for resettlement. Chambati and Moyo (2004) point out that, ‘Former commercial farm workers constituted the majority of wage paid labourers in Zimbabwe before compulsory land acquisition for resettlement in the old large-scale commercial farming sector’. Has there been any shift in position? Chapter Four and the empirical phase of the investigation will shed more light on the issue.

Chapter Four also discusses the impact of HIV/AIDS in Agriculture. Sukume, Moyo and Matondi (2004:40) state that:

It is estimated that between 25 and 35 per cent of the Zimbabwean population is HIV positive. Most of those affected are in the productive (15 to 49 years) age group, with 70 percent of them working in agriculture. Although, the disease's negative impacts are well documented, the nature and quantum of losses on Zimbabwean agriculture and economy are not well understood. A SAFAIDS Report singles out labour loss due to death and sickness, reduced investment in agriculture, and reduced agricultural activity and disruption of agricultural as the major impacts of HIV/AIDS on agriculture. It is argued that the negative impacts are more pronounced in the smallholder sector because of its reliance on individual household labour, resulting in a deterioration of household food security and a generalised increase in poverty. The recent resettlement reform exercise which has resulted in the commercial sector taking on the characteristics of smallholders has made the agriculture sector more vulnerable to HIV and AIDS. Other HIV and AIDS vulnerability factors identified include total enterprise labour requirements and geography. Cash crop production and general productivity in the marginal dry areas in NRs IV and V is projected to decline over time.

Most issues raised by Sukume et al (2004) shall be revisited in greater detail in Chapter Four. The empirical phase of the investigation will also verify the assertion by Sukume et al (2004) that the smallholder farmers are the hardest hit by HIV/AIDS from a comparative perspective. Apart from the racial imbalances in land distribution, there were also gender disparities in land ownership. The importance of Women in the Land Question equation is underscored by the realisation that a woman is the typical farmer in Africa (Rukuni 2006). For a comprehensive discussion on Women and Land Politics in Zimbabwe, refer to Chapter Five.

This investigation compared two approaches to agrarian reform that were both employed by the Zimbabwe Government, one based on Pre-Fast Track and the other one on the Fast Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP). The comparison was based on the following variables: levels of production; land use; land ownership; conservation; farming support services; selection criteria of beneficiaries; production levels by gender within and between phases; fate of people who used to work on the farms prior to the repossession of the farms for agrarian reforms; impact of HIV/AIDS on agrarian reforms; and, how agrarian reforms have impacted on the livelihoods of resettled farmers. In conducting this investigation we were aware of the realisation by Moyo et al (2009:4) that:

It would be premature and even tautological to definitely deduce the trajectories of the land use system and accumulation patterns after land redistribution, given that there have been dynamic shifts in agricultural resource flows since 2000 and that the economic crisis experienced during the initial phase of the FTLRP, have provided unstable and/or uncertain macro-economic conditions for the micro-level (farming population) and meso-level service providers (e.g. inputs and credit suppliers and other agricultural merchants). Zimbabwe's local capital and agricultural inputs markets have shrunk, liquidity has been restrictive, inflation high and volatile, and interest rates exceedingly high, especially for agricultural production. The economic isolation of Zimbabwe from many global (capital and commodity) markets has constrained agricultural production (World Bank 2006). This leaves widely open the nature of answers to questions on the potential and trajectory of the land use systems, let alone on the efficacy of the current forms of land tenure, as many are not to callously profess on. What is important now is to deduce that certain agricultural production patterns may hold, even when there is a change in the external environments (for the new farmers) in terms of the macro-economy and the apparently incipient process of re-integration into global markets.

The above observations notwithstanding, the value of such a comparative study lies in the prospect that findings may be used to inform practice. For example, findings on the redistributive nature of both phases, accessibility of farming support services, conservations measures, plight of farm workers displaced as a result of farm acquisitions, percentages of female beneficiaries in both phases and the impact of HIV/AIDS may be used to chart the way forward, since agrarian reforms are an ongoing process.

Why Agriculture is of Great Significance to Zimbabwe

Agriculture is the mainstay of Zimbabwe. In order to carry out agricultural activities, land and land resources (water and nutrients) are prerequisites. Agriculture is the engine of the Zimbabwean economy (*The Chronicle*, 20 April 2010). Over three-quarters of the population derives its livelihood from agriculture and related activities. Commenting on the importance of agriculture to the continent of Africa (of which Zimbabwe is part); Rukuni (2006:1) states that: 'Agriculture contributes a significant share to the gross domestic product and the majority of the continent's labour force is employed in agriculture'. Chapter Three gives a detailed discussion on the role of Agriculture in Zimbabwe's economic development.

Statement of the Problem

Reminiscent to the Scramble for Africa, upon arrival in Zimbabwe, white settlers renamed the country Rhodesia and forcibly and brutally evicted

indigenous people from prime land, resettling them in arid places of low and unreliable rainfall, unfavourable farming temperatures and tsetse-fly infested areas. They further divided the country into provinces, gave the provinces politically divisive names, e.g. Mashonaland (land for the Shona tribes); Matabeleland (land for the Ndebele tribes); and Manicaland (land for the Manyika tribes). They developed towns and cities and gave them British names – Salisbury, Hartley, Norton, Melsetter etc, same with residential areas Borrowdale, Avondale, Mabelreign, Burnside, and Manningdale. Streets and roads were not spared – Banff Road, Leander Street, Cecil Drive, John Gleig Avenue etc. Their farming areas were also given exotic names – Rhosedale, Wiltshire, Douglasdale, *inter alia*.

All this naming was done without consulting the indigenous people, contrary to Freire's (1968) view that people must join hands in naming the world. The white settlers ensured that they owned and controlled the means of production on the farms, factories and mines. They also set the conditions of service – working hours, pay rate and when workers could go on leave. All the indigenous people possessed was their labour. In order to entrench their domination, settlers took control of the country's education system – where the education for blacks was characterised by bottlenecks, underfunding and being of poor quality. As rightly argued by Rodney (1973), education for indigenous people was education for the development of underdevelopment and for the domestication of the human mind. In a nutshell, the settlers' behaviour was geared towards the creation of second-class citizens among the indigenous population of Zimbabwe. This was the essence of colonialism. Overtime, these inequalities and injustices gave birth to the war of liberation (Chimurenga Movement), which culminated in Zimbabwe's 1980 political independence.

At independence in 1980, Zimbabwe inherited a skewed ownership and use of land in favour of the former white settlers. This was made possible by a number of statutes put in place dating back to 1898. These statutes legalised the expropriation of land from indigenous people of Zimbabwe. Faced with such an untenable situation, the Zimbabwe Government moved with haste to redress the situation by embarking on agrarian reform programmes. Since 1980, the Zimbabwe Government has rolled out two phases of agrarian reforms. The first phase was from 1980 to 1999 (Pre-Fast Track) in the context of this study. The second phase was from 2000 to date (2012) (Fast Track). This study drew parallels between Phase One (Pre-Fast Track) and Phase Two (Fast Track) agrarian reforms.

Research Questions

The study was informed by the following questions:

- What was the redistributive nature of both phases?
- How were the beneficiaries selected for both the Pre-Fast Track and Fast Track resettlement phases?
- What were the implementation strategies in both phases?
- To what extent were women empowered through the two resettlement phases?
- What was the impact of both phases on (a) the environment and ecosystem (b) food security?
- Comparatively what differences were there between resettled female farmers and their male counterparts in terms of (a) land use (b) conservation of resources and (c) productivity or food security (impact on livelihoods)?
- What were the problems faced by farmers?
- How has HIV/AIDS impacted on productivity in both reform phases?
- What has been the fate of farm workers whose employers' farms were acquired for resettlement in both phases?

General Objective

The study sought to compare Pre-Fast Track (Model A) and Fast Track (Model A1) agrarian reform phases. Comparison was based on agricultural productivity; management of natural resources for sustainable development; redressing gender imbalances; impact on livelihoods of farmers and their families; problems faced by farmers; how HIV/AIDS impacted on farming in both phases; land use; and, fate of farm employees.

Specific Objectives

- To examine the distributive nature of both models;
- To compare how beneficiaries for the resettlement models were selected and analyse the implementation strategies and challenges that were encountered;
- To analyse the changes in terms of gender roles and empowerment that took place in the Pre-Fast Track (Model A) and the Fast Track (Model A1) programmes;

- To discuss the impact of both models on the environment, food security and eco-system;
- To explore the problems being faced by beneficiaries in both phases;
- To explain how HIV/AIDS impacted on productivity in both phases;
- To investigate the fate of farm workers who used to work on the farms that were acquired for resettlement;
- To explore how both models have impacted the livelihoods of farmers and their families.

Justification of the Study

The study highlighted good practices obtaining in both phases, which may lead policy makers to adopt the practices for implementation in the phase in which the good practices are not already being practiced. The study discussed prerequisites for successful and sustainable agrarian reforms. It also illuminated the gender dimension of agrarian reforms. Other African countries faced with land tenure challenges may draw lessons from the Zimbabwean experience.

Delimitation of the Investigation

The investigation was delimited to the comparison of the Pre-Fast Track Resettlement and Fast Track Resettlement. In turn, the comparison only focused on the following variables: how beneficiaries for the resettlement models were selected and analysed the implementation strategies and challenges that were encountered; the changes in terms of gender roles and empowerment that took place in the Pre-Fast Track (Model A) and the Fast Track (Model A1) programmes; the impact of both models on the environment, food security and eco-system; to compare the challenges faced by women resettled farmers and their male counterparts; to establish how HIV/AIDS impacted on productivity in both models; to find out the fate of farm workers who used to work on the farms that were acquired for resettlement and to ascertain how both models have impacted the livelihoods of farmers and their families. Agrarian Reform Model A was preferred in this comparative investigation because Zimbabwe's reform programme has mainly been implemented through Model A. Kinsey (1999) reiterates that of the more than 1, 000 families resettled by late 1996, some 96 per cent were resettled on Model A schemes. This makes Model A (in both Pre- and Fast Track phases) a fertile ground for research. The investigation was carried out in Kwekwe District of the Midlands Geo-Political Province. This province

falls in Agro-Ecological Region Three. Refer to Chapter Four for a detailed description of Zimbabwe's Agro-Ecological Regions.

Limitations of the Investigation

All other things being equal, a study of such national importance and international implications should cover the whole country. However, this ideal was not possible owing to a number of limitations, *inter alia*: funding – a bigger budget would have been required to collect data from all the six farming regions; time – since the research team was composed of full-time university lecturers and a few part-time research assistants who also worked full-time as Agritex officers, it was not possible to be away from work for a prolonged period collecting data. The above notwithstanding, the researchers are confident that the triangulation of methodologies lends credibility to the findings, such that findings can be generalised beyond the farming province where data were collected.

Clarification of Concepts

Certain important concepts that recur in the text are clarified in this section. This clarification serves as a mere introductory clarification of concepts. In the text, more detail is provided.

Land reform: It is concerned with intervention in the prevailing pattern of land ownership, control and usage (World Bank 1975).

Land tenure: Kuhnen (2010) views land tenure as all relations between men and women (emphasis ours) to determine their various rights in the use of land. These rights may be fixed by custom or law and are often explained as a complex or bundle of rights which together constitute the property, i.e. the right to control an economic good, in this case land. This bundle of rights is often shared by contract with others. For instance, the owner might transfer the right to cultivate the land to a tenant or the right to cross his/her field to a neighbour whose land is not directly connected with the road. In the context of this study, it is important to recognise that in an agrarian society, the type of tenure which a person has, determines to a great extent his/her socio-economic status.

Agrarian structure: This refers to the structural conditions for production in agriculture and for the livelihoods and social situation of the rural population. It includes the conditions of the land tenure, i.e. problems of ownership, tenancy, inheritance of land, labour relations and the conditions of land

operation: i.e. the pattern of cultivation; size of holdings and institutional framework of agriculture, such as credit and market structure; institutions for promotion of farmers, like co-operatives and extension services.

Agrarian reform: It refers to a measure to overcome obstacles to development which arise from deficits in the prevailing agrarian structure. It is an outgrowth of the awareness of the need for economic development and planning which again requires the study of the whole agrarian structure as it relates to development. Thus, agrarian reform includes reform of land tenure and reform of land operation and management. Within the development process, the latter are of special importance because land operation and management reforms often determine the success of the tenure reforms. According to Kuhnen (2010), the definition of agrarian reform includes such different measures as:

- *instruments of agrarian policy* which are of qualitative character and supposed to refer to smaller changes, like subsidies and tax rates;
- *structural changes* to alter the structure of agriculture, like credit programmes, investment in infrastructure, extension services, *inter alia*;
- *institutional reforms* which change the foundation of the rural economy and society, like land redistribution, change in tenancy and collectivisation.

Agrarian reform is not limited to economic goals as can be deduced from the objectives of agrarian reform which include:

- changes in the power structure and freedom from exploitation;
- greater equality in access to resources, income, status and security;
- an increase in production and productivity; and
- contribution to economic growth.

Pre-Fast Track Resettlement: This refers to the agrarian reform that was instituted during the first decade of Zimbabwe's independence. Land for resettling the farmers was obtained through the 'willing seller willing buyer' process. The agrarian reform was conducted in the spirit of the Lancaster House Agreement.

Fast Track Resettlement: This refers to the agrarian reform that was adopted in 2000. In some literature sources, it is referred to as *Jambanja*. Land for resettlement was forcibly acquired from white farmers, with the Zimbabwe Government paying the farmers for improvements made on the farms, not for the land.

Indigenous people: This refers to the indigenous people of Zimbabwe. In the context of this study, such people are the Shona, the Ndebele and other minority groups such as the Tonga, Venda, Kalanga and Ndaus, *inter alia*. In some direct quotes, readers may come across the term ‘Africans’, referring to indigenous people.

Settlers/white farmers: These are mostly descendents of the Europeans who colonised Zimbabwe in 1890, and forcibly removed the indigenous people from prime agriculture land.

Zimbabwe: This is an autonomous, democratic country that was once a British colony until 1980. Zimbabwe is now a Middle Human Development country. The 2002 census pegged the population at 11.4 million. Zimbabwe is situated in Central Southern Africa, between the Zambezi River to the north and west and Limpopo River to the south. It is a landlocked country bounded by Zambia, Mozambique, South Africa and Botswana.

Gender: A social distinction based on culturally conceived and learnt ideas about appropriate appearance, behaviour, and mental and emotional characteristics for males and females (Ferrante 2003). Apart from Ferrante’s understanding of gender, in this study, gender also refers to the farmer being either male or female. Gender relations are viewed in terms of land use and ownership in pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial Zimbabwe.

Politics: Maiconis (1997) defines politics as the social institution that distributes power, sets a society’s agenda, and makes decisions. In this study, politics is viewed from two perspectives: one, the role played by politics in legalising the expropriation of land from indigenous people; and two, how the political dispensation of 1980 to date sought to address the Land Question.

Sustainable land utilisation: This refers to the balanced use of the land in a way which ensures that farmers get maximum yields from land, without depleting the soil resources over time.

Method of Investigation

Literature Study

Literature study is an important means of acquiring background knowledge relevant to the research topic and of determining what research has already been done as well as exposing research possibilities that have been left out. According to Gall, Borg and Gall (1996) some of the reasons for reviewing literature are:

- It enables one to have a deeper understanding of the problem.
- It helps to find out how other researchers have formulated lines of inquiry within a broad field of study (delimiting the problem).
- It helps to avoid fruitless approaches in that it may at times identify several similar studies done over a long period of time, all of which employed approximately the same research methodology and all of which failed to produce significant results.
- It helps one to gain methodological insights.
- After reviewing the literature, one may be able to identify recommendations for further research.
- It is a way of seeking support in grounded theory.

In this investigation, literature study provides an overview of existing research on the land question and agrarian reforms, which in turn provides essential background knowledge for the comparison of Pre-Fast Track and Fast Track Resettlement models in Zimbabwe. In order to achieve this objective, relevant policy documents, books, theses and journal articles on the phenomenon of land resettlement were consulted.

Empirical Investigation

This is a comparative study. In order to achieve the intended objectives, the study design was triangulated; use was made of both quantitative and qualitative approaches in the collection and analysis of data. Such an approach was deemed appropriate because of the pluri-disciplinary nature of the investigation. A detailed discussion of the research design is the subject of Chapter Two.

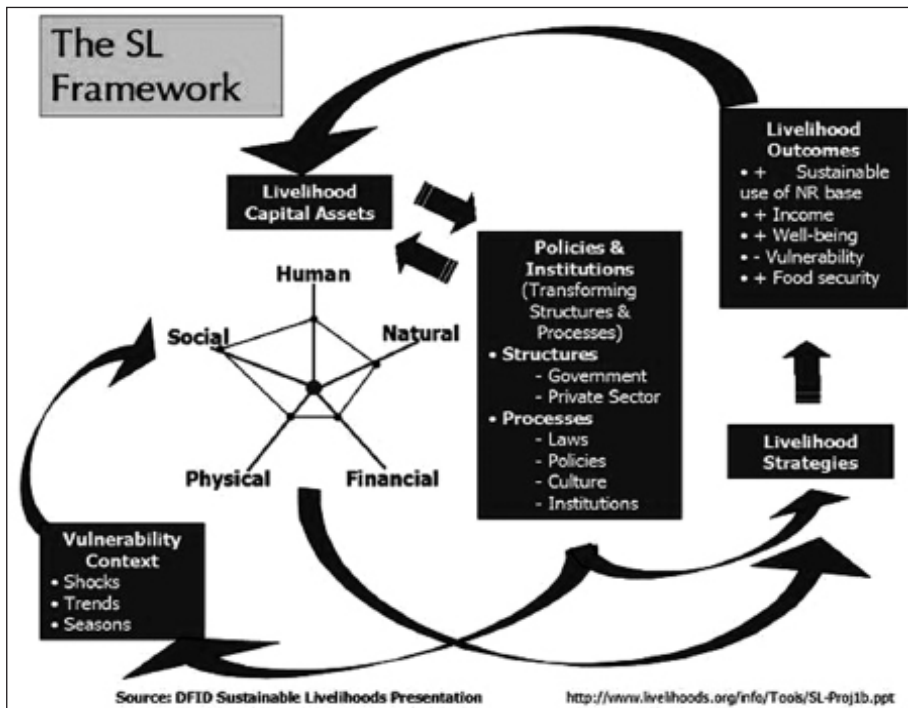
Theoretical Framework

The study made use of the Sustainable Rural Livelihoods: A Framework of Analysis. The phrase Sustainable Livelihoods may be traced from the work of Robert Chambers and others, through a research programme undertaken by the Institute of Development Studies at Sussex, involving work in Bangladesh, Ethiopia and Mali in particular.

A livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (including both material and social resources) and activities required for a means of living. A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks and maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets both now and in the future, while not undermining the natural resource base (Department for International

Development [DFID] 1999 Section 1.1; Scoones 1998 and Carney 1998). A livelihood can be defined as the means through which people obtain a secure living which meets their needs for food, shelter, health, belonging and wellbeing (PLAAS 1995). Scoones (1998) states that livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks and maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets while not undermining the natural resource base. In the context of this study, sustainable livelihood therefore refers to capabilities, assets and activities required for people to ensure a comfortable quality of life, evidenced by their ability to meet their needs for food, shelter, health, education and a sense of belonging taking cognisance of the natural resources at their disposal, without destroying their power to regenerate themselves. With this in mind, the focus of the study was on a comparative sustainable utilisation and control of resources for sustainable development. Figure 1.1 shows a diagrammatic representation of the Sustainable Livelihood Framework.

Figure 1.1: The Sustainable Livelihood Framework



Livelihood Resources

For the purposes of this study, livelihood resources were classified into the following five categories:

- **Natural resources:** These entail the use of the natural resources that include land and its water resources, vegetation (grasses, shrubs and trees), wildlife resources, favourable climatic conditions (rainfall and temperature patterns).
- **Physical resources:** These include physical structures like roads, telecommunication networks, rail networks and transport services.
- **Financial resources:** These include cash, savings in the bank, credit facilities, basic infrastructures – for example, dip tanks, schools, clinics, markets, shops for buying inputs, draught power, tools/implements and machinery.
- **Human resources:** Skills, knowledge and levels of education, health status of the beneficiaries, and physical abilities of the beneficiaries.
- **Social resources:** Gender relations, farmer associations and affiliations.

The access to the above resources by the farmers on its own does not automatically translate to sustainable livelihoods. This will depend on the ability of the farmers to combine these resources in their farming activities (livelihood strategies).

Livelihood Strategies

The livelihood strategies employed by the farmers in this study were similar to those documented by Scoones (1998). These strategies were:

- **Crop production:** There was crop production for subsistence and commercial purposes.
- **Livestock production:** Various classes of livestock were kept for draught power, commercial purposes and home consumption.
- **Other sources of income apart from on-farm activities:** These include activities such as working in the private and public sector and working outside the country (beneficiaries or their children).

This approach has been broadly adopted by the DFID and a range of other development agencies and is therefore described here as the 'official' or dominant framework (see also www.livelihoods.org). DFID (1999, 2000) has issued detailed 'guidance sheets' which are useful to explicate what rapidly became a familiar framework in the late 1990s. Within a particular 'vulnerability

context', defined, for example, by shifting seasonal constraints, short-term economic shocks and longer-term trends of change, people deploy five types of 'livelihood assets' or capital in variable combinations, within circumstances influenced by institutional structures and processes, in order to pursue diverse 'livelihood strategies', with more or less measurable 'livelihood outcomes'.

A series of 'core concepts' is defined. Firstly, the approach is 'people-centred', in that the making of policy is based on understanding the realities of struggle of poor people themselves, on the principle of their participation in determining priorities for practical intervention, and on their need to influence the institutional structures and processes that govern their lives. Secondly, it is 'holistic' in that it is 'non-sectoral' and it recognises multiple influences, multiple actors, multiple strategies and multiple outcomes. Thirdly, it is 'dynamic' in that it attempts to understand change, complex cause-and-effect relationships and 'iterative chains of events'. Fourthly, it starts with analysis of strengths rather than needs, and seeks to build on everyone's inherent potential. Fifthly, it attempts to 'bridge the gap' between macro and microlevels. Sixthly, it is committed explicitly to several different dimensions of sustainability: environmental, economic, social and institutional. Conflicts between these dimensions are, however, recognised.

Some Strengths of the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach

- It seeks to understand changing combinations of modes of livelihood in a dynamic and historical context.
- It explicitly advocates a creative tension between different levels of analysis.
- It acknowledges the need to transcend the boundaries between conventionally discrete sectors (urban/rural, industrial/agricultural, formal/informal, among others).
- It implicitly recognises the necessity to investigate the relationships between different activities that constitute household livelihoods, which in turn require attention both to intra-household and to inter-household social relations.

Some Weaknesses of the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach

- Elements of the 'vulnerability context', such as rampant inflation and extreme uncivil conflict and ripples of mass redundancy, are surely much more important than would appear to be allowed for.

- The language of ‘multiplier effects’ predominates, as does the presumption that it is possible to expand people’s ‘asset pentagons’ in a generalised and incremental fashion. Inequalities of power and conflicts of interest are not, perhaps, sufficiently acknowledged, either within local ‘communities’ themselves or between ‘communities’ and, for example, regional elites and government agencies.
- The notion of ‘participation’ that dominates the discourse of intervention – with typically unresolved tension between these two words – presupposes heavy investment in ‘community’ – on the part of donor agencies and thence a rhetorical tendency to disguise or weaken the probability that, in one way or another, enhancement of the livelihoods of one group or stratum or class will undermine the livelihoods of another group or stratum or class.
- The qualifier ‘sustainable’ begs many questions which are not resolved even by positive ‘livelihood outcomes’ of the kind indicated in the framework. ‘Sustainable’ for whom? By what criteria? In the short term or the long term?

According to the Chronic Poverty Research Centre (2005) the following principles guide the use of the Sustainable Rural Livelihoods Analysis Framework:

- Livelihoods research, of its nature, is essentially carried out at the micro-level: that of ‘households’ and ‘communities’. It involves empirical investigation of combinations of modes of livelihood and, above all, of the relationships between them. It also involves pushing to the limit of their potential various methods of understanding changes that have taken place over time.
- For research into changing livelihoods to be illuminating and useful, however, it is essential to define the structural, historical and institutional elements of what may for convenience be called its macro context. A timeframe must be specified, key variables identified, important trends of change discerned.
- In so far as livelihoods research is directed to the diagnosis of the causes of chronic poverty, the circumstances of poverty and the reasons for poverty should be understood through detailed analysis of social relations in a particular historical context. This implies a structural or relational view of poverty, and, in turn, that understanding of its ‘persistence’ or its intractability or its ‘deepening’ should be driven by questions about inequalities of power.

- It also implies that livelihoods research and discussion of its implications for ‘policy-making’ should contain explicit reflection on the particular, relevant contexts in which ‘policy’ is made, with reference to key questions such as the following. Who makes policy? How is it made? For what purposes? For whose benefit? With what outcomes?

Researchers were cognizant of the above weaknesses of the Sustainable Livelihood Framework. The issue of inflation was not a factor in the study since it was conducted when the country (Zimbabwe) had dollarised its economy. This was characterised by the use of multi currencies (United States Dollar, British Pound, South African Rand, Botswana Pula) in its economic transactions, which stabilised the economy. However, the initial political polarisation during the early stages of Fast Track should not be overlooked. This was taken note of in Chapter Four. This study viewed sustainable at the beneficiary (micro level) as well as at the national (macro level) in the long term.

Since gender was a major variable in the investigation, the Gender Approach to Development (GAD) was used to complement the Sustainable Rural Livelihoods Framework. Gender relations as discussed in Chapter Five are a social construction of roles and relationships between men and women (Baden and Goetz, cited in Ellis 2000). These socially constructed roles are usually unequal in terms of power, decision making, control over events, freedom of action and ownership of resources (Ellis 2000). GAD analysis highlights the incentives and constraints associated with the work of women and men and illuminates differences in their roles, workloads, access to resources and decision making opportunities, the impact of interventions on them and the implication for planning and implementation. The GAD advocates for the lessening of social inequalities between men and women. Gender as a policy criterion has been found to reduce poverty, raise farm efficiency and improve natural resource management (Ellis 2000). It also emphasizes participatory approaches as a tool to empower women through the articulation of their needs, rights and capabilities. Communities should be encouraged to embrace the gender approach when focussing on development in rural areas. Once women are empowered, and have their social and economic resources, the quality of life of their households improves. Hence if women contribute so much to the social well-being of families in particular and communities in general, it is necessary for this research to weave in the gender concept in assisting to improve women’s access to resources like land.

Organisation of the Book

This monograph consists of seven chapters. Chapter One focuses on the background to the study. In the chapter, the authors give a synopsis of the Land Question in Southern Africa, achievements and challenges in agrarian reforms. The authors also contextualise the research problem. The statement of the problem, research questions, objectives, justification, limitations and delimitations of the study are discussed. Key concepts are defined and a general overview of the methodology provided. In Chapter Two, the authors discuss the research method and design which informed the study. The literature review consists of four chapters, divided as follows: Chapter Three focuses on the political economy of Zimbabwe dating back to the pre-colonial era, culminating into the Lancaster House Agreement. The authors are of the view that the centrality of land is illuminated in the chapter. Chapter Four surveys Zimbabwe's agrarian reforms. Pre-Fast track and Fast Track are discussed. Precursors to the Fast Track Agrarian Reforms are also highlighted. Chapter Five discusses Gender and Land Politics in Zimbabwe. Emphasis is on trying to unravel gender relations in ownership and use of land in Zimbabwe from a historical perspective. Research findings, presentation, discussion and interpretation of findings are the focus of Chapter Six. In Chapter Seven, the authors summarise the study, draw conclusions, highlight study limitations and make recommendations.

2

Research Methodology

Introduction

This chapter describes the research site and discusses the research design that was used to collect data to answer the research questions that informed the study. The following aspects of the empirical investigation phase are covered: the research design adopted a description of the study area description of the population sample and sampling procedure instrumentation pilot testing of the instrument details of the field work data analysis and presentation.

Research Design

The investigation triangulated the research methodologies (made use of both qualitative and quantitative data collection techniques). Such a design was deemed appropriate for the following reasons: First, quantitative data collection techniques made it possible to obtain responses from an appreciable number of land reform beneficiaries. Second, qualitative techniques complemented the quantitative data, by seeking responses to *How* and *Why* questions? In other words, the qualitative approach assisted in telling the story behind the quantitative figures.

At the methodological level, triangulation was achieved through the use of questionnaires and interviews to collect data from farmers. Data sources were also triangulated in that data were collected from four different sources: beneficiaries of the resettlement phases under investigation, Ministry of Lands and Resettlement Officers and Ministry of Agriculture Officers. Ministry of

Lands and Resettlement Officers provided important data on the number and gender of beneficiaries under the two phases. They also provided data on services that were put in place prior to resettlement, especially in the Pre-Fast Track phase. On the other hand, Ministry of Agriculture Officers provided production-related data, e.g. average levels of production in the wards, farmers' challenges/problems and support services being provided by the Ministry of Agriculture to beneficiaries through the Department of Arex. Nurses at the ward clinics and district hospital provided data on the prevalence of HIV/AIDS in the district's farming sector and programmes (if any) being rolled out to ameliorate the impact of the epidemic. The officials from the three ministries referred to above constituted the key informants.

The Study Area

The Republic of Zimbabwe is a landlocked country in Southern Africa, covering an area of 390,757 square kilometres, of which land occupies 386,670 square kilometres, and water occupies 3,910 square kilometres. Zimbabwe is bounded on the north and north-east by Zambia (797 kilometres), southwest by Botswana (813 kilometres), Mozambique 91,231 kilometres) on the east, South Africa (225 kilometres) on the south, and Namibia's Caprivi Strip touches its western border at the intersection with Zambia.

Zimbabwe sits astride the high plateaus between the Zambezi and Limpopo rivers, its main drainage systems. Much of the country is elevated, 21 per cent being more than 1,200 metres above sea level. The topography consists of three relief regions. The high veld (an open, grassy expanse) rises above 1,200 metres above sea level, and extends across the country from the north-east narrowing towards the south-east. The middle veld, lying between 900 and 1,200 metres above sea level, flanks the high veld, mostly extending towards the north-west. The low veld stands below 900 metres and occupies the Zambezi basins in the north and more extensive Limpopo and Sabi-Lundi basins in the south and south-east. The eastern highlands have a distinctive mountainous character rising above 1,800 metres, and include Mount Inyangani standing at 2,592 metres above sea level.

The field research was carried out in 33 wards in Kwekwe District in the Midlands Province between August and October 2010. Figure 2.1 is a map of Kwekwe District which shows the wards where the research participants were sampled.

Figure 2.1: Map of Kwekwe District



The wards sampled covered the whole district to capture the diversity of farming systems, socio-economic and political context which characterise the district. The overriding objective was representativeness of the sample and also the ease of access into the areas. The research team also targeted areas that had the most activity in terms of resettling people in each district by design. Kwekwe District shares boundaries with Chivhu and Mvuma districts to the east, Gweru district to the south, Bembesi District of Matabeleland North Province to the west, Gokwe East, Gokwe West and Kadoma District to the north. Kwekwe District is one of the eight districts centrally located in the Midlands Province. It is 815,338 hectares in size. Most of the district falls within natural farming region three (78.8 %) and a small margin (21.2 %) is in natural farming region four. Figure 2.2 is a map of Zimbabwe indicating the position of Kwekwe District.

Figure 2.2: Map of Zimbabwe Indicating the Position of Kwekwe District

Source: *Department of Surveyor General (1998), cited in Moyo et al (2009)*

Geology and Vegetation

Soils Within the District

Four different types of soils are found in the district. Rego soil – which is made up of fine grained Kalahari sands. Siallitic – these are shallow to moderately shallow reddish-brown clay soils, formed on meta volcanic. Fersiallitic soils – moderately deep reddish-brown clays formed on meta volcanic as well as those formed on trassic and Permian formations. Para-ferrallitic – moderately deep to deep greyish-brown coarse-grained sands over loamy sands or yellowish sandy clay loams and soils with sodic properties interspaced.

Most of the natural vegetation has been destroyed over the years. The current situation depicts scattered bush trees and sparse grass cover. In the Large Scale Commercial farming areas, forests with little grass cover are

noticeable. The common tree species are the *brastegia*, *colophospermum*, *acacia*, and *parinari* species. The common grass species are *aristida*, *heteropogon* and *hyperrhenia* species.

Drainage

The major rivers of agricultural importance which form the drainage system of Kwekwe District are Munyati, Sebakwe, Kwekwe, Gweru, Ngondoma and Sessombi. They all generally flow northwards and are fed by several streams.

Emerging Farming Systems

Kwekwe District farmers used to do intensive mixed farming of beef and crop production but due to changes brought about by the agrarian reforms; there is a slight shift as land sizes become reduced in an effort to accommodate as many families as possible. Beef and crop production are still being done although the beef herd has been reduced significantly. Other production sectors such as dairy and small stock are still operational, although some dairy farms were also downsized, resulting in reduction of herd sizes. There is no major shift on small stock production.

Cropping

Maize, groundnuts, millet, rapoko, sorghum, tobacco, sunflower, soya beans, bambaranuts, sugar beans, wheat, barley, paprika, sweet potatoes and Irish potatoes are grown in the district. There has been a downward trend in the production of paprika, soya beans, wheat and barley. The few remaining large-scale commercial farmers have also downsized their area per crop.

Game Farming

About 13 farms fall under the conservancies. These have been protected by the delay in the announcement of the policy on conservancies. Settlement has been done on a few of the conservancies. Most of the conservancies are still intact and no human activity has disrupted them.

Irrigation Schemes

There are six communal area irrigation schemes in the district and several individual schemes which came into existences with the agrarian land reform exercise. However, most of these irrigation schemes are proving very difficult to run due to very high maintenance costs of such enterprises.

Phases Covered by the Survey

The survey covered the two resettlement phases: the Pre-Fast Tract and the Fast Track. Both phases were intended to expand the smallholder farming sector, commonly called the Communal Area sector, to cater for the landless, unemployed and disadvantaged people from communal, urban and other areas.

The Population

The population consisted of land reform beneficiaries (both male and female) in the two phases (Pre-Fast Track and Fast Track A1).

Sample and Sampling Procedure

The sample consisted of 78 male and 24 female beneficiaries under the Fast Track phase and 59 male and 34 female beneficiaries under Pre-Fast Track phase. Registers of beneficiaries of the land reform programme in the district were obtained from the District Lands Office. From the list of names, random sampling was employed to pick the sample, taking into cognisance the percentage of women to male beneficiaries. While this was not problematic in the sampling of Fast Track beneficiaries, it proved difficult under Pre-Fast Track because there was no deliberate attempt to observe the quota system (resettling a certain percentage of female beneficiaries) which was not the case under Fast Track. To circumvent the problem, researchers, with the assistance of Arex officers, established the number of women-headed households under the Pre-Fast Track Phase in Kwekwe District, and proceeded to use random sampling to come up with the sample of women beneficiaries under the Pre-Fast Track Phase. It would appear as if there was no clear cut criteria for identifying women beneficiaries during both phases of land reform. However, literature and what is happening in practice amply demonstrate that the quota system for women was not implemented in both phases of the land reform programme. According to Chingarande (2008:289):

The statistics indicate that the number of females allocated land under Fast Track was very low countrywide. Women-headed households who benefited under Model A1 constituted only 18% of the total, while women beneficiaries under Model A2 constituted only 12%. Women's rights are clearly marginalised in both models. A host of structural and market forces (for example lack of access to finance or credit for the purchase or leasing of land) which relate back to historical and contemporary disadvantages facing women account for women's marginalisation,

especially for Model A2. As well, cultural, legislative and traditional explanations account for the low number of women who have been allocated land under the FTLRP.

Instrumentation

A questionnaire having both open and close-ended items was designed (refer to Appendix 1). While more work is involved in creating a new research instrument, (Rossier 1990) justifies the labour by pointing out that the researcher may have greater confidence in the instrument which has been carefully built to measure study variables. Unstructured interview guides for beneficiaries and for Arex officers were also constructed. The data collecting instruments were scrutinised for content validity. The basis of the validity was the statement of the problem, research questions and the reviewed literature.

The questionnaire was pilot-tested by being administered to a group of randomly selected land reform beneficiaries in Kwekwe District. Pilot testing is important in that it can reveal any flaws in the instrument. Such flaws are then corrected before the main data collection exercise. This may reduce question ambiguity. Other benefits of pilot-testing as argued by (Walter and Burnhill 1990) are that it:

- ascertains the range of possible responses, especially to items which are open-ended and will require coding or will be changed to closed items in the final survey;
- ensures that the items are yielding the desired information;
- gives the opportunity to learn what the results of the main survey are likely to be; and
- may result in the refinement of procedures for data collection, data preparation, and analysis prior to the commitment of resources to the main data collection programme.

In this investigation, the researchers used the results from pilot-testing to fine-tune the instrument and data collection procedures.

Fieldwork

The team stuck to the original methodology: *triangulating the methodology*. The sample size was 100 Fast track and 100 Pre-Fast Track land beneficiaries. Women comprised 15 per cent of the sample. The sample was drawn from almost the whole of Kwekwe District which comprises 33 wards. The team started with a pilot study to test the reliability and relevance of questions.

Three wards were covered in the pilot study. Data from the pilot study was analysed, leading to the fine-tuning of the research instrument.

Data was collected using questionnaires, interviews and observations (transact walks). As a means of verifying certain data collected through questionnaires, sampled farmers were interviewed. However, because of the sensitive nature of the phenomenon under investigation (the land issue), the researchers did not use Dictaphones and taking notes openly while interviewing farmers. The team members attempted to relive the interviews while moving from one homestead to another, and write notes. In order to authenticate the data from questionnaires and interviews, heads of extension workers were also interviewed. The research team employed Agriculture Extension Officers as research assistants. The team was divided into five teams, comprising three members per team, and collected data from different wards. Each team was headed by a CRN member working with two research assistants who were Arex officers. The reason why we picked Arex officers was that they are known and trusted by the community. As a result resettled farmers were free to answer the questionnaires, participate in interviews and allowed team members to take transact walks on their farms and villages. The transact walks were meant to observe area under cultivation, livestock units, farm implements used and to confirm some of the data from questionnaires.

The researchers collected data at a time when the Constitution Outreach Programme was being rolled out. Hence the chances of being viewed as working against the constitution-making process were very high and the consequences too ghastly to contemplate. Another methodological change was the negation of focus group discussions. This was necessitated by the need to have permission granted for a gathering of more than six people according to the Public Order and Security Act (POSA). While there were a number of Non-Governmental Organisations (NGO) employees working in Kwekwe District at the time of the study who could have been used as research assistants, the prevailing relationship between the Government of Zimbabwe and NGOs then deterred the researchers from engaging these employees.

Research assistants were responsible for asking beneficiaries and completing the questionnaires. The questionnaires were translated into the major local languages (Shona and Ndebele). Quantitative responses were coded and fed into the computer then analysed, using Statistical Package for Social Scientists (SPSS). Qualitative data was analysed qualitatively, which entailed segmenting, coding and categorising responses. The findings are presented and discussed in Chapter Six.

Ethical Considerations

The researchers explained to the participants that: (a) they were free to pull out of the study if they so wished (fortunately none of the sampled participants pulled out); (b) participants were also informed that their contributions were to be treated anonymously; hence participants' identity particulars were not captured in the questionnaires; (c) participants whose photographs were included in the monograph gave the researchers permission to do so and finally, (d) the researchers treated participants with respect at all times during data collection.

Conclusion

The chapter has discussed research method and design – paying attention to methods and design employed; description of the research site; population sample; sampling procedure; and, instrumentation. The chapter has also detailed how the fieldwork was conducted. The next chapter explores the political economy of Zimbabwe from a historical perspective, underlining the centrality of the Land Question.

3

The Historical Context of Land in Zimbabwe

The Political Economy of Zimbabwe

One of the fundamental resources that is essential for the development and sustenance of people in Africa is land. Land is very important because it forms the basis of agricultural production in the sub-region. This chapter will trace the role and impact of land amongst the different ethnic groups that lived in the area between the Zambezi and Limpopo rivers since the fourth century AD to the present. The issue of land tenure will be discussed in passing before analysing the manner in which different imperial powers parcelled indigenous land to settlers. An analysis of how the exploitation of the land resource by white settlers led to the rise of African nationalism will be evaluated. Finally, an examination of the events leading to the invasion of white commercial farms in Zimbabwe will be made.

The political history of the area between the Limpopo and Zambezi rivers has always revolved around the question of land. The earliest known settlement site at Great Zimbabwe was established from about the fourth century AD (Nothling 1989). Cattle played a crucial role in the life of the Shona people (Beach 1980). Though a number of Eurocentric scholars are of the view that Great Zimbabwe was an outcome of Arab and Muslim penetration into the East coast, by 1906 this view had been rejected. These historians do not credit the Shona for building and sustaining the Great Zimbabwe state. The Great

Zimbabwe state was situated on the main trading route between the gold producing western part of Zimbabwe and the East coast (Nothling 1989; Beach 1969).

The Shona moved to the plateau from the south. They settled at Great Zimbabwe where the environment was conducive to supporting their large herds of cattle. The major activities of the Shona were subsistence farming and cattle herding supplemented with hunting and food gathering. The Shona economic activities were based on the availability of land where crops that included millet and sorghum would be grown. More land was required for pasturing the cattle. The formation of the Great Zimbabwe state was partly due to the capability of the leadership at Great Zimbabwe being able to control the long distance trade to the coast. The fall of the Great Zimbabwe state was partly due to the growth of population and shortage of land to pasture the growing numbers of cattle.

Oral tradition explains that the Great Zimbabwe fell due to the shortage of salt as a result Nyatsimba Mutota moved northwards in search of salt. However, Beach (1980) suggests that Mutota seems to be a mythical rather than historical figure. There is evidence that the Great Zimbabwe state collapsed suddenly (Phimister 1974). The growth of the population from 2,000 people in AD 4 to about 18,000 by the 1450s meant that crops might have been in short supply, game was no longer in large supply and large herds of cattle required more pastures. These were the reasons for the fall of Great Zimbabwe state (Nothling 1989). Social tensions could also have contributed to the decline of Great Zimbabwe as a state. There is evidence to show that from the fifteenth century, power shifted from the Zimbabwe state towards the west and south of the area between the Zambezi and Limpopo rivers. Around 1490 the Torwa state under Changamire established in the western part of Great Zimbabwe in modern-day Khami ruins.

According to Shona oral tradition the fall of Great Zimbabwe is linked to the rise of the Mutapa state. Mutapa established his kingdom in the western part of Zimbabwe, close to the Zambezi River. Though the direct link of the fall of the Great Zimbabwe state is disputed by modern historians who include Beach (1980), there is enough evidence that the people who built the Great Zimbabwe and Mutapa state belonged to the same Shona tribe. The question of land continued to be central in the lives of the Shona since the Mutapa king had to appoint trusted provincial officials whose main role was to collect taxes and ensure that the conquered ethnic groups did not rebel against him.

The Portuguese grabbed land from the African people living in the area between Zambezi and Limpopo and occupied it between the sixteenth and the eighteenth centuries. The prazo system involved the Portuguese crown granting land to Portuguese nationals for a period of three lives. This meant that land would be given to Portuguese nationals for a very long time (Newitt 1973). The idea was to grant prazos to Portuguese women, on condition they married Portuguese men. The prazos were very large farms that needed to be protected, and as a result, this led to the formation of slave armies known as *achikunda*. *Anachikunda* could be as large as two thousand soldiers. The prazos were mostly in the lower Zambezi valley. The prazo holders included men like Sisnado Bayoe, Lobo da Silva, and Diogo Simoes Madeira. The economy of the prazos depended on tribute from the indigenous people living in the area claimed by the prazo holder (Newitt 1973). It is clear therefore that land continued to be a critical factor in the lives of the Shona people during the colonial period. The conflicts that took place between the Portuguese and the Mutapa were mainly over land or control of the gold mines. By 1700 the Portuguese penetration in the Zambezi Valley had not brought either peace or prosperity. Instead, it brought disruption of the traditional authority, a decline in the mineral trade and loss of land by the indigenous people to the white settlers. There was a lot of resistance to the Portuguese in the eighteenth century, especially from the Sena, Tavara and Tonga indigenous people. According to Scoones (1998), it is critical for people to have natural resources that include water, vegetation, wildlife resource and land, among other things, in order for them to be able to earn a sustainable livelihood. The grabbing of land from the indigenous people first by the Portuguese and then the British settlers meant that it became difficult for the indigenous people to sustain their livelihoods.

Conflicts erupted amongst the indigenous people over land. The Mutapa also faced opposition from Changamire. Oral tradition claims that Changamire rebelled against the Mutapa and established his own Rozvi state that encompassed the following areas: Butua, Manyanga and Dhlodhlo. The Changamire area of influence also covered parts of Mozambique to Masekesa, Mazowe, Sanyati river up to Manyika. The boundary to the west was the Shoshong hills, whilst in the south Northern Transvaal enjoyed Rozvi rule. It should be noted that the major wars between the Shona rulers were for the control of land and minerals, clear evidence that land was an important commodity in African politics (Bhila 1972). Some of the people paid tribute to the Rozvi king because of fear of invasion. Payment of tribute showed allegiance of a vassal to his king. Refusal to pay was taken as rebellion against the king.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the Ndebele settled in the area between the Zambezi and Limpopo rivers, resulting in conflicts between the Shona and Ndebele over land and cattle. Most descriptions of the Ndebele economy have been distorted by an overemphasis on cattle rearing (Cobbing 1976 and Nyathi 2000). Whilst cattle were an extremely important branch of the Ndebele economy, their primary farming activity was crop production. The main part of Ndebele diet was grain rather than beef. Cobbing (1976) highlights how a number of visiting Europeans remarked upon the green corn fields surrounding Ndebele homes and the quality of the grain grown. Approximately, 80 per cent of the grain was millet, sorghum, maize, groundnuts and rice (Rukuni 2006). Millet was the staple food. The indigenous farmers were familiar with rotating crops in order to ensure the maintenance of soil fertility.

The second most important branch of production was cattle rearing. Cattle occupied a vital position in the Ndebele socio-economic formation. Cattle not only provided meat but also milk and fats, whilst their hides were used in the manufacture of shields, skirts and whips. The securing of safe summer and winter pasturage for cattle underpinned Ndebele relations with the neighbouring Shona ethnic groups. The major objective of raiding was to seize Shona cattle to replenish or increase the national herd (Nyathi 2000).

The scramble for mineral concessions between the Portuguese Mozambique Company and the British South African Company (BSAC) took place towards the end of the nineteenth century. The scramble for land and mineral concessions assumed a new intensity between 1890 and 1894. Manuel Antonio de Souza, a Portuguese, acquired estates in Southern Africa. He had made claims of land that were also being claimed by Cecil John Rhodes through the British South African Company. The scramble for Manyika between the Portuguese and the British shows how critical land was in the fight by imperial powers in Southern Africa. The commercial interests of the Portuguese Mozambique Company and the British South African Company were so mixed up that sooner or later there would be a conflict between the two imperial powers. The Treaty of 1890 fixed the Portuguese border to include areas bounded by Rovuma river, Lake Chilwa, Zumbo, Tete and Cabora Bassa, Manyika and Gaza. There was an outcry in Portugal. New negotiations led to the signing of the 1891 treaty fixing the present borders of Mozambique and Zimbabwe.

When the pioneer column arrived in Mashonaland in 1890, their expectations were that they would discover another Gold Rand as they had done in South Africa (Chitiyo 2000). However, when the European settlers

realised that the mineral rights were not as lucrative as the ones in South Africa, some of them abandoned their claims. Having failed to get lucrative gold claims in Southern Rhodesia, the settlers turned to the next available prized commodity, land. The scramble for land was a little more than plunder (Meredith 2002).

Land Ownership During the Colonial Era

In the process of colonising the country, settlers realised the need to legitimise their land-grabbing by passing legislation to consolidate their title to the land. A series of laws dispossessing the indigenous people of the land they had held for generations and giving ownership to the settlers were passed. The pieces of legislation and other regulations will be discussed, from the arrival of Cecil John Rhodes, the Rudd Concession, up to the time of the Lancaster House agreement.

The Rudd Concession

In 1888, Rhodes tricked King Lobengula into signing the Rudd Concession, giving exclusive mineral rights to the BSAC in exchange for 1,000 rifles, a gunboat to patrol the Zambezi and a monthly rent of £100. A missionary known as C. D. Helms was used to persuade Lobengula to sign the Rudd Concession by convincing Lobengula that Rudd was an honourable man who would not cheat the Ndebele king (Mudenge 2001). Armed with this concession, Rhodes obtained a royal charter from Britain, granting the company the right to administer and govern the region and extend British rule into Central Africa (International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa 1977). Table 3.1 summarises the major concessions, legislations and regulations from the time of the Rudd Concession to the time of the Lancaster Agreement. These are discussed in more detail in the ensuing paragraphs.

Table 3.1: Zimbabwe – History of Land Policy 1889–1979

Year	Land Act / Commission	Purpose	Result
1889	The Lippert concession	White settlers to acquire land rights from Native Zimbabweans	British South African Company (BSAC) buys concession and uses it as a basis for land appropriation
1898	Native Reserves Order in Council	To create Native Reserves in the face of mass land appropriation by white settlers	Native reserves created haphazardly in infertile, low-rainfall potential areas and which subsequently become communal areas.
1930	Land apportionment Act	To separate land between black and white people	The high-potential areas become white large-scale privately owned farms.
1951	Native Land Husbandry Act	To enforce private ownership of land, destocking and conservation practices on (TTLs)black small-holders	Mass resistance to legislation fuelling nationalistic politics. Law scrapped in 1961.
1965	Tribal Trust Land (TTL) Act	To change the name of Native Reserves and create trustees for the land	Because of population pressure, TTLs became degraded 'homelands'.
1969	Land Tenure Act	To replace the Land Apportionment Act of 1930 and finally divide land 50% white and 50% black	Combined with the TTL Act, Rhodesia had the equivalent of apartheid.

Source: Ministry of Lands, Land Reform and Resettlement (2003)

The Lippert Concession 1889

In 1891, in an attempt to play one European treasure hunter against another, 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 (Tshuma 1997). Mudzengi (2008:379) cited in Moyo, Helliker and Murisa (2008) outlines the contents of the Lippert concession as:

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.

It is clear from the contents of this document that Lobengula was not told what was contained in the document. 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 a result, when the White settlers started flocking into Zimbabwe, the Ndebele reacted by revolting against the British in 1896.

In 1894, the BSAC promulgated the Matabeleland-Order-in Council, by which the BSAC assumed ownership of land by the right of conquest (Rukuni 2006). Through the use of the Order in Council of 1894, the indigenous people were allocated land in the Gwaai-Shangani area which was 1,006,010 hectares as opposed to 21,000,000 hectares they had occupied before the coming of the settlers (Mudzengi 2008).

The BSAC under Jameson was allocating 6,000 acre farms to white troopers by forcibly displacing the Africans. Jameson realised the need for cadastral surveying and a property map to formalise the land grabbing, and hired a surveyor general who placed beacons to demarcate boundaries of the farms. A representative of the BSAC would then come and inspect the beacons and enter the farms in the company's register at Salisbury (present-day Harare). These procedures created a proper, durable map, and the property map of 1894 has survived in its original form up to today (Hughes 2006). Furthermore, a hut tax of 10 shillings was imposed on indigenous people (Tshuma 1988). Those who failed to pay the taxes were forced to work on the farms for no pay.

The Native Reserves Order in Council of 1898

The Native Reserves Order in Council of 1898 created the infamous Native Reserves for indigenous people only. This was in the face of a systematic mass land expropriation by white settlers. The result was that Native Reserves were set up haphazardly in low-potential areas which subsequently became the present Communal areas. Leander Starr Johnson encouraged the settlers to get as much land as they wanted. Major Sir John Willoughby was granted 600,000 acres in Mashonaland. He also bought some land rights that had been given to pioneers who went in search of gold. Willoughby's Consolidated Company eventually had accumulated 1.3 million acres of land. Rhodes's surveyor general, on accepting his post, was given 640,000 acres of land. These settlers were parceling out land that belonged to either the Shona or Ndebele (Chitiyo 2000).

The South African Natives Land Act of 1913 had a strong impact on settler thinking north of the Limpopo river. The South African government philosophy was that people of different races should be left to develop at their own pace. Moyana (2002:27) states that the settlers both in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia 'built around themselves walls of racial prejudice, buttressed by vested self interests'. The white settlers believed that if total segregation was not instituted there would be war amongst the races (Hill 2003).

The Africans were deliberately impoverished in order to force them to go and work for the whites in their farms, mines and factories. The British government was requested by the settler government to stop the policy of allowing Africans to buy land adjacent to their farms. The white farmers and administrators used various methods to force indigenous people to work on their farms and projects for no payment. 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 (Hughes 2006). These were mainly for short periods on projects such as road building. Violence was used, including the kidnapping of women until their husbands came, or holding the chief hostage until the required number of men came forward. The other source was those who could not pay hut tax. Another form of forced free labour was based on 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. Hughes (2006:55) states that the amount of labour and the level of violence were striking, as recalled by one Meredith, a 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.

It is clear that the white settlers now had both land ownership and physical domination and control over the indigenous people.

Shona and Ndebele Uprisings – The First Chimurenga (War of Liberation) 1896-1897

The alienation of indigenous people from their land and the oppressive measures documented above led to the Shona and Ndebele uprisings of 1896-7 (dubbed the First Chimurenga) which were ruthlessly suppressed. Nehanda and Kaguvu were Shona leaders who were killed by the settlers during the first Chimurenga. Meanwhile the influx of settlers continued.

The Morris Carter Commission and the Land Apportionment Act of 1930

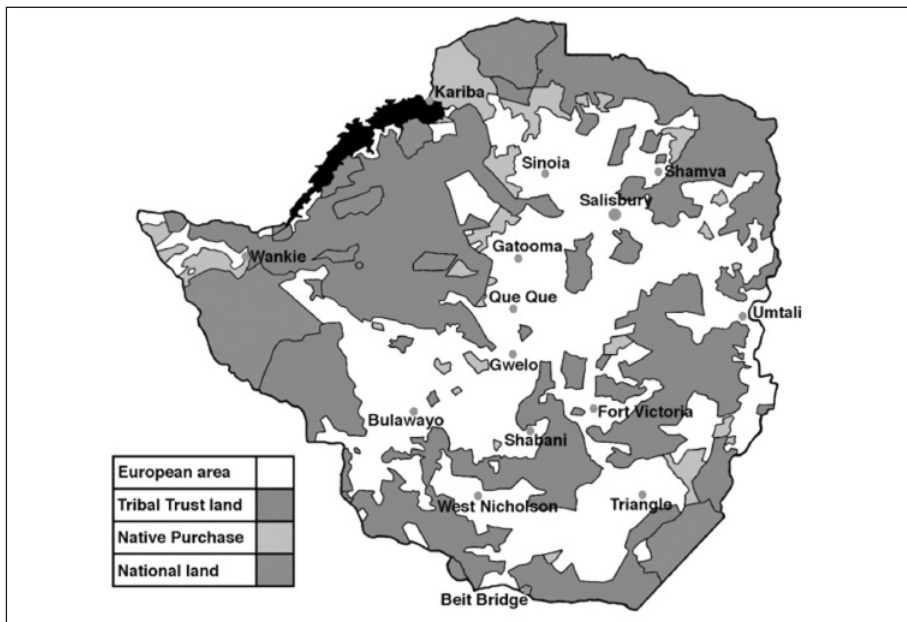
In 1925, the Morris Carter Commission recommended racial division of land and the result was the Land Apportionment Act of 1930. This Act partitioned land into European and African reserves and forcibly evicted Africans from fertile land, which they had held for generations and to which they were spiritually attached, to barren land. They were resettled in areas far away from major roads and railway lines, depriving them of a means of survival and the enjoyment of the transport infrastructure. Approximately 51 per cent of the land was set aside for European settlers (Tshuma 1997 and Rukuni 2006). Table 3.2 shows the resultant divisions, followed by a fuller discussion of the commission's deliberations, and the consequences of the Land Apportionment Act 1930.

Table 3.2: Land Distribution under the Land Apportionment Act 1930

Designation	Area In Hectares	% of Country
European area	19,890,398	51.1
Native reserves	8,549,996	12.0
Unassigned area	7,200,850	18.5
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 African use	11,570,864	29.7

Source: Moyana (2002:44)

The map of Zimbabwe (Figure 3.1) highlights the extent to which land had been appropriated by the white settlers by 1965.

Figure 3.1: Land Apportionment in Rhodesia in 1965

Source: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Rhodesialand.png>

Under the Land Apportionment Act of 1930, 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 per cent of the land or 19,890,398 hectares of land was assigned as White area, whilst 29.7 per cent 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’.

The division of land between white settlers and indigenous people was formalised in the Land Apportionment Act of 1930. There are a number of reasons why the indigenous people detested the Land Apportionment Act (Meredith 2002). 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. The other important factor against this Act was that it was clearly designed to create poverty among the indigenous people (Marongwe 2003). 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 work for the white settlers for a very low wage. It is interesting to note that of the 12.8 million hectares assigned to the white settlers only 404,694 were cultivated, 40 per cent was used for pastures and the rest was unused land which was lying fallow.

The Economic Effects of the Land Apportionment Act on Indigenous People

The Land Apportionment Act had social, economic and political effects on the indigenous people. It is very clear that it had serious negative effects on African agriculture. Immediately after the creation of the reserves, African agricultural production deteriorated. The fact that Africans were moved from productive to unproductive dry land meant that there was a reduction in their crop and livestock production. To Africans whose livelihood depended on land, the Land Apportionment Act brought misery. Table 3.3 shows this decline in productivity.

Table 3.3: Livestock Production by Indigenous People

Year	Cattle	Sheep	Goat	Yields In Bags
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

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

The figures show 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 of 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 reduction of 10 per cent over a period of 16 years. It is interesting to note that the populations of indigenous people were increasing, whilst their herds of cattle, sheep and goats were depleted. The Land Commission reduced the carrying capacity of the land. By 1943 most of the 38 reserves were overpopulated and, as a consequence, soil erosion took its toll on the land. Due to overgrazing, African cattle were awarded the lowest grade. African cattle fetched very low prices at the cattle market. Overstocking and overpopulation resulted in soil erosion which culminated in reduced production.

Table 3.4: Livestock Concentration in the Reserves 1963

Region	Stock Carried	Stock Carrying Capacity	Overstocked (+)	% Stocked
			Understocked (-)	
Midlands	274,855	256,932	+17,923	107
Mashonaland	148,533	247,971	- 99,438	59.9
Matabeleland	338,294	291,685	+46,609	116
Masvingo	371,776	226,397	+145,379	164
Manicaland	269,750	246,191	+23,559	110

Adapted from Chitiyo Tapera (2000)

According to the figures in Table 3.4, all the provinces were overstocked except Mashonaland North. The major reason for overstocking was that the indigenous people had lost their land to the white settlers and were overcrowded as a result of the Land Apportionment Act of 1930.

Pressure on Land: The Native Land Husbandry Act of 1951

The problem of shortage of land can best be described as a consequence of ill-conceived policies that resulted in acute shortage of land for Africans. The Land Apportionment Act affected the Africans in many adverse ways. Large concentrations of people led to overstocking and soil erosion. Most of the fertile topsoil was eroded leading to the reserves remaining with *dongas*. The immediate reaction of the colonial government to the problem of land in communal areas was the passing of the Land Husbandry Act 1951. This Act further imposed and enforced conservation measures on land owned by indigenous people (Vudzijena 1998). The logic behind this legislation was that land degradation was taking place in the tribal trust lands because of lack of individual title to the land. Communal farmers were required to obtain a permit called a 'farming permit' to cultivate land and a 'grazing permit' to graze livestock. Other measures included restrictions on the number of livestock as well as soil and water conservation. The measures were necessitated by the land and natural resource degradation as a result of overcrowding in the rural areas. However, because the regulations were imposed without consultation, they were resented by the rural people and compliance was erratic. Consequently, implementation of the Act was suspended in 1961.

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. But 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. The Smith government introduced the Land Tenure Act in 1969. The aim was to entrench the division of land between the whites and Africans. Africans continued to be evicted from settler farms and the Tangwena's people refusal to move from their land caught the attention of the international community.

The Case of the Tangwena Saga

The impact of the Land Apportionment Act during the colonial period can best be illustrated by analysing the Tangwena saga. Chief Tangwena and his people lived in the Nyanga highlands in the eastern part of Zimbabwe. Chief Tangwena's

fight against eviction from the land that belonged to his people brings to light and symbolises the price that Africans had to pay for their land.

During the time when the Land Apportionment Act was introduced, most Africans remained in the areas that had been designated as white areas. The British South African Company had been an active agent of land grabbing of African lands. On 31 July 1905, the Company had sold the land of the Nyanga Downs comprising 59,604 hectares in extent. In 1944 an Anglo-French company sold 23,472 hectares, part of Nyanga Downs, to the Gaeresi Ranch Company for 8,400 pounds. William Hanmer the director of the company settled on the land in 1948. He fenced part of the land excluding the land settled by the Tangwena people. The people applauded this development because they thought that their cattle would not stray into the Hanmer's land. Little did they know that the settler was planning to evict them on the grounds that the land had been sold to him two decades earlier. In 1963, Hanmer asked the court to evict the Tangwena people.

When the colonial government asked Chief Tangwena and his people to be relocated to Bende native reserves, Chief Tangwena refused to move. A court order was given accusing the Chief and his people of disobeying a State order for which they were fined. Chief Tangwena rather than accept defeat contested to this verdict in the High Court. The High Court vindicated the Chief and his people leading to the embarrassment of the colonial government. Chief Tangwena had used the very laws that the colonial government were using to oppress the Africans and won (Moyana 2002).

After losing the case in court, the colonial government used brutal force to drive the Tangwena people from their land. Village houses were pulled down and burnt, and men, women and children were ruthlessly beaten. The Tangwena people refused to give up. They ran away and lived in the bush, and then rebuilt their houses. Moyana (2000:153) suggests that 'to Chief Tangwena, land, human dignity and selfhood were inseparable'. Chief Tangwena was not prepared to accept the colonial government brutal force to remove his people from their land. He joined the people who were fighting against the settler regime in Mozambique. He was not prepared to give the land of Gaeresi to the white settlers.

The Tribal Trust Lands (TTL) Act (1965)

The next act that was introduced by the colonial government was The Tribal Trust lands (TTL) Act of 1965. The Act was devised to change the name of the Native Reserves and create trustees for the land. High population densities on tribal trust lands made them degraded 'homelands'.

The Land Tenure Act

The Land Tenure Act of 1969 repealed and replaced the Land Apportionment Act, and divided land into European, African and National land. European and African land comprised 45,000 acres each, while National land stood at 6,500 acres. This clearly shows that the Rhodesia Front wanted to perpetuate racial separation and white supremacy, and further stirred strong nationalist opposition. However, with the intensification of the liberation war, the Land Amendment Act of 1977 was passed, removing racial division of land.

Land Tenure

According to the Food Agricultural Organisation (FAO) (undated) land tenure is the relationship, whether legally or customarily defined, among people as individuals or groups, with respect to land. Rules of tenure define how property rights to land are allocated within societies, that is how access is granted to rights to use, control and transfer land, as well as responsibilities and restraints and who can use land, for how long and under what conditions. Land tenure may be well defined and legally enforceable or poorly defined, with ambiguities and open to exploitation.

Types of Land Tenure

The main types of land tenure in Zimbabwe are:

- Freehold – Full ownership of land is evidenced by title deeds that specify the area of land owned. The owner can dispose of the land as he/she wishes.
- Leasehold – This comprises of an agreement between the owner of the land and the tenant (the lessee) under which the tenant is allowed the free enjoyment and use of the land in return for payment of rent. These two types of tenure are also called statutory, as opposed to customary type of tenure.
- Traditional, Customary or Communal Tenure - Is where land belongs to the community, which decides how land is to be used. The chief is given power to allocate land to groups or individual members of the community.

A system of taboos and myths is used to conserve and preserve resources.

Security of Tenure

FAO (undated) further explains that security of tenure is the certainty that a person's rights to land will be recognised by others and protected in cases of

specific challenges. It cannot be measured directly and, to a large extent, is what people perceive it to be. Sources of security are categorised as follows:

- Recognition by the community or specific groups, i.e. where neighbours recognise and enforce a person's rights to land;
- The government may provide political recognition of some rights, e.g. it may undertake not to evict squatters from state land;
- Land registration or title deeds; and
- By coercion, where there are no government structures.

Security of tenure can be threatened when the government or neighbours choose not to recognise the rights bestowed by the tenure or because of some social changes, e.g. HIV/AIDS, when widows cannot inherit their husbands' rights. In some cases, different parties hold multiple rights over the same piece of land, and the rights can be overriding, overlapping, complementary or competing. The question of security of tenure is very important, because it is the vulnerable groups (the poor and women) who usually suffer if tenure is insecure.

Before the colonisation of Southern Africa, the customary or traditional or communal tenure system was the norm among the indigenous people. Under this system, land is communally owned and cannot be alienated from the community. Members have exclusive residential rights, and rights to arable land, as well as shared rights to grazing land and natural resources (UNECA 2003). Because communal land cannot be sold, land held under this tenure system cannot be used as collateral.

It is generally believed that a good tenure system with security of tenure is a pre-requisite for investments in land improvements and sustainable land utilisation (Vudzijena 1998). FAO (undated) and the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (2003) concur with this observation. When tenure is secure, farmers are able to use their land as collateral, to obtain loans from financial institutions, in order to invest in land improvements.

Tenure-related Problems in Southern Africa

In 2003 the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa carried out a study of tenure systems and security of tenure in six Southern African countries, namely Lesotho, Zambia, Botswana, Namibia, Mozambique and South Africa. The following is a summary of some of the tenure-related problems that the Commission encountered:

- Minority groups – The hunting rights of the San hunter-gatherers in Botswana are not recognised under customary or statutory law; their

traditional hunting grounds have been fenced in, and they have been displaced and relocated.

- Land alienation without compensation – This problem was prevalent in Malawi and Mozambique, where smallholders were losing land to well-placed individuals and foreign investors.
- Corrupt and exploitative practices by chiefs and government officials – this was common in all countries.
- Land encroachment and illegal settlers – this was observed in some of the countries.
- Land reforms – the poor and some women are sometimes adversely affected because they lack the competence to understand and follow the relevant procedures.

Initiatives to Improve Security of Tenure in Southern Africa

The team observed that there were various initiatives to improve security of tenure in all the Southern African countries, as follows:

- Botswana – embarked on a National Land Policy Review in 2003.
- Lesotho – A Land Policy Review Commission was appointed and published its report in 2000.
- Malawi – The Presidential Commission on Land Reform was established in 1996 and led to the formulation of a National Land Policy, approved by cabinet in 2002.
- Mozambique – A new Land Law was passed in 1997.
- South Africa – Various acts, including the Communal Property Act 28 of 1996, the Land Reform Labour Tenants Act No. 3 of 1996, an Interim Protection of Informal Land Rights Act No. 31 of 1996, and the Extension of Security of Tenure Act No. 62 of 1997 were passed.
- Zambia – The Lands Act of 1995 is the basis of the current tenure system.

Efforts to Improve Security of Tenure in Zimbabwe

In Zimbabwe similar efforts aimed at improving security of tenure were undertaken. On 1 November 1993, the Land Tenure Commission (the Rukuni Commission) was appointed to look into current tenure systems and make recommendations on alternative systems. In 1994, this Commission made its recommendations and the government acclaimed its findings.

Recommendations of the Rukuni Land Tenure Commission

On communal lands, the commission recommended the retention of the communal tenure system. It however recommended that the state should relinquish ownership of the land to a village assembly headed by the kraal head, as the chairman. A register of village members (both men and women) would be maintained. After surveying and demarcation of boundaries, each village would receive a village registration title. Households would receive land registration certificates for all arable and residential land, with the registration certificate for grazing and other common land being in the name of the village and held in trust by the kraal head. After fulfilling requirements for the effective village management, the land would cease to be state land and be traditional village land.

Regarding resettlement schemes, the Commission recommended the replacement of permits with long-term leases for Models A and B, and for leasehold tenure to continue in Model C. In Model A, in the better agro-ecological regions, it recommended that they should be given the option to be re-planned and demarcated into individual self-contained farms, comprising residential, arable, and grazing land. For the Large Scale Commercial Farms, the commission recommended maintaining the freehold tenure, with relaxation of restrictions on sub-division of large farms and the introduction of a land tax, based on productivity and farm size. It is hoped that the present study will shed some light on the types of tenure and the security of tenure in the resettlement areas.

Other Oppressive Native Practices

The BSAC established a Native Department through which Native Commissioners were responsible for the administration of the reserves, the maintenance of law and order and administration of justice (Tshuma 1997). The chiefs reported to the Native Commissioner, who had power to allocate land and fire or demote chiefs. As a result, those who supported the government were given more land or promoted. Those who opposed the government had their chieftainship taken away from them.

Exploitation of African Labour

One of the reasons for expropriating land from the Africans was to deliberately impoverish them so that these people would be forced to look for employment in farms and mines. Moyana (2002:72) argues, ‘The increasing shortage of

land was accompanied by increasing needs such as school fees, clothes and food'. The landless peasants had been converted into commodities by the Land Apportionment Act. In the 1890s, though the Africans lost some of their land, there was no pressure to drive the indigenous people to seek employment. They still had enough land for their basic needs. As a result, the British South African Company had an acute shortage of labour since Africans were not keen to work for the white men. Settlers who employed Africans were in the habit of ill-treating their employees towards the end of the month with the intention of forcing the workers to abscond before being paid. Such practices discouraged the majority of the Africans to seek employment; as a result there was a critical shortage of labour in the mines and farms. In order to force Africans to go and work on their farms, the colonial government in 1894 introduced a hut tax of 10 shillings per hut which was levied on each adult male. Another factor that contributed to shortage of labour was poor wages. Indigenous people worked for long hours but the wages were very low. The taxes that were imposed on them were meant to induce the indigenous people to seek employment. As long as they had cattle and land, there was no pressure for them to look for employment. The introduction of the different forms of taxes forced them to seek employment so as to pay the taxes.

One of the effects of land segregation and appropriation was that of squatting. Under the Private Locations Ordinance of 1908, Africans were allowed to pay rent to a landowner in exchange for the right to remain on the land that would have been allocated to a white farmer. For speculative purposes, a lot of companies had bought land that they did not utilise. Africans were expected to pay rent to the white settlers if they wanted to remain occupying land which originally had belonged to them. The rent paid by the Africans was too high such that most Africans lost their cattle. Apart from losing their land and cattle, the indigenous people suffered other abuses especially when eviction took place. By 1935, the majority of indigenous people living on Crown Land were in arrears in paying their rent. Table 3.5 shows the arrears that accumulated due to failure to pay rent.

Table 3.5: Rent Arrears by Blacks in 1935

District	Outstanding Amount (Pounds)	District	Outstanding Amount (Pounds)
Belingwe	111	Matobo	1,192
Bubi	1,990	Mtentengwe	3,895
Bulilima-Mangwe		Marandellas	20
Chilimanzi	608	Melsetter	179
Charter	295	Nuanetsi	309
Chibi	779	Nyamandhlovu	214
Chipinge	3954	Selukwe	3,176
Gutu	826	Shabani	517
Gwanda	2,026	Umtali	343
Gwelo	556	Umzingwane	96
Hartley	425	Victoria	1,576
Insiza	1,467	Makoni	1,062
Inyanga	1,494	Total	27,068

Source: Moyana (2002) *Political Economy of land in Zimbabwe*

The total amount in arrears was 27,068 pounds, a clear testimony that Africans were suffering economically.

The Rhodesian Front Era

In 1961, Ian Smith formed the Rhodesian Front party (RF) in protest against the introduction of African representation in the parliament and the party won elections in 1962. Ian Smith became Prime Minister in 1964 and his first action was to order the detention of Joshua Nkomo and Robert Mugabe, who remained in detention until 1974. In 1965, he made a Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI). However, the international community and the United Nations did not recognise the new republic. They responded by imposing economic sanctions. Not all countries imposed full sanctions; for countries like South Africa, Portugal and Israel assisted Rhodesia in busting the sanctions in many ways (Chitiyo 2000). The Smith regime wanted to perpetuate white domination at all costs.

Agriculture under UDI

Bautista, Thomas, Muir-Leresche and Lofgren (2002) observe that as a result of the Land Apportionment Act, and the Land Tenure Act, agriculture was overtly dualistic – a densely populated black communal sector and a modern white Large Scale Commercial farming sector (LSC). Population density and cropping intensity was about three times as high in communal areas as in the LSC sector. The LSC occupied about one-third of the total area and had a disproportionately large share of high-potential agricultural land, was highly mechanised, and had very high yields in the small proportion of the total farm area cultivated. The LSC received a lot of support from the colonial government, in the form of subsidies, soft loans, research and technical services, and infrastructure development. According to the International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa (1977), in 1977, 6,000 white farmers had access to over \$100 million worth of credit facilities, whereas a mere \$1 million was made available to the 8, 000 African Purchase Area farmers and approximately 600,000 TTL farmers. The same sentiments are echoed by Shopo (1987) who states:

Historically the most outstanding characteristic of the agrarian structure of colonial Zimbabwe was its dualism, in which the state supported the white commercial sector (both family farms and large company estates), which possessed the most fertile land with access to national and international markets, credit, technology, extension services, credit, manufactured inputs and consumption goods. The traditional or communal sector was assigned unproductive land, producing in the main for family consumption and local markets. Its parameters for agricultural growth had since the first decade of the century been closely defined by

the state. Within such limits, the marginal improvements which had taken place with regards to marketing and pricing by 1965 had little effect on the pervasive historical patterns within the sector.

It is a clear indication that the then government favoured white commercial farmers and provided everything for them to produce at high levels, leading to Zimbabwe becoming the bread basket of Southern Africa. Compared to the LSC, communal areas had lower yields and a higher proportion of the arable land cropped. In fact, there was overcrowding and overstocking which resulted in land degradation, deforestation and poverty among the peasants. This unjust situation led to resentment of white domination, the birth of African nationalism and ultimately the armed struggle.

Growth of Trade Unionism 1934–1950s

There seems to have been a very close link between the rise of trade unionism in the early 1900 and the rise of African nationalism. It is a common assumption that the political consciousness of the black workers should be assessed largely through the presence of the association and organisation of workers' interests. Although associations and organisations were formed, it does not follow that those were the first signs of indigenous consciousness of their grievances. It merely means that the organisations became a more articulate expression of the discontent that had long been present. The initial strikes organised by trade union movements in 1901, 1906 and 1912 were discontent over low wages and Africans not having been placed on the same position with whites.

The formation of Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union (ICU) in 1929 under Charles Mzingeli laid the foundations for the organisation of nationalistic organisations whose major thrust was to articulate the grievances about land. Vambe (1976) is of the view that the ICU was more of a political body than a trade union. The leaders dealt largely with general economic and political grievances of the indigenous people that even included the question of land. The formation of the African National Congress in 1934 under the initiative of Aaron Jacha and Reverend T. D. Samkange laid the foundation for the formation of the more effective nationalistic parties of the 1950s. Whilst there is a link between the rise of trade unionism and the rise of African nationalism, the link was not strong. However, trade union activity laid the foundation for the formation of more organised national parties like the National Democratic Party formed in 1957. Through trade union activity, workers and intellectuals in towns started questioning the segregation that was practised by the white settlers. The rise of nationalism in the 1950s

transformed the trade union activities led by Joshua Nkomo into nationalistic movements whose aim was for the indigenous people to be given back their land and also fight for equal rights.

The Birth of African Nationalism and the Armed Struggle

It is against this background that resistance to white domination and African Nationalism was born. In 1957, Joshua Nkomo was elected president of the local branch of the African National Congress. After it was banned, he formed the National Democratic Party (NDP), which was banned in 1961. The Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) replaced the NDP. The slogan of the party was 'The land is ours', and party cadres addressed each other as 'Children of the soil', emphasising that land was the central issue in the struggle against white domination (Tshuma 1997). In 1963, Ndabaningi Sithole and Robert Mugabe split from ZAPU to form Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU). Some of the reasons for the formation of ZANU were that the militant Africans were frustrated by the leadership of Joshua Nkomo. One school of thought argued that Nkomo was spending too much time outside the country and he had too much confidence in the efficiency of the use of external pressure to influence the white settler regime. Another group of scholars are of the view that the formation of ZANU was based on ethnic grounds. These scholars argue that the formation of ZANU was meant to provide new leadership from the Shona ethnic group. When the two parties failed to influence the change of policy through the use of negotiation, they then resorted to the armed struggle.

The Liberation War (Second *Chimurenga*) and its Impact on the Land Question

Mudzengi (2008) is of the view that the liberation war went through three main phases, namely: the Chitepo phase (1962–1975), the Zimbabwe People's Army phase (ZIPA) period (1975–1977) and the Mugabe phase (1977–1980). An analysis of the different phases of the liberation war helps scholars to understand the manner in which the land question was resolved after independence. There were four major groups during the armed struggle. Mudzengi (2008) suggests that the Chitepo phase comprised the peasants, intellectuals, nationalists and youthful guerrillas. The peasants' major role was the provision of intelligence as well as the provision of food to the freedom fighters. On the other hand, the freedom fighters had to educate the peasants regarding the reasons why they were fighting against the white settler regime.

Whilst the freedom fighters were conscious of the major cause for fighting against the settler regime, namely regaining their land from the whites, it was critical for all peasants to be convinced of this cause. As a result, night meetings (Pungwes) were organised in order to fulfil that purpose. Interaction between the four different groups in these night meetings acted as synergies that resulted in the sharing of common visions and the same aspirations (Mudzengi 2008). It is clear from the arguments that have been discussed earlier that land has always been central in the lives of the indigenous people. The land question was a basis for the development of African nationalism, whilst workers in cities and in farms questioned the segregatory practices by the white settlers.

During the Chitepo phase, the majority of the nationalists had been arrested by the Smith settler regime. During this period, recruitment to the guerrilla army was not voluntary since most of the cadres were recruited from villages (Tungamirai 1995; Chung 2007). The war was confined to the north-eastern part of the country, with mainly the peasant freedom fighters shouldering the responsibility of the war effort. Most of the early recruits were peasants who were disgruntled about the land question. There is evidence to prove that a peasant-based culture was developed during this period (Mudzengi 2008). The leader of the ZANLA High Command, Herbert Chitepo, was killed by a car bomb in 1975. Members of the ZANLA High Command who were stationed in Zambia were arrested by the Zambian authorities on suspicion of the murder of Herbert Chitepo. Chung (2007) states how the Zimbabwe People's Army (ZIPA) was constituted to coordinate activities at the war front after the realisation that after the death of Chitepo there was a leadership vacuum as most of the commanders of ZANLA had been arrested.

ZANLA combatants in Mgagao in Tanzania made a resolution that there was need to restart the war against the settler regime, which had stopped due to the incarceration of the members of the High Command (Chung 2007). The two armies comprising ZIPRA and ZANLA agreed to work together as ZIPA in fighting the Smith settler regime. Some recruits who listened to the external radio transmitting from Mozambique, where ZANLA was operating from, were possibly persuaded to join the liberation struggle through the messages that were transmitted. A large number of recruits were influenced to join through contact with liberation fighters. The night meetings (Pungwes) played a critical role in convincing students, peasants and even intellectuals to join the liberation struggle. Chung (2007) suggests that the war was altered significantly between 1975 and 1977 when ZIPRA and ZANLA forces were

complementing each other. They were able to open 1,100 kilometres of the Mozambican border for freedom fighters to operate.

The ZANLA High Command was released in 1977 and relocated to Mozambique since it no longer trusted the Zambian government which had arrested them and accused them of possible implication in the death of Chitepo. The FLERIMO party in Mozambique was keen to support the ZANLA High Command in its fight against the settler regime. After 1977, a process of selective recruitment of cadres was started (Tungamirai 1995; Chung 2007).

The three phases of the guerrilla war had a number of implications, especially on the relations between the former fighters and the political leadership immediately after independence. The Chitepo phase was characterised by illiterate peasant freedom fighters who disliked the educated elite and tended to label those who continued with education as sell-outs and traitors (Chung 2007). Chung argues that many of the educated cadres at the war front became victims of torture and at times death at the hands of these veteran freedom fighters. The third and final phase was characterised by political education, where orders, rules and regulations were emphasised. Robert Mugabe argued that when an individual was not prepared to accept the discipline and rules of the party then external discipline should apply. The party was supposed to compel the individual to comply with its rules.

The peasants and farm workers were mobilised around the issue of land as well as the discriminatory practices of the Smith regime. The farm workers and ordinary peasants were expected to provide intelligence of the movement of the Smith soldiers when the freedom fighters entered any area. The peasants and farm workers played a key role in the provision of important intelligence and provision of food to the fighters. The promise that land would be divided amongst the hungry masses motivated these peasants and farm workers to continue supporting the freedom fighters. Whilst it is clear that the role of peasants and farm workers was invaluable to the liberation war, these people felt their efforts were not rewarded immediately after independence.

From 1966 – 1979 ZAPU and ZANU waged a guerrilla war to end white minority rule (dubbed the second Chimurenga). After the collapse of the Portuguese regime in Mozambique, Rhodesia found itself surrounded by hostile states. Thousands of black youths and school leavers crossed borders into Botswana, Zambia and Mozambique to join the armed struggle. All male whites above the age of 16 were conscripted into the Rhodesian army and had to spend long periods in the operational areas. Meanwhile, the freedom

fighters were intensifying their attacks on white farms and other economic targets, and penetrating deeper into the country.

An estimated 50,000 people of all races (mainly Africans) died in this war, with several others getting injured (Chitiyo 2000). In December 1978, ZANLA attacked and set ablaze the main fuel storage depot in Harare and the tanks burned for days, with black soot covering the whole city. In 1978, Smith made an internal settlement with Abel Muzorewa and Ndabaningi Sithole, but this did not receive international recognition, because both political power and control of the economy, land included, were effectively still in the hands of the whites. The guerrilla war continued with more intensity. The freedom fighters explained the reasons why they had to fight for their land. The question of land alienation was amongst the grievances that the liberation forces used in order to get the support of the peasants in the rural areas (Chitiyo 2000).

Most of these peasants expected that at independence they would acquire land. In 1980 when Zimbabwe acquired its independence, the whites who comprised one per cent of the total population owned 45 per cent of agricultural land. Most of this land owned by the white commercial farmers was located in the high rainfall agro-ecological regions of Zimbabwe as opposed to the Africans located in the drier, more marginal agro-ecological regions.

The Lancaster Agreement

The Lancaster Conference that included the internal political players as well as ZAPU and ZANU resulted in the Lancaster Agreement of 1979. ZANU and ZAPU attended the conference as a united front under the banner of the Patriotic Front (PF). There were serious differences between the British and the Patriotic Front over the land issue. The British wanted to ensure that property rights of the whites were guaranteed and that there would not be massive dispossession of land from white settlers without adequate compensation (Chitiyo 2000). On the other hand, the Patriotic Front's proposal was for protection of property from compulsory acquisition except in the public interest, and that compensation would only be paid at the discretion of the government. The Patriotic Front argued that placing restrictions on land acquisition would defeat the objective of the liberation struggle (Tshuma 1997). The British pointed out that the land reform programme had to be carefully prepared and implemented to avoid adverse effects on production. Compulsory acquisition of land of any description was prohibited according to the Lancaster House Constitution. Where there was a 'willing buyer and

willing seller' agreement, the constitution emphasised the payment of 'prompt and adequate' compensation using market prices (Tshuma 1997).

Section 52 (3) (b) (i) of the Lancaster House Constitution as read with subsection (4) stipulated that no provision of the fundamental rights would be amended for ten years without an affirmative vote in the National Assembly (UNDP 2002). It should be noted that the National Assembly had twenty seats (one fifth of the voting rights) that guaranteed land to the Zimbabwean white population for the first twenty years. One could argue that this provision was deliberately included in the constitution by the British in order to protect the rights of the white community. Though the Patriotic Front was totally against such clauses they were obliged to accept these legal provisions that were regarded as constitutional safeguards for the market-based land transfers. In fact the talks nearly collapsed and were saved by the USA, which promised to help finance a multinational fund to assist in agricultural and economic development, although the amount was not mentioned. Under intense pressure, the liberation movement abandoned radical land reforms in favour of the 'willing seller willing buyer', market-bound land acquisition process (Moyo 1994).

The Patriotic Front made it clear to the British that the Lancaster House Agreement was not workable. The clause that protected the white farmers defeated the whole process of the liberation war whose main aim was to redress the land question. Tshuma (1997) argues that the ideology of property as a human right had a hollow ring in the Zimbabwean context where people had been dispossessed of their land for the benefit of settlers. Riddel (1980) suggests that critics of the Lancaster House Constitution argue that the proposals that were stipulated in this constitution were meant to maintain the status quo rather than address the national problem of land.

Those whose land had been dispossessed by the colonial powers were constrained from repossessing what rightly belonged to them. Tshuma (1997:67) concludes by stating, 'The majority of blacks who were dispossessed of their land by the colonial state and thereafter denied the right to own land were further restricted in what they could do with state power to remedy the social injustice'. Only underutilised land could be compulsorily acquired for agricultural purposes and, in that event, the acquiring authority had to pay prompt and adequate compensation, with access to courts being guaranteed in disputes arising from the land acquisition. The acquiring authority was required to give reasonable intention to acquire the property. Both Zimbabweans and non-Zimbabweans were free to remit money paid by way of compensation to

any country of their choice. This would be entrenched for 10 years, during which period only a 100 per cent parliamentary majority could amend it. The whites, numbering about a quarter of a million were guaranteed 20 per cent of the House of Assembly seats and 25 per cent of the senate seats, while about 7 million blacks had only 80 per cent and 7 per cent of the seats respectively. This provision could only be altered with a one hundred percent consent within the first seven years and with a three-quarters vote in the next three years. This perpetuated racial inequality that had been a cornerstone of colonialism (Tshuma 1997). These restrictions on the new government were going to affect the pace of the resettlement programme, and in the absence of financial assistance from donors, for the purchase of land, expectations of the poor and landless blacks would not be realised for quite some time.

Change of Power Politics

After independence there was change of power from the white settlers to the African elite. Scholtz (2004:25) summarises what transpired in 1980 in the following statement:

White race was no longer the criterion for access to power and wealth. The tiny white elite was replaced by a tiny white and black elite. The Blacks in this elite of riches were preponderantly those few men and women who had either directed the war from the top floor of ZANLA Headquarters in Central Maputo or been away acquiring degrees in Britain or the United States.

The major points that are highlighted in the quotation are that power was moved from the white ruling elite to a black elite. It is also clear that the majority of the freedom fighters were sidelined and did not benefit economically from the gains of independence immediately after independence, as a result a number of them died as paupers. Some of the nationalists who had spent most of time doing administrative jobs outside the country were benefiting at the expense of the freedom fighters.

The peasants and farm workers continued to live in areas they had been moved to by settler regime. After independence a number of notable strides were observed in the agricultural sector. The production of maize, cotton and small grains by peasants backed by state support through the provision of subsidies investments and marketing infrastructure dramatically improved.

At independence the former freedom fighters were sent to assembly points. Some people who had lived as refugees in Botswana, Zambia and Mozambique also returned to Zimbabwe. Some of the youths who had been trained in the

operational areas, and were strictly not former freedom fighters, also went to the assembly points. One of the problems that resulted in the movement of trained war veterans and refugees was that some refugees became imposters who pretended to be former freedom fighters. It is against this background that the land redistribution programme was implemented.

Socio-economic and Political Conditions in the First Decade of Independence 1980–1990

After the end of the long and bitter war in 1980, the Prime Minister Robert Mugabe announced the policy of national reconciliation. The major aim was to unite the different groups that had fought against each other so that they could now work together for the benefit of the nation. Zimbabwe was accepted as a member of the international community; thus funding from the international community was readily available. Although the government stated that it was going to follow a socialist philosophy, in practice a dual agricultural policy was maintained that practiced both commercial and communal agriculture. This was the context in which the first phase of land resettlement programme was implemented (Rukuni 2006).

Zimbabwe received a bumper harvest in the 1980/81 agricultural season, and the economy grew by 11 per cent in 1980 and 15 per cent in 1981 (Rukuni 2006). The major thrust was the transformation of the infrastructure so that it could improve the lives of the majority who had been marginalised over the past several decades. There was a deliberate policy to develop and expand education, health and other social services so that the black majority would benefit.

Reform of Agricultural Institutions

Immediately after independence a number of reforms were instituted in the agricultural sector. There was the merger of separate agricultural institutions that had been organised on racial lines. Rukuni (2006) suggests that the other restructuring involved the extension of credit facilities to the majority of blacks. Marketing facilities were also extended to rural areas where the majority of people were practicing agriculture. The major aim was to ensure that it would be easier for the farmers to access markets nearer their homes. Whilst most of these changes were welcome and contributed to the development of the country and did improve the lives of the Zimbabwean majority, there were limitations that were caused by the provisions of the Lancaster House Constitution.

The majority of the Africans remained in the communal areas whose soils were barren, rainfall poor and climate generally not conducive for crop farming. The peasants, farm workers and urban workers were keen to be resettled into the more productive lands that were occupied by the white commercial farmers. Table 3.6 summarises the economic policy followed by the Zimbabwean government from 1991 to 2004, part of the period when the land resettlement programmes were implemented.

Table 3.6: Government Economic Policy 1980 to 2006

Period	Policy Regime	Features	Impact
1991 – 1995	Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Market processes through removal of controls 2. Devaluation of the Zimbabwean dollar 3. Export promotion programmes 4. Proactive investment policies 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Healthy balance of payments, more external finance to support the productive sector 2. Diminished exports and higher imports offset by donor financing
1998 – 2000	Zimbabwe Programme for Economic and Social Transformation (ZIMPREST)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Continuation of the ESAP prescription with mitigation measures of the adverse effects 2. Reduction of budget deficit 3. Control inflation 4. Social transformation 5. International cooperation 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Never implemented since IMF and World Bank indicated that targets were not met 2. Stalled negotiations over land reform funding with the British 3. Steep deterioration of economy

Period	Policy Regime	Features	Impact
2000 – 2002	Millennium Economic Recovery Programme (MERP)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Restoring micro –economic stability 2. Controlling inflation 3. Capital expenditure and social services 4. Enhanced infrastructure development 5. Restore international cooperation 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Programme was overtaken by events when there was no positive response from donors and multinational institutions 2. Decline of real wages and no growth in GDP 3. High unemployment
2003 – 2004	National Economic Recovery Programme (NERP)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Biased towards agriculture. 2. Subsidies in the agricultural sector. 3. Support of the informal sector. 4. Combating HIV and AIDS 5. De-racialising the economic sectors 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Targets have not been met and continued economic meltdown of the country on all indicators (increased poverty levels, high unemployment, lack of foreign currency exchange and unserviced international debts)
2004 – 2006	Monetary policy statement	Government seeks to resuscitate the economy through clean-up of the financial sector, support to agricultural recovery and anti corruption blitz	Signs of economic recovery as inflation decreases from a high of 622 per cent by November 2003 to 326 per cent by August 2004

Sources: *Government of Zimbabwe (1998, 2000); UNECA (2003) and CSO (2002)*

The Economic Background at Independence

It is important to look at the economic conditions that prevailed in the post-independence era. The working class is the section of the population that is most affected by changes in the economy. The state of the economy in many cases determines whether they can continue in employment and stay in the urban areas, mines or commercial farms or are forced to go back to their rural homes, to eke out a living on the land. Outlined below is a synopsis of the performance of the economy as it affected the workers and ultimately the demand for land.

Soon after independence, the Government of Zimbabwe embarked on heavy spending on social services like health, education as well as on subsidies for small-scale farmers and parastatals. Although this had positive effects on social services, it resulted in an increase in public expenditure and had the effect of crowding out private spending and fuelling inflation and unemployment. In 1991, the Government of Zimbabwe adopted the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) which was to run for five years (1991-1995). The aim of this programme was to promote economic growth and reduce poverty, unemployment and social spending. However, the programme had serious adverse effects on the economy. It resulted in the closure of many businesses and retrenchment of both skilled and unskilled manpower in the private and public sectors. There were also general price increases and deterioration in the provision of social services. Some of the retrenched workers remained in urban areas and joined the informal sector. The majority of these were involved in cross-border trading and foreign currency dealing. In 2005, the government embarked on Operation *Murambatsvina* (Operation Cleanup and Restore Order) in which shacks and other buildings which had been constructed without following the city council's laid down regulations were pulled down. Most urban people were homeless and had to go back to rural areas, thereby putting more pressure on the already limited resources like land in rural areas. It is against this background that the FTLRP was implemented.

Conclusion

From a historical perspective there is no doubt that Zimbabwe's land problems are rooted in the racial land allocation policy practiced by the settler governments where white settlers were given fertile productive land while Africans were driven to poor unproductive reserves. The disparities in land allocation and settlement set the stage for the land conflicts in Zimbabwe. These disparities formed the basis for land reform and redistribution as discussed in the next chapter.

4

Land Reform Programme

Introduction

This chapter discusses land issues in southern Africa in general, and in Zimbabwe in particular. At independence most African states with settler white farmers inherited a skewed land distribution in favour of the white commercial farmers. Countries like Namibia and South Africa, among others, embarked on some land redistribution programmes in a bid to reduce the imbalances in the distribution of land and to reduce poverty through empowering the indigenous people. When the German government occupied the land of Namibia their focus was on making use of the land resources. Tapscott (1994) notes that at independence, some 45 per cent of the total land area and 74 per cent of the potentially arable land was owned by less than four thousand one hundred people, mainly white commercial farmers, who comprised less than 0.2 per cent of the total population. It should be noted that about 40 per cent of land in Namibia is commercial, surveyed and fenced and is overwhelmingly in the hands of a white minority (Van Donge, Eiseb and Mosimane 2005). According to the same authors, 45 per cent of the Namibian population lives in about 7 per cent of the territory's surface, a clear indication that there is overcrowding and pressure on resources. The land question in Namibia centres around two important issues, firstly, individual claims are emerging in communal areas as rich farmers fence land which is threatening access to land by the poor. The government of Namibia has thus removed authority and power over land from the local traditional leaders (Van Donge et al 2005).

Secondly, the government of Namibia introduced a market-led land reform dictated by the 'willing seller willing buyer' principle (Harring et al 2002). It was agreed that historical claims were not to be entertained, and, as a result, the government started purchasing land to resettle the landless indigenous people. However, the rate of land acquisition has negatively impacted on Namibia's land reform programme (Tapscott 1994). In addition, some of the farms designated for sale to government were in marginal agricultural areas. Few black nationalists have been willing or able to buy the land at commercial rates. The willing buyer willing seller principle slowed the land reform process (Tapscott 1994).

The history of the land issue in South Africa followed a pattern similar to that of Zimbabwe. The ANC was founded in 1911 in response to what became the Land Act of 1913. From then on, the pressure groups and political parties including the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union and the South African Communist Party spearheaded the struggle for land. The ANC committed itself to land redistribution through the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) to address injustices of the apartheid era. The aim of the programme was to 'supply residential and productive land to the poorest section of the rural population and aspirant farmers'. In practice, the land reform programme rested on two pillars, namely, 'restitution', i.e. establishing legal channels for claims of, return of compensation for land lost through illegal means; and 'redistribution'- i.e. where the government would help aspirant farmers to buy land on a willing buyer willing seller basis. A third pillar, namely, the reform of land tenure was added to regulate evictions of labour tenants. In this respect, the 1997 Extension of Security of Tenure Act was passed. The government had in mind a policy that would contribute to reconciliation, stability, growth and development in an equitable and sustainable manner.

The Restitution of Land Rights Act 22 was passed in 1994, and the Land Claims Court constituted by 1995. By April 1997, some 14,898 claims had been lodged. In order to speed up processing, the Restitution of Land Rights Amendment Bill was passed in 1997. At the end of 2001, less than 2 per cent of the land had changed hands from the whites to the indigenous through the land reform programme. Of the 68,878 restitution claims, only 12,678 had been settled, a clear indication of the slow pace of the land reforms. By 31 March 1999, about 480,400 hectares had been transferred to 45,454 households, against a target of 25.5 million hectares specified in the RDC. Another interesting feature was the Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development programme (LRAD) of 2001 which targeted full-time farmers and required beneficiaries to pay R5,000, effectively excluding the poor majority. The market-based willing

seller willing buyer approach to land reform in South Africa is constrained by provisions of the constitution (Section 25 (5) which requires the state to implement land reform within its available resources. Considering that the Department of Land Affairs gets about one per cent of national expenditure, the pace is bound to be slow, just as it was in the Zimbabwean experience.

Given the above examples, the chapter looks at the Zimbabwean Land Reform programme, focusing on its goals, objectives, models, achievements and failures. It also highlights the different legislations that gave birth to the land reform exercise. The first phase of the land reform is covered by the period 1980 to 1998. This came about as a result of the Lancaster House Agreement. As noted in Chapter Three, the liberation struggle was fought as a result of dissatisfaction on the part of the indigenous Zimbabweans who lost good fertile land to white settlers.

Basis for Land Reform Programmes

At independence, Zimbabwe inherited a racially-skewed agricultural land ownership pattern with 45 per cent of the agricultural land being occupied by white commercial farmers who were less than one per cent of the total population (Ministry of Lands, Land Reform and Resettlement 2003). The same report states that 75 per cent of the white-owned land was in the high-rainfall areas, making the rest of the indigenous Zimbabweans occupy marginal areas that were prone to drought. Agrarian reform in Zimbabwe therefore centres on land reform where the systematic dispossession and alienation of the land from the indigenous people during the period of colonial rule, are adequately addressed. It is this skewed distribution that formed the basis for the land reform in Zimbabwe with different objectives as set by the new government. It is interesting to note that during the colonial era, the roles of traditional leaders in the management of natural resources were removed and replaced with modern state-controlled institutions. Vudzijena (1998) states that the local people were being gradually alienated from their cultural, spiritual and governance aspirations. This shook the communal-based natural resource management systems. There was the replacement of indigenous knowledge systems with modern ways of managing the environment. However, recent trends have shown that there is need for indigenous knowledge systems and, hence, these management tools are now being used in combination. In any environmental management programme, there is need to involve local communities for the sustainable use and management of natural resources, hence the need to incorporate indigenous knowledge systems which have a bottom-up approach and are more acceptable.

There was therefore need to give back the rights of the black majority in the management for their resources, hence the need to redress this imbalance and bring sanity to the communal management of natural resources.

It should be noted that economies of African countries, Zimbabwe in particular, depend on agriculture. It therefore follows that the main livelihood strategies for these communities revolve around farming – whether crop or livestock production. It is thus important to look at access to land so that the local people can benefit from this resource which enables them to practice their agricultural activities. It is clear that any empowering process would increase access to the means of production which in the context of this study is land. It is justified for the government of Zimbabwe to redistribute land to the landless by expropriating land from the white minority. It is these few whites who were controlling the economy, a fact that proves beyond any reasonable doubt that the economy is in the land. The white colonial masters understood the role played by land in the development process of the Zimbabwean economy and thus targeted key resources like land. If one is to give a fair judgement, there is need to redistribute this finite resource so as to empower the indigenous farmers.

Goals of the Land Reform Programme

Agrarian reform in Zimbabwe centres on land reforms which seek to address the imbalance in land ownership fostered by the colonial regime. The reform programme includes restructuring of access to land and an overall transformation of the existing farming systems, institutions and structures (Ministry of Lands 2003). The goals of the agrarian reforms include improving access to markets, credit, training and social developmental economic amenities (Ministry of Lands 2003; Tshuma 1997; Lebert 2003). The reform programme also seeks to enhance agricultural productivity, leading to industrial and economic empowerment and macro-economic growth in the long run. Lebert (2003) goes on to state that the agrarian reform aims at creating political stability and an acceptable property rights regime, promote economic growth through wider equity and efficiency gained from land redistribution. The programme seeks to promote national food security, self-sufficiency and agricultural development through labour-intensive small farmer production, optimal land productivity and returns to capital invested. It should be noted that the agrarian reform programme was targeted at the landless, war veterans, the poor and commercial farm workers. It is clear that the overall objective was to empower the indigenous people and also to provide the necessary inputs and ingredients for the improvement of the local majority. The scholars cited agree on one important theme, ‘the reversals’ of the

unfair distribution of land under the white settler administration. The need to boost production so as to promote national food security has implications on the services that are to be made available for farmers and this research sought to pinpoint the opportunities and challenges faced by the resettled farmers in their endeavour to provide for the nation and achieve the goal of national food security.

Resettlement Programme Targets

After the launch of the resettlement programme in September 1980, targets were set to guide the whole process. The first target was to resettle 18,000 peasant families on 1.1 million hectares of land from the white agrarian bourgeoisie (Tshuma 1997; Lebert 2003). This was to be achieved over a period of three years. This figure was, however, increased to 54,000 families over a period of three years. The progress was slow, with only 64,000 families resettled by the end of January 1982 (Tshuma 1997). The target was again raised to 162,000 families to be resettled over 9 million hectares between 1982 and 1985 (Tshuma 1997). By 1985, only 35,000 families had been resettled, which indicated that the resettlement process was marred by resistance. The first five-year National Development Plan (1986-1990) came up with a target of 15,000 families per year. Tshuma (1997) notes that by 1990 only 52,000 families had been resettled on 2,847,102 hectares of land. The resettlement phase was set to follow the strategies and models stated below.

Resettlement Models

Model A

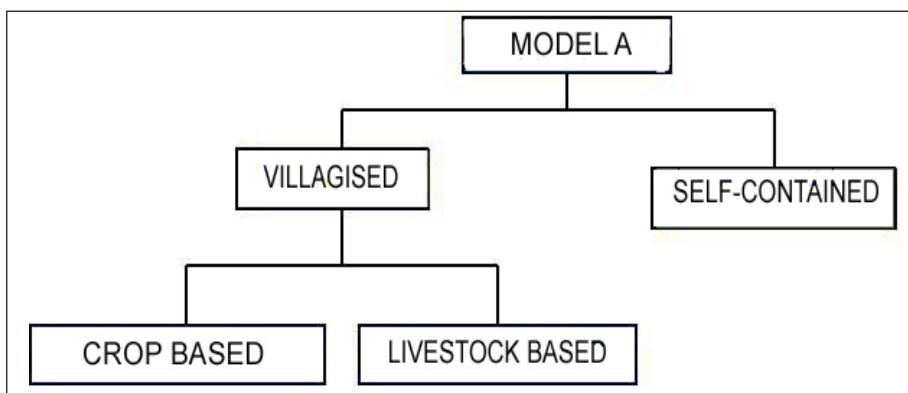
The main objective of this model was to relieve land pressure in overpopulated areas while at the same time maintaining the social and cultural fabric of the settlers by, as much as possible, settling households with common origins, i.e. originating from the same village. The aim was also to extend and improve the base for productive agriculture in the peasant farming sector and to provide basic social and infrastructural services which facilitate the growth of a new, cohesive society. It also sought to provide an administrative system for the social management of the new settlers and to eliminate squatting and other disorderly settlements in both urban and rural environments (Ministry of Lands 2003). The gross amount of land allocated per settler for each given natural agro-ecological zone was basically the same for the villagised or the self-contained model.

The target group for the villagised model was the landless peasants in the communal areas who form the majority among the land-hungry. Approximately 20 per cent of all resettlement stands under this model were reserved for war veterans (Ministry of Lands 2003). Under this model, settlers were allocated individual residential and arable plots, but they owned grazing land, woodlots, water points and other biodiversity resources communally. The land is owned in trust by the president and settlers operate under communal tenure systems having only usufruct rights over the land. The targeted groups got 3-5 hectares of arable and common grazing land. The government of Zimbabwe supported these farmers with the following services:

- i) A borehole per village of 20-25 families;
- ii) A clinic for 500 families;
- iii) A dip tank for 1,400 herds of cattle;
- iv) A primary school for every 20 families;
- v) Scheme boundary and village woodlot fencing material for all projects;
- vi) A decent housing unit per household through the Rural Housing Programme Loan Fund; and
- vii) A Blair toilet per household.

It should be noted that this form of assistance by the government has been realised in varying degrees. Model A is divided into two models which are A1 and A2. Model A1 is subdivided into two variants which are self-contained units and Three-Tier models. Figure 4.1 is a diagrammatic representation of Model A1.

Figure 4.1: Structure of Model A1



Self-Contained Units

The main objectives of this resettlement model were:

- i) To relieve land pressure in overpopulated areas;
- ii) To extend and improve the base for productive agriculture in the peasant farming sector;
- iii) To provide basic social and infrastructural services which facilitate the growth of a new cohesive society;
- iv) To provide an administration system for the social management of the new settlers; and
- v) To provide for the conservation of natural resources.

The target for this model was the landless peasants in the communal areas, with 20 per cent of the land being reserved for war veterans. Under this variant, settlers were given individual stands in a village with each farmer getting a self-contained subdivision for all land uses – that is grazing, arable, residential, woodlot, among others. The tenure system is a 99-year lease with the option to purchase accruing to approved leases after a ten-year period. Basic infrastructure was provided in this variant.

Three-Tier Model

It should be noted that Zimbabwe is divided into dry and wet regions. This means that farming practices differ with the type of region. This model was meant for dry regions where cattle ranching is the major focus. The objectives of this model were:

- i) To provide land for commercial grazing and thus increase the communal herd; and
- ii) To recognise communal areas in line with the three-tier structure of the model.

Government bought land and divided it into three tiers that include the following:

- i) Land reserved for residential, arable and social services like schools;
- ii) Second tier known as the near grazing area was reserved for grazing of animals kept for day-to-day use like draught power; and
- iii) The third tier was reserved for grazing of the commercial animals.

The target was overcrowded communal areas and 20 per cent of the land was reserved for war veterans. The settlers in this model are under a communal tenure system. The services provided were like those in model A, showing that the government was playing a crucial role in the provision of services in these resettlement areas.

Model A2 (Commercial Farm Settlement Scheme)

Vudzijena (1998) and Ministry of Lands (2003) argue that this model was implemented in terms of the Agricultural Land Settlement Act (Chapter 20:01) that is administered by the Ministry of Lands, Land Reform and Resettlement. They state that this model was aimed at increasing the participation of black indigenous farmers in commercial farming through the provision of easier access to land and infrastructure on full cost recovery basis. The Ministry of Lands (2003) goes on to state that this model was implemented following principles mentioned below:

- Based on full cost recovery;
- Based on 99-year lease with option to purchase;
- Lease agreement provides for rent to buy; and
- Beneficiaries need to show proof of experience and/or resource availability/entrepreneurship.

Objectives of Model A2

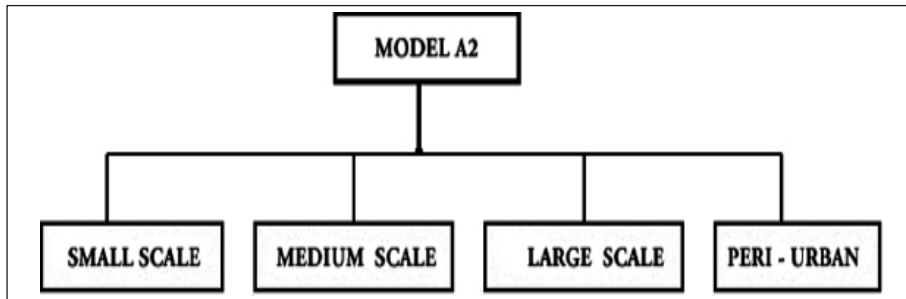
Many scholars like Vudzijena (1998), Lebert (2003) and Ministry of Lands (2003) concur on the objectives of such a model. They agree that this model had the following five objectives:

- To create a cadre of black indigenous farmers;
- To open access to small, medium and large-scale commercial farming to black indigenous farmers;
- To break the gap between white and black commercial farmers;
- To facilitate access to input support for commercial agriculture by indigenous farmers; and
- To empower black entrepreneurs in the economy of Zimbabwe.

The Ministry of Lands (2003) further explains that it was envisaged that the small, medium and large-scale commercial farmers would engage in either crop or livestock farming or a combination. The report goes on to state that the peri-urban farmers were expected to engage in horticulture, market gardening or crop farming. It is clear from the description above that this model, introduced in 1996, had the black empowerment principle in its approach. One can, therefore, argue that this model was not only looking at rural areas but also urban dwellers; proving that the aim was to empower the black majority irrespective of where they were coming from. The approach did not give special treatment to war veterans but considered every Zimbabwean

who wanted to venture into commercial farming. The structure of this model, as indicated in Figure 4.2, suggests that the approach was for every black farmer whether on a small scale or on large scale. The model thus sought to empower the black majority.

Figure 4.2: Variants of Model A2 in Zimbabwe



Source: Ministry of Lands, Land Reform and Resettlement (1999).

Model B

The interest here was on farms suitable for specialised enterprises that could be run as a unit by co-operative groups on business lines. Vudzijena (1998) states that all facilities are used collectively but there are individual stands of 0.5 hectares. The report goes on to note that tenure system under this model is represented by 99-year leases with the option to purchase after a period of 10 years. However, the option to purchase is based on the level of productivity, and in 1980 the target was \$1,000 Zimbabwe dollars as share capital.

Model C

This model involved intensive resettlement of beneficiaries around a core estate. It is noted by Vudzijena (1998) that the Agricultural and Rural Development Authority (ARDA) and out-growers run a central core estate. This estate supplies essential services to the settlers such as mechanical draught power, transportation of produce and inputs in bulk, production of seedlings for specialised crops, crop processing and marketing, to mention but a few. These services are provided to the settlers at a cost. Lebert (2003) goes on to mention that cropping land within this scheme was allocated on an individual basis with settlers also gaining access to grazing land which, is managed communally.

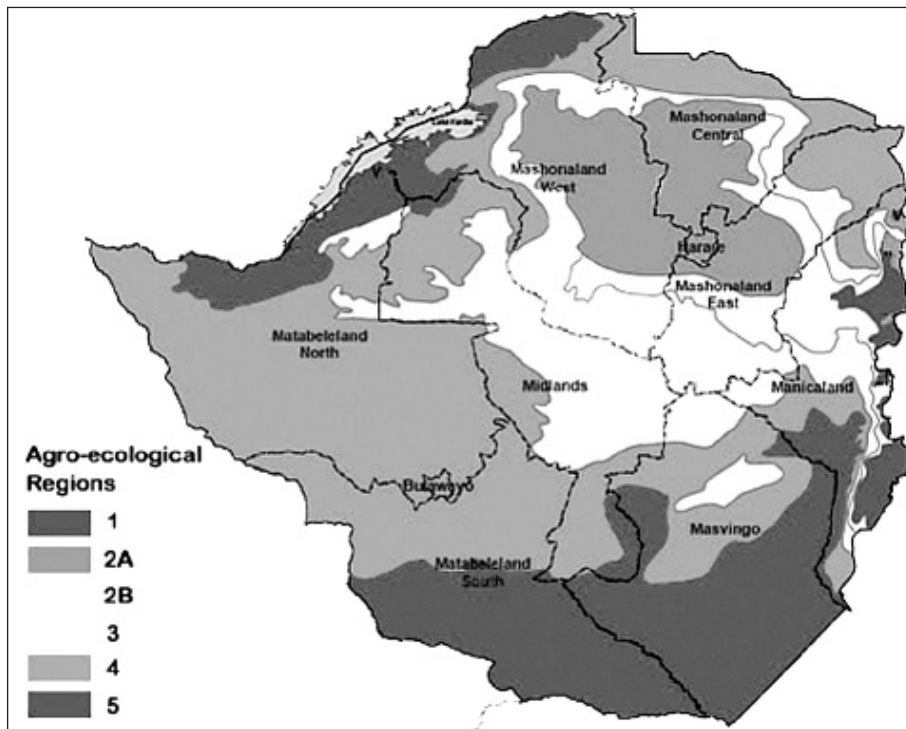
Model D (Commercial Grazing for Communal Areas)

This model was implemented in the arid regions of southern parts of Zimbabwe. Lebert (2003) states that commercial ranches were purchased next to communal areas and thereby co-existed side-by-side. He goes on to mention that livestock were purchased from these neighbouring trust areas and allowed to fatten on the ranches before being sold. The thinking, according to Lebert (2003), was that communal farmers would be able to reduce grazing pressure on communal lands. Thus the target group for this model were the communal areas in the dry southern regions of Zimbabwe.

The first phase of the land reform programme in Zimbabwe was guided by these models. These models had varied levels of success but their goal was to try and improve the skewed land distribution and to empower the Zimbabwean majority.

Agro-ecological Regions

Zimbabwe is a landlocked country in Southern Africa. The country is subdivided into five agro-ecological zones with different climatic conditions (refer to Map 4.1). It should be noted that climate is the determining factor in the categorisation of the country into agro-ecological regions. However, other factors like edaphic factors play an important role in determining the type of agricultural activities to be practised within each region. Rainfall reliability decreases from north to south and also from east to west. Only 37 per cent of the country receives rainfall considered adequate for agriculture (Rukuni 2006).

Figure 4.3: Zimbabwe's Ecological Regions

Agro-ecological Region 1

This region occupies 1.56 per cent of Zimbabwean land. It is located in the eastern parts of Manicaland province bordering Mozambique. The region receives an annual rainfall of 1,000mm or more per year with some rain in all the months of the year due to the effects of relief high-rise mountains promoting orographic rainfall. The temperatures are relatively low and the region is suitable for intensive and diversified farming. Important agricultural activities include the production of coffee, tea, deciduous fruits, market gardening (potatoes, peas, and other vegetables) and dairy farming. Flowers are grown for export. The country's timber production is in this region. The region is characterised by high altitudes, steep slopes and rich volcanic soils which are good for tea and coffee production.

Agro-ecological Region 2

This region covers 18.68 per cent of Zimbabwean land. It is located in the middle of the country. The region extends over three provinces, which are Mashonaland East, Mashonaland Central and Mashonaland West. It receives reliable rainfall which ranges from 700 – 1,050 mm per year with relatively high temperatures. The region is subject to seasonal droughts. This is the major crop farming area of Zimbabwe with 75 – 80 per cent of farming area planted with crops. In this region important dry land crops that are planted include tobacco, maize, cotton, wheat and soya beans. The crops are planted from November to March. Horticulture is also practiced in this region. There is a sizeable land that is under irrigation and is concentrated in the months between May and September and the crops under irrigation include seed maize and barley tobacco.

Agro-ecological Region 3

This region comprises 17.43 per cent area of Zimbabwe and accounts for 15 per cent of arable land. Annual rainfall ranges from 500-750 mm and is characterised by mid-season droughts. The region is suitable for the production of drought-tolerant crops such as cotton and sorghum. It is also suitable for raising beef cattle. In this region, maize is grown as the staple crop, while sunflower and groundnuts are grown as cash crops.

Agro-ecological Region 4

The region covers approximately 33.03 per cent of the area of Zimbabwe. The amount of rainfall received in this region ranges from 450-600 mm annually with frequent droughts. There is some crop production in this region but focus is on dryland crops such as maize, millet, sorghum, legumes and cotton. Due to low amounts of rainfall, periodic seasonal droughts and severe dry spells are common during the rainy season. Crop production is therefore risky except in certain very favourable localities, where limited drought-resistant crops are grown as a sideline production activity. Farming is based on livestock and drought-resistant fodder crops.

Agro-ecological Region 5

The region comprises 26.2 per cent of the area of Zimbabwe. This region covers the low veld areas below 900 feet above sea-level in both the north and south of the country. In this region rainfall is less than 600 mm and is

very erratic. Although agro-ecological zone five receives reasonable rainfall in the northern part of Zimbabwe along the Zambezi River, its uneven topography and poor soils make it unsuitable for crop production. Where crop production is practiced, the focus is on dryland crops which include maize, millet, sorghum, legumes, and cotton. Crops such as sugarcane and wheat are produced under irrigation around Chiredzi, Hippo Valley and Triangle estates in the south-eastern parts of the country. Due to low amounts of rainfall received, it is risky to grow crops under dry-land farming. In this region, cattle and game ranching are the recommended farming activities.

Remainder: The remaining 3.1 per cent of land is unsuitable for any form of agricultural use.

Management of Areas of Origin

The land reform process in the early 1980s had its merits and demerits. The Zimbabwean government had to assess its reform programme against set goals and objectives. In 1985 the government realised that moving people from overpopulated areas was not sufficient to promote rural livelihoods (Vudzijena 1998). It was agreed that the remaining communal areas needed to be developed on a planned basis. Thus the Communal Land Area Reorganisation Programme was implemented simultaneously with the resettlement programme. In the first five-year National Development Plan (1986-1991), Agritex was mandated to reorganise and replan villages for sustainable development. However, according to Vudzijena (1998), the programme did not achieve the intended goals due to the following constraints:

- i) The new village boundaries created after 1984 did not coincide with the formally recognised traditional village boundaries. There was therefore no social cohesion necessary for collective resource management.
- ii) The programme policy objectives and targets were not made public and local implementation institutions lacked clear guidelines.
- iii) This was viewed by the community as an imposition from the top.
- iv) The implementation of completed village plans was slowed down due to financial constraints.

Land Reform Changes

The Communal Land Act of 1981

In 1981, the Communal Land Act was changed and this saw the shifting of authority over Zimbabwean land from traditional rulers to local authorities. The shift saw the transformation of Tribal Trust lands into Communal Areas. This led to resistance because the resettlement programme was being imposed on the local people without consulting their local leaders (Vudzijena 1998). This had negative impacts on the management of the environment.

Land Acquisition Act of 1985

As pointed earlier, the resettlement programme was based on the ‘willing buyer willing seller’ principle as dictated by the Lancaster House Agreement. This, however, slowed down the resettlement programme because the government of Zimbabwe had no power to seize land by force. Thus this Act came into existence, giving the Zimbabwean government first preference to purchase excess land for redistribution. Tshuma (1997) states that a person wishing to sell land was enjoined to offer it to the Minister of State before offering it to any other person. The Act also showed a detailed procedure for land acquisition as follows:

- i) Compulsory acquisition was to be initiated by the publication of a preliminary notice which had to be served on all interested parties;
- ii) Had to describe the nature and extent of the land to be acquired;
- iii) State the purposes for which it was acquired;
- iv) Had to call upon interested parties who disputed the acquisition to lodge their objections with the authority within 30 days of publication of the notice; and
- v) Required to call upon any person wishing to claim compensation to submit a claim (Tshuma 1997).

Chitsike (2003) echoes the same sentiments and notes that the Act allowed the government the right of first refusal on all large-scale commercial farms put up for sale. He, however, mentions that the provisions of the 1980 constitution were retained. Tshuma (1997) goes on to argue that the Act required the court to decide on fair compensation to be paid to the claimant. This meant that the State had to pay compensation for any land compulsorily acquired. Also under this Act, a Derelict Lands Board was established and this was to determine whether land was derelict or not (Tshuma 1997). The Act gave the President powers to acquire derelict land without paying compensation. In terms of acquisition of under-utilised land, the

state had to compensate in foreign currency and this proved to be a difficult option for the government which was still faced with other challenges financially (Tshuma 1997). Thus the only advantage that was brought about by this Act was that the government was given first preference in terms of purchasing land available on the market. Thus the Act did not help the state financially and compensation needed to be paid. Tshuma (1997) concludes by arguing that many offers of land which were made to the state in terms of the Act were not accepted and that the 'willing seller willing buyer' concept did not give the state the freedom to purchase land in large tracts to facilitate planning. He further argues that attempts to introduce a system of land designation which would have given the state power to designate large tracts of land for acquisition were abandoned during debates on the Land Acquisition Bill when it was realised that the proposed procedure would have contravened the constitution. Tshuma (1997) also comments that the first priority given to the state may have facilitated the acquisition tendencies of government ministers and senior civil servants who knew which land was on offer. This is further supported by Lebert (2003) who argues that the Act had limited impact in that the government had no money to compensate landowners.

National Land Policy of 1990

After realising the conditions and the way the resettlement programme was carried out in the first ten years, the land reform objectives were revised to suit the desires of the local indigenous people. According to Chitsike (2003), the National Land Policy of 1990 came with the following objectives:

- i) To resettle deserving and landless people;
- ii) To extend and improve the base of productive agriculture in the small-scale farming sector through the provision of training and extension for the promotion of good husbandry and social development;
- iii) To alleviate population pressure in the communal areas through an integrated linkage between Resettlement and Communal Area reorganisation and development. This was discussed earlier after realising that the land resettlement programme needed to go hand-in-glove with the reorganisation of areas of origin;
- iv) To improve the standard of living of the largest and previously disadvantaged sector of the population through the provision of infrastructure and services and the execution of a resettlement programme that will ensure the attainment of sufficiently high levels of income; and
- vi) Land to be acquired was revised to 8.3 million hectares from the revised 1982 figure of 9 million hectares. The number of beneficiaries was maintained at 162,000 families.

The government also introduced the land tax to encourage the proper use of land and avoid speculation. The government was also interested in controlling subdivisions of land, citing that white settlers were dividing land for speculative rather than genuine agricultural purposes (Chitsike 2003). It is clear that white settlers were selling land at high prices, making it difficult for the government to purchase it, since the government had other commitments like rebuilding the nation. Thus more and more amendments were introduced in a bid to acquire more land.

The Constitutional Amendment Number 30 of 1990

In December 1990, the Parliament of Zimbabwe enacted the Constitution of Zimbabwe Amendment Act Number 30 of 1990. Tshuma (1998) states that it was agreed to continue with compulsory acquisition of land, but to be authorised by law. Prior to this amendment there was only compulsory acquisition of under-utilised land for settlement for agricultural purposes. In this constitutional amendment, the government was allowed to compulsorily acquire any land including that which was inefficiently used (Chitsike 2003; Tshuma 1998). The prompt and adequate compensation requirement was replaced with the requirement that the acquiring authority should pay fair compensation for the acquisition before or within a reasonable time after acquiring the property. There were principles which were set for the acquiring authority to follow and these included:

- i) Specify the principles upon which compensation for land acquisition is to be determined and the manner in which it is to be paid;
- ii) To fix the amount payable and the period within which it shall be paid; and
- iii) The law which lays down the principles upon which compensation is payable cannot be questioned by any court on the grounds that the compensation provided is not fair (Tshuma 1998).

It should be noted that earlier compensation was in foreign currency and that it was to be remitted out of Zimbabwe. This condition was cancelled in the Constitutional Amendment Number 30 of 1990. Chitsike (2003) states that payment for land acquired was to be in local currency. This, however, faced criticism from the agrarian bourgeoisie, their allies and the judiciary. Tshuma (1998) points out that the issue of compensation was not to be contested in any court of law. In the context of Economic Structural Adjustment Programmes (ESAP), those opposed to the amendment suggested that it would scare away foreign investors. This clearly shows that the government of Zimbabwe was bent on speedy processing of land transfer from the white settlers to the black majority. These factors show that the state was desperate to resettle people

from overpopulated areas but the conditions set by the Lancaster Agreement were proving to be an impediment.

The Land Acquisition Act of 1992

This Act saw the repealing of the ‘willing seller willing buyer’ principle in order to speed up the resettlement programme. The Act empowered the Government of Zimbabwe to acquire land compulsorily with some compensation as determined by the government. Chitsike (2003) adds by noting that a process of land designation was established under which government specialists, farmers’ interest groups and policy makers identified land for acquisition. This, according to Lebert (2003), saw many white farmers taking the government to court in protest against the prices set by the government.

Comments on the First Phase of the Land Reform Programme

Lebert (2003) states that by June 1988 approximately 52,000 households had been resettled on approximately 2.8 million hectares of land acquired by the state for redistribution. This represented about 16 per cent of the commercial farm land at independence. This was a clear indication that not much was done in the first 8 years after independence in terms of giving back land to the indigenous people. The acquisition of land was, however, not evenly distributed as shown in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1: Land Purchased for Resettlement 1980/1981 – 1987/1988

Financial Year	Land (ha)
1980/81	223,196
1981/82	900,196
1982/83	939,925
1983/84	159,866
1984/85	75,058
1985/86	85,167
1986/87	133,515
1987/88	20,319
1988 (total)	2,558,262
1989 (total)	2 713 725

Source: Lebert (2003)

It is clear from the table that there was uneven distribution and this, according to Lebert (2003), has been attributed to:

- i) The period 1980 to 1983 was characterised by massive distribution because most of the white farms were abandoned during the liberation war.
- ii) The period after 1983 saw a decline in the number of farms distributed due to the fact that farmers held on to their productive land and sold off marginal land, and land prices were beginning to increase due to post-war stability.
- iii) The white farmers were obliged to sell their land to the state first and if the government had no money to purchase, a 'no present interest certificate' was issued which was valid for a year. This saw the indigenous elite and senior members of the government acquiring farms through taking advantage of the state's 'no present interest'.
- iv) The Commercial Farmers Union (CFU) played a big role in slowing down the land reform process because it dragged the governments to the courts. The CFU's argument was that rapid land distribution would lead to low export earnings and unemployment.
- v) By 1983 the budget of Zimbabwe was overburdened and there were calls from the World Bank for the government to tighten its land redistribution programme. Government complied and this slowed down the agrarian reform process greatly.
- vi) There was a severe drought in the mid 1980s and settlers returned to communal areas in search of better conditions and the government had to use a lot of its financial resources on drought relief. This made it impossible for government to purchase land for redistribution and thus the state was issuing 'no present interest certificates'.

The Controller and Auditor General Audit of 1993

An audit was carried out in 1993 to try and assess the effectiveness of the land reform programme. Chitsike (2003) gives a summary of the results as follows:

- i) The audit concluded that the programme was well planned in accordance with policies and procedure;
- ii) The programme benefited mostly the rural poor who were landless;
- iii) Concentrated on achieving immediate social and political objectives;
- iv) The standards of living for most settlers in Model A and Model C schemes significantly improved. Income levels increased and settlers had access to clean drinking water, improved sanitation facilities, housing and clinics; and

- v) Standards of living in models B and D were not improved and the models were described as unsuccessful.

The report noted a number of problems which hindered the attainment of desired goals. The report stated that there were 19 government departments involved in the programme which made the coordination of the various stakeholders difficult as each department had its own priorities and objectives. The report also discovered that the political interference in the implementation at all levels led to difficulties in implementing plans. As recorded by Chitsike (2003), the report found out that resettlement officers had insufficient capacity to provide the nature and scale of assistance required by settlers and that extension services were thinly spread. The report also noted that the state failed to get land from regions 1 and 2 in sufficient quantities. All these problems made it impossible for the intended goals to be realised.

However, the land reform programme had managed to secure its positive aspects for the indigenous people. According to Vudzijena (1998), about 70,000 families of the intended 162,000 families or households were resettled on over 3.3 million hectares in 1997. She goes on to say that, over the same period, the communal area population increased by over 200,000 households, implying that the resettlement programme managed to spin off 25 per cent of the population increase. It therefore means that in terms of releasing pressure on communal areas, the resettlement programme failed to meet its target. Land pressure actually increased, leading many scholars to question the achievements of the resettlement programme. Vudzijena (1998) notes that the capacity of the 70,000 settled families to create additional jobs has been questioned since there were reports that in the resettlement areas there were food deficits. It is argued that once there is a deficit, the settlers are not able to employ workers because they might be operating below full capacity.

Some scholars paint an even gloomier picture of the land reform. For example, Kinsey (1996) states that in the 1990s, less than one million hectares (2.47 million acres) were acquired and fewer than 20,000 families were resettled. He goes on to say that much of the land acquired during the first phase was of poor quality and only 19 per cent of resettled land was considered prime. It means, therefore, that fewer than targeted households were resettled and they were resettled on marginal land. The purpose was to empower black indigenous people yet they were resettled on land of poor agricultural value, putting them at a disadvantaged position.

Each resettlement model had its own level of achievement. Chitsike (2003) states that Model A schemes have predominated, accounting for about 3

million hectares of land under the programme and 66,000 settler households. He goes on to say that Model B schemes accounted for about 165,000 hectares of land and 4,200 settler households. Model C was in third position in terms of its contribution, with 800 households on 17,000 hectares of land. Chitsike (2003) adds by noting that the three-tier scheme, which succeeded the Model D scheme, provided 20,000 households in natural regions 4 and 5 with 250,000 hectares of grazing land.

From the arguments above, one can see that the reform process failed to meet the intended goals over the set period. This probably was due to the fact that the reform process in the first phase was controlled by the white settler through the ‘willing seller willing buyer’ principle and not the Zimbabwean majority. Lebert (2003) states that the first phase of the resettlement programme proved that:

- i) The amount, quality, location and cost of land were driven by land holders and their own interests;
- ii) Neither the government nor beneficiaries drove the process in terms of their needs; and
- iii) The state being the key buyer of land distorted the land market through setting parameters in terms of pricing and location.

All this led to poor quality land being made available for redistribution to the Zimbabwean majority. Lebert (2003) concludes by saying that the land offered to the state had been geographically scattered. As a result, moving beneficiaries from communal areas to isolated farms in small groups was both expensive and logistically inefficient. A new and accelerated programme was needed, thus the government introduced Phase Two of the land redistribution programme in 1998.

Moyo (1998) states that under the ‘willing seller willing buyer’ basis the state played a dominant role in acquiring land for the poor and supported resettlement schemes. However, under this agricultural land market transfer, land was still concentrated in the hands of a few white minority and some elite black farmers, and the imbalances persisted showing that the redistribution process was very slow. The adoption of the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) reinforced the market based and induced land reform programme. In other words, the government of Zimbabwe was crippled in its ability to expropriate more land from the large commercial farmers. Thus government’s efforts to help the small-scale farmers and these new beneficiaries were reduced since the government of Zimbabwe’s operations were controlled by the ESAP. Moyo (2005) states that the market mechanisms

for land transfer limited the redistribution efforts in various ways. Firstly, landowners led the identification process and the supply of land to be made available for resettlement while the government of Zimbabwe only bought land that was on offer. Thus the government of Zimbabwe could not choose the land to be distributed. There was therefore no match between supply and demand and also demand from the increasing number of black elite leading to the sky-rocketing of land prices. Moyo (2005) has observed that few peasants or poor working class families and women could afford the high costs. The land reform process during this era failed to meet the high demand. Peasant farmers were forced to invade commercial farming areas because the prices set were too high for their pockets (Moyo 2005). Thus farm occupations counteracted the slow pace of the reform programme under 'willing buyer willing seller' principles. These invasions in the early 1990s were regularised into the market-based land acquisition approach and did not lead into serious and violent invasions as witnessed under Fast Track (Moyo 2005).

Secondly, the coming in of Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) advocated for the reduction in government subsidies. Moyo (2005) states that SAPs led to reduced state support for land resettlement and agriculture, increased retrenchments in towns and people's incomes were heavily eroded. This led to increased demand for land from town-dwellers who had failed to secure sources of livelihood in towns after massive retrenchment which characterised the SAPs era. Moyo (1998) argues that during the 1990s, land occupation expanded in content and form, ranging from illegal access to land to the widespread poaching of natural resources targeting not only private lands but also state and communal lands. Starting in the mid 1980s, the state evicted at an accelerated rate sometimes with violence those deemed to be occupying land illegally in commercial farms, communal lands, national parks and state land (Herbst 1987). This is a clear indication that the land reform process in the 1980s through to the 1990s was filled with frustration on the part of the black majority due to the slow pace of the resettlement programme. The suffering of people was further worsened by the coming in of SAPs which removed all government subsidies on essential services like health and education. The suffering of the indigenous people forced them to look to land as the only source of livelihood.

The indigenous people's predicament was further darkened by the 1992 drought and forced more peasants to demand for land. This led to the government of Zimbabwe to acquire land compulsorily, but this did produce the desired results due to the successful court challenges by landowners throughout the 1990s (Moyo

2005). One may be persuaded to conclude that the developments in the 1990s led to accelerated land invasions which became the main characteristic feature of the land reform programme which began in 2000 under the name 'Fast Track Land Reform Programme'. The rate at which land was being expropriated in the 1980s through to the 1990s frustrated most of the indigenous local people leading to violence and fights for this precious finite resource.

Impacts of the market-driven land reform statistics have been provided to show the changes that took place for those who got land. Kinsey (1999) noted that those who got land gained access to new and related natural resource assets realised improved farm and woodland resource production, incomes and consumption benefits. Moyo (2005) suggests that over 20 years the land beneficiaries tripled their livestock wealth, productivity increased and their overall incomes were five times higher than those in agro potentially similar communal areas.

Policies directing the land reform process were changed and these had repercussions on the demand for land. Moyo (2005) states that the SAPs reduced state support to farm households, and this was exacerbated by the fact that landlessness had grown to 30 per cent as reported by the Rukuni Commission of 1994. The removal of subsidies was also supported by the Commercial Farmers Union (CFU) who did not benefit much from the subsidies. SAPs called for the commercialisation of marketing boards and conversion to purchasers of the last resort whereas private dealers were encouraged to compete (Moyo 2000). All these forces worked to the detriment of the indigenous people who were not in control of the means of production. One of the SAPs' requirements was for the state to reduce its budgets and this also meant a reduction in extension services, subsidies on inputs and credit to smallholders, which along with the depreciation of the Zimbabwe dollar eroded farm incomes. Moyo (2005) argues that these problems, coupled with job losses meant that living standards of the indigenous people were going down. One may safely say that the SAPs led to the reversal of gains made in the agrarian reform process. No wonder the programme was blamed by many African states for the suffering of the people. The criticism against SAPs is also shown by the way African leaders have reacted by saying that 'whether you are suffering from dysentery or malaria IMF will always give quinine'. It is an indication that the programme brought more harm than good in the African setup. Thus the land reform process led by market forces failed to achieve much in reducing poverty.

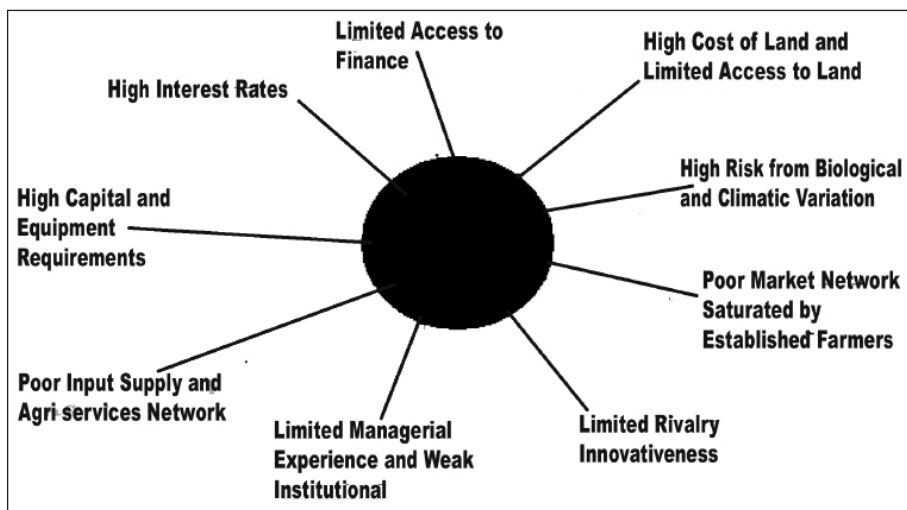
Moyo (2000) states that the integration of smallholders into seed and fertiliser markets controlled by transnational corporations left more and more peasants vulnerable and at the mercy of those corporate giants. The same author goes on to note that the extension of peasant farming on marginal

grazing land increased, together with the introspection of women' casual labour, proving beyond any reasonable doubt that the local peasants had no access to land.

Entry Barriers to the Commercial Agricultural Sector

Most indigenous farmers found it difficult to break into the Commercial Agricultural Sector due to factors highlighted in Figure 4.4.

Figure 4.4: Entry Barriers to the Commercial Agricultural Sector



Source: Ministry of Lands and Resettlement Programme (2003)

Financial Resources

The issues of capitalisation and the problems of credit finance are a major determinant in the success or failure of individual farmers. When farmers have been under-capitalised and where they have resorted to credit financing to fill this gap, the tendency, according to Ministry of Lands and Resettlement Programme (2003), is that farmers are trapped in a vicious circle of poverty.

Ministry of Lands and Resettlement programme (2003) states that Zimbabwe's commercial farming sector is serviced by a developed and regulated financial system. Until its privatisation, the Agricultural Finance Corporation (AFC) (now Agribank) was the only public-lending institution servicing all farmers. Successive colonial governments and institutions only supported large-scale commercial farmers who were only white and neglected

the majority of the people. Thus black commercial farmers entered an already hostile agricultural environment. No specific programme was put in place to support blacks acquiring large-scale commercial farms through the market process. Finance was available from the AFC on regular conditions applicable to all farmers irrespective of race. The emerging indigenous commercial farmers have struggled to maintain their farming operations. Most of them borrowed heavily to acquire the farms and essential durable assets (Ministry of Lands and Resettlement Programme 2003).

In order to acquire and operate a large-scale farm in 1994, an emergent indigenous farmer required on average Z\$1,5 million split into one million for land purchase and Z\$500,000.00 as working capital (Ministry of Lands and Resettlement Programme 2003). AFC inputs credit attracted an interest rate of 27 per cent for communal farms. In 1993 the Ministry of Lands, Agriculture and Water Development estimated that seasonal and land purchase repayment required an average of over Z\$800,000.00 annually, and in such a situation large-scale farmers would only break even at an interest rate of 9 per cent.

Farmers find it difficult to access loans because of the conditions set by financial institutions. These range from collateral requirements, credit worthiness, production performance and the cost of money. Leases and other unclear tenure arrangements are not acceptable as collateral by financial institutions. Low and unsuitable production levels give rise to repayment uncertainty and this leads to defaults (Moyo 1998). As a result, financial institutions limit the amount of money given to emergent farmers by charging prohibitive interest and requesting for collateral. Given these conditions, the farmers tend to operate to maintain basic subsistence. These financial constraints deter farmers from making long-term investments such as capital-intensive production practices to avoid increasing the level of risk (Ministry of Lands and Resettlement Programme 2003).

Most farmers have limited information about available sources of credit, terms of loans and correct structuring of farm debt. They lack knowledge, have poor debt management skills in the unprofitable enterprises and the high cost of borrowing, and tend to finance their capital requirements from own sources (Ministry of Lands and Resettlement Programme 2003). Farmers often reduce credit requirements by reducing inputs use and selecting low cash cost enterprises. Some farmers cut production by reducing areas under production and maintaining high fallow levels to reduce cash requirements. Indigenous farmers, in the absence of public financial institutions which offer concretionary interest rates, have developed a desire to remain debt-free

because of the fear of bankruptcy risk and farm closure. Without adequate credit investments in productivity-augmenting technologies like fertilisers, chemicals and machinery, a farmer is unable to make profit (Ministry of Lands and Resettlement Programme 2003).

The emerging indigenous commercial farmers in Zimbabwe in general have struggled to maintain their farming operations. There was no specific programme to promote and support indigenous people acquiring large-scale commercial farms. Aspiring individuals borrowed heavily to acquire the farms and essential durable assets. In addition, farmers had to borrow seasonal loans for production and to finance durable and productive investments such as dams, infrastructure, fences and tobacco curing facilities. Moyo (1998) argues that some of the indigenous farmers lacked experience in large-scale farming, especially in farm management within the local environment. This has resulted in the lack of meaningful development in terms of land improvement and other investments required to maximise productivity. It is unlikely that government will have adequate funds to finance the indigenous farmers. Efforts should be made to harness funds from the private sector and channel them to the indigenous farmers at preferential rates.

Second Phase of the Pre-Fast Track Land Resettlement Programme

In September 1998 the government launched the second phase of the land reform process. The main objective was to redress and correct inequities in land resource allocations to provide a more efficient and rational structure. Thus, according to the Ministry of Lands and Resettlement (2003), this programme was going to be achieved through:

- Ensuring greater security of tenure to land users;
- Promotion of environmentally sustainable utilisation of land;
- To retain a core of efficient large-scale commercial agricultural producers;
- Transferring some land from the few white farmers to the rest of the population; and
- Promotion of investment in land through capital outlays.

For this phase to go ahead there was need for some changes in the constitution so that the new phase would not be slowed down by the dictates of the restrictive conditions of the previous constitutions.

Land Identification

The identification of land to be acquired for resettlement in the Land Reform and Resettlement Programme Phase II of Pre-Fast Track was guided by the following principles:

- Derelict Land;
- Under-utilised Land;
- Multiple-owned Land;
- Foreign-owned Land; and
- Land near Communal Areas.

These principles were just administrative guidelines to assist land identification committees in carrying out their work. They were neither a legal requirement nor were they conclusive criteria for land identification. The principal goals behind the identification of land for compulsory acquisition were:

- Reducing the extent of the large-scale commercial farm sector from 15.5 million hectares to 6 million hectares;
- To sub-divide the 6 million hectares in the large-scale commercial sector so that farms conform to the Maximum Farm Sizes Regulations (Statutory Instrument 288 of 2000); and
- Introduce an Agricultural Land Tax, which will improve land delivery for re-distribution and resettlement.

Government then did not consider farms on their identification list using the following guidelines:

- Plantation farms engaged in the large-scale production of tea, coffee, timber, citrus fruit, sugarcane, etc;
- Agro-industrial properties involved in the integrated production, processing and/or marketing of poultry, beef and dairy products and seed-multiplication;
- Properties with Export Processing Zone (EPZ) and Zimbabwe Investment Centre (ZIC) permits; and
- Farms belonging to church or mission organizations; and
- Farms acquired and belonging to foreign nationals and are protected by country-to-country agreements.

Policy Guidelines in the Distribution of Land

It should be borne in mind that one of the objectives of land reform was to distribute land equitably to the landless. Therefore this objective shaped the way the reform was to take place and determined the farm sizes. For everyone

to benefit the sizes of land given to beneficiaries were to be small, however, the sizes needed to be viable for effective production. Guidelines were developed by land planners for viable farm sizes on the basis of agro-ecological zones and model type (Moyo 2009). Arguments have been raised against the Fast Track Reform Programme, especially the redistribution of white commercial farms because of the unwarranted fears that these commercial areas would drop in terms of production and would have negative effects on food security and the inflow of foreign currency in the country. Sukume et al (2004) note that the relationship between farm size and level of production has not shown a positive relation. The partitioning of large commercial farms and redistributing them among landless local indigenous people was criticised. However, some scholars argue that there is no need for the alarm. The same scholars go on to give examples of negative relationship between land size and level of production, especially in capitalist farming due to supervision costs associated with hired labour. The fears were just based on assumptions. Hence land planners had to come up with guidelines to promote effective production (Sukume et al 2004).

Moyo et al (2009) state that farm size determination was guided by considerations of viability of the farm size and these included the adequacy of land to enable a competent person to derive a livelihood from making the land or an income adequate to ensure a reasonable standard of living for the person and his entire household. Many scholars have tried to come up with a definition for 'a reasonable standard of living', because if this is not defined, someone's reasonable standard of living may differ from the other's, which would be very subjective. The Government of Australia Land Act (1994) defines farm size as:

The area of grazing or agricultural land that will be adequate to enable a competent person to derive from working the land, according to the use for which the land is suited, an income adequate to ensure a reasonable standard of living for the person, the person's spouse and the dependent children, as well as provide a reserve to meet adverse seasons and the cost of developing and maintaining the land at a sustainable rate of production throughout average seasons....

In this study, the definition by Moyo et al (2009) was used which states that a reasonable standard of living should be one that enables the entire household to provide for its own consumption needs, keep some of the produce in store in case of production stress, be able to trade a portion of the produce to access cash in order to buy other food and non-food items that

are not locally produced, and also be able to afford reasonable healthcare, pay school fees for children and afford transportation costs. Thus allocation and determination of farm size was guided by this principle.

According to Sukume et al (2004) planning guidelines indicate that A1 households were to be allocated farm sizes ranging from 5 to 7 hectares in wetter regions, that is regions 1 to 3, and 10 arable hectares, and at least 30 hectares for grazing in the drier regions. These, according to the guidelines were adequate for effective production at household level on a small scale. These sizes were also justified on the grounds that, under Fast Track, more beneficiaries needed to be allocated land. Under A model, there were four classes of farm sizes, that is: small, medium size, large scale and peri-urban plots. Table 4.2 shows the allocations.

Table 4.2: Farm-size Guidelines for Resettlement

Natural Region	A1 Farm Size(ha)			A2 Farm Size (ha)				Access Difference	
	Arable	Grazing	Total	Small Scale	Medium Scale	Large scale	Peri-Urban	(ha)	Acc
1	5	7	12	20	100	250	2-30	238	20
2a	5	10	15	30	200	330	2-30	335	23
2b	5	15	20	40	250	400	2-30	380	19
3	10	20	30	60	300	500	2-30	470	16
4	10	30	40	120	700	1500	2-30	1450	29
5	10	60	70	240	1000	2000	2-30	1930	25+

Source: Department of Lands (2001)

The allocations have always tended to separate arable land from grazing land because this has implications for sustainable utilisation of the land resources. Moyo et al (2009) observe that land allocations tended to fall below the prescribed thresholds and if this is analytically studied, the management of grazing land will be inefficient since beneficiaries will concentrate on crop production and thus encroach on grazing areas leading to grazing areas becoming too small resulting in overgrazing and land degradation.

According to Lebert (2003), phase two of the Pre-Fast Track resettlement envisaged the compulsory purchase over 5 years of 50,000 km² from the 112,000 km² owned by commercial farmers (both blacks and whites). In 1998, the government of Zimbabwe called a donors' conference and explained

the importance of going ahead with this land redistribution programme. It was agreed that the programme should go ahead and its inception phase was to start immediately after the conference. It should be noted that the pace was still being controlled by the landowners. In the initial stage of Pre-Fast Track's second phase, 2.1 million hectares were to be acquired; infrastructure and farmer support services were to be provided by the donor community (Ministry of Lands Resettlement 2003). White farmers contested the acquisition of their farms and the donor community failed to provide the funds.

By 1997 the government had acquired 3,498 hectares and resettled about 71,000 families. Between 1998 and 2000 (inception stage of the land reform and resettlement programme phase two, 168,264 hectares had been allocated to 4,697 families (Marongwe 2003). The government of Zimbabwe was only able to acquire 144,991 hectares and resettled 4,697 families between October 1998 and June 2000 (Ministry of Lands Resettlement 2003). According to Marongwe (2003) land reform in Zimbabwe has emphasised poverty alleviation and this has been put into operation through programme objectives that sought to allocate land to the poor. This has been mainly achieved through the A1 resettlement model. The number of people who were resettled fell short of the initial targets, thereby forcing the government of Zimbabwe to change the constitution in a bid to try and speed up land acquisition process.

Other Causes of High Demand for Land

Grievances of the War Veterans

Linked to the high demand for land were several grievances of the war veterans, among which the following topped the list:

- The majority of the war veterans were living in poverty which precipitated them to think that the government had forsaken them;
- A good number of the war veterans who sustained injuries during the war of liberation had not received compensation as per the government's promise; and
- By that period, very few war veterans had been allocated land during the Pre-Fast Track Land Resettlement Programme.

The above grievances, coupled with the hard socio-economic challenges of the time, provided a recipe for farm invasions, which culminated into the Fast Track Land Resettlement Programme.

Urban Evictions

There has always been a shortage of housing for low-income workers and the government estimated this at 600,000 units nationwide in 1995 (UN Economic and Social Council 1995). As a result, people started building structures that did not comply with building regulations. This went on for years with the authorities turning a blind eye to the practice. However, in May 2005, without warning and in military style, the government launched Operation *Murambatsvina*, (Operation Remove Filth/Operation Restore Order), bulldozing or burning all illegal structures in the urban, peri-urban and rural areas.

The Tibaijuka (2005) report estimates the total number of people directly or indirectly affected by *Murambatsvina* stood at 2.4 million or 18 per cent of the population. Of this number, an estimated 40,800 female-headed families were directly affected. These figures are disputed by the government, but it is evident that a large proportion of the urban population was displaced as a result of this operation. A big percentage of those displaced moved to the rural areas, and others engaged in illegal mining, or set up squatter camps near the towns or in the farms. All these displaced persons became candidates for land resettlement as a means of survival. Operation *Garikayi/Hlalani Kuble* (Restore Hope), which was launched to provide housing for the victims of *Murambatsvina* did not have any impact as a negligible number of housing units were erected, because the government did not have money to fund a large-scale housing project.

Evictions in Mining Areas

A sizeable number of the *Murambatsvina* victims and displaced farm workers turned to illegal gold panning for a living. However, in November 2006, following the discovery of diamonds in the Marange area, another operation code-named Operation *Chikorokoza Chapera* (No More Illegal Mining) was launched. Thousands of gold panners throughout the country were displaced and left with no source of income. Yet another operation, this time code-named Operation *Hakudzokwi* (No Return) was unleashed in the Marange diamond fields in October 2008 and led to further displacements. All these displaced people were left with no alternative but to seek to eke out a living from land.

Constitutional Amendment Act No. 2 of 2000

The Constitution Amendment Act No. 2 of 2000 according to the Ministry of Lands achieved the following:

- i) It placed the responsibility of paying for land compulsorily acquired for resettlement firmly into the court of the former colonial power, i.e. Britain.
- ii) As is also mentioned by Chitsike (2003), it obliged the government of Zimbabwe to pay full compensation for any improvements on or to land compulsorily acquired for resettlement.

This was going to take place together with the Land Acquisition Amendment Act of 2000 in a bid to try and speed up the agrarian reform process.

Land Acquisition Amendment Act of 2000

According to the Ministry of Lands (2003), the Land Acquisition Amendment Act of 2000 achieved the following:

- i) It removed the time-consuming designation process which in the past preceded compulsory acquisition.
- ii) It removed the requirement for prompt payment of compensation in full. It allowed for the spreading of payment through cash, bonds or other securities issued by the government over a period of five years. This was done after realising that financial constraints were slowing down the acquisition of land.
- iii) It also provided for the revocation of acquisition orders and subsequent re-gazetting of the same farm if the need arose in the future.

After the drafting of a new constitution in 1999, a referendum was held in 2000 to give the indigenous Zimbabweans a chance to participate in the activities of their country. However, the result was that the constitution was rejected on political grounds. The then opposition Movement for Democratic Change together with the National Constitutional Assembly (NCA) mobilised support against the new constitution. They anticipated that this was going to put an end to ZANU (PF) rule. The desire by the then ruling ZANU (PF) party to speed up the agrarian process was slowed down and pressure was mounting from the liberation war veterans who needed land which they had fought for. This forced the ushering in of a new or second phase referred to as the Fast Track Land Reform Resettlement Programme in the context of this investigation.

Fast Track Resettlement Phase

The Invasions of White Commercial farms

The white commercial farmers had supported the Movement for Democratic Change to defeat the acceptance of the draft constitution of 1999. It is against

the background of an angry electorate that the following elections were held in 2002. There are different schools of thought regarding the drivers of the Fast Track Land Reform Programme. One school of thought supported by President Mugabe is that the invasion of the farms was a spontaneous process of land-hungry peasants, former freedom fighters, farm workers and urban people. The other school of thought argues that the ZANU (PF) government took advantage of the former freedom fighters' demand for land to try and resuscitate its declining support in rural areas. By identifying with the needs and demands of the peasants, ZANU (PF) managed to increase its support at a time its popularity was at its lowest ebb.

From 26 February 2000, war veterans, peasants and youths invaded white-owned farms throughout the country (Martin 2000). The war veterans started pegging out plots in commercial farms. Martin (2000) suggests that the reason for the invasions had been to crush the popularity of MDC opposition in rural areas in the run-up to the elections. While, to a certain extent, it is true that commercial farm invasions were done in order to crush opposition influence that had grown due to problems facing the country and the unpopular policies of government, the white commercial farmers played into the hands of government. Since independence, the government had tried to negotiate with commercial farmers to sell their farms on a 'willing seller willing buyer' basis. However, instead of being magnanimous and voluntarily giving the land to government, they made it difficult for government to secure land for resettlement. When the invasions started, the police deliberately refused to get involved. The police commissioner claimed that there was nothing that police could do to stop the invasions since he claimed that it was a political issue (Martin 2000).

A land issue had been turned into a political issue with a senior ZANU (PF) official saying, 'The whites have themselves to blame because they shot themselves in the foot by mobilising people to throw away the draft constitution; they are now reaping the fruits of their actions' (Martin 2003:56). Such a comment amply demonstrates that the land invasions became a means of punishing the white commercial farmers who financed and supported the MDC as it advocated the refusal of the draft constitution of November 1999.

As a consequence, Zimbabwe was accused of being a pariah state since law and order, according to the west, was not followed. Judges who sympathised with the white commercial farmers were either ignored or dismissed. New judges who were sympathetic to the cause of the government were appointed.

As a response to the farm invasions, a junior British Foreign Office official suggested that Britain would make arrangements to evacuate 20,000 British nationals from Zimbabwe. The government passed an amendment to the constitution empowering the government to take white-owned farms without compensation.

The government attempted to reverse a High Court order directing the police to evict the land invaders. The High Court judge, however, refused to budge and declared on 13 April 2000 that the farm invasions were illegal. The President was advised that it was in the interest of the country and the rule of law to bring an end to the farm invasions.

Fast Track Compulsory Land Acquisition

There are a number of events and issues that influenced the adoption of the Fast Track land reform. Moyo (2006) highlights the following issues:

- An angry electorate that rejected the draft constitution which could have facilitated speedier government land acquisition. The white commercial farmers had supported the Movement for Democratic change to defeat the acceptance of the draft constitution of 1999;
- The collapse of the negotiations with the British government over the financing of land acquisition; and
- The repeated use of the courts to legally challenge the listed farms that the government had chosen also fuelled animosity between the white farmers and the government.

The ultimate objective of the Fast Track Land Reform Programme was to accelerate both land acquisition and redistribution (Marongwe 2004). The land occupations in 2000 were a combination of a top-down, state-driven, populist initiative and a bottom-up, locally-driven process (Moyo 2002; Marongwe 2003). The major problem with the invasion of farms was that there was no coordination of activities (Moyo 2002). Four hundred farms had been occupied within two months. Some groups merely caused disruptions while others were aggressive, slaughtering cattle, and demanding transport from the farmers. Chitsike (2003) notes that after the rejection of the new constitution, the ruling ZANU PF party adopted as its slogan 'Land is the economy and the economy is land'. This was in a bid to mobilise more land-hungry people to demand for more land, considering that it was acknowledged as the backbone of the economy.

There was new war between the then opposition MDC and the then ruling ZANU (PF) party, with more scholars arguing that ZANU (PF) saw the issue of the land as the only survival strategy. The economy was not performing well and liberation war veterans were demanding for land and hence the ruling ZANU (PF) party was forced to focus on land to try and please the electorate. According to the Ministry of Lands (2003), Fast Track was an accelerated phase where activities which could be done quickly would be done in an accelerated manner. The objectives of the Fast Track Land Reform Programme according to the Ministry of Lands were:

- i) The immediate identification of compulsory acquisition of the outstanding 5 million ha for the Resettlement Programme Phase 2. This was to benefit the landless peasant households and the identification of this 5 million ha was targeted for completion by the end of the year 2000;
- ii) The immediate gazetting of the identified 5 million hectares; and
- iii) The immediate planning, demarcation and settler emplacement on all acquired farms.

Chitsike (2003) and Sachikonye (2003) concur that this accelerated phase was marked by violent occupation of white owned farms by war veterans. Sachikonye (2003) goes on to mention that in this programme the size of land earmarked for acquisition rose from 5 million to 8.3 million hectares and the number of intended beneficiaries rose from 91,000 to 160,000 in 2001. There was also an additional of 54,000 medium scale and large scale commercial farmers who were beneficiaries of the A2 model. The target further increased to 11.4 million ha and about 300,000 families had been resettled under the A1 model (Sachikonye 2003). These achievements came at a cost in terms of intimidation, violence, displacement, lawlessness and disruption of production (Chitsike 2003; Sachikonye 2003).

When this phase was implemented it left a lot of questions on sustainability and governance. Sachikonye (2003) notes that it was argued at the Abuja Conference on the land issue between the Zimbabwean and British governments organised by the Commonwealth in September 2001 that there was linkage between land reform and good governance. It meant that there was need for a systematic planning of the reform process to ensure its long-term sustainability. Many scholars have tried to comment on the land distribution process. UNDP reported that the land reform process could have been more participatory with the involvement of rural communities; the process could have been more transparent and that the selection of beneficiaries could have been improved with priority given to those in greatest need (Sachikonye 2003).

It is these and other problems stated by the British for stopping funding the agrarian reform programme as alluded to previously.

Achievements under Fast Track

The Presidential Land Review Committee of 2003 stated that about 127,192 A1 settlers had been allocated land under Fast Track Land Reform. When combined, over 200,000 families had been allocated farm land via the small holders A1 model since 1980. Thus in terms of the government's policy, the first step on poverty alleviation had been accomplished for the over 200,000 beneficiaries. This was based on the assumption that those who benefited were landless and coming from congested areas. Until around 1992, household heads were not allowed to work off their farms nor could they migrate to cities and leave their spouses to work off their plots. This helped in boosting production and in fighting poverty. This policy was, however, relaxed after 1992 and during the Fast Track reform was never mentioned.

However, the statistics on the ground do not show that there was reduction in poverty. The 2003 National Assessment Report shows that between 1995 and 2003 there was increase in the incidence of poverty. Those below the poverty datum line increased from 20 per cent in 1995 to 48 per cent in 2003; those below the total consumption poverty line increased from 42 per cent to 63 per cent during the same period. The report went on to state that in all the land use and land tenure categories (communal, resettlement, large-scale and small-scale commercial farms) more than 50 per cent of the households were below the total consumption poverty line.

It has also been argued that during Fast Track Land Reform Programme poverty reduction was no longer the driving agenda. A study carried out in Mashonaland West, Mashonaland East, Manicaland, Masvingo and Matabeleland South provinces on A1 farmers showed that 53 per cent of the beneficiaries were unemployed and landless (Zimbabwe Independent Institute 2007). It meant that the rest were not the poor and landless. If almost half of the beneficiaries are not poor then in what context is the issue of poverty reduction addressed?

Plight of Workers

Moyo (2007) argues that farm workers who were expecting to get land as part of the land reform programme lost their jobs and received little redistributed land. They were not given land because they were perceived to have been against the Fast Track Land Reform programme (Chambati and Moyo 2004).

It is argued that out of 175,000 full-time farm workers before Fast Track Land Reform programme, 80,000 remained employed on unoccupied commercial farms. Chambati and Moyo 2004 go on to note that 95,000 former farm workers were either dispersed into communal areas, re-employed in A1/A2 farms, living on informal settlements or doing non-farm work. The report states that only 5 per cent were given land during the Fast track land reform programme. It clearly shows that farm workers and their families were negatively affected. Their livelihoods were destroyed. However, literature has failed to explain the relations between workers and their new employees. It is true that those who failed to secure employment were negatively affected. Nothing is said about those that were employed by new farmers. Did their welfare improve or decline? This research is going to look into the welfare of workers on their new jobs.

The government of Zimbabwe has a clear-cut policy on the fate of farm workers. It should be noted that farm workers worked for commercial farmers; but now with the coming of resettlement programmes, some of the white commercial farmers left their pieces of land, especially under Fast Track. The concern now is on the fate of farm workers who were working for these farmers. However, one should remember that not all white commercial farms were expropriated. According to Chambati and Moyo (2004) implicit in Zimbabwean government policy on farm workers is the position that a substantive proportion of them would remain employed on non-acquired farms. Those that are affected by the acquisition of commercial land under Fast Track are covered by policy measures. The policy measures include the obligation of the large-scale commercial farmers to pay severance packages to the retrenched workers. Secondly, the Government of Zimbabwe assists in the repatriation of those who wish to be repatriated; and thirdly, there is the provision of resettled land to some former farm workers.

Chambati and Moyo (2004) go on to mention that the general policy perspective of the government of Zimbabwe is that workers who lose their jobs as a result of compulsory farm acquisition and remain in the country be absorbed into the wider economy like other unemployed people. The government also provides a variety of social and administrative services to farm workers as a particular social group within its general social welfare and social services, policies and services (Chambati and Moyo 2004). The same authors go on to give the various policies that the state is embarking on to help improve the social welfare of workers.

Re-employment and retrenchment of farm workers

There are laws and statutory instruments that seek to protect farm workers in the event that they lose their jobs or are retrenched. The Company Act of Zimbabwe makes it clear that when a company is taken over, the new owner becomes responsible for the business and the labour force. Chambati and Moyo (2004) note that in the case of compulsorily acquired commercial farms, the legal position was altered with Statutory Instrument No. 6 of 2002, which allocated the responsibility to large-scale commercial farm owners. There is also the responsibility to pay retrenchment packages to farm workers that lose their jobs due to the acquisition of the land. Zimbabwe Statutory Instrument No. 6 requires the large-scale commercial farmers whose property is compulsorily acquired to pay their workers severance pay equivalent to three months pay and wages in lieu of notice. Lieu of notice under the contract of employment or the Agricultural industry agreement comprises an amount equivalent to twice the employee's current monthly salary for each completed year of continuous service with the employer. An amount of ZWD 5,000 (starting in 2002) was to be paid for the relocation of the employee. Gratuity on termination of employment in terms of section 23 of the Agricultural industry agreement and the cash equivalence of vacation leave accumulated by the employee in the year in which the termination of employment occurred was to be paid (Chambati and Moyo 2004). It is clear from the statutory instruments that the government of Zimbabwe was trying to compensate farm workers. However, the practicability of the instruments was questionable bearing in mind that the white commercial farmer who was the employer was evicted with violent attack under Fast Track. How would these farmers compensate workers when they themselves were not compensated for the losses suffered during the violent expropriation of land?

Land Access

It should be borne in mind that under the inception phase framework plan for the Land Reform and Resettlement Programme Phase Two (LRRPII), the target group included evicted farm workers. However, looking at the publication by the Ministry of Lands and Resettlement Programme (2003), the target group under Fast Track excluded farm workers and concentrated more on landless peasants and war veterans. The policy on farm workers was applied differently from one province to another and one district to the other because, according to the guidelines, no land allocation quotas were set aside for farm workers. It therefore follows that the farm workers lagged behind and

could not partake of the national cake. After realising that the farm workers were not benefiting, the government of Zimbabwe enjoined state officials to district land committees so as to try and increase their allocation of land to former farm workers (Chambati and Moyo 2004). One can argue that the Government of Zimbabwe was trying its level best to include farm workers in the distribution of land. This study sought to look at the extent to which farm workers benefited on the ground.

There was also a policy by the government of Zimbabwe to protect and help those farm workers wishing to go back to their countries. It should be noted that there were agricultural workers from other countries who worked on commercial farms for years. Some of these workers came from other countries like Zambia and Mozambique. The repatriation was done through Social Welfare Assistance Act. However, to be eligible for this assistance, one needed to be classified as destitute and this was done in collaboration with the applicant's embassy or high commission in Zimbabwe (Chambati and Moyo 2004). It should be noted that there is an agreement on the repatriation arrangements under a memorandum of understanding between the Ministry of Labour of Mozambique and Zimbabwe signed in 2003. However, there were problems with processes to assist such foreign workers due to problems of citizenship. Workers from other countries married Zimbabweans and hence their children had Zimbabwean citizenship while the fathers were not citizens. This, according to Chambati and Moyo (2004), slowed down the pace at which these people were assisted. The bottom line from these arguments is that on paper the government of Zimbabwe was doing a lot to help evicted farm workers. The question is how implementable were these policies?

Environmental Degradation

It is also argued that there is environmental degradation in the resettlement areas. Marongwe (2008) gives examples of felling down of trees, grass burning, and hunting of game, soil degradation and gold panning activities as contributing to environmental degradation. The reasons mentioned are that there is lack of natural resources management skills and the beneficiaries do not hold freehold title to land. While it is true that lack of title deeds can lead to overuse and destruction of natural resources, scholars have failed to link environmental degradation to population pressure. Literature is concentrating on issues of tenure and lack of skills while turning a blind eye to demographic factors.

The State-driven Redistributive Outcome

The land redistribution in 2000 and beyond had varied results and resulted in different social classifications. According to Moyo (2005), by November 2004, smallholder (A1) allocations were granted to 140,866 families while commercial (A2) beneficiaries numbered 14,500 new farmers on 4.2 and 2.3 million hectares respectively. The same author notes that the number of commercial farm units increased by 64 per cent, although the sector's area dropped by 62 per cent. The drop in commercial area may be attributed to the conversion of some commercial areas into villagised resettlement areas. Smallholder control of land increased from 56 per cent of the total land area to 70 per cent. The statistics indicate that the rate of land appropriation was faster compared to the period between 1980 and 1998. There is clear evidence that the land reform programme took place at an accelerated rate, hence the name Fast Track. Moyo (2005) also notes that some irrigated land, that is, 7.618 hectares or 6 per cent of the national irrigable land, went to small farms, while commercial beneficiaries received 12.448 hectares and communal area smallholder irrigation schemes got 11.861 hectares. All these achievements were realised by the year 2003, showing that under Fast Track even prime land was redistributed. The state was now in control of the resettlement programme, no longer the white commercial farmers. Moyo (2006) highlights (in Table 4.3) farms gazetted under the Fast Track Land Reform Programme.

Table 4.3: Farms Gazetted under Fast Track Programme

Province	Number of Farms	Area(Ha)	% of Land
Mashonaland West	1,489	1,814,270	14.65
Mashonaland East	1,316	1,402,116	11.32
Mashonaland Central	876	976,655	7.88
Manicaland	755	682,257	5.51
Midlands	699	1,350,483	10.9
Matabeleland North	638	2,043,764	16.5
Matabeleland South	492	2,129,171	17.19
Masvingo	444	1,992,158	16.08
Total	6,712	12,387,158	100

Moyo (2006), in Rukuni, Tawonezvi, Eicher, *Zimbabwe's Agricultural Revolution Revisited*, p. 151.

Government changed policy from persuading the white commercial farmers to willingly sell land to acquiring land through force. When the commercial farmers obtained court orders restraining the veterans from occupying the farms, these orders were just ignored. As a consequence, Zimbabwe was accused of being a pariah state since law and order, according to the West, was not followed.

The government passed an amendment to the constitution empowering it to take white farmer-owned farms without compensation. The government attempted to reverse a High Court order directing the police to evict the land invaders. The High Court judge, however, refused to budge and declared on 13 April 2000 that the farm invasions were illegal. The President was advised that it was in the interest of the country and the rule of law to bring an end to the farm invasions.

The Fast Track resettlement brought about a number of challenges. Marongwe (2003) highlights the following:

- The capacity of the government to assist the newly resettled farmers;
- The development of infrastructure and social services;
- Government to come up with an appropriate land tenure for the new settlers;
- Resource management was not well developed in the organised resettlement programme; and
- The international image of Zimbabwe so as to attract foreign investment.

Marongwe (2003:23) further suggests ‘the fast track program created a highly explosive situation that is contributing to the escalation of land-based conflicts’.

Agricultural Production After Year 2000

According to the Red Cross Emergency Appeal (2000), the food supply situation started to deteriorate in Zimbabwe due to a number of reasons. There is evidence that the impact of climate change, drought, and the disturbance that took place regarding the commercial farms contributed to the negative effect on grain production. Estimates suggested that 5.1 million people would be without adequate food in 2008. According to the Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) and World Food Programme (2008) joint crop and food assessment, the total number of people without adequate food was 2.4 million persons in July to September 2008, 3.8 million in October to December 2008 and 5.1 million persons in January to March 2009. The expected harvest of the 2008/9 season would only be adequate for 40 per cent of the Zimbabwean population.

The situation would be compounded by the poor harvest recorded by most people in 2007. The Red Cross report (2008:2) highlights that, ‘The 2007 rainy

season was characterised by inconsistent rainfall, leading to droughts and floods in some parts of the country. Combined maize and wheat production dropped 750,000 tons in 2001/2. Maize production for 2002/3 was forecast at 1 million tons. Wheat production in 2002/3 was expected to drop by 40 per cent due to lower acreages'. Commercial farmers used to produce 30 to 40 per cent of Zimbabwe's maize crop but during drought years they produced 70 per cent of the total output. Total maize production has been trading downward since 1988/89. A number of commercial farmers left the country after 2001 to Zambia, Uganda, Mozambique and other British Commonwealth countries.

Commercial wheat area dropped by 50 per cent to between 20,000 and 25,000 hectares around 2002/03. On 24 June 2002, the government of Zimbabwe ordered 2,900 out of about 4,500 white farmers to stop all farming activities (FAO and World Food Programme 2002). If any farmer whose farm had been designated was found engaging in farming activities, he would be arrested and prosecuted. The United Nations (FAO) and World Food Programme (2002) argue that the disruptions and uncertainty surrounding land had negative effects on the production of maize. Areas where maize was grown dropped by 88,000 hectares in 2000/1, which meant that production fell by 50 per cent. FAO suggests that agriculture contributes about 15 per cent of Zimbabwe's gross domestic product. Agricultural products generate 40 per cent of the country's foreign currency earnings. According to the local commercial reports, 30 per cent of the commercial beef herd was destroyed through poaching, theft and diseases.

Moyo (2007) argues the information and statistics on agricultural production are scanty. The analysis that is provided in his study is based on estimates derived from triangulation of various sources. He makes it clear that there is evidence that the fast track resettlement programme led to a decline in agricultural production. Table 4.4 summarises agricultural production from 1999 to 2006.

Table 4.4: Output Trends for Key Crops FTLRP vs. 1999

Crop	Output (000 Tons)				% Change vs. 1999		
	1999	2000	2004/5	2005/6	2000	2004/5	2005/6
Maize	1,544	1,476.2	750	1,200	-4.39	-51.42	-22.28
Wheat	286	225	135	135	-21.33	-52.80	-52.80
Small grains	83	83.5	70	195	0.60	-15.66	134.94
Tobacco	199	195.9	74	55	-1.59	-63.81	-72.36
Cotton	303	286.1	198	260	-5.58	-34.65	-14.19
Soya beans	98	175.1	72	83	78.67	-26.53	-15.31

*GoZ estimates

There are a number of reasons why production fell drastically from 1999 onwards. The disturbances on the commercial farms meant that the commercial farmers could not practice their normal farming activities. Some of the reasons for poor production after the Fast Track Resettlement Programme will be discussed in this research.

The Impact of HIV/AIDS

HIV/AIDS prevalence rates are declining in Zimbabwe. According to the Central Statistics Office (CSO 2006), prevalence rates have declined from the mid-twenties to 15 per cent for males and 18 per cent for females. However, it is interesting to note that these changes may be attributed to change of methodology from antenatal statistics to statistics that covered the whole population including males and non-pregnant women. Though the prevalence rates are declining, the impact of HIV/AIDS on agriculture cannot be ignored. Sukume et al (2004) argue that not much has been said on HIV/AIDS and the agrarian reforms in Zimbabwe. The impact has been generalised to agriculture and not been particular regarding agrarian reform programmes. Impacts of HIV/AIDS range from loss of labour to reduced agricultural productivity.

Loss of Labour

According to Ncube (1998), the major impacts are on loss of labour due to death and sickness which has led to reduced productivity. Sukume et al (2004) also state that sickness due to HIV/AIDS has negatively affected extension work, thereby reducing investment in agriculture. They further note that the impact is more marked in smallholder agricultural practices. This is so because these rely heavily on family labour. This entails that the impact can be projected to be high in resettlement areas because land reform programmes have seen commercial farms being converted to smallholder farming practices. Scholars like Jackson (2002) and Ncube (1998) share the same sentiments and argue that labour days are lost due to sickness and caring for the sick. They further note that even the quality of labour is negatively affected due to physical and emotional stress that families go through when the health of their beloved ones deteriorates. Thus more and more time is wasted caring for the sick and, which ultimately leads to the reduction of labour output. The impact of the HIV/AIDS virus on the health and productivity of the nation has dealt a major blow to the economy. According to United Nations statistics, between 1.5 and 2.7 million people, out of a population of 12 million people, in Zimbabwe were living with HIV/AIDS as at the end of 2001.

Loss of Agricultural Productivity

It should be emphasised that smallholder farmers rely on family labour for their agricultural production. If HIV/AIDS attacks the family and labour is reduced, productivity will also be affected. Ncube (1998) in his report points out that more land is left unutilised due to lack of labour resources. This is also supported by the UN (2010) report which states that affected households typically shift to less labour-intensive production and in some cases leave land fallow or use sharecropping arrangements to raise money. As farming communities were disrupted, the economy deteriorated leading to increased poverty and reduced access to education and health care services. The UN report states that many farm workers were forced to move to different areas and, in some cases, families separated. These widened sexual networks and increased the risk of HIV transmission. Sukume et al (2004) also note that when experienced farmers die due to HIV/AIDS, there is loss of skills including knowledge relating to indigenous farming practices. They die before passing on the knowledge and skills to young farmers, which has a bearing on levels of production. The above-mentioned scholars also agree that in smallholder farms, there is lack of draught power. Their argument is that smallholder farmers rely much on draught power and yet they sell the livestock to get money to purchase of medicine, and some are slaughtered at funerals to provide food for the mourners. This is an indication that HIV/AIDS has drained the resource base of many smallholder farmers. More negative impacts can thus be realised in resettlement areas because commercial farms have been converted to smallholder size and status, making them more vulnerable to HIV/AIDS.

Conclusion

The chapter has traced the history of the post-1980 Agrarian revolution in Zimbabwe by focusing on the aims, objectives, achievements and challenges of both phases of the land reform in Zimbabwe. It has also highlighted the legislation that gave power to government to compulsorily acquire the land of white commercial farmers and the role played by the war veterans in the government's implementation of the Fast Track land reform programme. The next chapter discusses the role of gender in the reform programme.

5

Gender and Land Politics in Zimbabwe

Introduction

This chapter discusses gender and land politics in Zimbabwe. Gender relations in Zimbabwe have always been biased against women (Gudhlanga 2010, 2011). In this chapter gender is defined as a social construct as opposed to sex which is biological. Gender relations are constituted in terms of the relations of power and dominance that structure the life chances of men and women. Upon the biological differences society imposes different social roles. These relations are not always harmonious. They often take the form of male dominance and female subordination (Ostergaard 1992). This has often legitimised the exclusion of women from decision-making processes. Male dominance is not only a sexual and social problem but also a political one directed at maintaining existing power relations which subordinate women (Gudhlanga 2010, 2011). The glaring manifestations of these unequal relations are the failure of women to access basic resources like land, education and participation in politics. In trying to understand women's access and rights to land, the chapter discusses various theories on land, debates in literature on gender and land tenure and how these have shaped land reform and tenure in Southern Africa in general and Zimbabwe in particular.

Theories of Land and their Implications on Gender

There are a number of theories that have been postulated to try and explain land issues in relation to gender. Most of the mainstream theories are 'gender-blind' and a few are 'gender-sensitive'. The gender-blind theories leave out gender in

their analysis of issues and these are the ones that have influenced many land reform policies of the 1980s to the present. Globally, the interests of women are not catered for in the ongoing land reforms. The gender-sensitive theories, on the other hand, realise that successful land reform in any part of the world should consider the interests of women in access and rights to land. Women contribute so much to the social well-being of families in particular and communities in general. It is therefore necessary for policy makers to develop policies that enable communities to improve women's access to resources. The Zimbabwean land reform would benefit immensely if it adopted gender-sensitive theories.

Gender-blind Theories

Evolution Theory

Currently, the goal of land tenure is to move towards individual land ownership, titling and registration. According to the evolution theory, indigenous land tenure systems are flexible and adaptable to change and will evolve naturally towards individualised tenure. Therefore, drastic state intervention is not necessary (Bruce and Migot-Adholla 1994; Platteau 1996). According to Izumi (1999) and World Bank (1989, 1992) this theory has had a considerable influence on World Bank Land Policy in Africa since the late 1980s. Evolutionary theory assumes that individualised tenure would result in more efficient use of land and higher security. Local communities in Africa are homogenous and indigenous institutions which administer indigenous land tenure systems are adaptable and flexible (Izumi 1999). Critics have challenged the evolutionary theory for failing to recognise that power and social relations between certain categories of people determine interest in access to land. It also ignores the fact that evolution is not a spontaneous process which would automatically lead to greater efficiency and security for all. Such processes only benefit very few powerful stakeholders (Izumi 1999). In terms of gender, the theory has brought more insecurity in access and rights to land because of commercialisation of agriculture and individual land titling which discriminate against women who do not have the financial capital to get the individual titles and also to embark on a large commercial exercise (Lastarria-Cornhiel 1997).

Negotiation Theory

Proponents of this theory argue that land rights and access depend on people's capability to negotiate, manipulate rules and norms, and to 'straddle' different institutions (Berry 1993, 1994; Moore 1999). The negotiation theory further

states that people's relationship with land is governed by multiple opportunities for political manoeuvring and 'straddling' of different institutions. The theory has been criticised for neglecting the structural constraints on individuals which determine access to political and economic power. The constraints include gender, race, class and ethnicity and these determine individuals' negotiating power in different areas (Izumi 1999). This implies that women who are less powerful and do not have the political and economic stamina to negotiate their right and access to land are left out.

Democratisation

This theory states that the land question cannot be resolved by evolution and individual negotiation but rather contradictory power relations between various actors and social groups. Proponents of this theory have analysed how the land rights of smallholders have been undermined by the state in the process of economic and political liberalisation (Amanor 1997 Kanyinga 1997). They argue that in such circumstances the solution is seen to be collective political action by the smallholders towards democratisation. This theory has been criticised for its concern with class which leaves out the role of patriarchal power among African societies in influencing women's participation and representation in political activity (Izumi 1999). It has also failed to address the structural concerns faced by influential women when they try to organise and lobby for land access and rights. It does not discuss whether women's struggles and opinions are encompassed in the wider struggles for democratisation and decentralisation. It also fails to explain whether 'democratisation and decentralisation in different countries revive and reinforce traditional authorities or lead to new democratic institutions which address gender issues' (Izumi 1999: 11).

Gender-sensitive Theories

Debates on women's access to land and rights in Africa have mainly focused on the implications for women of the two systems of tenure – namely, the individual and indigenous. They are concerned with market versus tradition. Some scholars see individual tenure as a way of providing women equal opportunities in access to land (Mac Auslan 1996). Titling alone does not ensure security of tenure to women since in most countries the written law is not enforceable, and customary law continues to decide on such tenure issues. Others are sceptical of the opportunities offered by the free market solution. They argue that the market is not gender-neutral; it excludes poor women by discriminating against them because of their lesser economic and bargaining power, and lack of resources

(Meinzen-Dick 1997). This view, however, does not idealise indigenous land tenure systems but argues that women have lost some rights which they held under indigenous tenure through privatisation (Izumi 1999).

Current Debates on Women and Access to Land and Other Resources

There are a lot of debates on the importance of women's work to development processes. The Women in Development (WID) approach argues that women are an untapped resource who make an economic contribution to development. This approach focuses on women only and leaves out men. There are different approaches utilised by proponents of WID. These include welfare, anti-poverty equity, efficiency and empowerment. Though a lot has been done through WID approaches, the efforts did not yield gender equality because they overlooked other problems like violence, women's capacity to control their fertility and to tackle the root causes of inequality. Also WID approaches failed because they attempted to attain their goal by working with women in exclusion of men (Mulugeta 2007). The realisation that men also need to be participants in changing the situation of women led to emergence of Gender and Development (GAD).

The GAD approach, unlike the earlier WID approaches, shifts the focus from women to gender. Gender relations, as stated earlier on, are defined as a social construction of roles and relationships between men and women (Baden and Goetz cited in Ellis 2000). These socially constructed roles are usually unequal in terms of power, decision-making, control over events and freedom of action and ownership of resources (Ellis 2000). GAD analysis highlights the incentives and constraints associated with the work of women and men and highlights differences in their roles, workloads, access to resources and decision-making opportunities, the impact of interventions on them and the implications for planning and implementation (Chingarande 2004). The gender approach to development advocates for the lessening of social inequalities between men and women. Gender as a policy criterion has been found to reduce poverty, raise farm efficiency and improve natural resources management (Ellis 2000). It also emphasises participatory approaches as a tool to empower women through their articulation of their needs, rights and capabilities. Communities should be encouraged to embrace the gender approach when focusing on development issues in rural areas and in land reform. Once women are empowered and have the social and economic resources, the quality of life of their households improves. If women therefore contribute so much to the social well-being of families in particular, and communities in general, it is necessary for policy makers to develop policies that enable communities to improve women's access

to resources. The gender approach to development can also be used in the whole land reform process.

Conceptualising Gender and Land Reform in Zimbabwe

As already stated in Chapter One, land reform is concerned with intervention in the prevailing pattern of land ownership, control and usage (World Bank 1975). Putzel defines land reform as:

A change in the legal or customary institution of property rights and duties, which define the rights of those who own or use agricultural land. Ownership, conceived of as a bundle of rights representing varying degrees of control over things. The right to possess, use, manage, earn an income from land; transfer or sell as well as to pass these rights on to others. Land reform seeks to alter the distribution of any or all of these rights. In this case it has been employed to refer both to the outright redistribution of the entire bundle of rights over land to those who cultivate the soil, as well as single adjustment of the conditions under which a tenant or other cultivator, gains access to land for example the amount of rent in cash or kind, the security of the tenancy arrangement or land use right or the obligation of tenants and owners to one another (Putzel 1992:3, cited in Chingarande 2004).

Agrarian reform is more encompassing, it advocates for redistributive land reform, and includes broader changes of rural relations in agriculture, such as the provision of credit, extension services, marketing, inputs, research and development (Moyo 1995). Gender analysis is concerned with issues of social justice, lessening the gap between men and women in terms of ownership and access to resources. It is important to note that in discussing gender and land and the concept of headship in Zimbabwean society, men are always considered to be the head of the family and land is allocated to the head of the family who is presumed to be male. This means that women's access to resources like land is limited. There are also female-headed households and some of these households have always found it very difficult to own land. The issue of land and gender is a contested terrain which often disadvantages women due to a number of other related factors that have subordinated them.

There has been well documented feminisation of poverty in development literature. Female-headed households have been found to be poorer than male-headed households. They also have less labour resources and fewer assets (Ellis 2000). Zimbabwe is no exception and the majority of female-headed households are amongst the poorest of the poor. This is because women have limited access to and control of resources such as land and other crucial resource bases in society (Chingarande 2004). In areas where women may have access to and control of

resources like land, they tend to realise limited benefits from them. According to the Human Development Report (1998), cited in Chingarande (2004), most women in rural Zimbabwe had access to land but they had limited benefits from the products of that land. There were many harvest suicides in Gokwe in 1997 where 153 women committed suicide because their husbands had squandered the money from the proceeds of the land (Human Development Report, 1998 cited in Chingarande 2004). This demonstrates that women are left out in deciding on what to do with the money they have earned from their labour on the land.

Also women tend to be on the receiving end because they are not as educated as men and this explains why they tend to be poorer than men. Chingarande states: ‘interventions like land reform that try to address poverty should therefore take into account such factors as culture, tradition and the legislative framework as those may hinder gender equity in terms of access to resources’ (Chingarande 2008:4). Research done in India proves that if women have access to resources, they spend more of the income that comes through their hands on family needs (Mencher 1988, cited in Ellis 2000). Even research in Kenya showed that families headed by women had more positive and significant healthy food consumption and did not suffer from malnutrition (Kennedy and Peters 1992, cited in Ellis 2000). Therefore if women contribute so much to the social well-being of families in particular, and communities in general, it is necessary for policy makers to develop policies that enable communities to improve women’s access to resources like land. This should be done at community level, instead of focusing on emancipating women only. The GAD approach focuses on the whole community, including men as well, and enables the community to accept new gender relations and social dynamics. After understanding gender issues in land reform in general, it is necessary to discuss gender, land tenure and land reform in Southern Africa.

Gender, Land Tenure and Land Reform in Southern Africa

Women in Southern Africa constitute more than 60 per cent of small farmers and provide about 75 per cent of the workforce in food production and processing. Their access to and rights to land does not only determine their livelihood but food security (ILO 1996, cited in UNECA 2003). Mvududu has also made similar observations about women’s contribution to the labour force in the agricultural sector when she states that, ‘African women contribute 60-80 per cent of labour and management in food production in many parts of the continent’ (Mvududu 2000:47). The out-migration of men into urban areas and mining settlements in Southern Africa has led to feminisation of smallholder agriculture

(Mvududu 2000). Women are left in the rural areas engaging in labour-intensive, low-production and non-commercial domestic work. However, despite the fact that women contribute to the agricultural sector in a very big way, their access and rights to land is always not easy. In Southern Africa, women's access to land is governed by customary law which gives rights to land to the male head of the family. Under customary law, land is only given to married men; and women have access to that land through their marriage. It is allocated by traditional authorities who are male and endeavour to protect men's rights and access to land. Thus usufruct rights to land are the most common feature. Most Southern African societies have a patrilineal system in which land tenure is most frequently in the hands of males and generally the eldest son or uncle inherits title to land. It is only in exceptional cases, if there is no husband's brother or son to inherit the land, that we find widows inheriting title to land, provided they remain in the family and if they had children with the deceased husband (Mvududu 2000; Gaidzanwa 1994; Goebel 2005).

Most Southern African countries experienced some historical injustices when land was expropriated from them by the colonial settlers. Upon attainment of democratic rule these Southern African countries engaged in land reform to redress the colonial injustices. The racial and gender inequalities in landholding still persist in most African countries, including those that have undertaken the land reform exercise. While the strategy of land reform may differ from country to country, a common theme of colonialism and racial imbalances in relation to land access has guided most land reform programmes (Lahiff 2003). Mobilisation around *Campanha Terra* in Mozambique in 1996-97, the occupation of commercial farms by war veterans and others in Zimbabwe, and the growing militancy of the Landless People's Movement in South Africa in 2000 signify an important new phase of land politics in Southern Africa (Lahiff 2003). This section discusses gender and land tenure in Southern Africa and also gender and land reform in countries that have already had land reform programmes.

Botswana

In most Southern African countries, women are still discriminated against in terms of independent ownership and control of land in both customary and statutory land tenure systems. Yet more than 50 per cent of women in Southern Africa live in rural areas and derive their basic livelihood from agricultural production (UNCEA 2003). Women's challenges in accessing land are clearly demonstrated in many Southern African states. In Botswana, for example, single women head about 50 per cent of all households but these cannot independently own land

under customary law. Traditionally, among the Tswana, land was allocated to the male head of the family who could use it for building a homestead, cultivation and grazing (Kalabamu 2001, cited in UNECA 2003). Upon death of the male head, male children inherited the land and women, regardless of their marital status, could not acquire land or property of their own. Until 1971, when the Married Persons Property Act was passed, husbands were sole administrators of property held by either party before or after marriage (UNECA 2003). Husbands had absolute power over a joint estate and could easily dispose of the property without the wives' consent. Married women, on the other hand could not, acquire property or loan without the consent and assistance of their husbands. In modern Tswana society, women can now acquire property but still cannot get a loan without their husbands' written consent (UNECA 2003). Research evidence from UNECA's field study of Botswana indicated that patriarchal rules still apply if women want to acquire land in Botswana. Women who were interviewed by UNECA stated that Land Boards sometimes asked a woman to bring her husband, father or brother (UNCEA 2003). Unmarried women below 21 had to get permission from their parents in all land transactions (UNECA 2003). At the same time, women who married became minors unless they explicitly married out-of-community-of-property Dutch law. Most women in Botswana did not have assets, capital and labour to use the land productively. The Deeds Registry Act was amended in 1996 and the amendment removed the discriminatory provision which stated that only husbands could deal with the Registrar in cases where spouses were married in-community-of-property. In addition, the Tribal Land Act was amended in 1993 and allows all adult citizens the right to use and occupy tribal land anywhere in the country. Both male and female adult citizens are now eligible to receive customary land grants and common law leases on tribal land (UNECA 2003). Despite these new laws, married women in Botswana are still bound by the Married Persons Property Act discussed above. This is the precarious nature of women's land and property rights in Botswana.

Lesotho

In Lesotho, all land is under customary tenure and women do not have the right to own and control land due to patriarchal traditions and discriminatory statutory laws. Customary law in Lesotho treats women as minors who cannot be allocated land, inherit or make decisions. Daughters cannot inherit land from their fathers and in cases where there are no sons the land is given back to the chief for reallocation (UNECA 2003). The Lesotho Land Act is gender-neutral

and the Deeds Registry Act of 1967 prohibits a married woman who is regarded as a minor to register land in her own name (UNECA 2003). A divorced woman has no entitlement to any fixed property from her marital home, including land. 'The constitution of Lesotho section 19 provides for equality for all, but section 18 (4) discriminates against women by deliberately exempting customary law. Women are not treated as equal partners in marriage' (UNECA 2003:28). A divorced woman is not entitled to any fixed property from her marital home, including land; she has to return empty-handed to her parent's home (UNECA 2003). Thus both statutory and customary further marginalise women and hinder their right to and access to land. The pieces of legislation that discriminate against women owning land are the Deeds Registry Act, the Constitution and the Marriage Law. All these laws are being reviewed in order to accommodate women's land rights in Lesotho.

Malawi

The marginalisation of women is also seen in Malawi where women constitute 51 per cent of the population and 85 per cent of them live in rural areas and derive their livelihood from land. In Malawi, women's access to land is also governed by customary law but depends on the type of marriage one has. In patrilineal societies typical of the northern region, land is inherited through male lineage and women can only access it through their husbands or sons. Once a woman is divorced she loses the right to cultivate the land and returns to her own village. If a husband dies in patrilineal societies, the wife has the right to use the piece of land as long as she remains unmarried. She also shares the land with her sons when they grow up and these might ultimately squeeze her out (Shawa 2002, cited in UNECA 2003). Matrilineal marriage system is practiced in the south. There are two types of matrilineal marriage, namely chitengwe and chikamani. In the former, the wife goes to the man's home and in the latter the husband stays in the wife's village (UNECA 2003). Women married under chitengwe may be chased away from their husband's homes upon the death of their husbands and lose their land rights. Under the chikamani marriage system, widowers are equally chased away upon the death of their wives and they also lose their land rights (Shawa 2002, cited in UNECA 2003). UNECA's field work research in Malawi revealed that while some women had full ownership and control of land under chikamani marriage, others under the same marriage system did not because men, especially uncles, controlled the land owned by women. Because of marriage customs, women in Malawi are more vulnerable to land tenure insecurity than men are (UNECA 2003). In Malawi, statutory law

does not discriminate against women in terms of obtaining land tenure rights. The reality on the ground is that women do not have land rights due to other socio-economic factors like lack of education and lack of financial resources to buy or lease land. The law on property is also not well harmonised with inheritance and marriage laws. Just like in other African countries, although women are the major agricultural producers they remain largely absent at all levels of policy-making, project formulation and management of land (Shawa 2002, cited in UNECA (2003)). The Malawi Gender Policy of 2002 promotes registering of individual and family land and tries to deal with land tenure insecurity associated with matrilineal and patrilineal societies by registering household land in the names of all the members of the nuclear family (UNECA 2002). In the event of death, the spouse inherits the land and this has often been a source of conflict over land in Malawi, and women are normally on the receiving end as they suffer the wrath of the in-laws (UNECA 2003).

Zambia

In Zambia, just like in Malawi, statutory law does not discriminate women's access to land in theory but in practice women fail to access land because of socio-economic obstacles and customary law (UNECA 2003). Chiefs in Zambia do not allocate land to women in their own right. Also district council officials who work closely with the Commissioner for Lands in processing applications are usually biased against women whom they regard as subordinate to men (UNECA 2003). It is only until very recently that married women in Zambia were asked to present evidence of their husbands' consent when they applied for land (UNECA 2003). Just like in other countries discussed earlier, under statutory law women are not discriminated against in terms of obtaining land rights but other factors come into play. These include customary law, illiteracy and lack of financial resources.

Mozambique

In Mozambique more than 70 per cent of women live in rural areas and are governed by customary law. The constitution of Mozambique since independence has upheld the principle of gender equality. It was revised in 1990 to give more explicit form of this principle through articles 6 and 67 which state that, 'All citizens are equal before the law, enjoy the same rights, and are subject to the same obligations, irrespective of colour, race, sex, ethnicity, place of birth, religion, level of education, social status' (article 6) and 'Men and women are equal before the law in all spheres of political, economic, social and cultural

life' (article 67). Despite the fact that the constitution is non-discriminatory, the reality on the ground before the New Land Law of 1997, women were largely discriminated against in land ownership and control (UNECA 2003). Major reasons which prevented women from acquiring land before 1997 were the application of customary tenure, ignorance among women of their land rights and lack of dissemination of the constitutional legislation to grassroots levels (UNECA 2003). It has to be noted that after the passing of the New Land Law of 1997 women in Mozambique are still discriminated against because these laws are not implemented and properly enforced (UNECA 2003).

The passing of the New Land Law of 1997 marked a major aspect of the Mozambican land reform. The country at independence adopted a socialist ideology but at a later stage had to change from socialism to market-based approaches. The land reform discourse in Mozambique has centred on 'how to encourage private investment in rural areas and how to protect the rights of customary occupiers of land. It aimed at protecting both the customary rights of existing occupiers of communal land and clarifying and strengthening the rights of private companies and individuals wishing to acquire access to land for commercial purposes by individuals' (Chingarande 2004; 2008). Lahiff (2003) has highlighted that the Mozambique land reform process has not changed the highly unequal and dualist nature of property relations in the country and it has not delivered significant material benefits to the rural population, the bulk of whom are women. The Land Reform in Mozambique, just like land reform in the other Southern African countries, has continued to sideline women.

South Africa

The South African constitution is non-discriminatory but rules of access and inheritance favour men over women. Traditional authorities in South Africa play a major role in the allocation of land and they discriminate against women. In South Africa, no law provides for women's independent access to land and the Communal Land Act of 2004 does not ensure that women are not discriminated against.

South Africa achieved democratic majority rule in 1994, and embarked on its land reform programme soon after its independence. South Africa has implemented market-assisted land reform policies that are being advocated by the World Bank, although it has charted out its own unique 'willing seller willing buyer' approach different from that of the World Bank. South Africa's land reform took three different forms, namely: restitution, redistribution and tenure reform. Restitution claimed historic rights to those who had been

dispossessed by the Native Land Act of 1913 (Lahiff 2003; Hall and Cliffe 2009). Restitution beneficiaries could get their land back or the equivalent in cash. In instances where they got their land back they had to form Community Property Associations or Trusts in which their property would be transferred and registered. Redistribution was intended to redistribute white commercial land to the black farmer; and land tenure reform was intended to address the issue of insecure rights to land of blacks housed in former Bantustans. All these different types of land reforms left out women.

In the first phase of the South African Land Reform under the Settlement Land Reform Grant (SLAG 1993-1999) women constituted only 78 per cent of the 78,758 beneficiaries listed on the national database in June 2000, but this total also included many joint husband and wife listings (Walker 2001b). During the Settlement Land Reform Grant (SLAG) period from 1994-1999, the beneficiaries were given a R16,000 grant each, which was too little to acquire land, so they had to team up, pool their resources together and acquire the whole property. A larger group could then acquire a whole farm project. The priority of SLAG grants was for resettlement and multiple livelihoods. SLAG was criticised for having to force people to join groups in order to buy land and for lack of support other than land purchase (Hall 2004). As stated earlier on, the number of female beneficiaries was not quite clear because the statistics included those who got land under marriage.

The second phase was the Land Redistribution for Agriculture Development (LRAD from 1999) and it awarded grants to individuals on a sliding scale from a minimum of R20,000 to a maximum of R100,000. The shift from household to individual in theory opened up possibilities for women to acquire land in their own right independent of men (Walker 2003). In practice LRAD continued to discriminate women from the land reform exercise in that it gave priority to people with agricultural skills and capital which was a sure sign of leaving out women who did not have the capital and were not educated. The third and current phase is the State Purchase for Lease (PLAS) period (2006 to date) is similar to the Zimbabwe land reform where the state purchases land for lease with possible options for buying (Hall 2004; Sachikonye 2003). Still women are not benefiting much from this land reform strategy.

The White Paper on South Africa land policy acknowledges the existing discrimination against women under many types of tenure systems and suggests a number of ways to enable women to achieve fair and equitable distribution (White Paper on South African Land Policy 2007). This is a positive step towards gender equity in land access. The Department of Land Affairs (DLA) in South

Africa has also to be applauded for formulating a Gender Policy Framework in land reform as a guiding principle which would ensure that women are not discriminated against in future land reform in South Africa. This was done in 1997, and the gender policy document aimed at creating an enabling environment for women to access, own, control, use and manage land; as well as access credit for productive use of land (DLA 1997a). The Land Reform Gender Policy document committed the Ministry and the DLA to a range of guiding principles to actively promote the principle of gender equity in land reform; these included mechanism for ensuring women's full equal participation in decision-making, communication strategies, gender-sensitive methodologies on project planning, legislative reform, training, collaboration with NGOs and other government structures, and compliance with international commitments such as the 1995 Beijing Platform for Action and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination (CEDAW) which South Africa had re-ratified in 1995 (Walker 2003). It is sad to note that with such high and noble principles, women's participation in the land reform in South Africa is still low. The DLA had a very sound principle of the Land Reform Gender Policy but has never sensitised its officers who deal with land issues in the provinces. A survey carried out by Walker (2003) in KwaZulu Natal revealed that a number of land officials were unaware of the Land Reform Gender Policy Document, copies of which were not easily available in either the provincial or district offices. There was also no manual from the DLA on how to approach various gender issues like registering polygamous marriages (Walker 2003). This demonstrates the DLA's commitment to gender equity at national level and its failure to turn high-level principles into effective tools for implementation (Walker 2003). Women in South Africa, like in other African countries, are still discriminated against in the land reform process despite the country having some noble gender policies.

Tanzania

The land policy in Tanzania accords all citizens equivalent and equitable access to land. The land policy also has a section on women's access to land which stipulates that customary law infers inferior land rights to women, making women's access to land indirect and insecure (Chingarande 2004). The village councils that allocate land in Tanzania are guided by customary law and continue to discriminate against women by giving land to heads of household who, in most cases, are male. In order to rectify this gender injustice in land access, the Tanzania government has drafted a policy statement which states that, 'in order to enhance and guarantee women's access to land and security of tenure, women

will be entitled to acquire land in their own right, not only through purchasing but also through allocation' (Chingarande 2004). The implementation of all these gender-sensitive policies still needs to be realised; it looks there is a lot of rhetoric about addressing gender justice while in real situations nothing is being done on the ground.

Summary of Gender and Land Rights in Southern Africa

From the few examples of countries in Southern Africa it can be inferred that women are discriminated against in accessing land and exercising land rights by both customary and statutory laws. The laws that have been passed in trying to better women's status are not being enforced partly because the decision makers and implementers are males who want to jealously guard their patriarchal hegemony in land allocation and redistribution. The status quo also tends to hold sway because some women have internalised and accepted patriarchal leadership and believe that it is only men who should have rights to land. At the same time, the countries that have embarked on the land reform exercise have not accommodated women despite having crafted gender-sensitive legislation. This general overview of gender, land tenure and land reform in Southern Africa will help us understand and appreciate the dynamics of gender, land tenure and land reform in Zimbabwe.

Gender and Land Tenure in Zimbabwe

Pre-colonial/Traditional Land Tenure and Gender

In traditional Zimbabwean society, access and rights to land were governed by customary law. Under customary law land was not privately owned but communally owned and individually worked in order to plant food crops for the family (Jacobs 2000). It was allocated by chiefs to household heads who were presumed to be male. There was no individual titling but there was consensus that if one was allocated land it belonged to him. This explains why maybe land was taken by the settlers because according to western understanding of ownership, land did not belong to anyone since there was no title deed. Married women obtained land for farming through their marriage ties as wives (Gaidzanwa 1994; Jacobs 1996; 2000; Mvududu 2000). Husbands allocated portions of land to their wives who would grow crops to feed the family. Women were entitled to proceeds from the work of their own hands like the produce from their own fields, beer brewing, midwifery and own handicraft. They would also jointly work in the larger family fields with their husbands. According to Gaidzanwa

(1995) unmarried and divorced women were allocated land in their mothers' fields to grow crops and amass some stock in preparation for marriage. They were given land by their mothers and not allocated by the society or chief.

On the other hand, widowed and divorced women with elderly sons set up households with their sons. Some vulnerable widows and children like orphans were taken care of by the chief's *zunde ramambo* (chief's granary). The chiefs had specific fields whose proceeds would be put in a granary to feed such vulnerable groups. Thus women's economic well-being and access to land was mediated by male relatives, such as husbands, fathers, and brothers among others. Similarly, in traditional Zulu society there was no property in land, all land belonged to the chief who would allocate it to his subjects, male household heads. Single men and women did not have entitlement to land (Thorp 1997). This amply demonstrates the challenges faced by women in traditional societies in accessing rights to land.

Colonial Land Tenure and Gender

Colonialism brought a number of repressive laws which further diminished women's access to land. From the mid 1910s, the colonial government sought to legitimise customs that would justify female subordination. This made it difficult for women to manipulate the colonial legal system to their advantage (Schmidt 1990). It modified customary law in which women wielded no power at all and could no longer own property; it further made women's lives miserable. Colonialism intensified the economic dependence of women on men. Women were regarded as minors who had to be under the tutelage of men as second-class citizens. As already indicated in previous chapters, the colonial government passed the Land Appointment Act of 1930. Since there was competition for land after the passing of this Act, adolescent women who used to grow crops in their mothers' fields could not access land for own use in communal areas after 1930 (Gaidzanwa 1994). Married women continued to access land through their husbands. The men also drifted to towns to seek work and women had to till the land to subsidise the poor wages of their husbands. The colonial system also regulated women's mobility so that they remained on the land to support the migrant labour system (Schmidt 1992; Gaidzanwa 1994). It also introduced what they called Native Purchase Areas where black men could buy and own land under freehold tenure. Moyo (1995) argues that these targeted men and not women. Black women could not purchase land in Native Purchase Areas but had access to such land through their male kin. The colonial laws forbade women from owning land and considered them to be second-class citizens who

were supposed to be under the leadership of male figureheads. The colonial government's attitude towards women is clearly brought out in this quotation from the Native Commissioner of Hartley, which he wrote in 1924 indicating that African women would not be able to conduct their own affairs and they definitely needed male guidance:

Until quite recent years, this was the tradition among our own race. The native women of today have not the brain power or civilisation of the mothers and grandmothers of the present white generation: her brain is not sufficiently balanced to allow her to think and act in all matters for herself, and I consider the male should be encouraged and assisted to exercise tutelage, within all reasonable bounds over his womenfolk.

This demonstrates that colonialism brought its Victorian values and dumped them upon Shona men and women, these values despised and undermined the female gender (Gudhlanga 2010).

The colonial government also introduced the Land Husbandry Act of 1951. The general consequence of this Act has already been discussed in previous chapters. In this chapter the implications of the Act on gender and land tenure will be discussed. The Land Husbandry Act emphasised individualised tenure by registration. According to this Act, a farmer was a man despite the fact that women worked and tilled the land. Women were defined or redefined as housewives (Gaidzanwa 1994). User rights for all women could not be registered. Thus in colonial Zimbabwe black women could not access freehold land because of the economic, gender and racially discriminatory system of the colonial government and the interpretation of the customary laws by the colonial leaders (Gaidzanwa 1995). Married women had to prove desertion or extra territorial residency of their husbands in order to access land. Divorced women had to prove that they had custody of the children in order to be given land. In Shona or Ndebele tradition, the fact that the husband was the one who paid lobola or bride wealth meant that the children belonged to him. Hence most of the times, divorced women would not have the custody of the children and thus did not qualify to have access to land. On the contrary, divorced men were eligible for customary land rights whether they had custody of the children or not. Only widows and divorced women with custody of the children were granted land which was usually one-third of what men in similar circumstances got. According to Garbett (1963), cited in Moyo (1995), in Mangwende Tribal Area only 16 per cent of women qualified for land under this Act. The Land Husbandry Act also brought additional labour allocations for women but imposed restrictions on land

use rights (Moyo 1995). People had to practice soil conservation measures. There was too much policing of women's agricultural activities. According to Moyo (1995), prohibitions against using stream banks, dambos and vleis, also meant that women were the most directly deprived and policed, since it is they who cultivated vegetable gardens in such areas. Thus overtime, women's land rights had been relegated to smaller wetland areas as men dominated arable fields and grazing land. This, according to Schmidt (1992) and Moore (1993), reflected an evolving gender division of resource control and roles with regard to food security, labour and trade.

Post-Independence Land Tenure and Gender

In independent Zimbabwe new legislation has been crafted to accord women the ability to acquire and own land on an equal basis with men. The liberation struggle offered women an opportunity to re-negotiate role-relationships with men since they had fought side-by-side during the war. At independence, this translated into having a number of prominent women included in the new political leadership as parliamentarians and cabinet ministers (Chung 2007). The government also created the Ministry of Community Development and Women's Affairs headed by Joyce Mujuru, who is now one of the Vice Presidents in the current inclusive government. This ministry lobbied for the removal of laws that oppressed women and enabled the passing of new legislation that benefited them. Of importance was the passing of the Legal Age of Majority Act (LAMA) of 1982. Under this law, women were no longer minors but acquired majority status at 18 which meant that men and women were for the first time legally equal (Mahlaule 1995). Through this law, women could own property in their own right and open bank accounts, rights they could not exercise under customary law. Another positive development was the passing of the Equal Pay Act of 1982. This meant that women with the same qualifications and employed to do the same job as men would get equal salaries with their male counterparts. This was applauded by women who had been economically marginalised by getting lower salaries than their male counterparts (Ngwenya 1983). In 1985, the government introduced the Matrimonial Property Rights Act. Under customary law women owned no property and when divorced they became destitute since property belonged to the husband. In 2001, after the lobbying of the Women and Land Lobby Group (WLLG), the Government Land Reform Policy document included article 3.2.3.5 on Land Tenure Arrangements which states, 'Land leases and title deeds for married couples should be in both spouses' names' (Government of Zimbabwe 2001:13).

Over and above the passing of these legislations and the introduction of the policy of education for all, Zimbabwe is a signatory to a number of regional and international treaties that aim at creating an enabling environment for the attainment of equity and equality between women and men. These include The Southern African Development Community's Declaration on Gender and Development and its addendum on the Prevention and Eradication of Violence Against Women and Children, Universal Declaration of Human Rights, The Convention on Civil and Political Rights, Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, Convention on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (CESCR), Convention on the Minimum Age of Marriage and Registration of Marriages (Gudhlanga 2011). In an effort to effectively transform the provisions of regional and international legal and human rights instruments to the practical level, the government has drawn up and adopted a National Gender Policy (2004) which aims at providing guidelines and institutional frameworks to engender all sectoral policies, programmes, projects and activities at all levels of our society and economy. It endeavours to improve the lives of both women and men by removing the various discriminatory customs and legislations. All these legislations in theory accorded women the opportunity to own and access land and other resources on an equal basis with men. Was this the situation in independent Zimbabwe? Why is it that even with new legislation alluded to above, it is still proving to be very difficult for women to own land in post-independent Zimbabwe? This can be explained in terms of the gap between the law and its enforcement. Even though women now have majority status, most of the issues governing land allocation and redistribution are still governed by customary law.

At independence, Zimbabwe inherited a racially-skewed land redistribution pattern which favoured the white minority. It was the government's main objective to redress the colonial social injustice and redistribute land to previously disadvantaged blacks. Racial equity eclipsed gender equity such that issues relating to equity on the basis of gender were not discussed (Gaidzanwa 1994). Gender, and specifically women's interests, was not a priority in the land redistribution programme. According to Jacobs (2000:16), 'women's land rights were a fringe issue despite the fact that 70 per cent of agricultural labour is female'. Moyo (1995) has identified four tenure regimes in independent Zimbabwe. These are State Lands, Communal Areas (CAs), Commercial Land and Resettlement Area. He argues that these tenure regimes confer different sets of land rights for administration processes among different races and genders. Both the state and private citizens are conferred with various rights within these regimes (Moyo 1995).

State Land and Gender

State land constitutes 15 per cent of the land area (Moyo 1995). It is held in trust by the government for the preservation of natural resources. It is managed by parastatals or government departments. Women are left out in such lands because the male-dominated state plays a major role in influencing access to such lands. According to Moyo (1995), access to use and benefits of these lands accrues to white men. As a result of the growth of tourism and wildlife markets, a few black men also now have access to such land. However, it has to be noted that some rural families including women also use state land as illegal settlers or squatters. The state also owns urban land that is managed by city councils. Land for housing in urban areas was given to men and it is only recently that women have started to have access to such land to buy and register houses in their own names (Moyo 1995; Gaidzanwa 1995). These state lands are also found in other Southern African states and are mainly controlled by men. Women's use and access to these lands is very limited unless they go and settle as squatters.

Communal Areas and Gender

Communal areas constitute 41.8 per cent of the total land area and are the former Tribal Trust Lands. According to Moyo (1995:18) 'grazing lands are communally managed, while cropping land is allocated to individual families, through men by District Councils which are advised by male dominated Village Development Committees and traditional leaders'. Women's access to secure tenure in their own right is a key problem. Unlike men, women in Communal Areas live under customary law and its contemporary interpretation disadvantages them. Many women no longer receive allocations of land from their husbands as was in the traditional tenure. This might be explained by the fact that as populations grows, land becomes a scarce and limited resource and men get the little land they can use with their families and cannot subdivide it to give to their wives. Women no longer enjoy the proceeds from their labour, even salaried employment (Jacobs 2000). Communal areas have large female populations of about 60 per cent, and 40 per cent of families are managed by women. Women in Communal Areas have difficulties in accessing land. Despite the fact that soon after independence in 1980, government stripped traditional authorities of their role, chiefs continued to allocate land in rural areas (Goebel 2005). The introduction of the Traditional Leaders Act of 1998, which came into effect on 1 January 2000, further marginalised women in Communal Areas. This is because the Act made provision for village level affairs and made traditional leaders responsible for the allocation of land and land use regulation

(Goebel 2005). Traditional leaders as custodians of patriarchal societies do not entertain women's interests, especially if they contradict traditional views. The role of traditional authorities in land allocation is also prevalent in South Africa through the institution of the Traditional Authorities Act of 1995. Women in South Africa also continue to be marginalised in the current land redistribution programme especially in restitution which gives traditional leaders custodial responsibility over land for the whole community. Gaidzanwa (1995) observes that, with time, some traditions in Zimbabwe's Communal Areas have been eroded such that headmen now sell land. Land transactions in cash are quite common and over 50 per cent of married women do not have fields that are exclusively given to them for their use in rural households (Gaidzanwa 1995). Cash transactions also disadvantage women who lack such economic resources. However, it has been noted that women in Communal Areas have more latitude in land-related decisions than their counterparts in Rural Areas, Small Scale Commercial Farms and Large Scale Commercial Farms (Gaidzanwa 1995). Izumi (1999) has observed that Communal Areas and Rural Areas demonstrate that the relationship between traditional and modern forms of institutions and women's access and right to land is complex and ambivalent in nature.

Commercial Land and Gender

Commercial Land constituted 36.4 of the total land area by 1995. It is divided into Large Scale Commercial Farms (LSCF) and Small Scale Commercial Farms (SSCF). The LSCF have been dominated by white men while black men have increasingly managed to acquire land in the SSCF. Most of these farms are under freehold and black women in particular have least access to freehold due to its past alienation (Moyo 1995). Some of the commercial farms are administered by the state which gives long-term leases to farmers. The Deeds Registry Office only had 3 per cent of the SSCF that were held by female farmers with no husbands by 1995. Married women have access through their husbands. It has to be noted that even though they do not own land, black women continue to provide the bulk of the seasonal, casual and temporary labour in both LSCF and SSCF (Gaidzanwa 1995). Freehold enables one to use the land as collateral for credit and in land markets. Thus black women have been marginalised from the economically productive land. Instead, poor women access commercial land when they want to fetch firewood and are caught and humiliated by stripping them (The Herald 1993, cited in Moyo (1995)). Thus black women cannot freely access commercial land.

Pre-Fast Track Resettlement Areas and Gender

In order to alleviate pressure in heavily congested Communal Areas, people were put in resettlement areas. The various types of resettlement schemes have already been discussed in the previous chapter. The most popular type was Model A1. Under this Model land was owned by the state and allocated to household heads through permits. Land allocating officials assumed that the household leader was male (Government of Zimbabwe 1992; Gaidzanwa 1981, 1988, 1994, 1995; Chenaux-Repond 1993; Jacobs 1991, 1997, 2000). Female permits comprised only 2 to 15 per cent, yet female-headed households outside resettlement areas comprised 25 per cent (Sunga 1990; Chenaux-Repond 1993). Married women became primary holders of land only in the event of their husband's death.

Agrarian reform has also had positive effects on women. Goebel (1999a) argues that in Sengezi Resettlement Scheme in Hwedza District, the resettlements had strategies to include women, especially widows, in the redistribution of land. Upon the death of a husband, a widow in resettlement was able to retain the homestead and fields and the permit was even changed into her name. Such an arrangement was untenable under customary tenure. However, these widows still faced other challenges like access to labour and capital. Married women also had the opportunity to grow their own crops that they controlled. Goebel (1999a) gives a successful beef fattening project which was donor-funded and run by women in Sengezi Resettlement Scheme. Agricultural extension workers interviewed by Goebel (1999a) in Sengezi argued that women were the best farmers and constituted the bulk of their master farmer population such that they deserved to be given more land; but this was not possible due to the customary tendencies that prevented women from gaining access to land in their own right. Jacobs (1999) has also observed similar opportunities for women in being able to access small plots to grow their own crops. She states that 65 per cent of women in Resettlement Areas had their own small plots and recorded higher food production of economic growth.

However, it has to be noted that women's access to land in these Resettlement Areas was highly insecure. Jacobs (2000), in a research conducted in Manicaland and Mashonaland Resettlement Schemes, states that most of the women who were interviewed expressed insecurity not in landholding but in terms of lack of security in marriage. This is because settler women lose access to land upon divorce (Moyo 1995; Gaidzanwa 1994, 1995; Jacobs 1991, 2000). Research has also indicated that polygamy increased to 36 per cent in Resettlement Areas (Chenaux-Repond 1993; Gaidzanwa 1994; Jacobs 2000). Men married more women because they were a source of cheap labour in the newly resettled areas.

Thus women were highly disadvantaged in Resettlement Areas; they did not have land of their own in case of marital breakdown. Despite the measures taken by the government of Zimbabwe to engender gender equity in the land reform process, concerns continued to be raised that land use rights were still biased against women. There is a weakness in assuming that primary land use rights to males on behalf of the family would meet the normal needs of women, namely married, widowed, single and divorced (Vudzijena 1998). The situation might worsen if the recommendations of the Land Tenure Commission were to be followed since it advocated for the strengthening of customary practices and regulations which vest land use rights and ownership in men (Rukuni 1994). It has also to be noted that indigenous tenure systems and colonially constructed customary law tended not to recognise single parents, and the rights of celibate men and women in common law marriage (Moyo 1995). So most single parents were women and it meant that a greater percentage of the female population had no land use rights.

The general resource bias against women in the Pre-Fast Track land Reform was confirmed in a study done by the Land Tenure Commission (1994) to assess the distribution of land by sex. The findings were as follows: ‘women held 23 per cent of land in resettlement areas, 16 per cent in communal, 5 per cent small scale and 25 percent large scale commercial farming’. Vudzijena (1998) has also confirmed the findings of the Land Tenure Commission and argues that the first phase of the resettlement programme has not resolved the gender bias in land allocation as men hold 77 per cent of the land in the resettlement sector (Vudzijena 1998). A study carried out by Ncube et al (1997) in Matabeleland in Nyozeni Resettlement Scheme also showed that that the greatest beneficiaries of this programme were men. Out of the 60 families that were resettled, only three widows were allocated land in their own right. No divorced or unmarried mothers were allocated land (Chingarande 2004; Ncube et al 1997). Women therefore did not have direct primary land rights in resettlement areas. In order to overcome these persistent inequalities in land tenure rights it is necessary to follow up on legislation and make sure that it is being implemented. The land tenure legislation which merely prohibits discrimination on the basis of sex does not ensure land access to women as evidenced by the above statistics. Mvududu (2000) argues that what is needed is lifting of all legal restrictions on women’s property rights, coupled with land reform legislation and the putting in place of effective enforcement procedures that ensure land redistribution in equal parts to male and female farmers on an individual basis. This could lead to significant changes in the economic status of women in general and rural women in particular.

Chingarande (2004:5-8) has made the following observations about gender issues in the pre-fast track period:

- The male registration of land rights is a colonial legacy that has been maintained by the present state.
- Women have limited access to land in previous resettlement schemes, especially communal areas that are patrilineal.
- There is serious tension between official commitment to gender equality on one hand and reluctance to alienate traditionalist structures of local government on the other.
- Resettlement land tenure is state-dominated and tenure-insecure for settlers because it provides loose permits to use land.
- Few women have individual rights to such land and suffer land deprivation where divorce or death of males occurs.
- Women have accessed land indirectly through men and such access is left entirely to the discretion of the husband and can be withdrawn anytime, for any reason.

These observations would help us understand gender disparities in land tenure in Zimbabwe so that we can find possible ways on how they can be redressed. It is against this background that the need for a comparative research in this area cannot be overemphasised.

Fast track Land Reform and Gender

Unfortunately, there is little fieldwork-based research to tell us about the experience of women in land reform after 2000. Goebel (2005) has also observed the scarcity of written evidence on women and land reform under fast track, and states that Marongwe's (2002) detailed study only discusses women in just a paragraph which informs us about the involvement of rural women in land reform. He states, 'the gender balance at the occupied farms particularly those close to communal and resettlement areas showed balanced numbers of male and female occupiers. In other cases occupiers were young couples where both the wife and the husband participated in farm occupations. There were very few cases in the study area where there was no woman at all' (Marongwe 2002:49). It can be inferred that Marongwe (2002) was only focusing on women who participated in the Fast Track Land Reform but did not endeavour to discuss the number of women who got farms and benefited in their own right in this programme. This is what this present research endeavours to focus on. Sachikonye (2003) has also discussed the fate of commercial farmers in the fast track process and only noted

that, in general, women were being unfairly treated under the fast track process because they had received less than 20 per cent of land that had been allocated by 2003 (Sachikonye 2003). Thus, what can be deduced from Sachikonye's findings is the persistence of the general resource bias against women.

As has already been noted in previous chapters, the fast track process was characterised by lack of planning and violence. According to Goebel (2005), these conditions marginalised women as new settlers and favoured male war veterans and other militants. The fact that there was no provision of infrastructure under fast track meant that women's burdens were increased; they had to carry the heaviest burden of gathering fuel and water in these new undeveloped home sites (Goebel 2005). The re-emergence of Traditional Authorities under the Traditional Leaders Act also meant that women could not be freely allocated land in their own right since these traditional authorities were informed by customary law which does not believe in women owning land. It should also be noted that the objectives of the Fast Track Land Reform Programme did not include women.

The Presidential Land Review Committee headed by Utete (2003) noted that the number of women allocated land under Fast Track was very low countrywide. Women-headed households who benefited under Model A1 constituted about 18 per cent, while women beneficiaries under A2 constituted only 12 per cent. It is most likely that these beneficiaries are connected to the ruling party or government (Utete 2003). The Utete Commission has recommended that land should be registered in both the names of the wife and the husband and has also suggested a quota of 40 per cent of land allocation and funding should be reserved for women. In its examination of the implementation of the Fast Track Land Reform, it has emphasised the need for 'women farmers' to have greater opportunities in terms of access to inputs and labour-saving technologies, land ownership, information and extension services and education (Utete 2003). However, it has to be noted that up to this present date no attempt has been made to implement the conclusions of the Utete Report with respect to women.

The other information on women's involvement in the Fast Track Land Reform has been published in the press which chronicled rural women and girls as victims of violence and rape in ZANU PF youth camps (Meldrum 2003). What was also documented in the press was the fact that some elite black women who were strategically aligned and positioned in the ruling party also benefited from the corrupt allocation of commercial farms (The Zimbabwe Independent 2003). Goebel (2005) states that the best guide on gender and land reform under fast track will be to focus on the efforts of the Women and Lobby Group (WLLG) which has fought vehemently by critiquing government policy reform

documents. Their efforts are yielding positive results, though at a very minimal level. These will be discussed in detail under the section on women's activism and land tenure. On the whole, it can be noted that there is little research done on gender issues in land allocation and redistribution under fast track. This therefore renders the present investigation an imperative exercise.

Women's Activism and Land Tenure

The various types of tenure regimes that have been discussed above highly disadvantage women's access and right to land. Women's groups challenged this gender disparity in land allocation. They campaigned for more secure access for married and single women. *Southern African Feminist Review*, a feminist journal which discussed democratisation and property rights was banned by the government because it was going to create despondency among the general populace. Women's Action Group made representations to government concerning women's land rights. Zimbabwe Women Resource Centre Network published several documents concerning women's land rights. Musasa Project's survey in the Midlands province showed that many women tolerated abuse because of fear of being driven off the land (Made 1999, cited by Goebel 2005).

Of particular importance to women's activism and land reform was the formation of the Women and Land Lobby Group (WLLG) in 1998 by a group of women activists who were committed to the land issue. They critiqued the government policy papers since 1998 and their efforts yielded some few positive results and still face some challenges in proclaiming equality in land allocation on gender basis in a country that quickly falls back on customary law when it wants to defend men's persistent domination in land ownership. Jacobs (2000) has also noted the efforts of the WLLG and states that it campaigned for a third of the land which had been designated for resettlement to male ex-combatants to be allocated to women in their own right.

The efforts of the WLLG influenced government policy documents on land policy after 2000. Of particular importance is the inclusion of article 3.2.3.5 on Land Tenure Arrangements, which states, 'Land leases and title deeds for married couples should be in both spouses' names' (Government of Zimbabwe 2001:13). Goebel (2005) argues that the inclusion of that article has been recorded as a significant victory by the WLLG which, however, is quick to point out the challenges being faced in its implementation. WLLG argues that current practices continue to follow the traditional way of writing the husband's name on the permits and titles. WLLG also noted that culture,

and especially family, is used to perpetuate women's deprivation of land access. WLLG further noted that most women in rural areas do not have registered marriages and it is difficult for them to call for joint registration of land leases. The other impediment noted by WLLG was the lack of legal provisions that might help to improve women's position. They argue that the Land Act and inheritance bills still do not deal with land inheritance and this implies that widows will continue to be vulnerable to loss of land through customary practices (Goebel 2005). Zimbabwe still uses some legal instruments that discriminate against women despite the constitution stating in section 23 (1) and (2) that no one should be discriminated on the basis of race, colour, sex or creed. However, sub-sections 23 (3) a, b and f still discriminate against women through customary law. Traditional customary law in Zimbabwe was flexible, but codified customary law was written in stone and is very rigid. Codified customary law in Zimbabwe is patriarchal in nature and patriarchy is based on the principle of sex discrimination (Musasa Project 2003). When such laws are still at play it means that women's access to resources like land will always remain a challenge.

The WLLG challenges the Communal Lands Act which states that land should be distributed according to the customs and practices of the area. The Rukuni Commission on Appropriate Agricultural Land Tenure Systems (1994) also proposed to the government that land ownership and redistribution should be heavily informed by customary law. This means that women would have no opportunity to own land since, under customary law, land is owned by a male figurehead of the family. The Zimbabwe Land Reform Act of 2000 states that women should be allocated at least 20 per cent of the resettlement land and yet women constitute about 52 per cent of the population (Government of Zimbabwe 2004). Such discriminatory laws and practices continue to push women to the periphery and prevent them from fully participating in decision making.

The Zimbabwe Companies Act also puts some restrictions on married women who have to get the consent of their husbands to be company directors. Section 173 (1) (b) states that if a woman is married in community of property, she can only be Company Director 'if the husband gives his written consent and that consent is lodged with the Registrar of companies' (Mazambani 2006:5). On the other hand, married men do not need to get the consent of their wives in order to become company directors. So women's participation in decision making and high posts like being company director depends on the willingness of their husbands. If the husband does not want,

the woman cannot be company director no matter how well qualified she is. Such discriminatory laws continue to shut Zimbabwean women from accessing resources like land and senior management positions.

Despite the passing of laws such as the Legal Age of Majority Act (LAMA) in which both men and women are supposed to enjoy equal legal majority status upon attaining the age of 18, it can be seen that in the Zimbabwean case that is not what obtains. Gudhlanga (2011) argues that the majority status is only in theory because some legal cases that have gone to the courts of Zimbabwe still attest that customary law is still in control. Under codified customary law, women still continue to be perpetual minors despite the passing of the Legal Age of Majority Act. Goredema (unpublished) gives a list of cases in which women were discriminated against by Zimbabwe's courts despite the passing of LAMA in 1982. In the case of *Vareta v Vareta* (1992) (2)ZLR(1)H, the son even though younger than the daughter was appointed heir to the late father's estate and the presiding judge said this aspect was not affected by LAMA (Feltoe and Rowland 1999). In the case of *Marisa v Marisa* 1992(1) ZLR167(S), a surviving widow was only appointed to administer the estate of her late husband on behalf of the their children, and not to be heir to the late husband's estate (Feltoe and Rowland 1999). The case of *Magaya v Magaya* 1999(1) ZLR100(S) also demonstrates how women continue to be perpetual minors under customary law. In this case, an older female child in a polygamous union wanted to inherit ahead of the younger brother son to the second wife, but lost the case to the younger brother. The Zimbabwe Supreme Court (five judges) ruled unanimously that only men could inherit under customary law (UNICEF 2004, cited in Goredema, unpublished). The judge presiding over the case held that, 'The claimant is a lady and therefore cannot be appointed heir to her father's estate when there is a man' (Mazambani 2006:8). The women in the above cases were discriminated against in inheriting or administering their deceased father' or husband's estate (Gudhlanga 2011).

According to Goredema (unpublished), in the cultural sense, widows and girls are passers-by, therefore allowing them to inherit takes away the riches from the clan-line. This amply demonstrates that Zimbabwean women are still discriminated against by statutory law hiding behind customary law. This makes it difficult for Zimbabwean women to freely participate in land reform. As a result, the WLLG and other feminist organisations are calling for the amendment of the Zimbabwe Constitution so that such discriminatory tendencies will be done away with once and for all.

In the post-2000 era, the Women and Land Organisation made a lot of representations concerning women's land rights and access to land. They aired a lot of television programmes that discussed women and land issues. However, their campaign died a natural death and people in Zimbabwe have forgotten about the Women and Land Organisation efforts. The organisation is still operating but does not discuss issues openly as before. Similarly, the WLLG is also very quiet. The women at the grassroots level are not aware of these organisations' efforts. It would also be interesting to see why organisations that call for women's land rights have decided to take a back seat venture when land reform is at its peak in Zimbabwe. The other factor that makes it so difficult for women to have equal rights with men is the state itself which is deeply entrenched in patriarchal beliefs. The role of the state in influencing land reform will be discussed in detail in the following section.

State Politics, Gender and Land Tenure

Despite all the efforts made by the women's organisations, women still have no secure access to land and do not have land under freehold. Their right and access to land is still mediated by their male relatives. This is because of the government's rhetorical emphasis on redressing historical imbalances. Yet on the land question, women's demands for land have been neglected by the state which does not want to lose support among its male-dominated political party structures (Moyo 1995). This was clearly brought out by the then Vice President, Joseph Msika, who when asked at a press conference why women did not have land rights said, 'because I would have my head cut off by men if I gave women land...men would turn against the government...giving wives land, or even granting joint titles, would destroy the family' (Sayagues 1998, cited in Jacobs 2000:136). Contrary to the above statement, the then Minister of Agriculture, Dr Joseph Made, argued that: 'Since the family is traditionally made up of two partners, government cannot say which partner should come forward to apply for land. Such specifics should be left out to the families to decide...' (WLLG 2001a:9). All these contesting views show that there is no clear-cut policy on women's access to land. This then makes women's negotiation for their land use rights very problematic. The Land and Tenure Commission of 1994 did not propose legislative and administrative changes which would allocate women rights in respect of land and property; instead it insisted that 'family rights' in land be allocated customarily. The neglect of women's land issues by the state is not unique to Zimbabwe alone, but is also characteristic of South East Asia where Bina Argawal was told by a Minister of Agriculture, 'Are you suggesting that women would be given rights in land? What

do women want? To destroy the family?' (Argawal 1994:53). The discrimination of women is exacerbated by the reintroduction of traditional leaders in land allocation. This male-dominated leadership seeks to promote patriarchal beliefs in land allocation and redistribution. This amply demonstrates that women still have a long battle to fight in order to be finally free from customary law interpretations by the patriarchal leadership.

Conclusion

Land reform in Africa and other parts of the world can never be fully democratic until it emphasises women's rights. Gender analysis in Zimbabwe shows the inability of formal law to ensure women's rights to land when such laws are socially legitimate and enforceable. This is evidenced by the Magaya, Marisa and Vareta cases discussed earlier in the chapter. If the use of customary law and statutory law persist in undermining women's land rights and access, then Zimbabwe still has a long way to go in terms of addressing gender issues in land reform. Goebel (2005) also argues that the chaotic nature of the fast track process and the loss of state support for women's equality rights demonstrate that the struggle for women's land rights in Zimbabwe may be more difficult than ever before. This research intended to explore whether there were any changes in access to land by women in their own right. These issues are explored in the next chapter which focuses on research findings and discussion.

6

Presentation, Discussion and Interpretation of Findings

Introduction

This chapter focuses on presentation, discussion and interpretation of results. The results are presented and discussed under the research questions which informed the study. The first part of the chapter presents the biodata of the respondents. These are the beneficiaries' age ranges by phase of resettlement and by sex; their educational levels; employment sectors; origins (where they were before they were resettled); the economic sectors they belong to; whether or not beneficiaries received some form of agricultural training; status of occupancy; and tenureship held by the beneficiaries. Some of the biodata implicitly address the question of the redistributive nature of the resettlement programmes.

Biodata of Respondents

Any empowering process in any society should cater for the needs of its people from the youngest to the oldest. It should be borne in mind that land reform programmes sought to empower the indigenous people of Zimbabwe. Therefore, there is need to assess whether or not the distribution of land was sensitive to different age groups. There are those that were in the age range between 15 and 35 years who were shaping their dreams and are referred to as young adults in the context of this study. This age range has lots of energy,

but fall short on experience in farming. This study classified beneficiaries into the following age categories: young adults (15 – 34 years old); adults (35 – 64 years old); and, the old aged (65 years and above). The study viewed the age range between 15 and 64 years as comprising the economically active beneficiaries. Table 6.1 shows the distribution of beneficiaries by age and by phase of resettlement.

Table 6.1: Age Range Distribution by Phase of Resettlement

Age Range	Pre-Fast Track%	Fast Track%
35 years of age and below	14.9	17.6
36 – 49 years of age	30.9	37.3
50 – 64 years of age	31.9	37.3
65 years of age and above	22.3	7.8

Results show that of the beneficiaries, 17.6 per cent were young adults under Fast Track, while under Pre-Fast Track; young adults comprised 14.9 per cent. The Pre-Fast Track phase was characterised by distribution of land in the mid 1980s to the late 1990s. It therefore follows that most beneficiaries under Pre-Fast Track should be generally older than those under Fast Track. The pattern observed under Pre-Fast Track (14.9%) was consistent with the period when the phase was rolled out. The 14.9 per cent could be consisting of beneficiaries who inherited the plots from their parents, or those young adults who were allocated land by their respective headmen probably on land that was initially set aside for livestock grazing, due to population pressure. These could be young adults who had grown up, got married and moved away from their parents' homesteads. The parents could have been the original beneficiaries.

However, under Fast Track, there were deliberate efforts to allocate land to young adults. Furthermore, these young adults could have actively participated in *Chimurenga III*, invading farms in the company of war veterans. This being the case, there was no way these young adults could have been left out during resettlement, hence the 17.5 per cent representing young adults (35 years and below).

For adults, that is, ages between 36 and 64 years, 74.6 per cent benefited under Fast Track compared to 62.8 per cent of the same age range under Pre-Fast Track. Under Pre-Fast Track phase, 22.3 per cent of the beneficiaries were above 65 years of age as compared 7.8 per cent under Fast Track. This is

a clear indication that those who were resettled in the 1980s are now in the twilight of their lives. They have gone beyond the economically active group, after almost 30 years since the Pre-Fast Track was rolled out. There was no deliberate attempt by the government of Zimbabwe to give land to the aged under the Pre-Fast Track phase; instead those beneficiaries who were 65 years and above had aged with time.

The overall picture is that the two phases had more beneficiaries who were between 35 years and 64 years. This augured well for both reform programmes since the dominant age range was the economically active age group. This meant that all other things being equal, the resettled land was going to be put to good use, ensuring food security, especially at the household level. Table 6.2 shows how the beneficiaries were distributed by age, sex and resettlement phase. It is important to analyse age range distribution by sex in order to establish whether women were empowered by the agrarian reform, and if they were, the age range of women that benefited most. As discussed in chapters one and four, women are synonymous with farming in the African context.

Table 6.2: Age Range Distribution of Beneficiaries by Resettlement Phase and by Gender

Age Range	Pre-Fast Track %		Fast Track %	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
35 years of age and below	15.3	14.3	20.5	8.3
36 – 49 years	28.8	34.3	32.1	54.2
50 – 64	35.6	25.7	37.2	37.5
65 years and above	20.3	25.7	10.3	0

Management of the environment is pivotal in any land management programme, since it has implications for sustainable development. Management of the environment is linked to one's level of education. Beneficiaries were therefore requested to indicate their levels of education. Their responses are captured in Table 6.3.

Table 6.3: Educational Level of Beneficiaries

Level of Education	Pre-Fast Track		Fast Track	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Never been to school	16.9	40	7.7	20.8
Primary level	45.8	45.7	35.9	54.2
'O' level	35.6	14.3	46.2	16.7
'A' level	0	0	1.3	0
Diploma	1.7	0	7.7	8.3
Degree	0	0	1.3	0

The beneficiaries' level of education has implication for a number of issues related to land use, management and productivity. First it influences the beneficiaries' adoption rate of new farming technologies. Second, it influences the extent to which beneficiaries respond to call for proper management of the land and conservation of the environment. Third, the need to adopt farming as a business cannot be overemphasised, especially for beneficiaries who were resettled on land that used to be productive during the colonial era. Therefore, educational level of beneficiaries will have a bearing on how well beneficiaries adopt farming as a business. Agro-business activities such as budgeting, cash flow analysis, basic accounting, record keeping, decision making based on records, and marketing all revolve around one's level of education. Certain farming operations, such as planning effective crop rotation, mixing of herbicides, mixing feeding formulae for livestock, planning the breeding season of livestock, are all related to ones' educational level. Fourth, level of education is closely linked to HIV/AIDS awareness, prevention and control. The impact of HIV/AIDS on farming operations and its threat to reverse the gains of agrarian reforms is discussed elsewhere in this chapter.

Approximately 7.7 per cent Fast Track male beneficiaries had no educational qualification, as compared to 16.9 per cent male beneficiaries under Pre-Fast Track. Female beneficiaries under Fast Track, comprising 20.8 per cent and 40 per cent Pre-Fast Track beneficiaries indicated that they never attained any level of education. Three observations stand out from Table 6.3. First, the percentage of beneficiaries who had some form of education at all levels was greater under Fast Track than Pre-Fast Track. Second, the percentage of female beneficiaries with some level of education was less than male beneficiaries' percentages in both phases. Third, percentages of Pre-Fast Track beneficiaries having some form of education at all levels was less than for Fast Track female

beneficiaries, with the exception of ‘O’ level qualification where Pre-Fast Track male beneficiaries constituted 35.6 per cent, while female Fast Track beneficiaries constituted 16.7 per cent. Assuming that there is a correlation between level of education and productivity, one may conclude that Fast Track beneficiaries should produce more than Pre-Fast Track beneficiaries, all other things being equal, owing to Fast Track beneficiaries’ higher literacy and numeracy levels.

Why the differences in levels of education? This could be attributed to a number of reasons, chief among them being: First, Pre-Fast Track beneficiaries having been resettled soon after independence. Educational opportunities for indigenous Zimbabweans were limited during the colonial era; therefore at independence the percentage of indigenous Zimbabweans with some level of education was quite low. Second, by the time when the Fast Track phase was rolled out, a lot of Zimbabweans (including females) had acquired some education due to unprecedented quantitative educational expansion witnessed in Zimbabwe during the country’s early years of independence. Third, females unfortunately tended to lag behind in accessing education due to the patriarchal nature of the Zimbabwean society. Some families in rural communities could still be viewing educating the girl-child as an unnecessary expense. Yet, apart from impinging on issues discussed earlier, educating the girl-child is also correlated to women’s productive health and fertility and the family’s quality of life. It was also important to establish whether or not beneficiaries in both phases had received some training in agriculture before resettlement or after. Table 6.4 indicates the beneficiaries’ responses.

Table 6.4: Some Form of Agriculture Training Before or After Resettlement

	Pre-Fast Track %		Fast Track %	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Received training	79.7	57.1	78.2	66.7
Did not receive training	20.3	42.9	21.8	33.3

The pattern was almost similar for both phases, with 78.2 per cent and 79.7 per cent male beneficiaries in Fast Track and Pre-Fast Track phases, respectively, indicating that they had received some form of agriculture training. However,

the number of female beneficiaries who received some training was lower, with 66.7 per cent women under Fast Track and 57.1 per cent under Pre-Fast Track indicating that they had received training. The slight difference could be attributed to the fact that most female beneficiaries under Pre-Fast Track were not original beneficiaries; they could have attained the beneficiary status after the death of their husbands. The situation is different under Fast Track, since there was a deliberate policy to empower a certain percentage of women through resettlement. Assuming that the training was effective, it should augur well for proper land use, resource management and improvement of rural livelihoods.

Generally, results show that females lagged behind their male counterparts in terms of agriculture training. Notwithstanding this anomaly, the overall high percentages of beneficiaries who received some form of agriculture training are an indication that the government of Zimbabwe is committed to the success of the agrarian reform. However, the percentage of female beneficiaries who received training should be cause for concern, owing to the realisation that the number of women doing the actual tilling of the land, even in male-headed households, is higher than that of men.

The study also sought to establish the status of occupancy, i.e. whether the occupants were beneficiaries or renting (refer to Table 6.5).

Table 6.5: Status of Occupancy

Status of occupancy	Pre Fast Track %		Fast Track %	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Beneficiary	98.3	100	98.7	100
Renting	1.7	0	1.3	0

One of the major goals of the land reform programmes is to redistribute land, targeting the landless, and those individuals in congested districts. Hence it is imperative to establish status of people who are tilling the land (whether they are the beneficiaries or renting). Results show that 98.3 per cent of the Pre-Fast Track male respondents occupying the land were direct beneficiaries, while 1.7 per cent were renting. One hundred per cent (100%) female respondents were direct beneficiaries. Similarly, 98.7 per cent of Fast Track male respondents were beneficiaries compared to 1.3 per cent who were renting. One hundred per cent (100%) female Fast Track respondents were beneficiaries. Beneficiaries who rented their plots out are represented by 1.7

per cent Pre-Fast Track and 1.3 per cent Fast Track. Reasons could be that these people wanted land for the sake of it or they could not work the land due to financial problems. Be that as it may, this percentage is too insignificant to warrant too much attention. Results serve to obliterate the widely held myth in the Western media that a greater percentage of resettled land has been rented out, fuelling the assertion that indigenous Zimbabweans do not want land for farming purposes. The study did not establish the plot uptake levels under Fast Track. However, if vast stretches of unoccupied land observed in Fast Track resettlement areas are anything to go by, this dimension warrants attention in future studies, and its implications for food security established.

The issue of tenure crops up in discussions on land reform. It is important to establish the tenure held by beneficiaries since it has a bearing on levels of investment on land, all other things being equal. Investment on land has a bearing on levels of production. In addition, type of tenure has an effect on one's chances of accessing loans from money-lending institutions. Respondents were requested to indicate the tenure they held on the land they occupied. Their responses are encapsulated in Table 6.6.

Table 6.6: Tenure of Beneficiaries

Type of Tenure	Pre-Fast Track %		Fast Track %	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Communal	18.6	14.3	6.4	4.2
99-year lease	44.1	42.9	65.4	45.8
I do not know	37.3	42.9	28.2	50

Male respondents, comprising 6.7 per cent under Fast Track indicated that they had communal tenure, 65.4 per cent had 99 year leases and 28.8 per cent did not know the type of tenure they held. The distribution of female beneficiaries under Fast Track was: 4.2 per cent held communal tenure, 45.8 per cent 99 year leases and 50 per cent did not know the tenure under which they held land. The implication of not knowing the type of tenure was that, resources permitting, farmers might grow cold feet when it came to investing on the land.

Under Pre-Fast Track, 18.6 per cent males indicated that they held communal tenure, 44.1 per cent held 99 year leases, and 37.3 per cent did not know. For female beneficiaries, responses were: 14.3 per cent communal tenure, 42.9 per cent 99-year leases, and 42.9 per cent did not know. Results

on tenure reveal a lot of ignorance on land tenure. Pre-Fast Track land in the study was all held under communal tenure, yet 44.1 per cent (males) and 42.9 per cent (females) indicated that they held 99-year leases.

Notwithstanding the above, it is encouraging to note that significant percentages of Fast Track beneficiaries (65.4 per cent males and 45.8 per cent females) held 99-year leases. This ensures beneficiaries of the irreversibility of the land reform programme. Beneficiaries' confidence in the land reform programme may grow, resulting in more interest and commitment to invest on the land. Long leases, like 99-year ones, may create a sense of ownership of the land, leading to investment and sustainable land utilisation. Lack of a sense of ownership of the land has bred ambivalence and uncertainty, which has resulted in beneficiaries under Fast Track erecting makeshift dwellings because most were not sure of their future. Presently, most beneficiaries' homesteads under Fast Track are simple grass-thatched, pole and mud huts (see Plate 6.1). While at present most banks are not accepting 99-year leases as security against which to lend money, negotiations are on-going to equate these leases to title deeds. This development will make it possible for beneficiaries to use their 99-year leases as security when borrowing money from financial institutions. Assuming that financial liquidity improves, positive 99-year lease negotiation outcomes may go a long way towards ameliorating beneficiaries' financial woes.

One of the beneficiaries decried government policy which discouraged individuals from making improvements on farms immediately after they had occupied them. He lamented that they lost time by not developing their plots in the initial period of occupation because they were not sure that they would stay permanently on the former commercial farms. The other problem faced by farmers was acquiring the resources to be able to build proper houses in the Fast track resettlement area.

Plate 6.1: Type of Shelter Built by Some Fast Track Beneficiaries

Shelters built by beneficiaries of the Fast Track farmers. Some of the farmers decried government's initial policy of discouraging farmers from building permanent structures.

Research Question 1: What was the Redistributive Nature of Both Resettlement Phases?

Pre-Fast Track was redistributive owing to the model's transparency (Tshuma 1998). Selection involved chiefs, district administrators and land resettlement officers. Members of the society benefited notwithstanding their political affiliation. The other reason could be that during the 1980s, the indigenous people did not regard the prevailing political dispensation as a contested terrain. There was a unity of purpose, and talk of a one-party state was rife and had a lot of proponents. Moyo (2007), Sachikonye (2003) and Lebert (2003) concur that Pre- Fast Track land reform was well planned and was guided by the need to decongest communal areas. Table 6.7 supports this argument.

Table 6.7: Origins of Beneficiaries for Pre-Fast Track and Fast Track Resettlements

Origin	Pre Fast Track (%)	Fast Track (%)
Urban centres	13.8	36.3
Communal areas	61.7	51
Farms	24.5	12.7
Total	100	100

Be that as it may, some writers from the Western world purport that Pre-Fast Track benefited senior civil servants and ZANU (PF) senior cadres who managed to occupy large-scale commercial farms (Goebel 2005). This premise is difficult to substantiate from data gathered for this investigation, since large-scale commercial farm resettlement was outside the scope of this investigation.

Available literature shows that Fast Track was redistributive in the sense that its beneficiaries were drawn from different socio-economic levels: the poor, war veterans, peasants, working class, middle class and the affluent (Moyo 2007; Sachikonye 2003). However, while results affirm the above, it can also be inferred that distribution under Fast Track was partisan in nature, having benefited mainly ZANU (PF) supporters. This is premised on the modus operandi which led to the settlement of people on the farms, that is invasion or *Chimurenga III*. Beneficiaries were vetted by war veterans. This made it difficult for opposition members of society to benefit. Results also indicate that people were invited and encouraged to apply for land, through district and provisional land officers. For an outside observer, this brings a semblance of neutrality or impartiality. However, there were inbuilt mechanisms that made it difficult for opposition party members to benefit to the same extent as ZANU (PF) members. The Land Committees tasked with the selection of beneficiaries were predominantly made up of ZANU (PF) sympathisers who ensured that members of society aligned to the ruling party benefited.

From Table 6.7, it is also evident that an appreciable number of Fast Track beneficiaries originated from towns. This could be attributed to the Push-Pull Theory. For the urban dweller, push factors were the ramifications of Operation Murambatsvina (Restore Order) (a Government-initiated operation that was aimed at ridding urban areas of slums, squatters and petty commodity vending). This operation created a substantial number of

homeless urban dwellers. Tibaijuka (2005) states that the number of people affected directly and indirectly by the operation was about 2.4 million, which comprised 18 per cent of Zimbabwe's total population in 2005. However, the government of Zimbabwe contests this figure, arguing that it was inflated in order to discredit it. Other push factors were: astronomical prices of basic commodities, high cost of living, and unemployment as a result of a shrinking economy. These factors made life difficult for the urban dwellers. At the same time, the country experienced prolonged years of low food production, which meant that urban dwellers could not readily access food from rural areas. When the opportunity to get land through Fast Track presented itself, some urban dwellers joined the land invasion. Land and what it promised to produce became the pull factors.

Scholars such as Gelfand (1973a) note that the indigenous people of Zimbabwe seem to attach some spiritual importance to land. This is a factor which has not received much attention from scholars on agrarian reforms in trying to explain the high demand for land. This phenomenon is evidenced by affluent, gainfully employed indigenous people, having luxurious residences in plush urban centres but still want to maintain rural homes. Some of these affluent people end up being given land, as is the case with an appreciable percentage of Fast Track beneficiaries.

Results on the origins of beneficiaries under the Fast Track phase show that some of the beneficiaries' grandparents had been evicted from this land in the colonial period. At the onset of *Jambanja*, the aggrieved descendants purportedly came back to reclaim what rightfully belonged to them. They took advantage of the Fast Track reform programme and invaded the land that was usurped from their grandparents. This nexus relationship between spirituality and land has not received attention in the past. However, it is a factor that should not be ignored when one is examining pressure on land and other land-related issues. One of the beneficiaries stated that they had returned to the area where their grandparents' remains were interred.

The study also sought to establish the redistributive nature of land reform in terms of economic sectors of the beneficiaries. To this end, beneficiaries were requested to indicate the economic sectors they belonged to. Table 6.8 captures the beneficiaries' responses.

Table 6.8: Employment Sector of Beneficiaries

Employment sector	Pre-Fast Track %		Fast Track %	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Civil service	5.1	2.9	15.4	25
Private sector	16.9	11.4	10.3	0
Full-time farmer	78	85.7	74.4	75

Results show that beneficiaries of land reform were in different economic sectors. The only notable difference between the two phases is the percentage of beneficiaries who were in the private sector of the economy. Under Fast Track, there were no female beneficiaries who indicated that they were employed in the private sector, while 11.4 per cent women under Pre-Fast Track indicated that they were employed in the private sector. At the same time, 10.3 per cent of the male Fast Track beneficiaries and 16.9 per cent Pre Fast Track beneficiaries were employed in the private sector. It is evident that the number of beneficiaries employed in the private sector was higher under the Pre-Fast Track phase as compared to Fast Track. This could be due to the fact that the farmland under Pre-Fast Track was becoming exhausted and farmers were looking for employment in the private sector to supplement whatever was being obtained from farming. The results also show that more civil service employees benefited under Fast Track as compared to under Pre-Fast Track. Under Fast Track, the percentage of male civil service employees who benefited was 15.45 per cent as compared to 5.15 per cent who benefited under Pre-Fast Track. The same pattern is observed for female beneficiaries, with 25 per cent under Fast Track and 2.9 per cent under Pre-Fast Track. A number of reasons could be attributed to this observation. Firstly, as argued by Vudzijena (1998), under Fast Track, 20 per cent of the land in all phases was reserved for war veterans. It should be noted that the civil service has a reasonable percentage of war veterans serving as police officers as well as soldiers. Secondly, a certain percentage of land under all phases was also set aside for civil servants. Thirdly, since the district administrators were also actively involved in the regularisation of farm occupations, it also meant members of staff from the district administrator's office could have benefited from the reform programme. Fourthly, other civil servants in the agricultural-related activities (agriculture extension officers and veterinary officers) could have benefited by virtue of being in the agriculture industry.

The results also indicate that 75 per cent of the respondents under both phases were fulltime farmers. It shows that the greater percentage of beneficiaries was concentrating on farming, contrary to insinuations from the Western press that the government of Zimbabwe parcelled out land to people who were not interested in farming, thus leaving most of the land lying fallow.

Research Question 2: How were Beneficiaries Selected for Both Phases?

In the Pre-Fast Track, beneficiaries were chosen with the help of chiefs, district administrators and land resettlement officers. After selection, beneficiaries were escorted by government officers to their land. Pre-Fast Track was thus planned. See Table 6.9.

Table 6.9: Beneficiary Selection Criteria Used in Pre-Fast Track Resettlement

Selection Criteria	Percentage Distribution
Through chiefs	26
Resettlement Officers	10
District Administrator	19
Master Farmer's Certificate	45
Total	100

The main criteria used for selection was one's competence in farming as shown by the percentage of farmers chosen based on Master Farmers' Certificate (45%). Those that did not have the Master Farmer Certificates were chosen either by the District Administrator (19%), the Chief (26%) and the Resettlement Officers (10%) based on people's willingness to move to new areas. The targeted areas for decongestion were those having highest levels of population pressure. We also think that age was a factor during Pre-Fast Track, with the economically active people more willing to move than those in the twilight of their lives. This serves to prove that the programme was planned and had some set criteria, as argued by Tshuma (1998).

Results reveal that under Fast Track, resettlement was by invasion led by war veterans and ZANU (PF) cadres. The government land officers only went in to regularise the occupations after land was already invaded by angry people who were propelled by the hard economic conditions; hence scholars like Lebert

(2003) argue that the programme was not planned. Results confirm Lebert's (2003) observation that Fast Track was invasion-driven. Some scholars link the advent of Fast Track, to the NO VOTE in the referendum of 1999. The data gathered for this study can neither affirm nor refute this claim, since it was beyond the scope of this research. Table 6.10 highlights how beneficiaries ended in Fast Track resettlements.

Table 6.10: Beneficiary Selection Criteria Used in Fast Track Resettlement

Selection Criteria	Percentage
Land inversion	56
Chimurenga III	22
War veterans	15
Government announcement	07
Total	100

There is a striking difference between the two phases. Fast track results reveal that there were no laid down procedures, hence the name *Jambanja*. The responses show that there was only one strategy used since there was no difference between land invasion, Chimurenga III and land allocated by war veterans. The results show that there were no laid down procedures or guidelines. This is consistent with Marongwe's (2003) and Moyo's (2007) observations that white farmers were forced off the farms by land-hungry indigenous people who invaded the land. These disgruntled people were pushed by hard socio-economic conditions. They viewed land ownership as a way to improved livelihoods. Most scholars who are sympathetic to the fate of the former white commercial farmers, whose farms were invaded, posit that the driving force behind Fast Track was ZANU PF's need for political survival (Lebert 2002).

On the contrary, Marongwe (2004) opines that the indigenous people and the Zimbabwean government were frustrated by the slow pace at which land was being redistributed on 'willing-seller-willing buyer' basis. However, results have shown that other factors like demographic and socio-economic pressures forced the Zimbabwean government to negate Pre-Fast Track and embark on Fast Track resettlement. Results also show that some beneficiaries originated from towns; these could have been running away from hard economic conditions, while others came from earlier resettlement areas, i.e. those who had benefited from Pre-Fast Track and were driven off by population pressure

on the land. The link between demographic factors and reform programmes tended to be ignored in the literature available (refer to Table 6.11).

Table 6.11: Push Factors from Rural Areas

Push Factor	Percentage
Going back to ancestral land	15
Shortage of grazing land	37
Shortage of arable land	23
Land degradation	15
Shortage of water	10

Results indicate that there were push factors that led people in communal areas to demand for land. These factors apply to both models of agrarian reforms. The need for grazing land was the highest factor at 37 per cent. This is probably due to the way wealth is measured in communal areas. Wealth is measured in terms of the number of livestock owned by an individual, especially cattle. Hence, this factor became prominent. As alluded to earlier in this report, in the African context there is some spirituality between people and land, hence the saying: *Mwana wevhu* (Shona) or *Umntwana wenhlabathi* (Ndebele). Translated into English, it means ‘Child of the Soil’. This spirituality between land (soil) and African people is evidenced by the percentage of people who wanted to go and reclaim the land which belonged to their ancestors (15 per cent). This trend is also evident in South Africa, where *restitution* is topical in attempts to redress that country’s land-related colonial injustices. It is evident that both communal and urban people were experiencing unpleasant factors which motivated them to demand land. This also explains the centrality of land during Zimbabwe’s Wars of Liberation (*Chimurenga I and II*).

Research Question 3: What were the Implementation Strategies in Both Phases?

The implementation strategies were evaluated taking into cognisance the ease with which farmers in the two phases could access services essential for smooth farming operations. Such services included agriculture extension and veterinary services, transport and communication, bank loans, health services, markets, shops, dip tanks and schools. Results show significant differences between the two phases. Table 6.12 details the Pre-Fast Track beneficiaries’ access to services.

Table 6.12: Access to Services – Pre-Fast Track

Ranking Criteria	Access to Markets (%)	Access to Shops (%)	Access to Dip Tanks (%)	Access to Health Services (%)	Access to Bank Loans (%)	Access to Transport and Communication (%)	Access to Schools (%)	Access to Extension Services (%)
Very easy	0	4.3	21.3	8.6	0	7.4	30.9	51.1
Easy	10.6	19.1	53.2	45.7	9.5	41.5	55.3	43.6
Difficult	37.2	42.6	18	13.8	16	24.5	8.5	3.2
Very difficult	52.2	34	7.5	31.9	74.5	26.6	5.3	2.1

Apart from markets (89.4 %), transport and communication (51 %) and access to bank loans (90.5 %), most of the farming support services were readily available. This underscores the observation that Pre-Fast Track resettlement was well conceived and planned. Access to markets was very difficult for farmers owing to the location of farms versus location of markets. Literature showed that most of the land availed for resettlement during the Pre-Fast Track was peripheral land, acquired on willing-seller-willing-buyer basis. This land was far away from urban centres where markets are located. However, facilities such as health services (54 %), schools (86 %), extension services (95 %), and dip tanks (74.5 %) were easily accessible. This underscores the fact that the programme was well planned. In fact, provision of services and amenities preceded the resettlement of beneficiaries (Sachikonye 2003; Lebert 2003). This is in clear contrast to the pattern under Fast Track (refer to Table 6.13).

Table 6.13: Access to Services – Fast Track

Ranking Criteria	Access to Markets (%)	Access to Shops (%)	Access to Dip Tanks (%)	Access to Health Services (%)	Access to Bank Loans (%)	Access to Transport and Communication (%)	Access to Schools (%)	Access to Extension Services (%)
Very easy	11.8	9.8	13.7	4.9	2.9	11.8	16.7	66.7
Easy	12.7	10.8	18.6	6.9	1	21.6	27.5	26.5
Difficult	21.6	22.7	22.5	30.4	10.8	27.4	26.5	4.8
Very difficult	53.9	56.9	45.2	57.8	85.3	39.2	29.3	2

Access to schools was difficult, with 55.8 per cent of the respondents complaining about difficulties in accessing educational facilities. About 88.2 per cent of the respondents stated that they had difficulties in accessing health facilities. These difficulties can be attributed to lack of planning prior to the resettlement of beneficiaries. However, 93.2 per cent of the respondents declared that they had no problems in accessing extension services. Readers should note that this research was conducted after the deployment of agriculture extension workers in early 2010. The government of Zimbabwe, in its attempt to prove the prophets of doom wrong regarding the success of the Fast Track agrarian reform, viewed the reduction of the ratio of farmers to agricultural extension workers as pivotal to production.

At the onset of Fast Track, no agriculture extension services were in place. Regardless of the motive of the government of Zimbabwe, it must be credited for providing agriculture extension services, as it is one of the variables which impinge on productivity. Transport services, on the other hand, proved problematic, with 66.6 per cent complaining of transport-related difficulties. It should be noted that farms which were covered under Fast Track agrarian reforms were mostly near urban centres, thus having relatively better road and rail network. Notwithstanding

this reality, the transport dilemma alluded to by Fast Track beneficiaries can be attributed to the fact that most of the Fast Track beneficiaries did not have their own transport, and relied on hired transport. Apart from being expensive, hired transport is not always readily available. The transport situation was exacerbated by the fact that the railway transport network was in a bad state, which made it difficult for farmers to use rail transport as an option.

Under Pre-Fast Track, 74.5 per cent of the respondents indicated that they had access to dip tanks, compared to 32.3 per cent of the respondents under Fast Track. While this investigation did not elicit information on the prevalence of tick-bone diseases, it can be surmised that these were likely to be problematic under Fast Track, resulting in the decimation of livestock that were likely to be the main source of draught power for farming activities. Access to loans to finance farming operations proved very difficult for farmers under both phases. The reason was that banks demanded collateral security which most farmers did not have. Farmers in the two phases under consideration did not have title deeds to the land. Secondly, the country's economy was emerging from a targeted sanctions-induced depression, and hence liquidity was still a problem.

Given the limitations on access to loans, the next question to ask was: How then were these farmers financing their farming activities, given that they were from diverse backgrounds, some with no strong financial backbone. To establish this, farmers were requested to indicate their sources of inputs (refer to Table 6.14).

Table 6.14: Sources of Farming Inputs – Pre-Fast Track

Source of Inputs	Pre-Fast Track %	Fast Track %
Contract farming	5.3	2
Government	26.6	13.7
Self-financing	56.4	94.1
Other (Seeds from previous year's harvest)	9.6	1
Non-Governmental Organisations	42.6	0
Bank loans	5.6	0

As alluded to earlier, farmers under both phases had problems in accessing bank loans. It is also evident that in both phases, self-financing of agricultural operations was predominant (56.4 per cent Pre-Fast Track and 94.1 per cent Fast Track). Respondents under Pre-Fast Track comprising 42.6 per

cent indicated that they also received inputs from Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs). Agriculture extension officers in the district in which the study was conducted explained that NGOs were not willing to be associated with Fast Track beneficiaries since they considered Fast Track land as legally contested areas. Government hand-outs consisted of 26.6 per cent under Pre-Fast Track and 13.7 per cent under Fast Track.

Levels of Funding Impact on Farm Mechanisation

Respondents were requested to indicate tools/equipment/machinery they had access to. Table 6.15 shows their responses.

Table 6.15: Access to Tools/Equipment/Machinery

Hand Tools	Pre-Fast Track			Fast Track		
	Owned (%)	Borrowed (%)	None (%)	Owned (%)	Borrowed (%)	None (%)
Hoes	98.9	1.1	0	97	2	1
Mattocks	71.3	20.2	8.5	65.7	6.9	27.5
Axes	86.2	4.3	9.6	96.1	2.9	1
Spades	46.8	29.8	23.4	74.5	2	23.5
Forks	36.2	28.7	35.1	48	4	48
Wheelbarrows	66	14.9	19.1	75.5	7.8	16.7
Knapsack sprayer	50	23.4	26.6	64.7	13.7	21.6
Animal Drawn Implements						
Plough	84	8.5	7.4	84	5	11
Planter	21.3	22.3	56.4	4.9	3.9	91.2
Ripper	4.3	26.6	68	1	2.9	96.1
Ridger	1	3.9	95.1	1	3.9	95.1
Cultivator	52.1	21.3	26.6	25.5	14.7	59.8
Harrow	46.8	26.6	26.6	31.4	9.8	58.8
Spike harrow	9.6	25.5	64.9	12.7	2	85.3

Tractor Drawn Implements	Pre-Fast Track			Fast Track		
	Owned (%)	Bor-rowed (%)	None (%)	Owned (%)	Bor-rowed (%)	None (%)
Tractor	1.1	10.6	88.3	2	7.8	90.2
Trailer	1.1	7.4	91.5	2	6.9	91.2
Plough	1.1	7.4	91.5	2	6.9	91.2
Planter	0	5.3	94.7	0	2.9	97.1
Ripper	0	4.3	95.7	0	3.9	96.1
Bowser	1	0	99	1	0	99
Water pump	0	5.3	94.7	3.9	0	96.1

Results indicate that between 80 and 90 per cent of the respondents from both phases were using elementary hand and animal-drawn implements for their farming activities. Refer to plates 6.2, 6.3 and 6.4.

Plate 6.2: Ox-drawn Ploughs



Plate 6.2 shows ox-drawn ploughs. These ox-drawn ploughs indicated that resettled farmers were using elementary equipments.

Plate 6.3: Knapsack Sprayers

Beneficiaries in the study area made use of simple tools that they could afford. It should be borne in mind that these farmers did not have access to loan facilities and hence resorted to elementary equipment. This type of equipment is used for spraying cotton to protect it against insects and pests.

Plate 6.4: Ox-drawn Harrow

Farmers indicated that they kept livestock, especially cattle for draught power purposes. Plate 6.4 is another ox-drawn implement that beneficiaries used to loosen the soils to improve aeration for good plant growth. This is a clear indication that farmers were putting into practice the things that they were being taught for effective cropping. It was interesting to observe that more than 25 per cent of respondents from both models owned this important farm implement.

The type of tools and implements owned by beneficiaries under both phases may be linked to the point on access to loans discussed above. Lack of financial resources made it difficult for resettled farmers to mechanise their agricultural activities. It should be noted that under Fast Track, about 40 per cent of the farmers were resettled on former white-owned commercial farms which used to be highly mechanised. The bearing on productivity cannot go unnoticed since farmers were going back to elementary tools instead of moving with technology. The pattern was no different from Pre-Fast Track beneficiaries who were resettled mostly on marginalised farms acquired through ‘willing seller willing buyer approach’. Owing to the levels of mechanisation, it would seem that the productivity under Fast Track was lower than expected.

There is a correlation between sources of draught power and types of implements that farmers use. It is important to consider the motivating factors for keeping livestock, in the light of the inaccessibility of bank loans to finance farming. With this observation in mind, beneficiaries were requested to indicate the classes of livestock they heard and their numbers. Their responses are captured in Table 6.16.

Table 6.16: Classes of Livestock Being Reared by Beneficiaries

Class of Livestock	Pre-Fast Track %				Fast Track %			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Cattle	9	8.152	6	4.767	8	6.551	4	5.034
Sheep	1	1.564	1	.845	1	.340	1	2.041
Goats	7	4.973	5	4.153	6	7.037	3	4.190
Pigs	1	1.896	1	2.578	1	.720	0	000
Donkeys	1	2.135	1	.901	1	1.869	1	.816
Poultry	4	9.090	6	10.831	18	60.467	11	10.616

SD: Standard deviation

Results indicate that there was a similar pattern between the two phases. The main classes of livestock kept by beneficiaries under both phases were cattle, goats and poultry. The mean number of cattle for beneficiaries for both phases was 9 under Fast Track with a standard deviation of 8 for male beneficiaries and 8 cattle for male beneficiaries under Pre-Fast Track, with a standard deviation of 6. It is indicative from the results that some of the beneficiaries had one cow/ox or two cattle. Remembering that the beneficiaries kept cattle for draught power, it is sad to note that cattle numbers were so low. This implied that beneficiaries did not have adequate draught power to fully utilise the land. Coupled with the unavailability of bank loans to mechanise, if this issue is not attended to, it may derail the agrarian reforms. Respondents also indicated that they kept goats and poultry with an average of 7 and 6 for goats for male beneficiaries under Pre-Fast Track and Fast Track respectively. Goats were kept for consumption and as a source of income. The mean for goats under both phases implies that beneficiaries kept goats mainly for family consumption (refer to Plate 6.5).

Plate 6.5: Flock of Goats Kept by Farmers



Farmers had some sizeable flocks of goats which they mostly used for their meat at household level and also for sale to buy other non-agricultural products.

There is no difference between the responses of females and their male counterparts on classes of livestock that were being kept. The main types of livestock kept by female beneficiaries were cattle, goats and poultry. Both

male and female beneficiaries had same livestock ownership patterns, showing that in Zimbabwe females were free to own any classes of livestock. However, female beneficiaries slightly lagged behind in terms of numbers of livestock. This could be due to cultural influences which tended to favour inheritance of property via the male child, in the event of the father's death. The overall picture is that, beneficiaries were thin on livestock. This could be cause for concern if the main motive for keeping livestock, especially cattle and donkeys, is provision of draught power.

The investigation was conducted in an area close to Kwekwe town (maximum radius of 100 km). The urban population undoubtedly provided a market for beneficiaries. This should have motivated the beneficiaries to diversify their farming operations, for example rearing pigs, poultry, goats, sheep and rabbits for commercial purposes. Unfortunately, it seemed as though farmers were oriented towards subsistence farming. The farmers lost on opportunities to improve their financial base and their livelihoods. There is need for a paradigm shift amongst land reform beneficiaries. They should note that the land acquired through resettlement is not meant for crop production only, but that they can diversify and take advantages of opportunities that come their way. Results show that the beneficiaries concentrated on cattle rearing without keeping other livestock, especially small livestock for commercial purposes.

Beneficiaries were requested to indicate their reasons for rearing livestock. Their responses are captured in Table 6.17.

Table 6.17: Reasons for Keeping Livestock

Reason	Pre-Fast Track (%)	Fast Track (%)
Draught Power	88.3	79.4
Commercial purposes	6.4	10.8
Status symbol	5.3	2.0
Home consumption	88.3	80.4

Results show that the predominant reason for rearing livestock (cattle and donkeys) was to provide draught power. The pattern was similar in both phases, as evident from the observation that 79.4 per cent Fast Track beneficiaries and 82.3 per cent Pre-Fast Track beneficiaries kept livestock for providing draught power. It is interesting to note that beneficiaries from both phases attached very little commercial value to livestock rearing,

i.e. 10.8 per cent Fast Track beneficiaries and 6.4 per cent Pre-Fast Track beneficiaries. Yet, Kwekwe District (where the investigation was conducted) falls in Agro-ecological Region Three whose predominant farming activity should be livestock rearing. Beneficiaries from both phases were preoccupied with crop production. Land suitable for livestock production was converted to arable land, a clear testimony that land use recommendations were not being observed. This has negative impact on sustainable utilisation of natural resources, especially soil and vegetation.

Owing to the effect of shortages of finance for farming operations, beneficiaries from both phases had resorted to the use of family labour, as evidenced by the fact that 69.1 per cent Pre-Fast Track and 60.8 per cent Fast Track beneficiaries pointed out that they used family labour in their farming. This may be one of the reasons why production levels under both phases were predominantly at subsistence level, with commercial crops being grown on a smaller scale.

Owing to the greater percentage of beneficiaries who indicated that they self-financed their farming operations, the researchers sought to establish whether farmers had children in the diaspora or working in towns who could be repatriating funds for use in farming operations. The responses are captured in Table 6.18.

Table 6.18: Responses on Whether or not Beneficiaries had Children Gainfully Employed

Do you have any child/ children working in town or in the diasporas?	Pre-Fast Track (%)				Fast Track (%)			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
	33.9	66.1	42.9	57.1	42.3	57.7	58.3	41.7

Results show that 42.3 per cent Fast Track respondents stated that they had children gainfully employed in Zimbabwe or outside the country, while the percentage under Pre-Fast Track was 33.9 per cent. Female respondents, comprising 58.3 per cent under Fast Track, mentioned that they had children gainfully employed, as compared to 42.9 per cent under Pre-Fast Track. The pattern shown is that apart from female Fast Track beneficiaries, other types of beneficiaries were not expecting their children to finance farming operations, the percentage of beneficiaries who indicated that they had children who were gainfully employed was less than 50 per cent for Pre-Fast Track female and

male beneficiaries as well as for Fast Track male beneficiaries. This being the case, it can categorically be stated that beneficiaries under both phases were facing financial problems in their attempts to fully utilise the land allocated to them.

Research Question 4: To What Extent were Women Empowered Through the two Resettlement Phases?

Distribution across gender shows that generally there was a skewed distribution in favour of males in both phases. Results show that under the Pre-Fast Track phase, gender distribution was greater than under Fast Track, with 37.2 per cent of the beneficiaries being women. The results under Fast Track show that only 23.5 per cent of the beneficiaries were women. It is interesting to note that there were more women beneficiaries under Pre-Fast Track than Fast Track, yet during the Pre-Fast Track there were no deliberate policies to distribute land to women. It could be inferred that many of the women beneficiaries ascended to land ownership through marriage, which could have resulted in the women inheriting the pieces of land after the death of their husbands. Basing on this postulation, it could be argued that Fast Track favoured more women as compared to the Pre-Fast Track, since in the former there was a deliberate policy to empower women. When one takes into account the national ratio of women to men in the country, the percentage of women beneficiaries is still very far from acceptable standards. The investigation then sought to establish the views of female and male beneficiaries on the number of women who benefited from agrarian reforms. Respondents' views are presented in Table 6.19.

Table 6.19: Beneficiaries' Views on Number of Women who Benefited from Agrarian Reforms

Response	Pre-Fast Track (%)		Fast Track (%)	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Number of women beneficiaries is okay	71.2	71.4	44.9	33.3
Number of women beneficiaries is too low	25.4	25.7	52.5	66.7
Number of women beneficiaries is too high	3.4	2.9	2.6	0

Reviewed literature shows that women did not benefit much as compared to their male counterparts (Jacobs 1999, 2000, 2002). Only a paltry 10 –

15 per cent benefited nationally (Moyo et al 2007). The militant nature of land acquisition may explain the gender imbalance under Fast Track. During invasion, war veterans and the rural poor (mostly men) would spend days on end on the farms, dwelling in makeshift shelters, repossessing land. This *modus operandi* meant that very few women, if any, could withstand the rigours associated with such a militant mode of operation. In general, women under Pre-Fast Track could have benefited through being part of the family; such that upon the death of their husbands, wives ascended to the ownership of the land. In an interview with Arex officers in Kwekwe, it seemed that during the Pre-Fast Track phase, there was no deliberate attempt to allocate land to women. Most people in both models opine that land should be given to men since they are heads of households. This investigation intends to recommend a Gender Framework in the land reform programme, so as to put the Gender-Land issue on the land agenda discourse. Hopefully, such a framework, if successful, may go a long way towards achieving a paradigm shift on the importance of having a deliberate land reform policy that caters for women as well.

Research Question 5(a): What was the Impact of Both Phases on the Environment and the Ecosystem?

The Ministry of Lands (2003) noted that the Pre-Fast Track beneficiaries were trained before they were moved to their new land. The report states that no farming activities were allowed on river banks and catchment areas. Beneficiaries were also taught how to conserve natural resources (soil, water, trees, grass, among others). However, the programme lacked a long-term vision, since with time human population increased in the resettled areas, exerting pressure on natural resources, especially land. This has led to degradation of the Pre-Fast Track resettlements, as evidenced by some beneficiaries of Fast Track who originated from Pre-Fast Track resettlements. Fast Track's impact on the environment is not yet very evident due to vast stretches of land belonging to absentee beneficiaries. Perhaps, responsible authorities should come up with policies and programmes for sustainable environment utilisation before the damage is done.

For land reform programmes to attain their desired goals, it is imperative that laws and regulations governing the use of the environment be observed. It is important to analyse levels of awareness of environment-related issues among land reform beneficiaries. Some of the beneficiaries originated from districts which had experienced high levels of land degradation due to population

pressure. Therefore, if such beneficiaries are not sensitised on environmental management issues, they are likely to result in land degradation due to poor land management practices.

Beneficiaries in both models admitted that they were aware of the different conservation measures. However, they acknowledged that conservation measures were not enforced. Results show that gold panning activities were rampant in the Fast Track resettlements, with some of these activities encroaching on arable land, thereby disrupting farming activities. In Pre-Fast Track resettlements, population pressure on the land has seen people encroaching land set aside for grazing, constructing homes and clearing land for crop production. This has led to overstocking and land degradation. In those Pre-Fast Track resettlements adjacent to commercial farms, beneficiaries were extending their fields, encroaching into the commercial farms. In addition, they forcibly grazed their livestock on the commercial farms. If commercial farmers resisted, they were threatened with full-scale invasion of their farms or grass-burning. This has invariably led to conflicts between beneficiaries and commercial farmers. A story has been told of a commercial farmer who infested his dams with crocodiles which later on attacked the livestock of land reform beneficiaries. In some cases, human lives have been lost. There is therefore a need to assess the effects of these relations on agricultural productivity. This is a gap that many scholars have left out. While both phases have negatively impacted the environment, the speed at which this has happened has been faster in Pre-Fast Track resettlements. Table 6.20 indicates the awareness levels of beneficiaries on environment-related issues.

Table 6.20: Beneficiaries' Awareness of Regulations Governing Proper Use of Resources

Regulation	Pre-Fast Track (%)		Fast Track (%)	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
Cutting down trees	92.6	7.4	95.1	4.9
Burning the veld	94.7	5.3	97	3
Hunting	73.4	26.6	92.2	7.8
Stream-bank cultivation	80.9	19.1	91.2	8.8
Livestock units per farmer	56.4	43.6	76.5	23.5
Gold panning	48.9	51.1	86.3	13.7

Results indicate that levels of awareness are very high among beneficiaries under both phases, for example 95.1 per cent Fast Track and 92.6 per cent Pre-Fast Track beneficiaries indicated that they were aware of regulations governing the cutting down of trees. However, it is striking to note that there were low levels of awareness of regulations on hunting and gold panning amongst Pre-Fast Track beneficiaries as compared to Fast Track beneficiaries. The awareness levels were 56.4 per cent for hunting and 48.9 per cent for gold panning (Pre-Fast Track) and 76.4 per cent and 86.3 per cent for hunting and gold panning respectively (Fast Track). The possible reasons for the observed differences could be attributed to the fact that during the Pre-Fast Track phase, there were vast tracts of unoccupied land and Zimbabwe was undergoing some changes soon after independence, hence regulations on hunting were not being emphasised since new Bills and Acts were being enacted. Gold panning activities were very low during the Pre-Fast Track phase. They only became significantly visible in later years of independence, including periods of Economic Structural Adjustment Programmes (ESAP) and the Fast Track phase, when Zimbabwe's economy was under-performing. This development could be a plausible reason why gold panning became an issue during the Fast Track phase. These factors (hunting and gold panning) have a bearing on sustainable utilisation of natural resources. It is therefore important that levels of awareness of these factors, among others, be analysed and provide the right information to policy-makers for sustainable development.

While it is important to be aware of regulations and rules governing the human beings' interaction with the environment, on its own it is not enough. It is equally important to establish the implementation of the rules and regulations. Table 6.21 shows beneficiaries' responses on whether or not the rules and regulations on managing the environment were being implemented.

Table 6.21: Implementation of Regulations Helping Management of Environment

Response	Pre-Fast Track (%)	Fast Track (%)
There is implementation	61.8	24.5
There is no implementation	38.2	75.5

Levels of implementation reveal a marked difference between the two phases. Under the Pre-Fast Track phase, 61.8 per cent noted that they were implementing the regulations and rules on management of the environment. Under Fast Track phase, only 24.5 per cent of the respondents claimed that rules and regulations

were being observed. The implementing differences illuminate the differences in the conceptualisation, planning and implementation of the two phases of agrarian reforms. Reviewed literature alluded to the planning that went into the Pre-Fast Track phase. Thus the way cognisance was being taken of rules and regulations clearly distinguishes a well prepared-for phase, as opposed to a haphazardly implemented phase. It is therefore vital to note that under Fast Track, the probability of degrading land resources could be high, but is masked by low population pressure. This should be a lesson for Zimbabwe's future agrarian reforms and to other countries faced by the need to implement agrarian reforms. Land resources should be utilised responsibly so as to promote sustainable development. Thus although awareness was high under Fast Track, implementation was low and it is a risk to sustainable management of resources.

Agriculture extension workers are also tasked with the duty of ensuring that farmers observed environmental practices. Earlier scholars on Zimbabwe's agrarian reforms alluded to the lack of agriculture extension services in Fast Track resettlements. Our results point to the contrary. Agriculture extension services were available, but their effectiveness was limited by a host of problems, *inter alia*:

- Some extension service providers lacked technical support and equipment. Bicycles were the mode of transport for extension workers. Women complained that the bicycles being provided were not gender-sensitive, which made it difficult for female extension workers to cycle from plot to plot advising and educating farmers.
- The militant spirit was still rife in some Fast Track resettlements; therefore extension workers could have been afraid to advise beneficiaries to implement conservation measures such as digging of contour ridges. Historically, contour ridges were associated with colonial rule, and seen as a way for Ian Smith's regime to punish indigenous Zimbabweans, notwithstanding their usefulness in conserving soil and safely channelling water away from the fields. As a result, most peasant farmers (beneficiaries) did not take kindly advice on construction of contour ridges. The presence of war veterans among beneficiaries could have forced agriculture extension workers to develop cold feet regarding the enforcement of conservation measures.

Question 5(a) implicitly addresses the sustainability of land use. The land degradation observed and alluded to, gold panning activities and absence of natural resource conservation initiatives indicated that sustainability of the land was under serious threat under both phases, though more serious under Pre-Fast Track. However, there were areas that had not experienced deforestation. The researchers observed some vast tracks of land which were densely populated with different

species of trees and grasses in Fast Track resettlements. Plates 6.6 and 6.7 show tracts of land that were still covered with significant tree densities.

Plate 6.6: Part of the Forest in the Fast Track Areas



Plate 6.7: Road Passing Through Fast Track areas



Effective management of natural resources is critical for sustainable livelihoods. Some areas of Kwekwe that used to have such trees and grass are bare after people have cut trees for firewood.

Literature has it that the Midlands Province (where Kwekwe District is located) falls under Agro-ecological Regions III and IV which are mainly for livestock farming and growing of drought-tolerant crops. In other words, the district in which the study was conducted is mainly suitable for cattle rearing if the land resources are to be used sustainably. However, results show that beneficiaries were mainly growing crops, especially maize, groundnuts and cotton. This may have implications on levels of crop yields and sustainability of land resources. Rainfall in Region III is moderate, punctuated by severe mid-season dry spells, making the region marginal for maize and cotton production. It is clear that in both phases, land use planning guidelines were not being followed, yet these are prerequisites for the sustainable management of resources. Beneficiaries were requested to comment on the sufficiency of grazing and arable land (refer to Table 6.22).

Table 6.22: Views of Beneficiaries on the Sufficiency of Grazing Land and Size of the Plots

Statement	Pre-Fast Track (%)		Fast Track (%)	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
Grazing land	30.9	69.1	66.7	33.3
Arable land`	10.6	89.4	70.6	29.4

Analysis of the sufficiency of grazing land is important since it has implications for the management of grazing areas (rangelands). Well managed grazing areas can lead to sustainable livestock production. The resources should be used in such a way that future generations will not be jeopardised. About 66 per cent of the beneficiaries under Fast Track argued that their areas were sufficient while 30.9 per cent of the beneficiaries under Pre-Fast Track stated that the grazing areas were sufficient. This clearly shows that, under Pre-Fast Track, grazing areas were not sufficient for their livestock. On the sufficiency of arable land, 70.6 per cent of beneficiaries under Fast Track and 10.6 per cent of beneficiaries under Pre-Fast Track indicated that they had sufficient arable land. This shows that under Pre-Fast Track phase arable land was not sufficient for the beneficiaries. This can be linked to increase in population since the 1980s when this phase was implemented. About 20 per cent of the beneficiaries under Pre-Fast Track indicated that they had since subdivided their land and given some to their grown up sons who had acquired their own families. Fragmenting of land through subdivisions was making it difficult for the beneficiaries to get

meaningful yields. Population pressure had led to land being insufficient for the beneficiaries' needs after Pre-Fast Track. The same 20 per cent of the beneficiaries under Pre-Fast Track indicated that due to the need for agricultural land, they were encroaching on commercial farming areas which were adjacent to them. The argument was that they did not have enough land to create grazing areas for their livestock and hence the encroachment on adjacent commercial farms. They also pointed out that this was leading to conflicts between beneficiaries and commercial farmers. Those beneficiaries resettled in Fast Track areas were still enjoying vast pieces of land. However, considering what was happening under Pre-Fast Track areas, the possibility of the same obtaining under Fast Track should not be discounted. The Pre-Fast Track phase kicked off in the early 1980s, but after barely 30 years, pressure on land was already leading to soil and vegetation degradation and land-related conflicts.

One other aspect that needs be considered is the issue of stocking rates. It seems as if farmers were overstocking grazing lands, leading to degradation of land through overgrazing. This was driving beneficiaries to look for grazing areas elsewhere.

Research Question 5(b): What was the Impact of Both Phases on Food Security at Household Level (Impact on Livelihoods)?

It is appropriate to precede a discussion on impact of agrarian reforms on food security by first establishing whether or not beneficiaries were making full use of the land allocated to them. This is for the simple reason that there is a close relationship between the area under cultivation and what the farmer gets in return, all other conditions holding. Beneficiaries were requested to indicate whether or not they were making full use of the land they were allocated. Table 6.23 presents the responses.

Table 6.23: Land Use

Land use	Pre-Fast Track (%)		Fast Track (%)	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Using whole farm	79.7	57.1	87.2	54.2
Not using the whole farm	20.3	42.9	12.8	45.8

Land reform in Zimbabwe was meant to promote food security at household level and to improve livelihoods of rural beneficiaries. These goals can only be fully achieved if land allocated to beneficiaries is put to its full use while

observing effective conservation measures. The researchers felt that it was important to look at whether beneficiaries were making full use of the land allocated to them. It has to be noted that 87.2 per cent Fast Track male beneficiaries stated that they were using all the land allocated to them, while 54.2 per cent females gave the same response. Under Pre-Fast Track, 79.7 per cent males and 57.1 per cent females pointed out that they were using all the land allocated to them. Results show that, in both phases, a greater percentage of female beneficiaries were not making full use of the land allocated to them. Plates 6.8 and 6.9 exemplify land that was underutilised.

Plate 6.8: Allocated Plots not Utilised by Beneficiaries



Land allocated to beneficiaries still lying idle. Adjacent plot holders were using the unoccupied land to graze their livestock.

Plate 6.9: Beneficiaries Failing to Utilise Virgin Land*Fast Track farmers failing to utilise the allocated land*

Beneficiaries under both phases highlighted that they were encountering numerous problems and challenges that were hampering their farming activities. These problems are discussed under Research Question 6. Table 6.24 depicts crop production levels under both phases of resettlement.

Table 6.24: Crop Yields by Gender and Resettlement Phase

Crop	Pre-Fast Track (t/ha)*		Fast Track (t/ha)	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Maize	1	0.8	1.5	1.2
Groundnuts	0.8	0.8	1.2	1.2
Sorghum	0.5	0.4	0.6	0.5
Soya beans	0.8	0.5	1.5	1.2
Cotton	0.8	0.4	1.5	1.2
Sunflower	0.3	0.3	0.5	0.5

* t/ha: tonnes per hectare

Results show that production was higher under Fast Track. One plausible reason for differences in productivity could be ascribed to the way in which land for resettlement was acquired. Land for Pre-Fast Track resettlement was obtained through the 'willing seller willing buyer' approach. It is extensively documented that more often than not, white farmers sold peripheral, infertile and unproductive land. This is different from the Fast Track situation where beneficiaries were invading fertile and virgin land. However, previous research has reported that production was higher under Pre-Fast Track resettlement. It is probable that researchers who arrived at this conclusion premised this on the observation that Pre-Fast reforms were preceded by extensive planning and preparations. Two opposing findings have emerged: Lebert (2003) concludes that production declined under Fast Track, while Moyo et al (2007) are of the opposed view. Results of this investigation concur with findings by Moyo et al (2007). Observed differences regarding Fast Track's productivity could be due to the failure by researchers to take cognisance of production phases that are normally experienced after new occupancy. During the first two years under Fast Track, production declined due to political instabilities, ambivalence and insecurity. Beneficiaries were even informed by the powers that be not to put up permanent structures. As a result, beneficiaries could not invest extensively since their tenure was not guaranteed. However, subsequent years have witnessed political stability and appreciable increases in production. This could be referred to as the second phase. Therefore, Lebert's (2003) conclusion was correct then, but has since been overtaken by events.

Comparison of yields by gender shows that male beneficiaries produced more than female beneficiaries under both phases. This could be attributed to a number of issues such as: first, the difference in access to farming resources between male and female beneficiaries. The second is the difference in access to labour. The third is orientation differences – whereby male beneficiaries could have been more market-oriented, while most female beneficiaries could have been more focussed on achieving food security at household level. The foregoing notwithstanding, results show that production levels under both phases had resulted in food security at the household level. In a way, both phases of resettlement have positively impacted the livelihoods of beneficiaries. Respondents were requested to indicate whether or not agrarian reforms had improved the quality of their lives. Table 6.25 indicates the responses.

Table 6.25: Impact of Land Reform on Quality of Life

Land reform has improved my quality of life	Pre -Fast Track (%)		Fast Track (%)	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
	88.1	80	97.4	95.8
Land reform has not improved my quality of life	11.9	20	2.6	4.2

Most beneficiaries under both phases unanimously affirmed that land reform had impacted their livelihoods positively. During data collection, it was evident that most beneficiaries' quality of life had improved. Beneficiaries had access to assets such as beds, wardrobes, radios, sofas, television sets, solar panels, among others. Such assets are usually associated with affluent and middle class urban dwellers. As discussed earlier, Pre-Fast Track beneficiaries had easy access to services such as shops, health facilities and schools. Access to these livelihood resources is an indicator of sustainable rural livelihoods. While some of these services were not easily accessed by most Fast Track beneficiaries, beneficiaries' access to natural resources and engagement in off-farm activities (gainful employment) is indicative of sustainable rural livelihoods. However, if the reported population pressure under Pre-Fast Track is anything to go by, the initial gains of land reform may be reversed, resulting in unsustainable rural livelihoods.

Researchers felt it appropriate to establish where farm produce went to after harvesting, since it has a bearing on food security at both household and national levels. Table 6.26 captures the reported destinations of the produce.

Table 6.26: Use of the Produce

Use of produce	Pre-Fast Track (%)	Fast Track (%)
Family consumption	69.1	37.3
Sell to Marketing Boards	21.3	57.8
Sell to private buyers	9.6	4.9

A greater percentage of Pre-Fast Track beneficiaries (69.1%) stated that their produce was mainly for family consumption, while 37.2 per cent Fast Track beneficiaries also mentioned that the greater part of their produce was meant for family consumption. Results indicate that the contribution of Pre-Fast Track beneficiaries to the national grain basket is still low. Beneficiaries under

Fast Track, comprising 57.8 per cent, pointed out that they sold their produce to marketing boards, while 21.3 per cent Pre-Fast Track beneficiaries cited the same marketing channel. Results show that the orientation of farmers from both phases was different. Under Fast Track, the orientation seemed to be towards commercial production, while Pre-Fast Track beneficiaries were oriented towards food security at household level. This has serious implications for food security at the national level. An unavoidable question is: If produce from beneficiaries settled on former commercial farms is mainly towards family consumption, who is going to feed urban dwellers and those in drier regions of the country?

Possible explanations for variance in beneficiaries' orientation regarding fate of produce could be: Firstly, Fast Track beneficiaries were resettled on relatively fertile soil as compared to Pre-Fast Track. The argument is premised on the realisation that most Pre-Fast Track beneficiaries were resettled on marginal land, acquired through 'willing seller willing buyer' arrangement, as has already been alluded to. Secondly, Fast Track beneficiaries were resettled on plots that were slightly bigger than Pre-Fast Track beneficiaries. These two observations mean that Fast Track beneficiaries were in a position to produce higher yields, beyond family consumption levels, all other things being equal. Thirdly, owing to the size of their plots, Fast Track beneficiaries were mandated by the state to deliver grain to the grain marketing boards after harvesting. On the other hand, were Pre-Fast Track beneficiaries to produce at the same level as Fast Track beneficiaries, the need for fertilisers to raise the soil fertility could not be overemphasised. Unfortunately, access to loans to buy farming inputs, including fertilisers has already been cited as very difficult.

Some beneficiaries from both phases also indicated that they sold their produce to private buyers. Reasons offered for this were that: Firstly, private buyers paid for the produce on the spot as compared to marketing boards which took weeks and sometimes months before farmers were paid. Secondly, some of the private buyers offered farmers better prices for their produce. Thirdly, most private buyers bought the produce from the farmers' doorsteps, eliminating the problem of transport. While this can be viewed as a positive development for the farmer, it does not always contribute to national food security. The reason is that most of the grain sold to private buyers rarely finds its way to grain marketing boards; instead it is usually converted to stock-feeds.

While a plethora of factors such as global warming which resulted in unreliable rainfall, extreme temperatures, pestilence, sanctions which made it difficult for the country to import farm inputs on time, under-performing economy came into play, the invasion of productive land by people without resources should not be overlooked when explaining lack of food security at the national level.

Research Question 6: What were the Problems Faced by Beneficiaries?

Those beneficiaries who were not making full use of the land indicated that this was a result of a number of problems and challenges. Seemingly, those beneficiaries who were using the land to the maximum also alluded to the fact that they were facing a lot of problems and challenges that were limiting their production levels (refer to Table 6.27).

Table 6.27: Problems Faced by Land Beneficiaries

Problem	Pre-Fast Track (%)	Fast Track (%)
Lack of inputs	53	65.68
Lack of markets	27.7	0
Lack of draught power	28.7	26.47
Lack of finance	26.6	42.15
Unreliable rainfall	14.9	28.4
Lack of manpower	6.4	17.64
Wild animals	1.1	19.6
Unsafe drinking water	0	15.68
Lack of access to schools and clinics	0	7.8
Veld-fires	0	2.9
Poisoning livestock	0	1
Stock theft	0	3.9
No technical access	1.1	2.9
Electricity load-shading	0	2
Soil infertility	0	1
Gold-panning	0	1
Lack of dipping facilities	0	1
Livestock diseases	1.1	0
Transport	9.6	14.7

Beneficiaries indicated that they were not utilising whole farms because of a plethora of problems. The problems cited were also alluded to by those beneficiaries utilising whole farms. Beneficiaries from both phases identified farm inputs as the greatest concern. Respondents under Fast Track (53 per cent) and under Pre-Fast Track (65.6 per cent) attested to this. This coupled with the problem of draught power (28.7 percent Pre-Fast Track and 26.5 per cent Fast Track) made it difficult for beneficiaries to plant on their pieces of land on time.

Contract Farming

Beneficiaries under both phases noted that it was difficult to engage seed suppliers, leading them to resort to contract farming. This is a method where farmers are provided inputs and at harvesting time they sell their produce to the company that would have supplied them with inputs. The company then deducts money equivalent to the inputs supplied, giving the farmers the difference. About 3 per cent of the farmers who were engaged in contract farming complained that the prices of inputs would be inflated to almost double the prices one paid when buying inputs for cash. In the event that beneficiaries were found in breach of contract, for example selling their produce to other buyers, the contractor at times took legal action to recover his/her inputs. Beneficiaries, especially under Pre-Fast Track, mentioned numerous cases where fellow beneficiaries lost property such as scotch-carts, livestock and other farming equipment to contractors.

Clean Water and Sanitation

The problem of clean water for domestic use was mentioned by 15.6 per cent of Fast Track beneficiaries only. This problem underscores the fact that Fast Track resettlement was done in an unplanned manner as compared to Pre-Fast Track where basic services, which included provision of safe, clean water for domestic purposes, were put in place before beneficiaries were resettled. The absence of safe, clean water for domestic use impinges on the health of the beneficiaries, increasing the risk of water-borne diseases. Secondly, it has a bearing on time spent by beneficiaries on farming activities, since some of the family members may be forced to spend time walking long distances in search of safe clean water.

Availability and Distance from Markets

The problem of availability of markets was mentioned by 27.7 per cent of Pre-Fast Track beneficiaries only. Beneficiaries linked this to the issue of transport availability. The transport issue was compounded by the state of the roads traversing the Pre-Fast Track areas. About 80 per cent of the beneficiaries who identified transport as

a problem, complained that at times they resorted to selling their produce locally, thereby getting lower returns because of low prices. Others ended up selling to middle buyers, who were regarded as unscrupulous and short-changed beneficiaries by paying them low prices. Contracted beneficiaries were not spared the transport agony, since contractors expected them to foot their transport bills when delivering the produce.

Manpower Availability

The problem of manpower was prevalent in both phases, though its impact was greatest under Fast Track (17.6 per cent Fast Track and 6.4 per cent Pre-Fast Track). This could be attributed to the following reasons: Firstly, Fast Track resettlement areas are found along the Great Dyke, the bed of vast mineral deposits. As a result, able-bodied young people shun farming and instead plunder the readily available gold deposits in the district through gold panning. Secondly, as alluded elsewhere in this report, HIV/AIDS has and is continuously decimating the able-bodied young people who should be working on the farms. The impact of HIV/AIDS is being felt more by these beneficiaries because they rely on human family labour. Related to this is the question of nursing those afflicted by HIV/AIDS-related health problems. Fourthly, by comparison, Fast Track beneficiaries had slightly larger plots than their Pre-Fast Track counterparts, and hence needed more labour to work on the land. The aggregate effect of these issues is a deficiency of labour, especially for Fast Track beneficiaries.

Unreliable and Erratic Rainfall

Unreliable and erratic rainfall was mentioned by beneficiaries from both phases: 14.9 per cent Pre-Fast Track and 28.4 per cent Fast Track. As discussed earlier, Kwekwe District lies in Agro-ecological Region III, which by its nature experiences unreliable and erratic rainfall. This is a reality that beneficiaries must live with. It could be surmised that beneficiaries were experiencing this problem – because their farming activities were at variance with farming practices recommended for the region, for example, focussing of arable farming in a district suitable for animal husbandry. As a way of ameliorating this challenge, beneficiaries should adapt their farming practices to suit the conditions prevailing in the region. This could be achieved through practicing zero tillage/conservation farming which does not expose a larger surface area to high temperatures, growing drought tolerant crops, growing short-season varieties which mature within the rainy season and making adequate preparations, so that at the onset of the rain season they grow their crops on time.

Wild Animals

Wild animals were also cited as a problem especially under Fast Track. Only 1.1 per cent Pre-Fast Track beneficiaries cited the problem, while the percentage for Fast Track was higher at 19.6 per cent. Possible reasons for this variation between the two phases could be:

- Population pressure was being experienced in Pre-Fast Track areas and, as a result, forests that are a natural habitat for wild animals were becoming extinct, and with them, the wild animals.
- Most Fast Track beneficiaries were resettled on farms that were set aside for ranching and game farming by the former white commercial farmers. While the former occupiers took away their livestock when their farms were designated for acquisition by the state or were invaded, they could not take away wild animals which constituted game farming. These are the wild animals causing mayhem for the beneficiaries.
- Most of the beneficiaries under Fast Track areas are yet to complete clearing the vegetation on their plots, thereby providing these wild animals with natural habitat.

That wild animals are part of the ecosystem is beyond doubt; therefore there is need for beneficiaries to be inculcated with management skills to assist them in managing the wildlife, instead of killing the wild animals using snares as was found to be the case during data collection for this study.

Shortage of Draught Power

Draught power shortage was a concern raised by beneficiaries from both phases. The difference in percentages of beneficiaries who cited this problem is negligible, with 28.7 per cent and 26.5 per cent of beneficiaries mentioning the problem under Pre-Fast and Fast Track respectively. This problem emanated from successive droughts Zimbabwe experienced not so long ago, which depleted the national herd. As noted elsewhere in this study, beneficiaries in both phases relied heavily on cattle for draught power in their farming operations. Either the animals perished from lack of food and water, or the farmers were forced to sell their animals before they died so that they could salvage some returns, or even sell their livestock so that they could buy some food. Most farmers have not yet recovered from the effects of the drought. With the assistance of some donors, the government was in the process of rebuilding the national herd by donating heifers to communal and resettled farmers. The project works in this way, if a farmer is given a heifer, he/she

must in turn donate the first female calf from that heifer to his/her neighbour in that community. One such project is the Heifer Project that was being funded by a Danish Non-Governmental Organisation in Lower Gweru, a communal area in Midlands Province west of Gweru, the provincial capital city. If only this project could be extended to Fast Track beneficiaries, since they still had sizeable areas of grazing.

Poisoning of Livestock

The problem of livestock poisoning was mentioned by about one per cent Fast Track beneficiaries. They stated that former white farmers poisoned some of the livestock water sources and that, in some instances, crocodiles were introduced into farm dams so that beneficiaries' livestock could be attacked. This was purportedly done by angry former white commercial farmers who had lost their farms through agrarian reforms. While the percentage of beneficiaries who mentioned this problem was very insignificant, the consequences and ripple effects could be devastating and far-reaching.

Cultural Differences

During informal interviews with Fast Track beneficiaries, it emerged that unlike under the Pre-Fast Track phase, most beneficiaries under Fast Track resettlements originated from diverse backgrounds, had different cultural beliefs, religion and aspirations. This tended to breed tension amongst the beneficiaries. Owing to this observation, there is need to be cognisant of these social issues which may seem irrelevant, but have far-reaching implications.

Lack of Capital

Arex officers concurred that new farmers lacked capital to sustain the size of operations that were taking place on the farms, prior to agrarian reforms, particularly finance and machinery. They identified these two as some of the most limiting factors. The officers also pointed out that the government was unable to adequately finance the beneficiaries.

Producer Prices

Marketing-related problems were also cited by the Arex officers. They noted that cotton production had declined due to pricing, with the price offered being below the break-even price. Production of groundnuts had been affected by low prices, because of the glut of groundnuts on the market. What can be

deduced from the problems and challenges mentioned by farmers is that, in some cases, the degree of planning that preceded the resettlement reduced the impact of the problems.

Population Density Under Pre-Fast Track

Other problems, especially under Pre-Fast Track, can be attributed to lack of projections regarding population growth rate. For example, in most Pre-Fast Track areas, there was already population pressure on land, leading to overstocking and overgrazing. Had the government resettled beneficiaries basing on population projections, there could still be adequate land for farming, grazing and construction of new homesteads in those areas where people were resettled during the Pre-Fast Track phase. The situation obtaining today on Pre-Fast Track resettlement areas is that there is already need to decongest these areas by moving some people elsewhere.

Research Question 7: How has HIV/AIDS Impacted on Production in Both Land Reform Phases?

HIV/AIDS has affected mainly labour-intensive farming areas (Moyo et al 2007). It has been noted that smallholder farmers (the greater percentage of land reform beneficiaries) depended on family labour which was being decimated by HIV/AIDS. The fact that the reform programme converted consolidated mechanised commercial farms into smallholder plots that are prone to HIV/AIDS has been singled out as the reason why production was low. Results on the demography of beneficiaries show that about 85 per cent were in the age range 36 – 49 years. This is the sexually active group, thus it is vulnerable and prone to HIV/AIDS. In the district where the research was carried out, a number of plots were female/child-headed because husbands or both parents had succumbed to HIV/AIDS. More than 90 per cent of interviewed beneficiaries indicated that they were losing livestock through selling to buy medication for HIV-related illnesses and 60 per cent of beneficiaries noted that they were failing to get maximum extension services because service providers were affected by HIV/AIDS in one way or the other. All these factors were contributing to a decline in production. The beneficiaries' responses on how HIV/AIDS affected farming operations are captured in Table 6.28.

Table 6.28: Effect of HIV/AIDS on Farming

Problems	Pre-Fast Track (%)	Fast Track (%)
Manpower	24.5	36.2
Loss of skilled farmers	0	6.9
Increase in the number of child-headed households	11.7	8.9
Increase in time spent nursing the sick	6.4	8.8
Selling livestock to take care of those affected by HIV/AIDS	25	20
Impact on finance	1.1	8.9

HIV/AIDS has affected all sectors of the country's economy. The agriculture sector has not been spared. Agriculture is the mainstay for most developing countries' economies and this explains why land was paramount in attempts to empower Zimbabweans. Resettlement areas were also afflicted and affected by HIV/AIDS.

Beneficiaries from both phases identified loss of manpower as one of the major impacts of HIV/AIDS, i.e. 36.2 per cent Pre-Fast Track and 24.5 per cent Fast Track beneficiaries. The observation was that HIV/AIDS was robbing families of their able-bodied young people who were supposed to till the land. Thus loss of labour led to a decline in yields, bearing in mind that most beneficiaries were using family labour. At household level, the impact was severe, since some families were left devoid of able-bodied family members. About 6.9 per cent beneficiaries under Fast Track also pointed out that there was loss of skilled farmers. This is an important issue since the land is left without skilled farmers who can boost production. Farmers were dying before imparting important knowledge to their children and fellow farmers. The number of child-headed families was on the increase owing to death of both parents, such that 8.8 per cent of the Fast Track respondents and 11.7 per cent of the Pre-Fast Track respondents identified increase in the number of orphans as one of the effects of HIV/AIDS. About 5.3 per cent of the Pre-Fast Track households and 4 per cent of the Fast Track households in the sample were child-headed, a scenario which left the families vulnerable, and not adequately making use of the land allocated. Some of the land allocated to beneficiaries was virgin and required strong and healthy people to clear.

With HIV/AIDS ravaging the farmers, the desired outcomes of land reform may not be fully realised.

Time spent nursing the HIV/AIDS victims cannot be ignored, since it impacts on farming man-hours (time spent on farming activities). About 8.8 per cent Fast Track beneficiaries and 6.4 per cent Pre-Fast Track beneficiaries indicated that a lot of time was lost nursing the sick. It is difficult to continue working in the fields when a parent, son, daughter, sibling, or relative is on his/her deathbed. The effects of witnessing loved ones wasting away may have long-lasting socio-psychological effects which could affect one's commitment to work. Beneficiaries from both phases, comprising 1.1 per cent stated that HIV/AIDS was impacting on their meagre financial resources. The argument was that financial resources were being channelled to buying food and medication for loved ones suffering from HIV/AIDS-related sicknesses. It should be remembered that this was happening when beneficiaries were not having access to bank loans to finance their farming operations.

Under Pre-Fast Track, 25 per cent of the beneficiaries indicated that they were selling livestock to raise the much needed money for medication, while 23 per cent under Fast Track, affirmed the same. As discussed earlier, beneficiaries relied heavily on cattle as sources of draught power yet the need to care for loved ones suffering from HIV/AIDS-related diseases was reducing their only source of reliable draught power. Implications on the ability of beneficiaries to make use of all the land allocated to them and on productivity are not hard to discern. As mentioned by Jackson (2000), 15 per cent of the respondents under Fast Track pointed out that the increase in the number of funerals was also affecting families at household level since mourners need to be fed and the situation was worse between 2001 and 2009. Funerals have always occurred, but the rate has increased due to the effects of the deadly disease.

HIV/AIDS was correlated to a reduction in production levels by beneficiaries from both phases. Under Fast Track, 17 per cent of the beneficiaries and 23 per cent of the beneficiaries under Pre-Fast Track indicated that HIV/AIDS had led to low yields. This should not come as surprise, since it should be noted that all the factors stated above contribute to low yields in one way or another.

The results show that about 22 per cent of the households under Fast Track below 35 years of age who benefited in the study area were child-headed. Of these child-headed families, 89 per cent attributed the loss of their parents to HIV/AIDS. Under Pre-Fast Track, 35.7 per cent of the households with heads

below 35 years were child-headed. These households' heads indicated that about 93 per cent of the deaths of their parents were due to HIV/AIDS. It was also clear that the respondents in the study area did not know their HIV status, as evidenced by 98 per cent beneficiaries who affirmed this. Though there were programmes to raise awareness on HIV/AIDS, results show that little had been achieved in changing people's behaviour. It is important to look at the factors that continued to increase the rate of HIV infection. One factor could be that during the time when the study was conducted, there were very limited entertainment facilities in resettlement areas. As a result, people were tempted to engage in sexual activities which tended to promote the spread of HIV/AIDS. One of the beneficiaries explained in Shona how young people got the disease. She said, '*Vanhu vanohaka chirwere kumadhidhindi kwavanoenda*' (People get infected when they go for their entertainment at the beer outlets dotted in the resettlement areas). This, according to 85 per cent of the beneficiaries in Fast Track resettlements, was the only source of entertainment in the area. Beneficiaries were requested to indicate whether they knew their HIV status as shown in table 6.29.

Table 6.29: HIV Status of Beneficiaries

Do you know your HIV status?	Pre-Fast Track (%)		Fast Track (%)	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
YES	01	04	03	10
NO	99	96	97	90

Respondents from both models showed that they did not know their HIV status. Women in both models, that is 4 per cent and 10 per cent under Pre-Fast Track and Fast Track respectively, showed that the knowledge of their HIV status was higher than their male counterparts. This is due to the fact that pregnant women go for antenatal checkups where they get tested. Respondents were also asked to list the factors they considered responsible for the spread of HIV/AIDS, and their responses are recorded in Table 6.30.

Table 6.30: Factors Leading to the Spread of HIV/AIDS

Factors	Pre-Fast Track (%)		Fast Track (%)	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Religion	30	65	25	60
Culture (<i>Nhaka</i>)	35	70	30	65
Poverty	60	65	61	68
Lack of women empowerment	01	03	03	06

Religion

The results show that 65 per cent of female respondents under Pre-Fast Track mentioned religion as a factor in the spread of HIV/AIDS compared to 30 per cent of their male counter-parts. They blamed the practices of some of the Apostolic Faith Churches where elderly people of the Apostolic sect married young girls who were of the same age as their children. The way this factor operated was that the young girls who were forced to marry elderly men had extra marital affairs with young boys of their age. This increases the sexual networks between partners leading to the spread of the deadly disease. The increase in sexual networks was also caused by fathers who leave their families in the resettlement areas to go to towns and neighbouring countries (South Africa and Botswana) in search of jobs in order to supplement their farm incomes. This puts them in a position where they were vulnerable. In towns, they engaged in sexual activities and when they got infected, they subsequently spread the virus to their wives left at home when they went back to the rural area.

It was clear that males did not see it as a real factor compared to their female counterparts since they argued that it was their religion and that their wives should go by it and did not see the implications regarding the spread of HIV/AIDS. The same pattern was observed under Fast Track where 60 per cent of the females raised the same factor compared to 25 per cent of their male counterparts. It should be noted that if these men were not enlightened on the dynamics of this factor, the hopes of controlling the spread of the HIV virus would remain far from being realised.

Cultural Practices

About 70 per cent of the female and 35 per cent male respondents under Pre-Fast track indicated that the spread of HIV/AIDS was caused by the cultural practice whereby when a brother died, the surviving young brother (in most cases) took the deceased's wife and started a family, *kugara nhaka* in Shona (wife inheritance). Although the original principle was not to start a family, but to look after those left by the deceased, in most cases, surviving brothers ended up taking their deceased brothers' wives resulting in polygamous marriages. Assuming that brothers had died of HIV/AIDS-related causes, *kugara nhaka* led to the spread of HIV/AIDS. It should be pointed out that most of the infected people were still in denial and hence attributed their sickness to other factors like witchcraft. This was against a background where people did not know their HIV status as indicated in Table 6.30. Under Fast Track, 65 per cent of the women compared to 30 per cent of the male respondents raised the same point. This made it easy for the infected persons to marry even after the death of spouses, thus spreading the disease to uninfected persons. Once the infected persons continued in this denial state, more and more people would be at a high risk of contracting the disease.

Poverty

Poverty was mentioned by both males and females from both phases as a cause of the spread of HIV/AIDS. About 65 per cent and 60 per cent of females and males respectively under Pre-Fast track mentioned it. It was interesting to note that the responses were high from both sexes showing that the people in the study area knew how poverty affected the dynamics of the disease. Under Fast Track, 68 per cent of females compared to 61 per cent of males raised the same factor. This is echoed by Jackson (2000) who notes that poverty is one of the leading causes of the spread of HIV/AIDS. The argument is that the poor and economically disadvantaged engage in sexual activities to raise money for their survival. Jackson (2000) states that the Zimbabwean poor and those in Africa in general tend to educate the boy child because of the patriarchal nature of their culture. Due to poverty, many families fail to send all their children to school and therefore only the boy child is educated while the girl child is ignored. It is these girl children who are more vulnerable since most of them engage in commercial sex work as a source of their livelihoods. These vulnerable young girls have relationships with the rich and affluent. Therefore if one only focuses on poverty and ignores the rich who exploit these vulnerable young people, it will be misleading since the rich play a role

in the spread of the disease. Therefore poverty should be viewed from two perspectives – that is material and moral poverty. The rich and the affluent have moral poverty which causes them to indulge in extra-marital affairs and exploit young poor girls.

Lack of Women Empowerment

Under Pre-Fast track, 3 per cent of the females noted that lack of women empowerment in areas of sex in marriage exposed women to the disease. It is striking to note that the responses on this factor were too low, indicating that women themselves failed to see their positions in marriage as contributing factors. Only one per cent of the males under Per-Fast track raised the same issue. To most males, the position of women in marriage was not a factor because they believed that women should respect the wishes of their husbands due to the fact they paid bride price. Under Fast Track, 6 per cent of females raised this point compared to 3 per cent of their male counterparts. African culture allowed men to 'graze around', but it was unheard of for women to have extra-marital affairs. Married women were not allowed by culture to refuse their husbands sex even though they might have the full knowledge that the husbands had extra-marital relationships. It was these patriarchal societies that disadvantaged women. This invariably led to the spread of the HIV/AIDS virus to the female counterparts. The socialisation process had made it possible for women to fail to recognise their status in marriage and how it was linked to contributing factors in the dynamics and epidemiology of HIV/AIDS. It was important to look at awareness levels since they were an indicator towards the effectiveness of the programmes run to educate people about the disease (refer to Table 6.31).

Table 6.31: Awareness Levels of HIV/AIDS Preventive Measures

Preventive measure	Pre-Fast Track (%)		Fast Track (%)	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Use of condoms	95	90	90	88
Breast-feeding	30	95	30	95
Faithfulness	80	90	75	90
Abstinence	68	70	40	80
Education	51	70	55	75
Circumcision	69	80	70	78

Knowledge of factors behind the spread of the HIV/AIDS virus was not enough if communities were to be protected from the woes of the disease. It was important to analyze awareness levels in terms of prevention and control of HIV/AIDS. High levels of awareness might entail that community members had all the knowledge that could be transformed into action, leading to behaviour change. Surprisingly, some of the beneficiaries were not aware of the control measures. On prevention of the spread of the HIV/AIDS infection, beneficiaries raised factors like abstinence, condom use, breast-feeding and circumcision of men.

Breast-feeding

It was interesting to discover that about 95 per cent of the female beneficiaries under both Pre-Fast Track and Fast Track indicated breast-feeding as an important factor in the prevention of the mother-to-child transmission of HIV. Only 30 per cent of the male beneficiaries under both phases mentioned breast-feeding as an important factor. This difference may suggest that men play a marginal role in the reproductive health of the family and their involvement in antenatal care is very low.

Faithfulness

Faithfulness was mentioned as one of the factors that could prevent the spread of the disease. It was striking to note that female beneficiaries (90 per cent under Fast Track and 90 per cent under Pre-Fast Track) raised this factor. Their male counterparts, that is 75 per cent under Fast Track and 80 per cent under Pre-Fast Track, mentioned the same factor, showing that more females were concerned about this factor. Society has relaxed control on males in terms of their freedom to 'graze around'. Thus their level of understanding of this factor is influenced by their culture. It is clear that there is need for more educational campaigns including males in reproductive health issues. Education as a factor that can prevent the spread of the disease was mentioned by 75 per cent of the female beneficiaries under Fast Track and 74 per cent under Pre-Fast Track, while 55 per cent of the males under Fast Track and 51 per cent under Pre-Fast Track raised the same factor. It could be surmised that the socialisation processes of men and women in patriarchal societies disadvantage females. That same socialisation process could have been responsible for the failure of male beneficiaries in the study to see the importance of educating females. The cultural practices were against the empowerment of women and thus only about 50 per cent of the male beneficiaries from both phases mentioned

education as an important factor. It should be noted that this education is not only for females but for both sexes since fathers can play a critical role in the prevention of transmission of the virus from both parents to the child. The fact that men did not see the importance of education explains invisibility in antenatal care programmes. It is at these antenatal care visits that women appreciate the education they receive about health. More and more males need to be persuaded and educated so that they value reproductive health education for their own good.

Abstinence

Abstinence was another factor raised by beneficiaries from both phases. However, percentages for both males and females were generally low. About 60 per cent of the males under Fast Track and 68 per cent under Pre-Fast Track compared to 80 per cent of females under Fast Track and 70 per cent under Pre-Fast Track phase mentioned abstinence as a factor. Beneficiaries also mentioned male circumcision as a factor in the prevention of the spread of HIV/AIDS. It was surprising to note that generally more females than males knew about male circumcision as a preventive measure against HIV/AIDS. About 70 per cent of males under Fast Track and 69 per cent under Pre-Fast Track noted this point as compared to 78 per cent females under Fast Track and 80 per cent under Pre-Fast Track. The difference can only be attributed to the fact that more females were exposed to reproductive health information than males because females took part in antenatal and other reproductive health education programmes. Males in many developing countries tended to leave reproductive health issues in the hands of their wives.

Condom Use

Condom use was raised by more than 90 per cent of beneficiaries from both phases, showing that education on condom use had been widely shared and that males were more receptive to such a measure.

The results showed that, generally, the level of awareness was significant and the beneficiaries did note that HIV/AIDS was affecting their farming activities. The important question to ask is: How then are people still suffering from this disease when they have knowledge? Having information and putting that information into practice are totally two different things. One might have the knowledge but fail to put the knowledge into practice, thus defeating the whole purpose. It should be noted that all awareness campaigns were targeted at changing people's behaviour. If people's behaviour

was not changing, the problem of HIV/AIDS would persist and this acted against the realisation of sustainable livelihoods. Scoones (1998) mentions human resource as an important resource towards achieving sustainable rural livelihoods. However, the HIV/AIDS epidemic is negatively affecting these resettlement areas robbing people of their able-bodied men and women.

Research Question 8: What has been the Fate of Farm Workers who were Displaced by the Land Reform Programmes?

Literature shows that the Agriculture sector used to be the highest single employer in Zimbabwe (Chambati 2004). This being the case, it goes without saying that agrarian reforms affected farm employees negatively. Some of the workers are now homeless, while others have resorted to gold panning. Some of the former female workers have turned into commercial sex workers, thereby exacerbating the HIV/AIDS situation. Some scholars have stated that other former farm workers have been employed by land beneficiaries. However, these scholars have failed to appraise the readership on the quality of life of farm workers under the beneficiaries of the land reform, in comparison to life under former white commercial farmers.

Where there is change of ownership of farms, farm workers are likely to find themselves in a dilemma. There are a lot of uncertainties as to what will happen to them after the new farmer has taken over. This being the case, the welfare of the farm workers needs to be taken care of. In this study, beneficiaries under both Pre-Fast Track and Fast Track were requested to indicate what happened to former workers when their former employers' farms were acquired for resettlement. Table 6.32 captures the responses.

Table 6.32: Fate of Former Farm Workers

Response	Pre-Fast Track (%)	Fast Track (%)
I don't know	51.1	46.1
Others were resettled here	45.7	46.1
Lost their jobs	3.2	16.7
I employed some	0	1

The percentage of beneficiaries who pointed out that some of the farm workers were resettled (45.7 per cent Pre-Fast Track and 46.1 per cent Fast Track) shows that the programme did not leave farm workers out in the cold. However, 51.1 per cent of the Pre-Fast Track beneficiaries indicated that they did know what befell the farm workers when the farms they used to work on were acquired for resettlement. This is not surprising at all, since by the time when beneficiaries were resettled under Pre-Fast Track, there were no workers on site. The nature of land acquisition under this phase afforded former commercial farmers opportunities to redeploy their workforce, before land reform beneficiaries were resettled. In most cases, land reform beneficiaries never met the people who used to work on the farms that were acquired for resettlement. Secondly, in most cases, land acquired for resettlement under Pre-Fast Track was land that was lying idle, or that could be termed excess baggage. In a way, the problem of farm workers losing their employment because of the resettlement processes was not very pronounced.

The problem of the future of farm workers was prevalent under Fast Track because, in extreme cases, farmers were given very short notice to vacate. Under Fast Track, 46.1 per cent of the beneficiaries, professed ignorance regarding the fate of former farm workers. We are of the opinion that this was the case with those workers who sided with their employers during land invasion. Those who joined *Chimurenga III* (land invasion) were without doubt catered for in the resettlement. Some beneficiaries, 16.7 per cent under Fast Track, as compared to 3.2 per cent under Pre-Fast Track, stated that some farm workers lost their jobs. Only one per cent of the Fast Track beneficiaries mentioned that they employed some of the former farm workers. This is an insignificant figure, which is consistent with an earlier observation that most beneficiaries in both phases relied on family labour.

Notwithstanding the above, we should not lose sight of those farm workers who were resettled under both phases. However, this has serious implications on productivity levels since most farm workers were poorly remunerated, and when given land, their capacity to finance farming operations is doubtful. The level of farming skills among them is not in question; unfortunately skills on their own cannot produce food. Failure to give support to such beneficiaries, and leaving them to their own whims, is tantamount to villagising former productive prime land, which has serious implications on food security at household and national levels. In the discourse of former farm workers and land reform, there is need to be cognisant of the fact that during the colonial era and early years of independence, most farm labourers were aliens,

having originated from Zambia, Malawi and Mozambique. Therefore, the government of Zimbabwe is not obliged to cater for these aliens in its land redistribution programme. The best the government of Zimbabwe can do is to assist in the repatriation of such former farm workers to their countries of origin.

Conclusion

This chapter presented and discussed findings on respondents' biodata, and redistributive nature of the two phases, taking into account economic sectors and the origins of beneficiaries. It went on to elucidate on status of occupants – that is whether the respondents were beneficiaries or tenants, among others. Findings and discussions were presented and discussed under the research questions which informed the study. The findings in this chapter informed the conclusions and recommendations discussed in the next (and concluding) chapter.

7

Summary, Conclusions and Recommendations

Introduction

This chapter summarises the study, giving an overview of all the six chapters, highlights conclusions arrived at and suggests recommendations. The summary consists of an overview of what each section covered.

Summary of the Study

Background to the Study

The purpose of the study was to compare the Pre-Fast Track phase of the agrarian reforms and the Fast Track Phase, which is referred to as *Jambanja* in this study. Chapter 1 provided a general overview of the study, contextualised it, highlighted current issues in land reform, and illuminated the gap in literature the study intended to fill. The statement of the problem, research questions, objectives, delimitations, and limitations of the study were discussed. Recurrent terms were also defined in the context of this study. The theoretical framework that informed the study was also explained. The chapter concluded by highlighting how the whole study was organised.

Research Method and Design

Chapter 2 discussed research method and design, describing the research site, population and sample. The chapter also explained the sampling procedures and described the research instruments that were used to gather data. Finally, the chapter gave details of the fieldwork and how data were analysed.

Historical Context of Land in Zimbabwe

Chapter 3 highlighted the importance of land as an essential resource for national development in Zimbabwe. An analysis of the role and impact of land among the indigenous people of Zimbabwe since fourth century AD to the present was traced in order to show the centrality of The Land Question (Nothling 1989). The issue of land tenure helps the reader to appreciate how the European settlers parcelled out the best land to themselves whilst the indigenous people were driven to dry, infertile parts of the country. This background helped to lay a foundation of the contrast between the Pre-Fast Track land reform and FTLRP. Trends in history literature show how people in developed and developing countries were moved from rural to urban areas during the industrial revolution. Commercial farms and ranches replaced village life and mechanisation became the new way of agricultural production.

The chapter demonstrated how colonial history of Southern Africa introduced a policy of separate development (Moyana 2002). African men were not allowed to settle permanently in urban areas since these urban centres were designated as European settlements. Africans were supposed to live in rural areas but were also forced to seek employment in urban centres, farms and mines (Hill 2003). The Africans saw their urban, farm and mine settlements as temporary homes. At retirement or when an individual became unemployed he had to migrate back to rural areas.

Evidence of conflicts breaking out amongst the Shona ethnic groups over land from 1400s to the 1900s was also amply demonstrated in the chapter (Nothling 1989). The movement of the Ndebele, into Zimbabwe in the nineteenth century in search of pasture only fuelled more conflicts over land between the Ndebele and the Shona (Cobbing 1979; Nyathi 2000). The arrival of European merchants in search of raw materials led to wars, and in some instances rebellions after the European settlers had used signing of concessions and establishment of land apportionment acts as tools that would deprive the indigenous people of fertile and productive land (Tshuma 1997). In order to formalise their land grab, the settlers surveyed the areas

from which the indigenous blacks had been displaced and placed beacons demarcating farm boundaries thereby producing a property map. Title deeds were given to the occupiers of the property to secure and legalise their tenure (Hill 2003). This process produced two farming sectors, namely the large commercial farming sector for the white settlers and smallholder farming sector for the indigenous blacks.

The chapter also showed that large-scale commercial farming sector was heavily subsidised by the government and was highly mechanised and produced in bulk for local consumption as well as export markets because farmers had title deeds which they could use as collateral for loans and could easily obtain loans from banks (Bautista, Thomas, Muir-Leresche and Lofgren 2002). On the other hand, the communal farming areas were characterised by overcrowding, overgrazing, poor soils and subsistence farming because land was communally owned and it could not be used as collateral for loans. These factors resulted in land degradation and deforestation.

The soliciting of cheap African labour by colonisers through various means was also discussed in the chapter. These included forced labour, a pyramid shaped education system, which ensured drop out at each stage from primary, secondary and university, barring blacks from certain trades and professions. Hut taxes were also introduced and those who could not raise the money were forced to seek employment in white-owned farms, factories and mines (Moyana 2002).

The passing of various land legislations that deprived Africans was also highlighted. The social, economic and political effects of the Land Apportionment Act on the indigenous people were devastating. Immediately after the creation of reserves, the indigenous agricultural production deteriorated (Moyana 2002). By 1943 most of the 38 established reserves were overpopulated and, as a consequence, soil erosion and environmental degradation became widespread in the reserves. The indigenous people lost some of their cattle. African chiefs loyal to the European settlers were appointed. As a result some indigenous people revolted against the settlers (Hughes 2006).

The four different types of land tenure that are characteristic of the Zimbabwean agrarian structure were discussed. These include the freehold full ownership as evidenced by title deeds that specify the area of land owned by an individual. During the colonial period it was mainly the white settler farmers who were allocated these title deeds. The second type of land tenure in Zimbabwe is a leasehold that entitles the owner of the land to sign an

agreement with a lessee under which a tenant is allowed the free enjoyment and use of the land in return of the payment of rent (Moyo 1995). The traditional, customary or communal tenure comprises of land that belongs to the community which decides how land is to be used. The chief is given power to allocate land to groups or individual members of the community. The majority of the indigenous people were allocated land under the customary communal tenure. Since communal land tenure cannot be sold, land held under this tenure system could not be used as collateral. As a result, the majority of the indigenous people could not get loans from banks in order to be effective farmers. The white settlers, on the other hand, had access to numerous loans since they had collateral (Bautista et al 2002).

The chapter also highlighted the effectiveness of the communal tenure system which was used to allocate land on the basis of availability. The African people would move on to occupy vacant land. The resistance to white domination and the growth of African nationalism was born to a certain extent as a result of The Land Question as highlighted by Tshuma (1997). In response, the Rhodesian Front Party led by Ian Smith fought against African representation in parliament and even detained the leadership of the African nationalism. Initially the African nationalists tried to use diplomacy in fighting for African rights. From 1966 to 1979, PF ZAPU and ZANU (PF) waged a guerrilla war to end the white minority rule leading to the Lancaster House Conference of 1979 (Hill 2003). There were serious differences between the British and Patriotic Front regarding land redistribution. The British wanted assurances that land would not be taken from the white settlers by force. Only underutilised land could be acquired for agricultural reasons (Tshuma 1997). The acquiring authority had to pay compensation. The guarantees that the British insisted on were contained in section 16 of the Lancaster House Agreement which sought to prohibit the compulsory acquisition of property (Moyo 1994). The chapter has thus traced the history of land politics in Zimbabwe from pre-colonial period to date.

Land Reform Process in Zimbabwe

Chapter 4 discussed the basis for land reform in Southern Africa in general and Zimbabwe in particular. An understanding of the objectives and aims of agrarian reform programmes is important for one to analyse the rationale. It is interesting to note that many scholars like Moyo, Matondi and Sukuma (2004), Marongwe (2003), Chitsike (2003), Vudzijena (1998), to mention but a few, have identified the objectives of land reform in Zimbabwe but

failed to assess the attainment of each objective. Their focus is on poverty alleviation and they have turned a blind eye on other objectives like the need to promote political stability and acceptable property rights and the restoration of traditional leaders in the management of natural resources.

Resettlement Models

The chapter also discussed the various land reform programmes and their targets. Tshuma (1998) and Lebert (2003) have managed to identify the resettlement targets. These targets were set for each resettlement model. It has clearly explained the 7 resettlement models in Zimbabwe which are:

- Model A, with the objective of relieving pressure in overpopulated areas while at the same time maintaining the social and cultural fabric of the settlers by settling as much as possible households with common origins in the same village.
- The second model, i.e. self-contained units explained in this chapter, has the aim of improving the base for productive agriculture in the peasant farming sector with provision of basic social and infrastructural services.
- Three-tier model is also explained, but this applied only to dry regions of Zimbabwe and is for cattle ranching. The objectives in this model include the need to provide land for commercial grazing with the idea of increasing the communal herd.
- There is also A2 model (Commercial Farm Settlement Scheme) which seeks to increase the participation of black indigenous farmers in commercial farming through the provision of easier access to land and infrastructure on full cost recovery basis. The other objective is to break the gap between white and black commercial farmers and to empower black entrepreneurs in the economy of Zimbabwe.
- Model B farming practice which is focusing on farms suitable for specialised enterprises that can be run as a unit by co-operative groups on business lines. Vudzijena (1998) states that all facilities are used collectively but there are individual stands of 0.5 ha.
- Model C which is involved in intensive resettlement of beneficiaries around a core estate. It is noted by Vudzijena (1998) that the Agricultural and Rural Development Authority (ARDA) and outgrowers run a central core estate. This estate supplies essential services to the settlers such as mechanical draught power, transportation of produce and inputs

in bulk, production of seedlings for specialised crops, crop processing and marketing, to mention but a few. These services are provided to the settlers at a cost.

- Model D which is implemented in the arid regions of southern parts of Zimbabwe. Lebert (2003) states that commercial ranches were purchased next to communal lands. He goes on to mention that livestock is purchased from these neighbouring trust areas and allowed to fatten on the ranch before being sold. The thinking was that communal farmers would be able to reduce grazing pressure on communal lands.

Willing Buyer Willing Seller Principle

Apart from discussing the different types of models, chapter 4 also amply demonstrated how the 1980–1996 land reform programme was to be guided by the Lancaster House Agreement. It explained how the willing buyer willing seller principle was used to acquire land in the early years of independence. It examined the successes and failures of this principle and explained the different amendments to the constitution that were made in a bid to speed up the land reform process. It explained the changes on the constitution like the Communal Act of 1981, Land Acquisition Act of 1985, the 1990 National Land Policy, The Constitutional Amendment Act Number 30 of 1990 and the Land Acquisition Act of 1992. It highlighted that during the period between 1980 and 1997, the land acquisition process was slow and that the government of Zimbabwe purchased land that was deemed unproductive by the sellers. Thus the chapter analysed the problems encountered during this period. It has bridged the gap left by earlier literature that has emphasised political factors as the causes of the Fast Track land reform ignoring the frustrations caused by the ‘willing seller willing buyer’ principle (Tshuma 1997; Marongwe 2003).

The chapter also highlighted the period after 1998 starting with the inception phase of the Fast Track agrarian reform programme, as explained by scholars like Ncube (1998), Chitsike (2003), Sachikonye (2003) and Moyo (2006). This marked Phase 2 of the land reform programme that was precipitated by the grievances of war veterans and the generality of the populace. The chapter highlighted the driving force for this accelerated phase.

Assessment of the First Phase of Land Reform Programme

The chapter analysed the assessment of the first phase of the Land reform programme, i.e. between 1980 and 1997. Lebert (2003) notes that by June 1988 only about 16 per cent of commercial land had been given to indigenous black people. This was an indication that not much was done in this eight-year period after independence in terms of giving land to blacks. However, literature has highlighted that more land was acquired in the first three years of independence when white farmers were leaving the country due to the war (Tshuma 1997; Moyana 2002). The chapter also explained the analysis by the Controller and Auditor General audit of 1993. The report indicated that by 1993, most rural people who were landless benefited. However, available literature failed to look at the objectives of the land reform and assess them one by one. It is important to assess the attainment of all objectives since these have a bearing on economic performance and general living standards.

The Plight of Farm Labourers

It is shown in this chapter that land reform had effects on farm labourers with some losing their jobs while others got employed by the new indigenous farmers. Marongwe (2003) and Sachikonye (2003) mention that workers' livelihoods were destroyed since they lost their jobs. They argue, however, that some labourers got jobs from the new farmers; but their overall assessment is that workers were left worse off. The chapter has also filled the gap in research where literature seemed to condemn the Fast Track Land Reform for leaving out farm workers (only 5 per cent benefited from the land redistribution programme) by discussing the composition of farm labourers and concluding that some of them, by virtue of being non-Zimbabweans, were not entitled to get land under both phases of the land reform programme.

The Impacts of HIV and AIDS

The chapter also highlighted the impact of HIV and AIDS on agriculture and resettlement areas. It should be noted that scholars like Moyo (2004, 2006) have shown that HIV and AIDS has led to loss of labour and productivity. The argument is that there was loss of time during periods of caring for the sick and that resources were being channelled towards purchase of drugs for the sick. However, their analysis was based on agriculture in general where they argued that smallholder farming practices were affected most because they relied on family labour. It is this labour resource that has been affected

by HIV and AIDS and thus there would be loss of labour leading to lower production. Moyo (2006) thus generalised this trend by arguing that in resettlement areas that impact was more marked because the resettlement programme led to conversion of commercial farms to small holdings whose beneficiaries are more vulnerable to HIV and AIDS. Available literature has, however, failed to give empirical evidence from the resettlement areas and this study managed to show the extent of the problem as it is manifested in the resettlement areas without generalising.

Gender and Land Reform in Zimbabwe

Chapter 5 discussed the importance of gender as a concept in any land reform programme. It defined gender as socially constructed roles, relationships and learned behaviours of males and females (Dejene 1997). It also emphasised that gender can also be seen as a household resource and is usually seen as a power relationship between men and women which is characterised by negotiation and conflict. It highlighted how the Zimbabwean land reform has focused on racial injustice instead of gender or social justice. Racial equity eclipsed gender equity such that issues relating to equity on the basis of gender were not considered. Gender, especially women's interests, was not a priority in the land redistribution programme (Gaidzanwa 1994; Jacobs 1996, 2000).

Earlier research on Zimbabwe's post-independence agrarian reforms has mainly focused on the evolution of the land reform programme (Moyo 2000, 2001b, 2003; Moyo and Yeros 2005; Matondi and Munyukwi Hungwe 2006; Marongwe 2003; Rukuni 1994, 2006). These scholars have discussed the different phases of the Zimbabwean land reform which can be divided into four broad phases namely: the market acquisition era informed by the Lancaster House Constitution (1980-1990, phase 1); the structural adjustment era which posed the initial challenge to the market acquisition approach (1990-1997, phase 2); the political and social crisis period informed by the market and state methods (1997-2000); and finally, the Fast Track programme which officially challenged the market acquisition approach and resorted to radical and compulsory acquisition (2000 onwards, phase 4). They argue that the design of particular phases of land reform was influenced by a number of factors like constitutional constraints; the significance of commercial agriculture in the Zimbabwean economy; the dictates of the Bretton Woods institutions; and, changes in the political climate of the newly independent state. Given the principal role that women play in agriculture and in many rural communities of Zimbabwe, the glaring absence of the

gender perspective in earlier research on land reform in Zimbabwe was the compelling reason for weaving in the gender dimension in this study. The chapter has highlighted the critical contributions of women in society and how important it is for current land reform programmes to include the gender dimension.

The chapter has highlighted that both land reform programmes have benefited more men than women. The permits were registered in the names of the household heads that were presumed to be males. This then disadvantaged divorced and unmarried women (Jacobs 1991, 1996, 2000; Gaidzanwa 1994). The chapter has also compared how men and women who benefited in both land reforms fared in terms of agricultural productivity and sustainable management of the environment.

Literature which has discussed women and land reform has mainly focused on the Pre-Fast Track phase. Cheater (1984), Chenaux-Repond (1993), Jacobs (1999, 2000) and Goebel (2005) have discussed the role of women in Sengezi resettlement scheme in Mashonaland East Province. They argue that women generated more income from various agricultural activities which included a cattle beef fattening project. They also concur that women in the Pre-Fast Track resettlement areas had increased chances of owning land upon the death of their husbands; the land permit would be transferred to the name of the surviving widow. They also observed that polygamy was on the increase in the Pre-Fast Track resettlement areas since men wanted to have more women who could be used as beasts of burden in the fields. Goebel (2005) even goes further to argue that women in these polygamous marriages were using husband-taming herbs to get the attention of their men. She portrays marriage as an institution in crisis and that was why women were using these husband-taming herbs. It is wrong to pass judgment on cultural institutions especially if one is an outsider.

The researchers who have discussed the marginalisation of women in accessing basic resources like land have condemned women's oppression as originating in African patriarchy (Goebel 2005; Gaidzanwa 1981, 1988, 1994; Moyo 1995; Mvududu 2000). The chapter has demonstrated that oppression of women as understood today and their subsequent marginalisation did not originate from African patriarchy. In traditional Shona and Ndebele societies, there was no private ownership of land; it was communally owned but individually worked. Men were heads of households and were not fighting women or limiting their access to resources like land because in the traditional society both men and women worked together and formed

a stable unit of production – mhuri/imhuli (family/families). The chapter clearly demonstrated that the advent of colonialism with various Acts like the Land Apportionment Act, Land Husbandry Act and codified customary law, stripped women of the rights and privileges they formerly enjoyed in Shona and Ndebele traditional society.

The chapter also gave Chingarande's (2004, 2008) more detailed overview of gender and land reform in Zimbabwe. It discussed the distribution of land by gender in Zimbabwe's ten provinces. It also highlighted the fact that the objectives of both the first and the second land reforms in Zimbabwe had nothing to do with gender. It draws parallels of women and land reform in countries like South Africa, Mozambique and Tanzania. It applauds the South African land reform for putting legal instruments that would cater for the gender aspect like the Department of Land Affairs' Land Reform Gender Policy. Through this policy, 30 per cent of the redistributed land would be given to women. The Land Reform Gender Policy aims at creating an enabling environment for women to access, own and control valuable resources like land. The chapter demonstrated that noble legal instruments like the Gender Policy Framework policies in South Africa could remain lofty principles which are not accessible to the ordinary person if implementation procedures and mechanisms are not put in place.

The chapter also highlighted how the Fast Track land reform programme has benefited more males than females due to its militant nature. It has also brought to the fore the social, political and transformative impact of the Fast Track land reform programme on the lives of women farmers in Goromonzi and Gweru-Vungu districts of Zimbabwe (Manjengwa and Mazhavidza 2009b). It demonstrated that the Fast Track land reform programme has managed to create new social networks, generate income and improve the livelihoods of women farmers in Kwekwe District in particular and Zimbabwe in general.

Land reform in Africa and other parts of the world can never be fully democratic until it emphasises women's rights. Gender analysis in Zimbabwe shows the inability of formal law to ensure women's rights to land when such laws are socially legitimate and enforceable. If the use of codified customary law and statutory law persists in undermining women's land rights and access, then Zimbabwe is still far from addressing gender issues in land reform. The chapter observed that the chaotic nature of the Fast Track process and the loss of state support for women's equal rights demonstrate that the struggle for women's land rights in Zimbabwe might be more difficult than ever before (Goebel 2005).

Productivity Levels

Literature has also shown that productivity in the resettlement areas, especially in the Fast Track Resettlement areas, has declined. A UN report of 2010 highlighted that due to the lack of planning and access to farm inputs, new farmers failed to maintain the production levels, while other scholars like Moyo (2006) have blamed poor weather and a dwindling economy for reduced productivity. It is interesting to note that scholars do not agree on production levels. Lebert (2003) argues that productivity has declined while, on the other hand, Sachikonye (2003) argues that there was increased production. The present research has managed to distinguish between the two phases of production, i.e. soon after settlement production decreased, but later on it increased as the new farmers got used to the new farming areas and methods.

Conclusions

The conclusions are presented as per the research questions. The following conclusions were arrived at:

- The respondents in both phases were predominantly below the age of 65 years. It was concluded that, all other things being equal, land under both phases could be put to good productive use since most beneficiaries were still in the economically active age group. It was also concluded that in the Pre-Fast Track phase, while the greater percentage of beneficiaries were economically active, there was a greater percentage of the ageing population as compared to the Fast Track phase. Educationally, literacy levels were higher under Fast Track, than under Pre-Fast Track. It can be concluded that this boded well for production, assuming that there is a positive correlation between level of education and farmer productivity. However, the trend could be reversed if the ease with which schooling facilities are being accessed by Fast Track beneficiaries is not addressed. The next generation of people resettled during Fast Track phase could end up having low educational levels than their Pre-Fast Track beneficiaries. The percentage of beneficiaries who indicated that they received some form of agricultural training was viewed as an indication that the government of Zimbabwe placed a lot of importance on farmer skills. This is a positive development, more so if farmer training sessions become an ongoing process.

- The status of occupancy (whether the people tilling the land were beneficiaries – in the sense that they were originally settled in the land or renting) led to the conclusion that contrary to insinuations from the Western world, there was very little renting of land by farmers in both phases. However, the study did not investigate levels of offer acceptance and plot uptake by beneficiaries under Fast Track. During data collection, vast tracts of unoccupied plots were observed under Fast Track. Perhaps there is need to expedite the land audit so that unoccupied land/plots can be reallocated or revert to being state land, so that service facilities such as schools, dip tanks, shops, veterinary centres could be constructed. Related to the above was the issue of the employment sector of beneficiaries. Under both phases, more than 70 per cent of the beneficiaries were full-time farmers. It can also be concluded that there was some job diversification (as encouraged under the sustainable rural livelihoods framework of analysis), as evidenced by some beneficiaries who indicated that they belonged to the civil service or private employment sectors.
- The percentage of beneficiaries who originated from urban centres is higher under Fast Track. It can be concluded that the undercurrents that precipitated this were the push-pull factors. The harsh economic conditions, shrinking economy related to economic sanctions, job losses, and displacements as a result of operation Murambatsvina were part of the push factors. Assuming that beneficiaries were victims of push factors, it can be concluded that beneficiaries were ill-equipped to till the land productively. Some of the beneficiaries could still be holding jobs in urban centres, and only periodically visiting their plots which are manned by some employees. Plots under such management are hardly put to full use. On the other hand, diversification (being gainfully employed) should augur well for agriculture, all other things being equal. Proceeds from formal employment could be used to finance farming operations. There is need to establish production levels of plots owned by beneficiaries who are gainfully employed in the private and public sectors. Very few beneficiaries had children gainfully employed. It can also be concluded that apart from their own meagre resources, beneficiaries had no other sources of funding to finance their farming activities.
- The diverse backgrounds of beneficiaries under both phases indicate that both phases were redistributive in nature. However, the possibility of

partisan land redistribution under Fast Track should not be discounted, owing to the observation that land committees that were charged with the vetting of would-be beneficiaries could have been predominantly appendages of ZANU (PF). Former farm workers also benefited from the land reforms, contrary to some studies conducted on this issue. It should be borne in mind that the agricultural sector used to be one of the highest employers. Therefore, for argument's sake, if 15 per cent of farm workers were resettled, while this may appear insignificant, in real terms, 15 per cent of the farm workers nationally is not just a drop in the ocean.

- The selection process was different under the two phases, with a lot of planning having been devoted to the Pre-Fast Track phase, as evidenced by prior provision of essential services. Professionals were actively involved. On the contrary, it can be concluded that the Fast Track phase had some traces/characteristics of militancy, hence terms such as Jambanja/Chimurenga III. Events which took place could be equated to putting the cart before the horse. Beneficiaries were resettled before the provision of services. Unlike in the Pre-Fast Track, professionals from the Ministry of Lands came on the scene after occupancy of farms by beneficiaries.
- There was an implementation strategy for the Pre-Fast track phase, while there was none for the Fast Track phase. The strategy under Pre-Fast Track was acquiring land first, developing/provision of essential services, identifying the beneficiaries and then settling them. The strategies did not disturb the farming activities of large-scale farmers, since only excess land was given up for resettlement. On the contrary, Fast Track was impromptu, spontaneous, unplanned, and at times violent. Perhaps, it can be concluded that militancy was the strategy. Because of its nature, militancy impacted negatively on commercial farming then. The quality of life of beneficiaries was compromised, since most had difficulties accessing essential services and facilities such as clean drinking water, health facilities, schools, veterinary services, among others. Access to essential agricultural services was used to deduce implementation strategies. Pre-Fast Track beneficiaries accessed most services much easier as compared to Fast Track beneficiaries. Financial support was non-available for beneficiaries under both phases. It was concluded that lack of financial support was limiting agricultural production under both phases, with those under Pre-Fast Track phase failing to buy inputs such as fertiliser and seeds, while Fast Track beneficiaries, apart from failing to buy consumable inputs such as seeds, herbicides and fertilisers, also

failed to mechanise, and hence still relied on animal-drawn implements. Beneficiaries (male and female) under both phases reared cattle and donkeys for draught power, while small stocks were for consumption. Extension services were readily accessible by beneficiaries under both phases. This underscores the seriousness attached by the government of Zimbabwe to the agrarian reform.

- Literature puts the percentage of women who benefited from land reform between 15 per cent and 23 per cent. Views from beneficiaries under the two phases were at variance, with Pre-Fast Track beneficiaries being content with the number of female beneficiaries, while Fast Track beneficiaries thought otherwise. It can be concluded that beneficiaries from the two phases held contrasting views regarding gender, land and property rights. Considering the ratio of women to men in Zimbabwe and the views held by the Fast Track beneficiaries (men and women), it can be concluded that the percentage of women who have benefited from land reform is a far cry from the ideal. From the survey women, tended to lag behind their male counterparts in terms of agricultural training before and after resettlement. It should be borne in mind that training is one of the most important vehicles of empowerment because people are given skills. Therefore in this case, the empowerment process tended to be skewed in favour of males. It can also be concluded that skewed gender relations between males and females, male chauvinism and patriarchy tentacles were still firmly anchored under the Pre-Fast Track phase. In addition, it is implicit that most female beneficiaries under Pre-Fast Track were not aware of their property rights. This illuminated the differences in levels of awareness between female beneficiaries under the two phases.
- It can be concluded that beneficiaries under both phases were aware of the regulations governing the proper use of resources. The implementation of regulations was higher under Pre Fast Track than Fast Track. The implementation of the regulations has not stalled land degradation that was evident in the Pre-Fast Track areas. The conclusions arrived at were that while regulations were being observed, population pressure in the Pre-Fast Track areas led to overstocking and subsequent overgrazing, with new families resettling themselves on land previously designated as grazing areas.
- The situation under the Fast Track was a bit different. The conclusion arrived at was that most of the regulations involving the proper use

of land and its resources were not being implemented. However, the land has not been degraded to the same extent as under the Pre-Fast Track because population pressure on the land was still less. A number of beneficiaries had not yet taken occupation of the land allocated to them. Of those on the land, some were not making full use of it, especially those plots where employees were employed to ‘just’ take care of the land (place holders), plots that had child-headed families, plots occupied by widows, plots belonging to beneficiaries rendered invalid by HIV/AIDS and old age. This meant that livestock were still having vast stretches of grazing land not being utilised by the beneficiaries. However with time, in the absence of strict implementation and monitoring of beneficiaries’ farming activities, environmental and land degradation experienced under Pre-Fast track should not be ruled out under Fast Track, more so with the prevalence of gold panning and tree felling in the Fast Track areas.

- Based on production levels, it can be concluded that beneficiaries under both phases achieved food security at household level. However, production levels (yields) of crops are still lower than those commercial farmers used to produce. This implies that volumes of grain destined for marketing boards are less, jeopardising the country’s food security at the macro level. Beneficiary livelihoods seem to be more sustainable under the Fast Track, since production levels are higher, beneficiaries market the surplus. Beneficiaries later use the money obtained to finance some of their daily living expenses.

Recommendations

In Africa most economies are agro-based; therefore there is need for well planned and executed agricultural policies. There is need to differentiate between party politics and the development process of an economy. When a party is elected to power it becomes the government of a nation regardless of party affiliation. It therefore means that the government now represents the interests of every citizen regardless of political affiliation. It is therefore critical for the government to put in place policies that benefit all citizens, especially with regard to access to land since it is the main source of livelihood in most developing countries, Zimbabwe included. Where there are conflicts and disagreements between racial groups within a nation, it is critical to use dialogue as a means of resolving problems. Use of violence and coercion is never a solution but leads to resentment and scares away investors. Governments

need to put in place policies that unite different races so as to promote peace and attract foreign investors. In any economy, the rule of law needs to be observed by all so as to maintain peace and order. The government needs to provide a conducive environment for an agricultural policy through involving all stakeholders at all levels in the planning process. This will help in the provision of services such as dip tanks, clinics, schools, shopping centres and transport networks prior to the resettling of people in the new areas.

Policy makers are encouraged to come up with a deliberate policy to empower women by increasing their access to land. Policy makers should consider the male/female ratio when formulating policies to empower the citizens of Zimbabwe. Currently, the male/female ratio is 100:102 an indication that females are slightly more than males. Therefore, policy formulations should reflect this ratio. Future agrarian reforms should ensure that approximately 40 per cent of the land available for redistribution is set aside for females. We recommend that when such policies are crafted they should be implemented and also the communities should be educated on such principles to change their patriarchal attitudes which always deprive women of important resources like land, water, education, among others.

Policy makers are encouraged to come up with explicit population policies so that the development process may not be reversed by pressure on resources. Indigenous people should be given the authority to look after their own resources. It has been proven that the bottom-up approach is the panacea for effective management of natural resources. Therefore any land reform programme should consider these important principles for the management of local resources. The role of traditional leaders in the management of natural resources in resettlement areas should be strengthened together with indigenous knowledge systems. Indigenous knowledge systems should never be replaced by the modern systems and techniques; instead, these should complement each other.

The importance of a nation's food security is one of the most critical developments that a nation needs to achieve. Under colonialism, Zimbabwe was a net exporter of grain and was known as one of the bread baskets of Africa. Whilst both the Pre Fast Track and Fast Track phases have managed to achieve food security at household level, this cannot be said of the contribution of both phases to national food security. Therefore there is need for farmers to take farming as a business and grow both cash crops and staple crops for the benefit of the nation as a whole. The marketing boards need to design marketing programmes that will make it easier for farmers to sell their produce.

Producer prices should enable the farmer to earn a reasonable return on his/her investment and thereby attract more farmers into cash crop production. Contract farming practices by marketing boards such as COTTCO should not disadvantage farmers in terms of the high input prices and transport costs and low producer prices. Therefore these boards need to work closely with farmers' unions so that fair prices are set, so as to benefit farmers and attract more farmers into cash crop production. It should be noted that white commercial farmers used to produce cash crops in large quantities because they had easy access to cheap loans, a facility which is not available to resettled farmers. The government should come up with a loan facility tailor-made for the benefit of farmers without collateral security and the funding can be sent to banks like Agribank with specific terms and conditions that the farmers should fulfil before getting the loans. At harvest, the marketing boards would liaise with the bank and pay back the loan before giving the farmer the balance to ensure that the loans are recovered. By adequately financing the Grain Marketing Board, government will ensure that farmers are paid on delivery, thus encouraging them to sell their crops to the national boards. Farmers need to be equipped with skills of practising commercial farming. The government also needs to resuscitate cattle production so as to raise the national herd. Both the dairy farmers and beef farmers require re-capitalisation so the national herd can be resuscitated.

Zimbabwe is experiencing erratic rains and therefore farmers need to be trained on the climatic conditions of their areas and on suitable crops for different climates so as to come up with drought-resistant crops. The government of Zimbabwe is strongly encouraged to set aside financial resources which will be closely monitored towards setting up of dams for irrigation purposes. Experience has shown that such programmes have failed because the government was 100 per cent in control of the programmes; hence it is recommended that private contractors be engaged since these have efficient project management and operating systems. Farmers are also strongly recommended to follow closely land use planning schemes so that they know the type of agricultural practice to follow – that is, whether livestock production or crop production.

The current mechanisation programme unfortunately only benefited individuals with close links to those who have high public offices. In the study area no resettled farmer benefited. It should be noted that those who benefited have the capacity and means to mechanise their farming without government assistance and yet the resettled farmers without the capacity were left out. Therefore the government of Zimbabwe is advised to come up with

a mechanisation programme specially designed for the ordinary resettled farmers. However, the resettled farmers need to form cooperatives so as to ensure efficient management and use of the machinery.

Any development and empowering process should recognise that the dependency syndrome created may work against the same process; and hence farmers should not rely on handouts for their farming practices but the cooperatives formed should be monitored by Arex officers so as to ensure that the machinery given is only to give them the initial boost, but with time, they should be able to buy their own equipment. Marketing boards are encouraged to establish small depots in more centralised locations where accessibility will be easy for the resettled farmers.

Any resettlement programme should consider water and sanitation issues. It is recommended that the government of Zimbabwe through the District Development Fund (DDF) should embark on a programme of drilling boreholes in resettlement areas to ensure the supply of safe drinking water. The programme of distributing water purifying tablets should be expanded to include resettlement areas.

The militant nature of the Fast Track Land Reform Programme made it impossible for prior provision of basic social infrastructure like schools, clinics and shops and resettled farmers have to travel long distances to access these basic needs. Therefore government needs to take corrective measures and provide service centres in the resettlement areas. The lesson is that any resettlement programme needs to be well planned and governments in Africa need to uphold this important lesson if a sustainable development process is to be achieved.

Farmers need to be conscientised on the possible sources of income through managing their wildlife resources and lessons from CAMPFIRE programmes can be extended to these resettlement areas. Resettled farmers are encouraged to form fire fighting committees so as to get rid of veld fires. There is therefore need for stringent measures that are strictly enforced.

The range of crops that were grown and classes of livestock that were kept by beneficiaries, under both phases indicate that diversification was limited. Yet according to the Sustainable Rural Livelihoods Framework Analysis (the theoretical framework that informed the study), diversification is one of the strategies to achieve a sustainable livelihood. It is therefore recommended that, while beneficiaries under both phases indicated that land reform impacted their lives positively, diversification may further enhance the sustainability of beneficiaries' livelihoods.

Voluntary testing of one's HIV status is important in order to empower farmers to make informed decisions. Therefore the government needs to set up voluntary testing centres in resettlement areas. It should be noted that while HIV awareness levels are high and the prevalence of HIV and AIDS is also high, indicating that although people have the information there is no behaviour change. It is therefore advised that church organisations expand their programmes into resettlement areas so as to influence behaviour change among believers in the gospel. Moral rectitude can be greatly influenced by religion. Those that are infected need easy access to antiretroviral therapy at affordable costs, and hence the government is encouraged to expand its programmes to the resettlement areas.

Future researches should be focussed on (a) the plight of child-headed households in resettlement areas, (a) the uptake levels of offer acceptance and its impact on food security at national levels, and (c) resettlement and sanitation.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Questionnaire for Resettled Farmers

Introduction: We are lecturers from the Zimbabwe Open University, carrying out a research on agrarian reforms. We are therefore requesting you to complete this questionnaire as honestly as possible. Do not write your name. It is our hope that findings from this research will go a long way towards improving service delivery in resettled areas. Thank you in advance for your anticipated cooperation.

Section A: Background information

Tick in the appropriate box.

1. What is your sex? Male Female
2. What is your age range?
Below 35 years
36 – 49 year
50 – 64 years
65 years plus
3. What is your highest level of education?
None Primary level
'O' Level
'A' Level
Diploma
(specify) _____
Degree (specify) _____

4. Did you receive any agriculture training before or after resettlement?
 Yes No
5. Are you affiliated to any farming organization? If Yes, name the Organization.
-
6. Which employment sector do you belong to?
 Civil service
 Private sector
 Fulltime farmer
7. Do you have any children working in town or out of the country?
 Ye No
8. Before you were resettled, where were you living?
 Working in town
 Living in my rural area
 Employed on the farms

Section B

1. How were you selected for resettlement?

2. How easy is it to access the following services?

Service	Very easy	Easy	Difficult	Very Difficult
Extension services (Arex)				
Schools				
Clinics				
Transport				

Dip Tanks				
Shops for buying inputs				
Markets for selling your produce				
Access to loans to finance farming				

3. List the crops that you grow on your farm as well as the yield that you get per hectare.

Crop	Yield per hectare

4. What happens to the bulk of your produce? (Tick in the appropriate box).

Keep for feeding my family

Sell to Marketing Boards

Sell to private buyers

5. Where do you prefer to sell your produce?

To marketing boards To private buyers

(Tick the appropriate response).

6. Are you satisfied with the size of your farm? (Tick the appropriate response).

Yes No

- 7(a) How many workers are you employing? _____

- 7(b) Apart from family members, do you have any workers helping you on your?

Yes No

8. Are you using the whole farm? Yes No

9. If your answer to 8 above is NO, state reasons why you are not using the whole farm.

10. Are you the beneficiary of the farm or you are renting? (Tick the appropriate answer). Beneficiary Renting
11. If you are the beneficiary, what type of tenure are you holding?
Communal 99 year lease I do not know
(Tick the appropriate response).
12. When you were resettled on this farm, what happened to the people who were working on the farm and their families? (Tick the appropriate response).
I do not know.
Others were also resettled here.
Lost their jobs
I employed them
13. Are you aware of any regulations regarding the following activities in these resettlements? (Tick the correct response).

Activity	Yes	No
Cutting down of trees		
Burning of the veld		
Hunting		
Stream-bank cultivation		
Number of livestock a farmer can keep		
Gold panning		

14. Are the regulations being implemented?
Yes No
15. List the classes of livestock that you are keeping and their numbers.

16. What is the main reason for keeping the livestock listed above? (Tick the appropriate response).
Providing draught power.

Commercial purposes (e.g selling to CSC).

Home consumption

Status symbol

17. In your opinion, is the grazing land sufficient for your livestock? (Tick the correct response).

Yes No

Where are you getting most of your farming inputs?

Bank loans Government handouts

NGOs Self-financing

Contract farming Other Specify _____

18. What is the main source of farming power on your farm?

Human labour Animals drawn implements

Tractor drawn implements

19. Indicate the type of tools or equipment that you have access to

Type of Tool/Equipment	Type of Access
HAND TOOLS	Owned Borrowed/Hired Both No Access
Hoes	
Axes	
Mattocks	
Picks	
Spades	
Spade forks	
Wheelbarrows	
Knapsack sprayer	
ANIMAL DRAWN	
Plough	
Planter	
Ripper	

Type of Tool/Equipment	Type of Access
Ridger	
Cultivator	
Harrow	
Spike harrow	
POWER DRIVEN	
Tractor	
Tractor trailer	
Plough	
Planter	
Ripper	
Water cart/bowser	
Water pump	

20. How has HIV/AIDS affected farming in this area?

21. In your own view what do you think are the factors behind the spread of HIV?

22. List down any measures that can be used to reduce the spread of HIV/AIDS.

23. Do you know your HIV/AIDS?

YES NO

24. What problems are you facing in your farming activities?

25. In your opinion, what do you think should be done to solve the problems mentioned above, so that food production is improved?

26. The number of women who have benefited from resettlement is

(a) okay (b) too low (c) too high

27. If your answer to 18 is (**too low**), what do you consider as reasons for this?

28. Suggest strategies for increasing the number of female resettled farmers.

29. Has land reform improved the quality of your and your family members' lives?

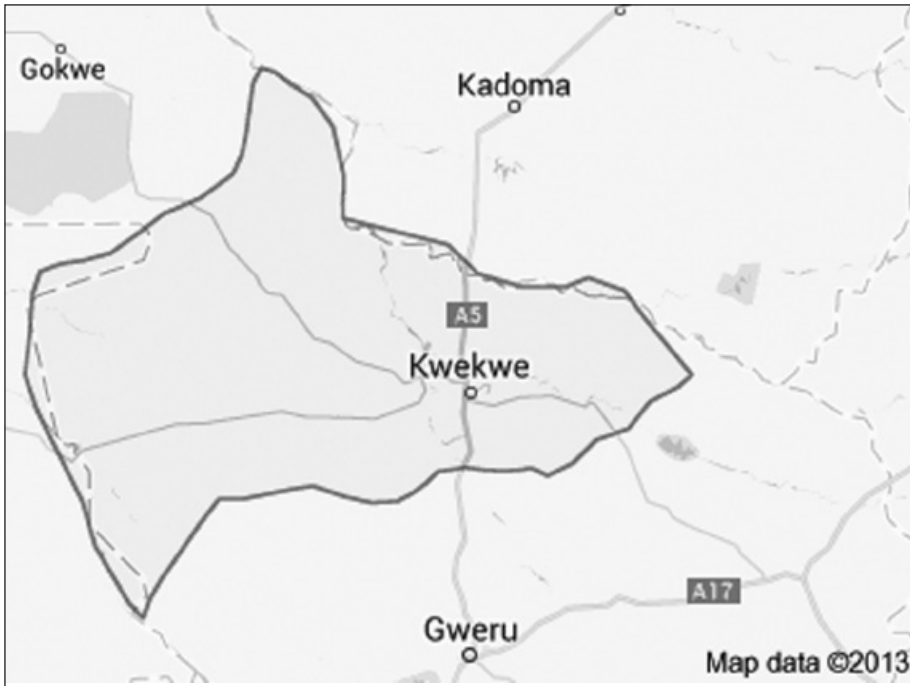
Yes No

Thank you for your cooperation.

Appendix 2: Interview Guide

1. **Which farming activities are you carrying out on your farm?** Probing questions to take into cognizance the following issues: forms of draught power mostly used; manpower available; levels of production; land utilisation; views on land size; financing of farming activities; tenureship.
2. **What are your comments on the availability of services in this area?** Probing questions to cover the nature of services; adequacy of services, distances to service centres.
3. **How are you managing your resources?** Probing questions to cover soil conservation; veld-fires; stream-bank cultivation; poaching; uncontrolled cutting; stocking rate control and availability and enforcement of regulations to curb undesirable practices likely to have detrimental effects on the environment.
4. **What challenges/problems are you facing in your farming?** To include questions on farmers' suggestions on how to solve the problems.
5. **What are your views on the percentage of women beneficiaries of land reform?** If farmers feel that fewer women benefited from land reform, they should proffer suggestions on how to ameliorate the situation. To ask questions also on the fate of farm workers whose employers' farm were acquired for resettlement.
6. **What has been/is the impact of HIV/AIDS on farming in this resettlement?**

Appendix 3: Kwekwe District map



(COMPILED BY THE ZIMBABWE CRN)

