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**Land reform as a means of poverty alleviation and inequality  
redress in Mashonaland Central, Zimbabwe**

by

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*A master's thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Social Sciences in Development Studies in the Faculty of Humanities at the University of Pretoria*

**NOVEMBER 2020**

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**UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA**

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Let all Glory, Honour and Praise be to Him.

## **DEDICATION**

This work is dedicated to all those that fought and continue to fight, past and present, for the total emancipation of the African people.

## ABSTRACT

This thesis set out to assess the impact of the land reform program on two farms located in the Mashonaland Central Province of Zimbabwe, Tembo and Rutherdale, and to examine how the livelihoods of resettled farmers from this area evolved. Since 2000, the debate surrounding Zimbabwe's Fast Track Land Reform Programme and the implications thereof on smallholder livelihoods, has been heated and polarised. There is therefore need for empirically based studies to help quell the debate.

A qualitative case study design was adopted for this research. The study sites were Tembo and Rutherdale, farms in Mashonaland Central province of Zimbabwe. The farms are about six kilometres from Shamva gold mine and have thirteen A1 farms and thirty-four A2 farms. The study participants consisted of the resettled farmers in the two farms. Key informants such as the agricultural extension and the agribusiness officers for the area and the village headmen provided information for the study. Semi-structured interviews were the main data collection instruments and these were supplemented through literature and document analysis.

This study found that the land reform programme for Tembo and Rutherdale farms largely benefited the beneficiaries of the scheme. The resettled farmers in the area live in harmony with each other and have developed social networks to tackle their challenges. Access to Land allowed farmers to improve in income generation. There is, however need for further government support and intervention with the intent to make the farmers more self-sufficient. The government could also come in as a facilitator to initiatives by the households themselves to solve their challenges.

This research suggests that other successful land reform programmes in other parts of the country be unveiled and studied so that the underlying principles behind their successes or failures are unearthed to quell the debate on the impacts of the land reform programme in the country.

**Key Words: Land Reform, Poverty alleviation, Inequality Redress, Income generation, Livelihoods, Social Justice**

## LIST OF FIGURES

<b>Figure</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Page</b>
Figure 2.1	Analytical framework	17
Figure 2.2	The distribution of land in Zimbabwe prior to land reform	21
Figure 3.1	Location of Tembo and Rutherford farms	25
Figure 4.1	Map of Mashonaland Central Province of Zimbabwe	35
Figure 4.2	A schematic representation of the land acquisition process at Tembo	41
Figure 4.3	A schematic representation of the land acquisition process at Rutherford	41

## LIST OF TABLES

<b>Table</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Page</b>
Table 5.1	Farming input Schemes from 2000 – 2012	60

# CONTENTS

## CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION AND SCOPE OF THE STUDY

1.1 INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.2 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY .....	1
1.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS.....	6
1.4 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES .....	6
1.5 JUSTIFICATION OF THE STUDY.....	7
1.6 A SUMMARY OF THE RESEARCH METHODOLOGY .....	8
1.7 STRUCTURE OF THE DISSERTATION.....	9
1.8 CHAPTER SUMMARY.....	9

## CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW AND FRAMEWORK OF ANALYSIS

2.1 INTRODUCTION.....	10
2.2 THE CONCEPT OF LAND REFORM .....	10
2.3 APPROACHES TO LAND REFORM.....	11
2.3.1 Market-led agrarian reform (MLAR) .....	11
2.3.2 State-led agrarian reform (SLAR) .....	12
2.3.3 Radical Populist agrarian reform.....	13
2.4 LAND REFORM AND POVERTY ALLEVIATION .....	13
2.5 FRAMEWORK OF ANALYSIS .....	15
2.5.1 Economic growth under land reform.....	18
2.5.2 Land reform and social justice.....	20
2.6 CHAPTER SUMMARY.....	22

## CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION.....	23
3.2 RESEARCH DESIGN .....	23
3.3 STUDY AREA AND SITES .....	24
3.4 RESEARCH POPULATION AND SAMPLING.....	25
3.4.1 Purposive Sampling.....	26
3.5 RESEARCH INSTRUMENTS .....	26
3.5.1 Key informant interviews .....	27
3.5.2 Household visits .....	27
3.5.3 Semi-structured interviews .....	27
3.5.4 Non-participant observation .....	29
3.6 DATA ANALYSIS .....	29
3.7 ETHICAL IMPLICATIONS .....	30
3.7.1. Voluntary Participation.....	30
3.7.2. Informed consent .....	30
3.7.3 Confidentiality and anonymity .....	31
3.7.4. Protection of participants.....	31
3.8 FIELDWORK CHALLENGES .....	31
3.8.1. Governmental red tape.....	31
3.8.2. Emotive nature and over politicisation of study .....	32
3.8.3. Wrong expectations .....	32
3.8.4. Language .....	32
3.9 CHAPTER SUMMARY .....	33



## **CHAPTER 4: THE STUDY AREA AND ITS BACKGROUND PRIOR TO LAND REFORM**

4.1 INTRODUCTION.....	34
4.2 THE STUDY AREA: MASHONALAND CENTRAL PROVINCE OF ZIMBABWE ....	34
4.3 CONTEXTUALISING SHAMVA AND THE STUDY SITES .....	36
4.4 LAND ACQUISITIONS IN ZIMBABWE.....	37
4.4.1 Land acquisitions in general in Zimbabwe.....	37
4.5 LAND ACQUISITIONS OF TEMBO AND RUTHERDALE FARMS.....	39
4.6 THE BENEFICIARIES AND THEIR LIVELIHOODS PRIOR TO RESETTLEMENT .	42
4.6.1 Socio-demographic characteristics of the beneficiaries .....	42
4.6.2 The livelihoods of beneficiaries prior to resettlement at Tembo and Rutherdale farms .....	43
4.7 RESETTLEMENT EXPERIENCES OF RESETTLED FARMERS AT TEMBO AND RUTHERDALE FARMS.....	47
4.8 CHAPTER SUMMARY.....	48

## **CHAPTER FIVE: IMPACT OF LAND REFORM ON THE LIVELIHOODS OF RESETTLED FARMERS AT TEMBO AND RUTHERDALE FARMS**

5.1 INTRODUCTION.....	49
5.2 FORMS OF LIVELIHOODS OF RESETTLED FARMERS IN TEMBO AND RUTHERDALE FARMS AFTER LAND REFORM .....	49
5.3 IMPACTS OF THE LAND REFORM PROGRAMME ON ASSET OWNERSHIP, INCOME GENERATION, FOOD SECURITY AND FARMERS' OWN PERSONAL DEVELOPMENT .....	53
5.3.1 Asset ownership.....	53

5.3.2 Income generation .....	55
5.3.3 Food security .....	56
5.3.4 Personal development.....	58
5.3.5 Labour and Employment.....	58
5.4 ROLES OF OTHER STAKEHOLDERS IN THE TEMBO AND RUTHERDALE RESETTLEMENT PROGRAMME .....	59
5.5 KEY CONCERNS OF THE RESETTLED FARMERS AT TEMBO AND RUTHERDALE FARMS.....	62
5.5.1 Socio-economic concerns .....	62
5.5.2 Physical and ecological concerns .....	70
5.6 CHAPTER SUMMARY .....	<b>71</b>

## **CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION**

6.1 INTRODUCTION.....	73
6.2 SUMMARY OF THE RESEARCH .....	73
6.3 DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS .....	74
6.3.1 Social class of land recipients.....	74
6.3.2 Land and gender .....	75
6.3.3 Multiple income streams .....	77
6.3.4 Access to land.....	78
6.3.5 Social dynamics and cohesion.....	79
6.3.6 Roles of other stakeholders.....	81
6.4 KEY CONCERNS OF THE RESETTLED FARMERS AT TEMBO AND RUTHERDALE FARMS.....	83
6.5 OBSERVATIONS AND CONCLUSION .....	84

6.6 RECOMMENDATIONS AND LESSONS LEARNT FROM THE STUDY ..... 86

    6.6.1 Recommendations to resettled farmers..... 86

    6.6.2 Recommendations to government ..... 88

6.7 SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH..... 90

6.8 CHAPTER SUMMARY ..... **90**

REFERENCES..... **91**

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<b>Agritex</b>	Department of Agricultural, Technical and Extension Services
<b>AIAS</b>	African Institute for Agrarian Studies
<b>CFU</b>	Commercial Farmers Union
<b>DFID</b>	Department of international development UK
<b>FAO</b>	Food and agriculture organisation
<b>FTLRP</b>	Fast Track Land Reform Programme
<b>MLAR</b>	Market-led agrarian reform
<b>SLAR</b>	State-led agrarian reform
<b>TTL</b>	Tribal Trust Lands
<b>USAID</b>	United States Agency for international development
<b>ZANU-PF</b>	Zimbabwe African Nation Union -Patriotic Front
<b>ZESA</b>	Zimbabwe Electricity Supply Authority
<b>ZFU</b>	Zimbabwe Farmers Union

# **CHAPTER ONE**

## **INTRODUCTION AND SCOPE OF THE STUDY**

### **1.1 INTRODUCTION**

In 2008, the World Development Report centred on the theme ‘Agriculture for Development’, identified land reform as a key strategy in alleviating poverty, hunger and growing food insecurity in the less developed countries of the Global South, especially within Sub-Saharan Africa (World Bank, 2008). However, despite repeated global calls for effective land reforms that improve control of, and access to land for the poor, there is no agreement on the best approach to take in order to assure food security (Musodza, 2015). It is against this background that this study focuses on land reform in Zimbabwe, paying particular attention to the Fast Track Land Reform Programme implemented in the year 2000. The study analyses the impact of the land reform programme on the livelihoods of the resettled households in the Mashonaland Central Province in Zimbabwe. It will help to explain the circumstances of the new farmers after land reform and improve the readership’s understanding of the role of land reform in the fight against poverty and inequality. In this regard, the study carries significant lessons for other countries in the region, particularly South Africa as it embarks on a radical path to redistribute land.

### **1.2 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY**

Land reform has historically been an issue of contestation across the world. What is now termed the Mexican Revolutionary Agrarian Reform of 1915 was the first in Latin America to confront the issue of unequal distribution of land (Kay, 2019). It sought to distribute land on the basis of key resources such as water bodies that were predominantly in the hands of private commercial farmers. Kay (2019) writes that the ambitious plan by the government at the time to redistribute land and build dams “created new problems and even exacerbated old ones”. The same can be said about the Stolypin Land Reform of Russia in the early 1900s. The programme is now seen as a social engineering project that sought to “impose order in a more direct way by the physical reorganisation of village lands and the repositioning of peasants” (Pallot, 1999).

In the region, Land Reform has been at the forefront of contemporary debate. Namibia, like most settler countries, battles with inequality and unfair distribution of land as a legacy of the colonial grip. At the time of its independence in 1990, 42% of land was in the hands of the white minority who represented a very small proportion of the population (Garcia, 2004). It is against this backdrop that a system of Land Reform has started to take shape. In South Africa, Land Reform follows three main aspects, namely: Land Redistribution, Land Restitution, and Land Tenure reform (RSA, White paper on South African Land Policy, 1997:7). The argument has however always been that the processes have been painstakingly slow and are not at the expected scale. In 2018, the National Assembly in South Africa adopted a motion to amend Section 25 of the Constitution to allow for expropriation of land without compensation, signalling a more radical approach to the distribution of land in South Africa.

Zimbabwe adopted a neo-liberal, market-assisted land reform programme of willing seller – willing buyer between 1980 and 1990, before transitioning to a radical land reform process in 2000. This programme was terminated in 2010 after the expropriation of 6 214 farm properties which resulted in the resettlement of 168 671 land beneficiaries. This expropriated land was divided amongst 145 775 small farm households who were resettled on A1 plots of about an average size of 5 hectares and 22 896 medium to large-scale commercial farmers on A2 farms, sized at roughly 30 hectares and above. The new farmers inherited farms that were commercially viable, very fertile, and generally well-resourced, and were contributing to the national economy through producing food for local consumption and exportation. However, agricultural production plummeted in the period immediately after the implementation of the programme. This decline in agricultural production was blamed on the land reform initiative which had resulted in the displacement of farm owners and farm workers, who constituted a bulk of the workforce.

The programme certainly caused divided opinions in both Zimbabwe and abroad, with the International Monetary Fund withdrawing balance-of-payments support to the government, which subsequently knocked Zimbabwe's agriculture-based economy off the rails. While a few authors have drawn on the events of 2000 and used them as evidence of a failed programme, a substantial amount of land reform scholarship since the Fast-Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP) has been devoted to demonstrating the success of the land reform. These scholars (notably Moyo,

2011) have consistently made a strong argument that the FTLRP was able to change the country's agrarian structure. More specifically, he argues that the programme managed to redress historic inequalities by transferring a significant portion of the land from a small white minority to Africans.

Moyo (2011), goes on to postulate that the success of the land reform programme should be looked at from "the character and scale of redistribution" (Moyo 2011: 494). He further suggests that the agrarian structure before the FTLRP, had unequal agrarian power relations that were perpetuated through control of land by a minority of landowners who skewed the social relationships of agricultural production, as witnessed by their hold on labour. These complex power relations prompted the suffering of the greater part of the population, more specifically the landless African population (Moyo, 2011). However, with the change in the agrarian structure, the majority of the rural peasantry is now able to control their own labour for their own social reproduction in newly acquired farming lands. Due to their newfound property rights, the rural peasantry is now able to diversify into other economic avenues not limited to agriculture, such as small-scale mining (especially of gold), wildlife, and fuel-wood and timber extraction.

While recognising that some of this redistributed land went to the cronies of the deceased former president Robert Mugabe, Hanlon (2014) has argued that the percentage that constitutes recipients of land who are connected to the former president is a meagre 10%, as compared to the general populous that received land. Scoones, Marongwe, Mavedzenge, Mahenehene, Murimbarimba, and Sukume (2010) have also demonstrated that the general population that received land has managed to invest in the land with little support from outside sources, showing remarkable, dynamic entrepreneurialism. They argued:

... "across all sites researched, we have small-scale irrigators producing horticultural products for local and regional markets; we have highly successful cotton producers who are generating considerable profits by selling to a wide number of competing private sector companies; we have livestock producers and traders who are developing new value chains for livestock products, linked to butcheries, supermarkets and other outlets; we have traders in wild products often engaged in highly profitable export markets; and we have others

who are developing contract farming and joint venture arrangements, for a range of products including wildlife” (Scoones et al., 2011: 986).

Moreover, they suggest that there is a complete lack of empirical data to support what they term as “myths” of land reform in Zimbabwe. These myths are argued to serve political purposes through the generalisation and simplification of complex events, making it possible to cope with new shifts and uncertainties in the agrarian system, radical economic transformation and attempts to redress deep historic economic imbalances. On the basis of ‘Myths and Realities’ by Scoones et al., recognising the creation of myths becomes the genesis of unpacking the complexities associated with the FTLRP. They challenge five myths, which are:

- The land reform has been a total failure
- The land reform benefited ZANU (PF) supporters and politicians
- There is no investment in the new settlements
- Agriculture is in complete ruins, creating chronic food insecurities
- The rural economy has collapsed.

Scoones et al. (2010), argue that the new farmers were in fact employing labour, often of women. Although this employment was informal and the wages were low, it formed an important means of livelihood for many households in the country. The critical interrogation of these myths therefore cements a positive narrative towards land reform in Zimbabwe. Additionally, Scoones (2010) argues that the critics of land reform have an obsession with formal employment whilst the new farmers have different informal arrangements for acquiring labour. These informal arrangements are perpetuated through family links, communal agreements and other forms of exchanges.



These dynamic economic processes that occur within small-scale farms and which fall outside of the formal economy would ideally fall off the standardised economic assessments of inputs, production, labour, capital returns on investment and formal systems. However, this lack of appreciation of the new agrarian model created by the land reform programme discounts the array of working systems created such as barter, informal exchanges and raw emancipation of the citizenry. In the Masvingo province for example, it was found that new farmers were using proceeds from the land to reinvest in the land, with little assistance from the government (Makunike, 2014). In places where the household did not relocate to the land with any assets, they were able to acquire generators, water pumps and ox-drawn carts amongst other investments.

The argument adopted by this study is that the FTLRP carried out after 2000 should not be looked at only from the perspective of change in the agrarian structure and the proportion of black people who received land. Rather as Scoones et al. (2010) have argued, the focus should be on the broader implications of poverty reduction amongst the poor population as a consequence of land redistribution. Land reform is often associated with poverty reduction, and in the case of the FTLRP there is a need for a grounded investigation of small farm land beneficiaries from poor backgrounds.

At the core of this study is an examination of the situation and conditions of resettled farmers on A1 plots in Tembo, also drawing comparisons with A2 resettled farmers in Rutherland, in an attempt to understand how their circumstances have changed since they took up the land. Even though there is general acknowledgement of the fact that land reform afforded access of commercial farm lands to previously disadvantaged groups who were confined to former labour reserves, what is less widely acknowledged and even under-appreciated in terms of the consequences of this programme on new farmers, are the implications of a rain-fed system in a context of climate change. While the FTLRP made land available to the poor, it did not avail an accompanying water conservation and management strategy. Redistributing land to smallholder farmers without developing supplementary irrigation systems, therefore, seemed to satisfy the ethical goal, but at the same time left farmers vulnerable to a hostile natural environment. However, land reforms are national policies that should have a positive impact on the welfare of land

recipient households in terms of food security, income generation and asset endowment, and not only through ownership of the assets.

### **1.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

The study aims to provide an answer to one pertinent question on land reform in Zimbabwe, which is argued to have been neglected in previous analyses of the Zimbabwe FTLRP. The question is, ‘How has land reform, particularly the FTLRP, changed the circumstances and situation of resettled poor households in resettlement plots in Mashonaland Central?’ In an attempt to address this broad question, the study is further framed into four specific research questions:

- Who are the land beneficiaries that were resettled in the Mashonaland Central Province under the Fast Track Land Reform and Resettlement Programme in 2000?
- How do resettled farmers see their resettlement experience? Have they been able to adapt to resettlement life?
- What forms of livelihood and employment have resettled farmers in Mashonaland Central created since resettling in these areas?
- What changes in terms of assets, human development, income generation and food security were brought by resettlement? Were these achieved through agricultural production?

### **1.4 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES**

Taking into cognisance the outlined research questions, the broader aim of the study is to ascertain the particular changes in circumstances and livelihoods of resettled farmers in Mashonaland Central. To achieve the research objective, the following form the specific research objectives:

- To ascertain to whom the land within the Tembo and Rutherland farms in Mashonaland Central Province was allocated to.
- To assess how the lives of the resettled farmers changed after the land reform.
- To analyse the changes in terms of assets, human development, income generation and food security brought by resettlement to the new farmers
- To analyse the poverty reduction aspects that have been brought about by land reform.

These objectives will be fulfilled through literature as well as the information attained from the research participants based on the interview schedules provided (Appendix 2 and Appendix 3). The research questions were aligned to the above-mentioned research objectives.

## **1.5 JUSTIFICATION OF THE STUDY**

Inequalities prevalent in Zimbabwe are primarily a consequence of British settler colonialism and racial dominance throughout the colonial era (1890-1980), as well as the manner in which scarce resources were distributed and accessed by different communities in the post-colonial period. These disparities concern primarily land and labour market access and the provision of basic social services such as health, education, housing and sanitation (Mazingi & Kamidza, 2011). Of all the above, the land question has historically contributed enormously to the country's debate on racial, economic, and gender inequality. The need to address inequality was part of the larger movement to end colonialism, and indeed the first decade of independence saw substantial progress towards that goal.

In Zimbabwe, poverty is predominantly a rural phenomenon, while urban and peri-urban poverty has been on the rise since the 1990s (Makunike, 2014). Present thinking on alleviating poverty, as captured by The World Bank Report (2000) addresses three main aspects: promoting opportunities, facilitating empowerment and enhancing stability by reducing the insecurity of the vulnerable.

This study is guided by the belief that there is broader potential for alleviating poverty, widening access to opportunities for the poor and creating an environment in which it is possible to acquire assets such as land and improving land-use skills, while at the same time reducing race-based discrimination and political persuasion. Backed by empirical evidence, the study makes a contribution to our understanding of the poverty alleviation potential and inequality redress aspects of land reform. It aims to add to our knowledge of how land reform, particularly the FTLRP, has changed the circumstances and situation of resettled poor households, particularly in A1 resettlement plots. Furthermore, there is a need for generating contemporary knowledge at an academic level on the intersectionalities between land, poverty alleviation, livelihoods and the redress of inequality. Although research on Land Reform in Zimbabwe has been previously done, there is a need for constantly re-examining the circumstances of resettled farmers as new nuances emerge in contemporary Zimbabwe. The political and economic landscape in Zimbabwe is constantly changing and it is imperative upon academics to examine the mitigation strategies and impacts on livelihoods for resettled farmers in a constantly evolving environment. This study also goes beyond rhetoric and gives empirical evidence in study areas (Tembo Farm and Rutherland Farm) that haven't been previously studied.

## **1.6 A SUMMARY OF THE RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

A qualitative case study design was adopted for this research. Qualitative case studies are the preferred strategy when 'how' or 'why' questions are being posed and when the investigator has little control over events and when the focus is a contemporary phenomenon within some real-life context (Yin, 2003). Welman and Kruger (2001) suggest that although a case study concentrates on a single institution, person, or group for a specific period of time, it could be highly indicative of a particular demographic profile.

The selected study sites were Tembo and Rutherland farms in the Mashonaland Central province of Zimbabwe. The respondents selected to inform the study were from these two study sites and individual interviews were conducted with each of them. A detailed discussion on the study sites, the research design and research instruments, as well as the manner in which the instruments were applied will be presented in Chapter Three.

## **1.7 STRUCTURE OF THE DISSERTATION**

The first chapter of the dissertation outlines the introduction, background and significance of the study. In Chapter Two, the study focuses on the literature review and the framework of analysis for the study. The third chapter details the methodology employed in the study to collect data. This chapter also highlights some of the limitations and ethical implications of the data collection process. Chapter Four introduces the study area and geographical layout of the study area. The chapter also looks at the background of the area as is in relation to agriculture and collates some of the research findings. The fifth chapter bears the majority of the findings of the study as it specifies the resettlement induced changes witnessed by the farmers in terms of asset ownership, human skills development, income generation and food security. The roles of other stakeholders in the Land Reform Programme, in terms of these changes are also presented in this chapter. Chapter Six presents the conclusions to the research, discussion of findings and finally, the recommendations. Each chapter addresses the research objectives and answers the research questions outlined in section 1.3.

## **1.8 CHAPTER SUMMARY**

This chapter served as the introduction to the nature and scope of this study. The chapter laid out a brief background for the study. Thereafter, the research questions serving as the foundational points of departure in acquiring information for the research were presented followed by the research objectives. The chapter also outlined the justification for the study and provided a brief summary of the research methodology which will be further elaborated on in Chapter Three of the research. The structure of the research paper was also presented.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW AND FRAMEWORK OF ANALYSIS**

#### **2.1 INTRODUCTION**

It is important to understand the body of ideas on land reform. This is key to answering the question of whether the FTLRP was a success or a failure. Such an inquiry should begin with understanding what is meant by land reform and understanding the various approaches that have dominated land reform discourses.

#### **2.2 THE CONCEPT OF LAND REFORM**

Lipton has associated land reform with poverty reduction at both the rural and national levels. He observed:

... “In the past century, land reform has played a massive, central role in the time-paths of rural and national poverty, progress, freedom, conflict, and suffering. For the next half-century at least, where agriculture continues central to the lives of the poor, the role of land reform will not decline” (Lipton, 2009: 10).

On the other hand, Hall (2009), describes land reform as efforts to correct what are seen as historical distortions in the allocation of land ownership and use rights. These distortions may have resulted from colonial land grabbing and dispossessions, enclosures, landlordism, or previous reforms themselves. Land reform is also considered as the “effort to re-arrange, re-configure, or re-define existing tenure relationships to allow land to become a marketable means of production” (Hirtz, 1998:249). De Janvry (1981) terms a reform as “an institutional innovation promoted by the ruling order in an attempt to overcome economic or political contradictions without changing social relations”. The implementation of land reform, particularly in the rural areas, should not solely be seen as a process of getting access to land for the landless, but as an important tool for achieving sustainable rural development (Makgata, 1999).

## **2.3 APPROACHES TO LAND REFORM**

There are various approaches that have been adopted towards land and agrarian reform across the globe. This section will briefly examine three of those approaches as they seem to tell the Zimbabwean story. These three approaches are Market-led Agrarian Reform (neoliberalism); State-led Agrarian Reform and the Radical Populist Agrarian Reform.

### **2.3.1 Market-led agrarian reform (MLAR)**

Borras (2008) denotes that the market-led approach to land reform was as a consequence of the advent and success of neoliberalism witnessed in the 1980s and 1990s. During this period, any state-led initiative directed towards development was deemed counterproductive and would only result in imminent failure. It was perceived that state-led initiatives relied heavily on the centralised and prodigious bureaucracy of the state, exemplified most clearly by its top-down programme implementation methods which were tainted heavily by corruption. It was therefore argued that it was better to leave such processes in the hands of market forces and not the state (Gordillo, 1997). The MLAR uses principles of “willing seller, willing buyer” to cement market forces in any land negotiations. No one is under duress or coercion, with the state’s role being limited to that of administration and providing grants and loans to land beneficiaries (Musodza, 2015). Development partners and institutions such as the World Bank, International Monetary Fund, European Union and others are in support of this approach as they fund it on the pretext that it safeguards sustainable rural development, viable farm operations and higher productivity rewards, which support food security and national economic growth (Logan, 2007). Arguments for MLAR posit that because private financial investors are involved in funding beneficiaries, they are more likely to offer due diligence towards the farms. This in turn increases the likelihood of production efficiency and effectiveness. Land reforms in the 1980s were market-assisted and were implemented in the whole of southern Africa, but Zimbabwe, South Africa and Namibia are special cases because of their colonial settler context. Funding became a major stumbling block, particularly in Zimbabwe, where the British government failed to honour its pledge, made at Lancaster House in 1979. This is in sharp contrast to Kenya which received 500 million British pounds for compensation of white farmers and redistribution efforts (Hanlon, 2014).

The “willing seller, willing buyer” concept was enshrined in the aforementioned Lancaster House Agreement of 1979 in Zimbabwe. The process carried over for a period of about 20 years between 1980 and 2000. In this market-led approach, white farmers in Zimbabwe would gazette to the government their willingness to sell their farms for land redistribution. In response, the government would buy and redistribute the land, funded by the United Kingdom government. However, problems arose at the slow pace of redistribution. By the end of 1996, a total of 71,000 farm families were re-settled on 3.6 million hectares of land out of the proposed 162,000 families on 8.3 million hectares at the beginning of resettlement (GoZ, 1999; CSO, 1998; Chitsike, 2003). By the year 2000, the “willing seller, willing buyer” concept had not yielded the desired results, which led to the implementation of the FTLRP.

### **2.3.2 State-led agrarian reform (SLAR)**

Under the state-led approach, the state plays a pivotal and central role in the redistribution of land. It has absolute authority in formulating laws that govern expropriation of land from land owners, giving it, in most cases, to landless poor peasants and other landless groups (Ciamara, 2003). Governments with strong socialist ideologies usually follow this approach for the benefit of their populous, without paying particular attention to market forces or economic backlash (Borras, 2002). By nature, state-led land reforms provide for little to no compensation for losses incurred by former land holders and other affected parties. This makes this approach unpopular with those who promote private property as the foundation of economic development, as well as making it prone to sabotage and policy failure due to resistance by “the landlords” (Borras, 2008). Due to its monopolistic power in legislature, states that follow this approach have the ability to make favourable changes to the law in attempts to avoid unending land disputes or related legal expenses, as was the case with Zimbabwe’s government (Musodza, 2015).

There has been a lot of critique directed at this approach to land reform. This approach is argued to not only fail in accommodating the diverse conditions characterising local communities, but also reduces transparency and accountability, owing to its large bureaucracy and corruption prone nature (Gordillo, 1997). It has been put forward that most developing countries are plagued with distorted land markets primarily because governments maintain regulations that restrict land use



and transfers, such as restrictions in land sales and rentals by land reform beneficiaries and by landlords. This, in actuality, costs the state a lot more than leaving redistribution to market forces.

### **2.3.3 Radical Populist agrarian reform**

The Radical Populist Approach can be “conceptualised as policies and legislation that allow for the abrupt and fundamental (often revolutionary) modification of the patterns of land ownership and usage through the redistribution of land from one group to another, using methods that may be regarded as an extrinsic threat to an existing order” (Jankielsohn & Duvenhage, 2017: 7). This approach usually occurs as peasant-led agrarian reform which assumes that the

... “state is too captive to social elite interests, while market forces are basically dominated by elite interests, thus the only way to achieve effective pro-poor land reforms is for peasants and their organizations to themselves take the initiative to implement the land reform” (Borras, Kay & Lodhi, 2007: 21).

The Zimbabwean story does paint this picture as the war veterans of the Chimurenga War<sup>1</sup> were at the forefront occupying land. War veterans rallied communities to support what they termed the third Chimurenga, taking white owned farms and apportioning it to the black majority (Mutondi, 2012).

## **2.4 LAND REFORM AND POVERTY ALLEVIATION**

There is a demographic pressure on the globe that drives a need for land (Sobhan, 1993). This pressure puts a limit on the capacity of the land, which in turn leads to a rise in unemployment rates in the agricultural sector. Under-employment arises when the available labour force cannot be absorbed to work full-time on land. In response to this, the high levels of under-employment and landlessness in the rural economy perpetuate poverty. Moyo (2008) denotes that access to land is of great importance in the African context for the survival of the majority of households, particularly those in the rural areas who do not possess an alternative productive industry and infrastructures for employment in the services sector. Taking into account the historical

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1. Chimurenga, when loosely translated from Shona means *revolutionary war* and was the term coined for the anti-colonial liberation struggle.

ramifications of African land dispossession during the colonial era in Zimbabwe, consolidated by the Land Apportionment Act of 1930 and its various amendments, it can be deduced that there is a significant portion of the indigenous population that resides in low-lying barren lands that do not bear much produce. It is against this background that land reform is necessary so as to redress systemic inequalities that left many black Africans disempowered and unable to produce for themselves.

Sobhan (1993) further observes that although there has been a growth spurt in terms of agriculture as witnessed by the development of new high yielding varieties of seeds associated with the green revolution and other new technologies, that has done very little in accommodating the poor and landless. For example, the rapid spread of new technology in Asia only marginally reduced the rate of growth of rural poverty. It is argued that increased productivity alone, when achieved within a tenure structure of great inequality cannot be a substitute for land reform.

Marongwe (2002) however notes dynamic initiatives targeted towards poverty alleviation through land reform then come into play as a process. The models used in resettling people is key in assessing the linkages that exist between land and poverty. In his analysis, Marongwe maintains that “the debate on this is quite broad, and it brings in issues of plot sizes, incomes and assets, among many other things” (Marongwe, 2002). In respect to the larger, commercial type A2 farms in Zimbabwe, the discourse on poverty alleviation is not centred on the beneficiaries or individual households per se, but emphasis is placed on farm/scheme level effects on farm-workers and other multiplier impacts on the neighbourhood. This would entail major developments around the farm such as schools and markets being built for the benefit of those in and around the farm. In the A1 smallholder farms, debates predominantly centre around the household and whether there was in improvement in household incomes. Additionally, there is an interrogation of whether or not these households were able to make capital injections into their new settlements and so forth (Jayne, 2003).

Marongwe (2002) further explains that the debate about plot size is a significant one in the context of poverty alleviation, particularly for those that were previously marginalised. He suggests that individuals coming from communal lands where they owned little to no land make use of indigenous farming methods once resettled into farmlands and essentially increase their production

outputs as they have access to larger plot sizes. This enables them to lift themselves out of poverty. The impact of the above is then further cemented when one takes into account the amount and scale of distribution of land towards the small-holder A1 beneficiaries. By 2002, over 200 000 families nationally had been allocated farm land through the small-holder A1 model. This is revealing of the fact that in terms of the discourse at policy level around the FTLRP, the first step towards poverty alleviation has been accomplished for the over 200 000 small-holder beneficiaries. The simplistic, however often improbable assumption is that those settled were poor and predominantly originated from the congested communal lands (Marongwe, 2002).

Much of the work done on the relationship between both farm size and productivity indicates that farms relying mainly on household labour have greater levels of productivity than large farms operating primarily on employed labour (Binswanger, Deininger, and Feder, 1993). It is in this light that the FTLRP was necessitated to advance the creation of opportunities for alleviating the economic plight of some of the poorest rural people (ZFU, 1995). In light of this, the FTLRP was of vital importance in the creation of opportunities that would aid in alleviating the economic plight of some of the poorest people in the country, most of whom who are found in rural spaces (ZFU, 1995).

It must, however, be understood that the nuances of poverty have evolved from being predominantly rural to cover most of the urban population. The declining and shrinking macro-economic conditions lie at the crux of deepening poverty in urban centres. Droughts remain at the centre stage, averaging every two to three years, causing and perpetuating rural poverty. At the same time, small-holder irrigated agriculture has not proved its mettle in poverty alleviation as other macro-economic issues hamper the scale of growth. Marongwe (2002) then poses a key question: “what options are there to fight poverty given this particular context?”

## **2.5 FRAMEWORK OF ANALYSIS**

Figure 2.1 summarises the analytical underpinnings of the study. An analytical framework was chosen for the study rather than a theoretical framework primarily because theoretical frameworks often set expectations. This is due to the fact that they are guided by already existing theories that help explain relationships between variables and specific outcomes and responses (Pacheco-Vega,

2018). It is therefore, in this case, better to use an analytical framework so as to not be boxed towards certain expectations.

The figure below gathers that high poverty levels are prevalent in rural Africa, further arguing for land reform as a vehicle towards achieving higher levels of development, in the process of combating poverty. Kinsey (2010) indicates that nearly two-thirds, or roughly 46 per cent of the population in Zimbabwe is classified as very poor and about 16 percent is considered poor. Definitions of the words ‘poor’ or ‘poverty’ can vary, with spectrums of absolute; relative; income; clinical and asset poverty coming into play. For the purposes of this project, poverty can be understood as “a lack of the means and resources required to meet a minimum level of living standards that are considered normal in the society” (Crossman, 2019).

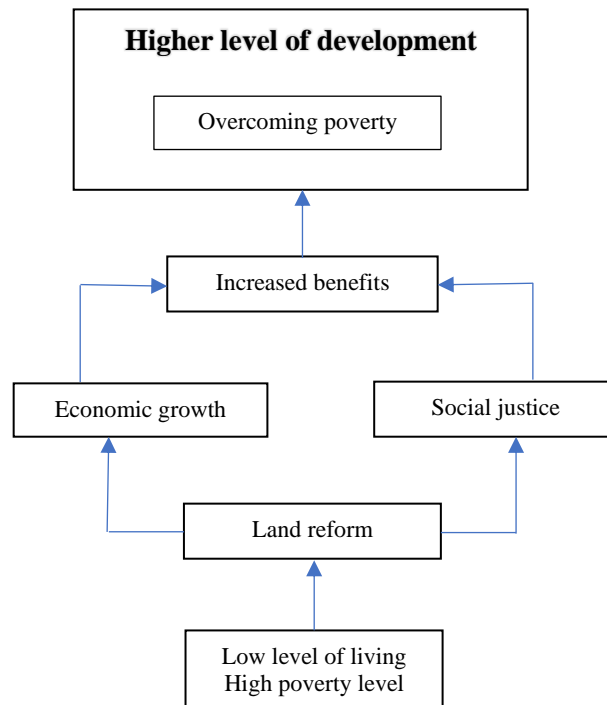
The failure to satisfy the mandates set out in the Lancaster House Agreement of 1979, coupled with large scale poverty, as indicated in the previously mentioned statistics, necessitated the government of Zimbabwe to embark on a land reform programme. This programme was hoped to encourage both economic growth and social justice through addressing the issue of land and resource distribution, with the intent of redressing racially skewed approaches. Land reform in Zimbabwe, in agreement with the Land Acquisition Act of 1992<sup>2</sup>, aims to address three key issues, namely:

- (i) unjust racially skewed land distribution,
- (ii) policy inconsistency of land tenure and
- (iii) underutilisation and unsustainable use of land in rural areas and commercial farms respectively (Zimbabwe Ministry of Lands and Agriculture, 1999).

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2. This Act was later amended in 2000.

**Figure 2.1: Analytical framework**



Adapted from Erskine (1992)

Land reform in literature has been argued to be a form of income generation for those that are less privileged and who form part of the rural majority, combating poverty and necessitating economic growth (Grootaert et al., 1997; Gunning et al., 2000; Scott, 2000). This is also articulated by Binswanger and Deininger (1995) from another angle in that, if farms are subdivided into smaller family plots, productivity increases on the basis of ‘increasing returns’, thereby boosting the economy. From a social justice perspective, Scoones et al. (2010) laments that a land reform exercise was needed in settler colonies, Zimbabwe in particular, because of the economic, social, and political imbalances created through colonisation. About 6 000 white farmers owned over 15 million hectares of land whilst the black majority were concentrated in tribal trust lands or reserves that were dry, arid, and practically barren (Scoones et al., 2010).

Erskine (1992) provides that if governments that have a populace that were previously marginalised through different machinations such as colonisation, segregation and systematic displacements, adopt land reform, they stand to benefit from both economic growth and improved

social justice. These would then in turn increase societal benefits that will allow for higher levels of development, which is essential to overcoming poverty. The following sections briefly explain economic growth in concert with land reform as well as social justice and land reform. The understanding of the two will allow us to see what the increased benefits are as articulated by Erskine, that will lead to a higher level of development.

### **2.5.1 Economic growth under land reform**

Ravallion and Sen (1994) postulate that, “because rural poverty and lack of land ownership go hand in hand, it follows that land reforms are a promising tool in economic growth, fighting poverty and the associated problems such as lack of education and child labour”. Their argument is centred around the importance of productivity on the land which in turn, results in a larger income for households. This empowers households to tackle immediate, day to day poverty but also, and some could argue most importantly, cyclical poverty in the future. This is because an increase in household incomes translates into children being able to acquire an education for example. It is largely accepted that, the more people that are educated in a country, the more likely they are able to contribute to the economic fiscus of the country.

Although there is vast criticism towards the FTLRP in Zimbabwe, the project has yielded both successes and drawbacks. The immediate benefits are poverty reduction and socio-economic mobility. Land reform has an obvious and immediate poverty reduction effect, simply because more people have access to and ownership of land and can grow food. Prior to the 2000 FTLRP, the government's Poverty Assessment Study Survey indicated that 61% of households in Zimbabwe lived in poverty, and 45% in extreme poverty (SAPRIN, 1999: 5). In justifying the move towards a large-scale land redistribution programme, the survey highlighted the overall importance of land redistribution in meeting the needs of Zimbabwean society in its entirety. The high levels of unemployment in Zimbabwe and the rapidly escalating levels of under-nutrition, they argued, can be best tackled through the direct provision of land. Bill Kinsey has been studying 400 families who were resettled in the 1980s for nearly two decades, which gives him a unique perspective. By 1997 Kinsey and colleagues concluded that there had been a ‘dramatic increase in crop incomes observed in these households’ which was much larger than the average for

Zimbabwe, and “growth in incomes has been shared across all households”. With the increase in disposable income, economies thrive as people are able to spend more (Dekker and Kinsey, 2011). At the turn of 2008, during the inclusive government<sup>3</sup> and rapid economic revival in Zimbabwe, the land reform farmers quietly expanded their farms, supporting themselves and providing an increasing amount of food, which was often simply bartered during the hyperinflation period. Dollarisation, that is, the utilisation of the United States dollar as the national currency, in 2009 brought an overall dramatic change with the country. The World Bank, in a report published in November 2012, took note of the fact that the 2011 harvest was highly productive, with maize at 86 per cent of the 1990s average, tobacco at 67 per cent, and cotton at 125 per cent (Binswanger-Mkhize & Moyo, 2012). Zimbabwe’s former Finance Minister Tendai Biti reported that in 2011, 49 per cent of the country’s maize came from resettlement farmers and 43 per cent from communal farmers. Furthermore, 40 per cent of the tobacco produced in that year came from resettlement farmers (Biti, 2011).

The Land Reform Programme pulled its weight in fighting unemployment in the country. By 2011, the total number of people working full time on resettlement land had increased five-fold, from 167,000 to over one million, according to Walter Chambati of the African Institute for Agrarian Studies (AIAS) in Harare (Chambati, 2011). He estimated that in 2011, 240 000 people were full time employees on A1 farms and 115 000 on A2 farms. Equally important, 510 000 people from the A1 farmers' families were ‘self-employed’ full time and 55 000 from extended families on A2 farms.

Despite minor successes on the micro-economic front, the broader macro-economy has not fared well. The Land Reform Programme of 2000 was immensely disruptive, and tens of thousands of workers lost their jobs and homes. Production and foreign earnings through export plunged in most sectors during this period, which damaged the confidence of investors and destabilised agricultural production (Amnesty International, 2014). The continued problems in electricity supply, rising fuel prices and a never ending ‘brain drain’ of skilled labour, made forecasting and planning very

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3. The inclusive government was formed as part of the Global Political Agreement signed in 2008, between the Zimbabwe African Nation Union -Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) and its long-time political opponent, the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC).

difficult. This also caused the government's financial and monetary policy to become increasingly unpredictable, as the government tried to curb the rampant inflation (Mwatwara, 2013).

### **2.5.2 Land reform and social justice**

Social justice is largely encompassing of both “fairness and equity in the distribution of a wide range of attributes” (Smith, 1994: 26). The main emphasis is on qualities that have an obvious impact on the well-being of people. Social justice also draws its validity from the morality and ethical codes which reside across various cultures and speaking directly to this point Makunike (2014), writes, that “moral philosophy is a necessary starting point for the elaboration of social justice. How people should be treated in particular circumstances, by other people or within institutions, is a specific aspect”.

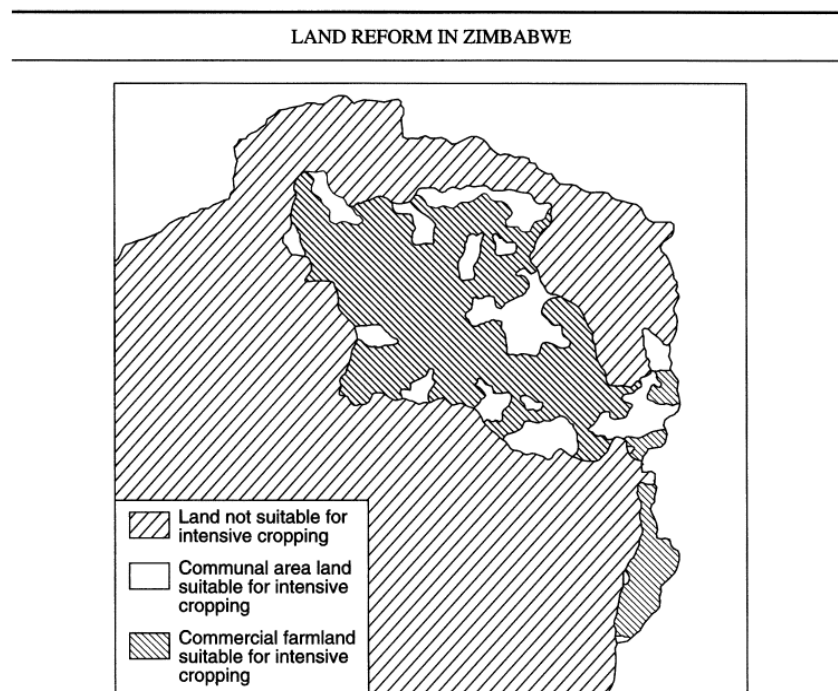
The argument around social justice and land reform has deep roots in the history of land and other ethical and moral groundings. In the context of Zimbabwe and other former settler colonies, it is uncontested that land was acquired through fraudulent means in the early colonial period and as such, an equitable land redistribution exercise was paramount in order to return land to its original owners. In a bid to qualify the FTLRP amongst the population, the government of Zimbabwe went to great lengths to chronicle the gross injustices of the colonial era that marginalised the indigenous people of Zimbabwe from the economic processes of the country (Chowa, 2013). One can then deduce from this that the factors which led to land reform started with colonialism. Successive British colonial and then Rhodesian governments designed and implemented policies and programmes intended to empower Rhodesian white settlers economically, at the expense of indigenous black Africans (Marazanye, 2016)

White control of Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) was cemented with the 1930 Land Apportionment Act, which explicitly defined ‘European’ and ‘native’ land areas. This law gave 51 per cent of the land – naturally the best land with high agricultural potential – to 50,000 Europeans, of whom only 11,000 actually lived on the land. 30 per cent of land – the poorer, drier and predominantly infertile land, was reserved for one million Africans (Jennings, 1935). Furthermore, the colonialists divided land amongst themselves and established property rights. Through security forces like the police and secret service, Africans were constrained from



revolting against colonialism and its many forms of discrimination (Alemazung, 2010). White settlers explicitly expressed unwillingness, throughout history, to share the land equally with blacks, despite the fact that the majority of them had to live and subsist in communal areas, the Tribal Trust Lands (TTLs). The colonial regime, and white settlers established the TTLs as reserves for black cheap labour (Mazingi & Kamidza, 2009). Riddell (1979) observes that the black population, which accounted for up to 95.6 % of the population, was allocated 6 hectares per household of six people, and in some cases, 4.5 hectares, implying that these areas were overpopulated. Riddell (1979) notes that towards Independence, the communal areas, with a carrying capacity of 275 000 families, were already overcrowded with 700 000 families. The few blacks who could afford to buy farms were allocated an average of 125 hectares of land in African purchase areas, mainly in natural regions IV, which were adjacent to communal areas. Ultimately, the black community became disempowered, disenfranchised and landless, while the white community usurped an increasing amount of power and resources (Simensen, 1999). Figure 2.2 shows the distribution of land in Zimbabwe prior to land reform.

**Figure 2.2: The distribution of land in Zimbabwe prior to land reform**



Distribution of agricultural land up to 2001.

Source: Adapted from Stoneman (2000: 49); Potter *et al* (1999: 257).

There has to be strong awareness of the racial basis of land inequality. Redistribution is justified, for a variety of reasons, at least in part by the desire to remedy racial disparities in ownership of land. The gross racial disparity represented by landholding stratification is in itself ethically unacceptable and unjustifiable: even more so when the advantage of the dominant group (Europeans) emerged from violence against and abuse of the underprivileged group (African).

## **2.6 CHAPTER SUMMARY**

This chapter adequately examined literature concerned with land reforms and their impact on poverty, economic growth and social justice. The chapter began by dissecting the concept of land as understood in literature. An account of the various approaches to land reforms were also looked at, namely, Market-led Agrarian Reform (neoliberalism); State-led Agrarian Reform and the Radical Populist Agrarian Reform. At each stage, the chapter identified linkages to the Zimbabwean case as a whole, paying particular attention to the impact each of the concepts explored had on Zimbabwe.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **METHODOLOGY**

#### **3.1 INTRODUCTION**

This study is an examination of the situation and conditions of resettled farmers on A1 plots in Tembo and will also draw on comparisons from A2 resettled farmers in Rutherland. This is done in an attempt to understand how the circumstances of resettled farmers have changed since acquiring land and what impact getting that land has had on their livelihoods. Coupled with empirical evidence, the study aims to provide an answer to one pertinent question on land reform in Zimbabwe, which the study argues has been neglected in analyses of the FTLRP in Zimbabwe. The question is; ‘How has land reform, particularly the FTLRP, changed the circumstances and situation of resettled poor households in resettlement plots in Mashonaland Central?’ In exploring the questions put forward, the methods of data collection and the research design are critical.

The methodology adopted for this study is therefore informed by the purpose of the study, together with the questions that the study sought to answer. This section is a discussion of the methodological approach. It begins by looking at the research design, before discussing the research instruments, sampling methods and ethical implications.

#### **3.2 RESEARCH DESIGN**

To provide answers to the questions asked by this study, a qualitative case study was adopted. As highlighted in Chapter One, qualitative case studies are the preferred strategy when ‘how’ or ‘why’ questions are being posed, when the investigator has little control over events and when the focus is a contemporary phenomenon within some real-life context (Yin 2003). Welman and Kruger (2001) suggest that although a case study concentrates on a single institution, person or group for a specific period of time, it should be highly indicative of particular trends.

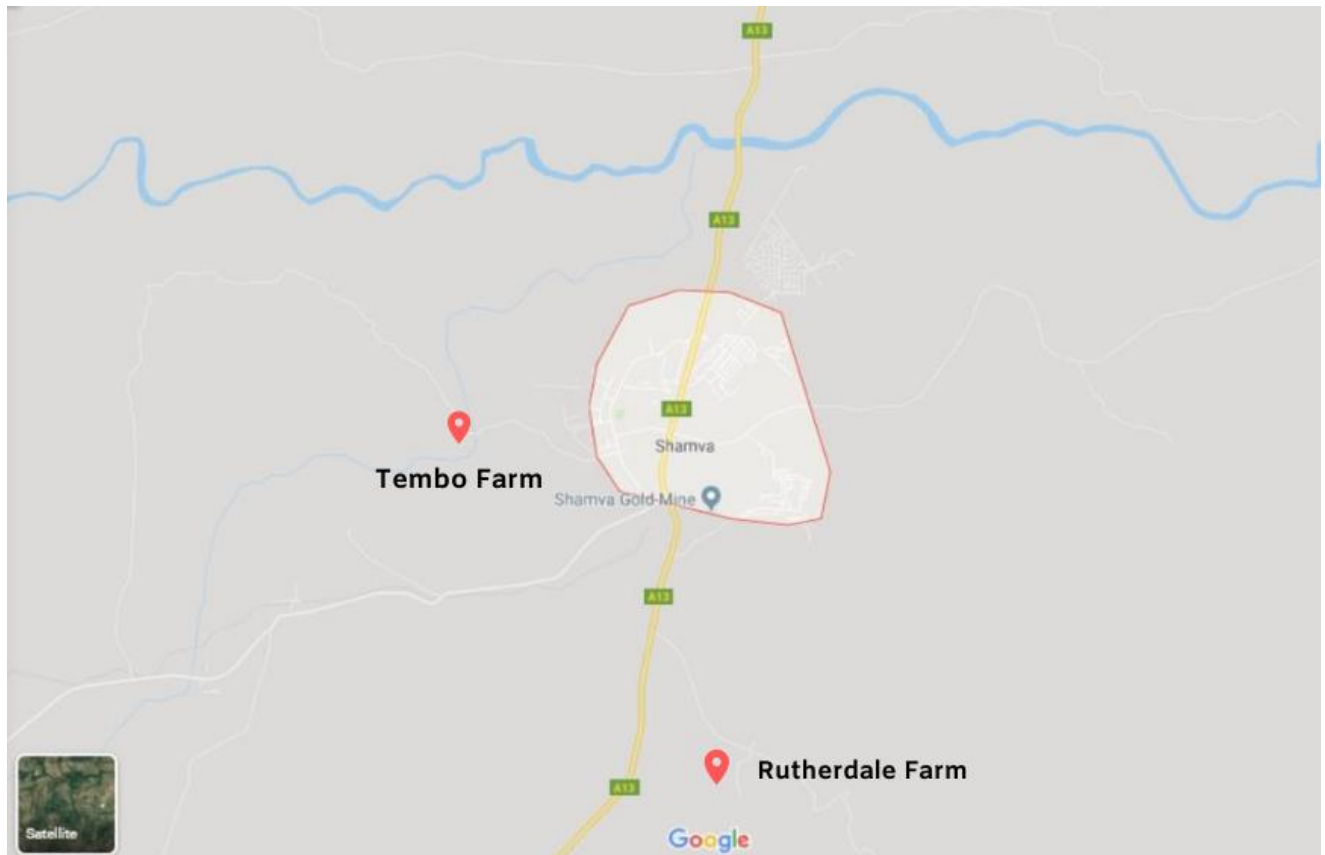
The case study approach focuses on the agency, institution, person or group under study, rather than dealing with variables. The objective of the case is to serve as a defining description of the

broader demographics. In this way, the case description serves as an example of similar areas (McNabb, 2004: 350). Case studies provide detailed contextual analysis of the problem under study. This study focused on land reform in Zimbabwe, paying particular attention to the Fast Track Land Reform Programme implemented from the year 2000. The study analyses the impacts of the Land Reform Programme on the livelihoods of the resettled households in Shamva, Mashonaland Central Province in Zimbabwe. It helps to explain the circumstances of the new farmers after land reform and improve the readership's understanding of the role of land reform in the fight against poverty and inequality. For the case study, a sample of 15 male and female respondents was selected. Semi-structured interviews and non-participatory observations were utilised as the research instruments.

### **3.3 STUDY AREA AND SITES**

The selected study sites are Tembo and Rutherland farms in Mashonaland Central, Zimbabwe. As mentioned in Chapter One, the Tembo farm is situated 4.5 kilometers from the Shamva gold mine. The farm is divided amongst 13 farmers, each plot ranging between 3 and 6 hectares. The farmers are all A1 resettled farmer who acquired the land between 2001 and 2005. Most of the farmers relocated from the rural areas surrounding the Shamva district. Very few were previously formally employed. The farm was previously owned by Mr. Brown, a white commercial farmer who focused on the production of oranges for export and local orange concentrate manufacturing. Rutherland farm is situated in Ward 28 of Shamva, 5.2 kilometers from Shamva gold mine. It is occupied by 34 A2 farmers, with their farm sizes ranging between 24 and 46 hectares. Most of the farmers are former professionals, having worked for the government and private sector. Some were military personnel, teachers, extension officers and district administrators, to give only a few examples. Mr. Walters, a white commercial farmer was the previous owner of Rutherland Farm. Figure 3.1 shows a map of the area and study sites.

**Fig 3.1 Tembo and Rutherland Farms (Sourced from Google Maps)**



### **3.4 RESEARCH POPULATION AND SAMPLING**

Kumar (2011) defines the research population as the larger audience that the researcher aims to investigate through the study, namely the group that has the characteristics important to the study. Due to the fact that it is not always important or necessary to engage every member of the research population, a sizable sample of the population is selected to inform the study (Northrop and Arsneault, 2008). The research sample therefore becomes a percentage of the complete research population (Welman et al., 2005). In this study, the sample population came from the two above mentioned resettlement sites using purposive or judgement sampling.

### **3.4.1 Purposive sampling**

The study utilised a purposive sampling method to select households that participated in the study. The purposive sampling technique, which is also termed judgment sampling, relies on the qualities that the key informant possesses within a particular field. Kumar (2011) postulates that the most important consideration in purposive sampling, that is necessary to ensure that a study's research objectives are achieved, is the researcher's observation and a key informant's perception about who in the research population can provide the most suitable information. Informed by this, a purposive sampling technique was used to select both key informants and households.

With regards to key informants, the researcher selected individuals with expertise, knowledge, interest and experience in land reform and agriculture. These individuals provided the researcher with expert opinions on key aspects of the Land Reform Programme and the implications thereof on resettled farmers. These included the agricultural extension officer (one) the agribusiness officer resettlement officer (one) and the village headman (one). The researcher had expected to also interview the community councillor and representatives of the local farmers association, (two) but was unable to do so due to time constraints. With regards to households, the researcher selected 12 households – eight from Tembo farm that has A1 farmers and is the primary focus of the study, and four from Rutherland, the A2 resettlement area. The households were selected with the assistance of the headmen, who had thorough knowledge of the households. The selection of the households was guided by the following criteria: i) size of resettled farm (A1 or A2) ii) duration of stay in the newly resettled area and iii) gender of farm owners.

## **3.5 RESEARCH INSTRUMENTS**

A combination of research techniques which complement one another was adopted for this study. These techniques included: key informant interviews; semi-structured interviews at the household level; and non-participant observations. These were supplemented through literature and document analysis.

### **3.5.1 Key informant interviews**

The study interviewed three key informants in total. These informants were made up of the village headman, the agricultural extension officer and a resettlement officer. Semi-structured interviews were conducted. For the extension officer and the resettlement officer, the interviews took place in their place of employment, in order for the interviewer to grasp a better understanding of the work they carry out. Each interview was approximately one hour. Each interview was thematic so that adequate information could be collected and for the researcher to maintain control.

### **3.5.2 Household visits**

Initially, the study was intended to be in excess of one month, with period visits to selected households. However, this timeframe was reduced to two weeks as there were delays in garnering governmental approval for the study. During the two weeks, selected households in the two study areas were visited for detailed study. There were instances where the study was extended and each site was visited a number of times until sufficient information had been collected to sufficiently inform the dissertation. During each household visit, two research techniques were employed to gain information – semi-structured interviews with 12 farmers and non-participant observations. During each household visit, the focus was on a particular aspect as determined by the researcher. This allowed the researcher to cover the key thematic areas of the study in great depth, without having to cover all aspects in one visit.

### **3.5.3 Semi-structured interviews**

The researcher conducted in-depth semi-structured interviews with different members of sampled households. Semi-structured interviews gave the researcher the opportunity to gain information from those who were being interviewed, as it allowed participants the opportunity to delve into issues without over-elaboration. It however, still allowed the researcher control. The interviews were focused on a particular aspect during a household visit, while those aspects which had not been dealt with in a visit because of time constraints were covered during a later, supplementary visit. The interviews targeted, mainly household heads, although other members of the households were interviewed. The length of the interviews differed, depending on the willingness of the

participants and the information they were willing to share, but generally within the one-hour range. The researcher largely made use of follow-up questions or probes during the interviews, and maintained control.

An interview guide was used for interviewing with questions and grouping of subjects (Appendix 2). Using an interview guide helps to adapt the interview questions to fit the context and circumstance of those being interviewed. The interview guide was built on this study's research questions. During the semi-structured interviews, the interview guide helped the researcher to direct the conversation. The interview guide also consisted of a series of intertwined questions which were utilised critically and enabled follow-up questions to be asked in particular situations. During the interviews, numerous lived experiences brought unique issues to the forefront and were discussed because of the open-ended nature of the semi-structured interviews. The language, comprehension and exposure level of an interview can shift as semi-structured interviews enable freedom of interaction and avoid ambiguity (Kothari, 2004). This freedom of interaction was evident in interviews conducted for this research, as the structure of this type of interview created space for this.

Semi-structured interviews were particularly useful for this study as they empowered the participants by making them actively involved in the research process. The data collected was in their words not those of the researcher, thus giving the researcher access to their own thoughts, ideas and memories. McMillan and Schumacher (1993) state that the data collected from open ended interviews is based on participant meanings, how they perceive their world and how they make sense of the events in their lives (McMillan & Schumacher, 1993).

Participants were briefed on the purpose of the research and were given consent forms to read and sign before the interviews were conducted. They were free to choose the language they were comfortable with, which was either Shona or English. The majority of interviews were conducted in the Shona language, which is also the mother tongue of the researcher. This ensured that the participants fully understood the questions and the information obtained was correct and relevant.



### **3.5.4 Non-participant observation**

When one researches on land reform, certain physical aspects require observations. Non-participant observations are also necessary to ascertain or confirm what one is told in interviews. “Nonparticipation observation is relatively unobtrusive qualitative research strategy for gathering primary data about some aspect of the social world without interacting directly with participants” (Williams, 2008: 561). Non-participant observation supplemented the semi-structured interviews. The non-participant observations focused on the farm, including farming activities and conditions of households including asset endowments and agricultural products. There was also an observation of who does the farming and how they do it. Throughout the household visits, the researcher maintained an attentive eye and captured activities, issues and other factors that informed the study.

The benefit of this approach was the objectivity provided to the researcher as observation helped patterns to appear from an objective perspective. For example, whilst engaged in non-participant observation, the researcher was able to compare and contrast the interviewees' responses with the visible activity on the plot of land.

In the two-week period, the researcher made visits to the study areas to speak to different respondents, but also to observe the previously interviewed households as they were close to one another. This allowed the researcher the ability to rigorously capture elements that were not captured during the interview process.

## **3.6 DATA ANALYSIS**

Data collected through qualitative methods mainly consists of words, as opposed to quantitative data which is numerical in nature. After the data was obtained, the researcher started the analysis and was able to decode the data to give it significance. Data analysis by nature is the process of evaluating data through the use of analytical and logical reasoning and examining each component of the data provided such as purpose, questions and ideas (MSHS, 2006). A thematic analysis was used to analyse the data. This is simply a process used for identifying, analysing and reporting

patterns within data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). By so doing it brings order to, and a better understanding of, the collected data.

An inductive approach in analysis was adopted in formulating the codes and emerging themes within the study. The inductive approach is a bottom-up approach that makes use of, or is based on, what the data collected for the study contains (Thomas, 2006).

### **3.7 ETHICAL IMPLICATIONS**

According to Resnik (2015), ethics is defined as “norms for conduct that distinguish between acceptable and unacceptable behaviour”. Research ethics covers matters in research such as openness, confidentiality, objectivity, carefulness, integrity, respect for intellectual property, responsible publication, legality and competence (Resnik, 2015). The researcher must thus conduct research in a manner that can be justified and morally conducted (Forrester, 2010).

#### **3.7.1. Voluntary Participation**

Participation in the study was voluntary. All the participants had to be advised that their participation was purely voluntary. Thus, they could withdraw their participation at any point. It was also important to inform the participants that there would be no consequences for their withdrawal whatsoever.

#### **3.7.2. Informed consent**

Informed consent from each of the participants had to be obtained before the research could be undertaken. For their understanding, the research was clarified to participants and forms of consent were given to them (Appendix 1). These contained information relating to the problem statement, the purpose of the study, the researcher's identity and contact details, the institution's identity, the essence of the study, the rights and responsibilities of the participants, benefits and once again the freedom to withdraw at any point. Each of the participants had to sign the consent form before the interviews started.

### **3.7.3 Confidentiality and anonymity**

The identities of the participants were kept anonymous through the use of pseudonyms or simply referred to as “Participant or Farmer”. Participants were advised not to reveal their true identities to the researcher and were free to pick their own pseudonyms. These are the names that were then used on the consent forms which they had to sign before the commencement of the interviews. Participants were advised that the information they provided the researcher with was confidential and would only be used for research purposes and that no personal or sensitive information would be revealed.

### **3.7.4. Protection of participants**

In order to ensure the safety of both the researcher and participants, interviews were conducted in private. Privacy was important so as to avoid the neighbours or other colleagues of the participants from hearing any sensitive information that may be revealed by the participant during the interview. Even though the interviews were semi-structured, participants were in control of the direction the interview could take. They could disclose anything they wanted to the researcher and could choose not to answer certain questions.

## **3.8 FIELDWORK CHALLENGES**

Like other research that involves dealing directly with people and fieldwork, several difficulties were faced during the research. These challenges mainly emanated from the emotive nature and over politicisation of the research.

### **3.8.1. Governmental red tape**

Obtaining governmental permission to carry out the research was the biggest challenge. The researcher started by seeking approval to carry out research from the district administrator for the Shamva district. The district administrator expressed that he was unable to grant the permission if the provincial administrator in Bindura had not given jurisdiction. The researcher then proceeded to apply from the Ministry of Lands head office in the capital city of Harare. The process was

tedious as the researcher had to send out four application letters to different departments within the Ministry.

### **3.8.2. Emotive nature and over politicisation of study**

The FTLRP in Zimbabwe has traditionally been a politicking tool on either side of the spectrum. It evokes emotion and participants are generally aware of the underlying political implications of either praising or denigrating the FTLRP or governmental administration of the programme. For that reason, the interviews were done strictly in private to avoid any issues surrounding the comfortability of the participants. The researcher emphasised that the identity of the participants would remain anonymous. In the first few moments of the interviews, there was always slight hesitation to speak, but as the interviews proceeded, the participants became comfortable and would freely participate without compulsion.

### **3.8.3. Wrong expectations**

Some participants were misinformed by the people who made the reference and had their own expectations of the interview. These expectations were a major impediment because people became disappointed after realising that the interview would not achieve what they expected. In spite of this, the researcher made all efforts to remain professional and used the consent form to inform the participants about the study, its purpose and objectives and their role in the study.

### **3.8.4. Language**

Most of the interviews took place in Shona, particularly in the A1 resettlement site. Although the researcher is well versed and fluent in both English and Shona, some Shona phrases would lose emphasis when translated to English during the transcribing phase. This is mainly due to cultural semantics and expression.

### **3.9 CHAPTER SUMMARY**

This chapter focused on the methodology or the research methods used to conduct the study. It began with a short introduction followed by the research design. Here the design was discussed in relation to the nature of the study by stating the advantages of a qualitative design and why it is well suited for this study. This was followed by the research techniques. An in-depth account of how each of these were conducted during the study was provided and their significance to the study was discussed as well. The data analysis section provided the different steps in the data analysis process and also engaged with the inductive approach, which was used in the analysis of the study. Lastly the ethical challenges and considerations were discussed. Each of the ethical considerations was explored followed by the challenges that were encountered in the study.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **THE STUDY AREA AND ITS BACKGROUND PRIOR TO LAND REFORM**

#### **4.1 INTRODUCTION**

The acquisition of land under the FTLRP witnessed a large number of white-owned farms in Zimbabwe being expropriated without any compensation and redistributed to the landless black population (Kinsey et al, 2004; Thomas, 2003). Both Tembo farm and Rutherdale previously belonged to white commercial farmers namely Brown and Walters respectively. This chapter presents a brief geographic and demographic characterisation and history of Shamva, paying minor homage to the previous owners of the two study sites. The focus of the chapter, however, is on the research findings. Attention will be given to the strategies that households made use of to sustain their livelihoods prior to resettlement, the processes of land acquisition within the areas and findings on who the beneficiaries were in these processes. The chapter aims to address the first and second research questions outlined in section 1.3 of this study. Although the main focus will be on these issues, some of the other findings will also be discussed in the chapter to follow. To ensure anonymity, the names of all participants in the study for both chapters Four and Five were changed.

#### **4.2 THE STUDY AREA: MASHONALAND CENTRAL PROVINCE OF ZIMBABWE**

Mashonaland Central province is one of the eight rural provinces of Zimbabwe. The province has an area of 28 347 km<sup>2</sup> and a population of 1 152 520, representing about 8.5% of the total population of Zimbabwe (Census Report, 2012). The province covers the northern mainland of the country and it stretches into the Zambezi valley and the Mozambican border in the north east. It covers one of the five agro-ecological regions which are suitable for intensive farming, Natural Region II. The rains in this region average between 700 – 1050 mm per year and mostly fall in summer, spread from November until the end of March or the beginning of April (Willems, 2014). The Shona speaking people dominate the province. The capital of the province is Bindura which

is about 90 kilometres from Harare, the capital city of the country. As shown in Figure 4.1, the province is divided into eight districts and includes towns such as Mount Darwin, Mazowe, Glendale, Guruve, Muzarabani, Shamva, Mazowe and the previously mentioned town of Bindura. More details of the province are not necessary as this study focused mainly on Shamva, namely the Tembo and Rutherforddale farms, where people were moved into as part of the Land Reform Programme in the province.

**Figure 4.1: Map of Mashonaland Central province of Zimbabwe**



Source: Wikimedia maps 2020

### 4.3 CONTEXTUALISING SHAMVA AND THE STUDY SITES

Shamva district is located 92.1 kilometres in the north-east of the capital city of Harare in Mashonaland Central province. It consists primarily of communal areas, mining claims, old resettlement areas, which were acquired during the willing seller, willing buyer era, fast-track farmlands, as well as the few remaining white and black commercial farmers. Moyo (2000: 41), denotes that prior to the Fast Track Land Reform Programme, Shamva district had several “marginal lands and extreme land pressure and shortages” with “growing ‘squatter’ trends in the district”. Thus, the need for land had always been a cause for concern. Soon after independence in 1980, Shamva had been brewing with sporadic conflicts around land, water usage as well as gold mining, such that the land occupations from the year 2000 were “an epitome of a long gestation period of conflict building up” (Matondi, 2001: 175).

Before the FTLRP, there were 74 commercial farms in the district, mostly owned by white farmers. There are now 12 400 communal farmers, 1 406 old resettlement farmers, 1 737 small-scale farmers (on about 34 fast track farms), 92 commercial farmers (on about 13 fast track farms) and 15 black and four white commercial farmers (Sukume, 2005). The statistics are however still to be updated as there are still a growing number of A1 farmers within the district being allocated land outside the previous commercial farms in areas such as Mandimu. The selected study sites, Tembo and Rutherland farms form part of the resettlement farms in the Shamva district, occupied by 13 and 34 farmers respectively. These farmers contribute to the agricultural sector of the Mashonaland Central province.

Brown was a white commercial farmer who owned Tembo Farm prior to the 2000 FTLRP. He focused primarily on the production of oranges for export and local production of juices and concentrates. The farm was initially taken over by the Chaminuka Rural District Council, the District Council in charge of Shamva, but after realising that they did not have capacity to continue the viable business model, it was apportioned to the people who participated in ‘*jambanja*’ or the forceful land invasions. The farm was apportioned into the small-holder A1 farms ranging between 3 to 6 hectares each. Walters on the other hand owned Rutherland Farm. Participants narrate that much of the land was under-utilised as he had in excess of 3000 hectares of land in and around the



province. Rutherdale farm, as mentioned in chapter 3, was divided into A2 commercial plots in excess of 20 hectares each.

#### **4.4 LAND ACQUISITIONS IN ZIMBABWE**

The process of acquiring land commenced in 2000 in an attempt to redistribute land to the black population of Zimbabwe. This section will lay out how the process of acquisition took place in farms across Zimbabwe and thereafter, more specifically at the Tembo and Rutherdale farms.

##### **4.4.1 Land acquisitions in general in Zimbabwe**

In February 2000, land invasions led by war veterans and landless blacks led to the violent removal of several white farm owners and tens of thousands of black farm workers from large commercial farms. By the end of March 2000, more than 1 000 farms had been seized nationally in this manner (Njaya & Mazuru, 2010). The war veterans then popularised the word *jambanja*, describing the land grabs. Chaumba (2003) describes *jambanja* as follows:

... “literally meaning violence or angry argument, *jambanja* has been used in subtly different contexts to refer to different people and places, including the ex-combatant farm invaders themselves, the farm invasions, and more broadly politically instigated violence. A popular war veteran catchphrase was *jambanja ndizvo* (violence is the answer). In some cases, the term has also been appropriated by opposition supporters to mean fighting back against a bully, or by the workers’ movement to refer to mass protest and direct action. But in essence it has come to refer to a time and space of at best confusion and nonsense, and at worst disorder and chaos.”

The occupations were led by the late Chengerai Hunzvi and Joseph Chinotimba, who is now a member of parliament for Buhera North (Mwatwara, 2013). This was officially dubbed the Fast Track Land Reform Programme.

Matondi (2012) writes that the FTLRP was in some cases beneficial for the landless black majority that forcibly occupied the land. Some people who were interested in land did not have the courage to occupy that land themselves, and adopted an indirect approach by using proxies (hired war

veterans and youths). Some farms were occupied for speculative purposes, with the expectation that the ‘big guys’, that is, influential and wealthy individuals, would come and make a claim, and then the occupiers would be able to get a monetary windfall later. Thus, the occupation of strategic farms was a calculated move to get the most from the expectant ‘big guy’ beneficiary, who would be willing to pay more if the farm had better infrastructure and a ‘nice’ farmhouse.

The issue of cronies has been an important part of debates centred around the FTLRP, as most people argue that those politically connected to the ruling party of Zimbabwe, ZANU-PF, were the ones that largely benefitted (Shumba, 2014). This is substantiated by the use of army and other government vehicles in transporting land invaders to different farms (Amnesty International, 2014). The arsenal used in these occupations became substantiation that the political elites were at the forefront of the land grabs as the tactics used were reminiscent of previous behaviours in other arenas. These tactics included, but were not limited to the use of physical violence, putting political pressure on law enforcement agencies (especially the Zimbabwe Republic Police) not to take action against occupiers, negotiations, incessant demonstrations at farm gates (singing, engaging in press-ups, and all-night vigils close to the homes of the white owners), using youths as the shock troopers, and the killing and maiming of livestock (Mutondi, 2014).

Commercial farmers, whose land had been gazetted for acquisition disputed the legality of the land redistribution in general and the FTLRP in particular. They stated that the exercise was unconstitutional and against the laws of the country and they sued the government through the Commercial Farmers Union (CFU). The farmers also disputed the legitimacy of the Presidential powers, which they thought were being abused for personal convenience (Masiiwa, 2004). The response of the government to these actions was an attempt to play catch up, as it speedily drafted laws that protected and guided the land grabs. As such, the new and improved Land Acquisition Act was only enacted into law on 23 May 2000 and on the 15th of July 2000, the FTLRP was approved. The state also passed a law to protect the farm invaders/new settlers through The Rural Land Occupiers Act of July 2001, arguing that the new settlers could only be removed from the farms once new land for resettling them had been identified (Amnesty International, 2014).

The FTLRP thus managed to transfer huge areas of fertile land from white farmers to the black majority. The legalisation that guided the land invasions of 2000 resulted in 4.37 million hectares of land being redistributed to 114 830 families during its first two years of the programme (Njaya and Mazuru, 2010).

Having understood the land acquisition process in Zimbabwe, it is against this backdrop that the following section will present the findings from the research interviews beginning with how redistributed land was acquired at the Tembo and Rutherland farms.

#### **4.5 LAND ACQUISITIONS OF TEMBO AND RUTHERDALE FARMS**

The majority, if not all, of the people involved with the *jambanja* movement were given land. This is a process that involved forceful takeover of all or part of the white farmers' land. This land was then sub-divided into various sizes depending on whether it was going to be A1 or A2 farmland. For Rutherland farm, the process was more formalised than that of Tembo. Rutherland plots, being the larger A2 farms, were given to mostly professionals who had previously worked in government. The process of attaining Rutherland still involved the initial *jambanja*, that is the violent land grab, and then the process would transition to the subsequent application and formalisation of the A2 farm, which occurred in December 2000. The selection process of the beneficiaries of this farm, however, seemed to lean more towards those of greater social capital. This is a stark contrast to that of Tembo, where the ordinary citizen, usually from the surrounding rural areas, got the land. It is important to note that the participants at Tembo also followed the application process after they had already settled there. For Tembo farm, a purely random sample was used to allocate the pieces of land. This involved numbering the plots on pieces of paper, putting them in a bottle cap or lid and having beneficiaries pick their plots. One would then use this plot number to register it with the Ministry of Lands and Agriculture, after which an offer letter with a 99-year lease agreement was generated for the tenant.

When asked how land was acquired, one of the resettled farmers had this to say on this process:

*Jambanja* was everywhere. Others were doing it in farm areas and others in rural areas, but the goal was the same. The ones that stayed in the rural areas also wanted farms.

Unfortunately, we could not all leave the rural areas to go to *Jambanja* to get land for ourselves, but we all wanted it. I came in 2000 as well and I was involved in some of the removal of the white farmers from their farms but unfortunately one of my children passed away so I had to come back home, but I did not stop trying to acquire land. I knew that as soon as I was done with the mourning process, I had to go back to the farms. After that, I came back in 2003 to the farms and that is when I acquired land (Participant, 2019).

Another resettled farmer had this to say about the process:

During the *Jambanja* days, they would lay out a bottle top lid that had a plot number. So, the plot number you picked became your piece of land and you wrote your name down and registered it at the Ministry of Lands. We subsequently received the offer letter with the 99-year lease. We used to live in Wadzanai<sup>4</sup>, which is a densely populated township in Shamva, but the stand was too small and we have many children so we then ended up building a house in the medium density suburb of Shamva. I lived there with my family, a tenant and his two children (Participant, 2019).

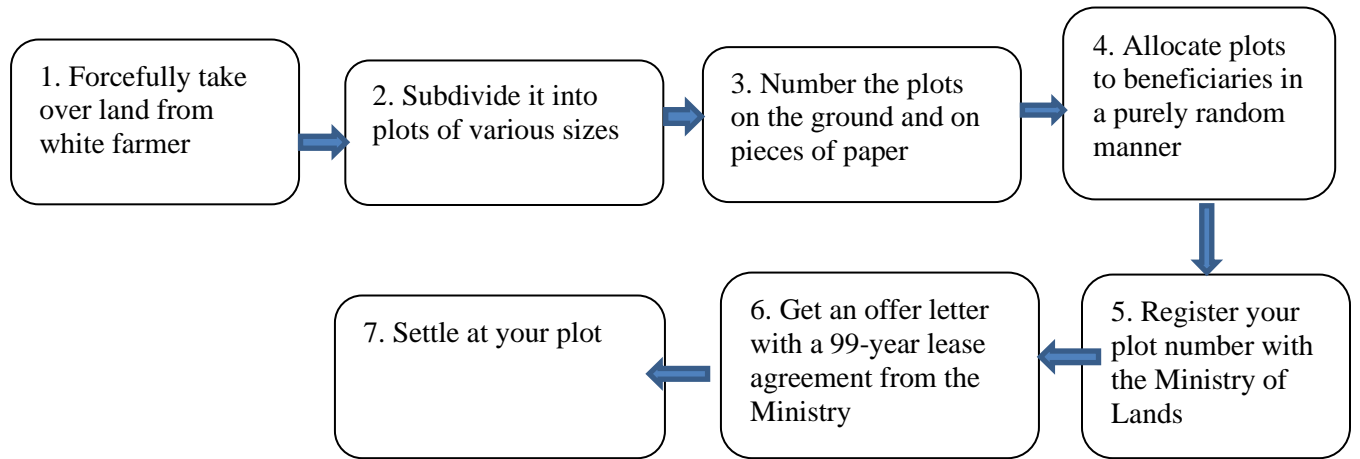
These responses explained the land acquisition process for the farmers at Tembo farm. Land acquisition at the Rutherland farm was more systematic. The larger redistributed A2 farms were allocated to individuals with social capital such as district officers, former military personnel and headmasters to name a few occupations. The farms were systematically allocated to these individuals and were not as randomly allocated in comparison to the smaller A1 farms at Tembo for example.

Schematically, the land acquisition process for Tembo farm could be represented as shown in Figure 4.2, whilst the one for Rutherland is shown in Figure 4.3.

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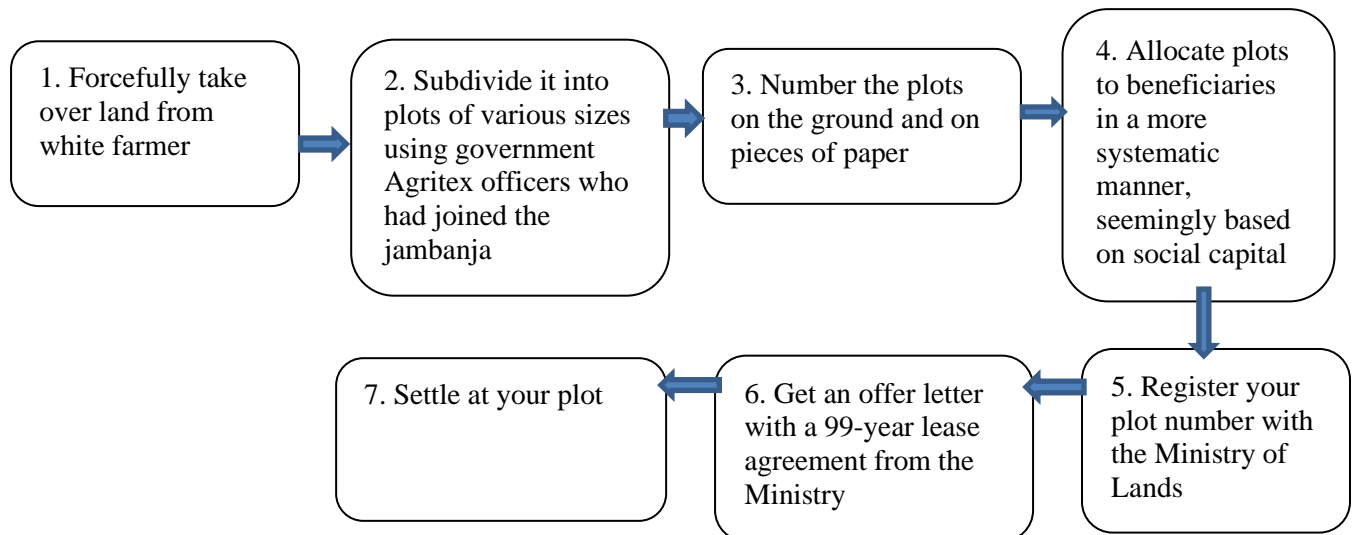
<sup>4</sup> Wadzanai is the main township area in Shamva, Mashonaland Central.

**Figure 4.2: A schematic representation of the land acquisition process for Tembo farm**



Author's own adaptation

**Figure 4.3: A schematic representation of the land acquisition process for Rutherdale Farm**



Author's own adaptation

## **4.6 THE BENEFICIARIES AND THEIR LIVELIHOODS PRIOR TO RESETTLEMENT**

The questions in this section sought to gain understanding of the research participants to shed light of the demographics of the resettled farmers. The second part of the section aimed to provide clarity of the sort of livelihoods that the resettled farmers led before relocating to the redistributed land. This will provide an appropriate background to juxtapose with their lives after resettlement, thus providing a full picture of how resettlement improved or diminished their livelihoods.

### **4.6.1 Socio-demographic characteristics of the beneficiaries**

All the farmers in the study sites were resettled between 2000 and 2003. More than 98% of the resettled farmers settled at their plots between 2001 and 2002. For Tembo farm, the youngest farmer was 36 years old, while the oldest one was 56, giving an age range of 20 years. They all indicated that Shona was their mother tongue. Only 37% of the farmers at the study site were females and these females were all aged between 49 and 50. To confirm Barr's (2004) assertion that most of the newly resettled farmers had little to no social ties and networks with the people that they were resettled with, none of the resettled farmers brought any relatives with them apart from immediate family members. To this effect, one of the farmers had this to say:

I don't have any relatives. I currently have three people I mostly socialise with and are now close, but I don't really have any relatives here (Participant, 2019).

For Rutherdale, the youngest farmer interviewed was 59 years old, the oldest being 79 giving an age range of 20 years old, all male. In stark contrast to Tembo, the respondents at Rutherdale were comfortable to converse in both Shona and English, as all of them held government positions before retirement. One participant was previously a District Education Officer before retirement, the other an Agritex officer, whilst the other two were a war veteran and a retired military personnel. The sizes of the households ranged between two and ten people, with some households having up to five children at the plots.

#### 4.6.2 The livelihoods of beneficiaries prior to resettlement at Tembo and Rutherland farms

It was clear from all the interviews that all the participants wanted land. They saw land as an escape from poverty and a graduation to a better life. Most of the participants came from the surrounding rural areas or previous resettlement areas that the government had given to the black majority after independence in 1980. They narrated how there was a land crisis prior to 2000, with some families having to subdivide 10 hectares of land between nine children that had now grown and had their own families to feed and take care of. It is also important to note that all the interviewed resettled farmers originated within Mashonaland Central province, with some coming from the province's urban areas. On this note, asked where they relocated from, one of farmers had this to say concerning their origins:

I come from Murehwa village. We farmed there with our family. We all had a small portion where we farmed. Because it had been used for so long, the soil deteriorated over time (Participant, 2019).

Another resettled farmer had this to say about their livelihoods prior to resettlement:

We stayed near Madziva mine in a resettlement area that had been allocated to my father just after independence. The size of the plot was almost 10 hectares and my father had divided it amongst our whole family and everyone had a piece of land. The land was starting to be insufficient because we were too many (Participant, 2019).

One of the resettled farmers who was unemployed and lived in Mutare but whose husband worked in Shamva stated the following about her livelihood prior to resettlement:

I lived in Mutare, but my husband worked here at the Veterinary Services in Shamva district. We lived at Chakonda growth point and we had no farming land. We lived in a house provided by my husband's place of employment at the time. We always yearned for land as my husband was part of the Veterinary Services. When the *jambanja* started, we knew that was our chance to finally get land and a more comfortable space. So, we joined the *jambanja* and that's when we got farming land. Most of us here received three hectares (Participant, 2019).

Another resettled farmer visioned that the family land they owned was going to be too small to accommodate them in the near future and shared:

I lived in Chindunduma in Shamva North. It was a resettlement area where my father currently lives. He is also a farmer. Growing up, I just farmed as part of the family; we were nine boys. I then came with my brother and we left the other seven there when we heard that pieces of land are being allocated. I came in 2001 with the other people during *jambanja* (Participant, 2019).

The participants at Rutherdale also indicated that prior to them acquiring the land, they were living or working within the Mashonaland Central province. Of the four respondents at Rutherdale, only one at the time of the *jambanja* was not employed. When asked on the kind of livelihood he led prior to joining the *jambanja* and being allocated land, he narrated:

I participated in the war of liberation (the second chimurenga) with the belief that the marginalisation I had witnessed growing up, had to end. We lived in the villages of Murehwa with little to nothing to our name. When the war ended, we went back to our villages, I to Murehwa, which was very crowded with no space to farm. We thought we would be allocated land, but we waited and waited but to no avail. As part of the War Veterans Association, we then mobilised ourselves on the basis of why we had initially gone to war which was the struggle for land and emancipation. I then participated in the *jambanja* here at Rutherdale and was allocated land (Participant, 2019).

The other three respondents from Rutherdale however, were not staying in the rural areas but were working in and around the province during the 2000 *jambanja* era as military personnel, an Education District Officer, and an Agricultural Extension Officer, respectively. The farmer who was an Agricultural Extension Officer, played a central role in the division of plots at Rutherdale, using his knowledge from his profession. He shared this about life before resettlement:

I had worked in government as an Extension Officer since the early 1990s. My area of jurisdiction was Chindunduma. I had a small piece of land there and was farming, although the land was smaller than what I have here at Rutherdale. My wife managed and ran a small grocery store there and it continued to function even when we relocated to Rutherdale. I cannot say that we weren't doing well in Chindunduma. Our desire was always to get a



bigger piece of land because we had measured and seen our potential from the piece of land that we had. We knew if we had a bigger piece of land we would do well. So, when the *jambanja* started, I quickly participated, mostly in an advisory role because I had knowledge from work. I then came and pegged the plots here at Rutherdale (Participant, 2019).

From the transcribed information above, it is clear that the people who were resettled at the Tembo study site, were practising farming at peasantry and subsistence levels mostly as family units. This family land was increasingly becoming fragmented however, due to family growth and was also becoming unproductive due to continued tillage. Some were proactive and fore-saw overcrowding on family land and therefore opted for resettlement. Therefore, overall, land fragmentation due to congestion, reduced soil fertility and the resultant food insecurity, were the push factors to resettlement for most of the resettled farmers. One of the resettled farmers summed up their livelihoods prior to resettlement as follows:

Our land was very small. We lived in rural areas farming on soil that required a lot of fertiliser and it was very sandy. We farmed enough for us to eat but we did not have enough to sell and make tonnes of harvest. So, it pushed us to look for better land knowing that there was possibility to harvest more on better soil. Since white people farmed on good soil, we knew we needed good soil (Participant, 2019).

Keeping in mind that most of the resettled farmers practised subsistence farming, the issue of markets was an important push factor that encouraged farmers to seek out resettlement land. The participants noted that they lived far away from the central business districts or local markets, which made it difficult to sell their excess produce. This then became a central pillar when scouting for 'land grabs' from the white farmers. Consequently, the people that were orchestrating the *jambanja*, would target farms that had easy access to markets and were also near schools, clinics, road networks and other essential amenities. One of the participants mentioned this briefly when he narrated the acquisition process. He said:

In our quest to get the land, we had to be shrewd in targeting farms. We knew that if we were to get land, we would be under-resourced, as some of us did not have cars or lines of

credit. We then decided to invade where it would be easier for us to take our produce to the markets and also make sure that the place was not mountainous (Participant, 2019).

Recollecting their past experiences, one of the farmers at Tembo also cemented that:

In the rural area where we lived prior to resettlement, it was very far from the township where people buy their products. Even for you to sell maize, the [Grain Marketing Board] GMB<sup>5</sup> was so far from where we lived so getting to Harare even to sell tobacco for example was a big challenge (Participant, 2019).

One of the arguments that is constantly put across in relation to beneficiaries of land reform is the assumption that most of the people that received land, had very little to no experience in farming. The assertion is deeply flawed. Thebe (2017), argues that due to the migrant labour system that was in place even long before independence in 1980, agriculture was a part-time occupation to supplement the wages that migrant labourers were earning. Thus, agriculture-based livelihoods have long been embedded in Zimbabwe. There were, however, a few people who left their professions for resettlement, some of these professions including builders and tailors, and these individuals had no meaningful experience as farmers. The following response from the participants buttress this observation:

My husband is a builder and I am a tailor. He registered his company in 2015. Our business was quite successful at the time. Around 2002 there were not many builders so he built informally. That is the money we then used to buy a stand in Wadzanai which we ended up selling later on. We were not always farmers but we started here in 2002 here. My husband used to farm but at a very small scale at his family home but that was where he started learning how to farm. So, he had an idea on how to farm (Participant, 2019).

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<sup>5</sup> The Grain Marketing Board is the primary entity with the responsibility to store, market and control trade of all grain in Zimbabwe

#### **4.7 RESETTLEMENT EXPERIENCES OF RESETTLED FARMERS AT TEMBO AND RUTHERDALE FARMS**

None of the research participants was allocated land that had been developed or had adequate equipment or housing. They all narrated a difficult initial process of starting from scratch, including building their own homes, cattle kraals, tobacco curing barns and some even had to drill boreholes, as was the case in Rutherdale. None of the participants received any financing from the government to start their new journey as farm owners. They were also unable to secure loans and financing from the banks and other financial institutions because of the “non-bankability” of the 99-year lease. It is however important to note that there are some beneficiaries, although not interviewed, that were allocated land that had some structures, such as curing barns, kraals and even equipment, that were left by the white farmers. All the resettled farmers at the study sites brought very little to nothing when they were resettled. The following responses capture this position:

I came with nothing at all, it was just me. I just had clothes and a blanket. All I had was a hoe to use for farming and I started working for other people, herding their cattle. All that was here was a wooden house and cabins made of planks mostly. I then started to develop it to the way it is now. Even the fields were completely empty and untilled. I had to till the fields and build the houses (Participant, 2019).

Another farmer said:

We had cattle in the rural areas. We also had ploughs back home but I left them for those that stayed at home and came here with absolutely nothing. I then started building everything that you see here (Participant, 2019).

Only one farmer had brought four cattle when they relocated but they all died upon arrival and had to start anew. He said:

I came with four cattle but they died from (cow disease) and I was left with none (Participant, 2019).

The land that the farmers were resettled onto had nothing in terms of land and other infrastructural developments. One of the farmers had this to say on this issue:

There was absolutely nothing. There were just trees which we had to cut down. The land was not farmed previously. There was just a small piece of land used for citrus farming but everywhere else there was nothing (Participant, 2019).

The participants at Rutherdale also lamented the same situation. They chronicle having been allocated bare land, with some areas not even being utilised. One participant had this to say:

When we started surveying the area, we did not just target productive white owned farms. We had a vision to leave the productive lands that the white farmer had and utilise the ones he doesn't use. This was necessarily the mood nationwide because we wanted a Zimbabwe that has equitably distributed land. So, when we came to Rutherdale, the land had no structures, most of the parts were not used by the previous owner, thus we set out to take those parts first (Participant, 2019).

From these responses, one can conclude that the majority of the resettled farmers did not necessarily relocate with previously-owned assets and had to rebuild their lives upon resettling on the newly acquired farms.

#### **4.8 CHAPTER SUMMARY**

This chapter paid particular attention to the first part of the research questions, which dealt with life before resettlement and the process of resettlement. It looked at who attained land during the FTLRP and what the process of acquiring land at each study site was. This chapter also gave a brief geographic and demographic characterisation and history of Shamva, paying minor homage to the previous owners of the two study sites and also contextualising the study area. The research as detailed in this chapter, found that all the study participants engaged in *jambanja* to attain the land that they are on. The government then later formalised their occupation when they were already on the land. The chapter also details the life and livelihoods that the participants had prior to resettlement, in order to capture change in circumstances in the next chapter. Chapter Five will then delve into how the lives of resettled farmers changed after relocation.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **IMPACT OF LAND REFORM ON THE LIVELIHOODS OF RESETTLED FARMERS AT TEMBO AND RUTHERDALE FARMS**

#### **5.1 INTRODUCTION**

This chapter collates the findings of the study, detailing the forms of livelihoods the resettled farmers in Mashonaland Central now lead today. It also details the resettlement induced changes witnessed by the farmers in terms of asset ownership, human skills development, income generation and food security. The roles of other stakeholders in the Land Reform Programme, in terms of these changes will also be presented. The key concerns affecting the farmers will also be highlighted so that meaningful recommendations will be put forward in the last chapter of the thesis. In so doing, the chapter addresses the study's third and fourth research objectives as laid out in section 1.4 of this study.

#### **5.2 FORMS OF LIVELIHOODS OF RESETTLED FARMERS IN TEMBO AND RUTHERDALE FARMS AFTER LAND REFORM**

For their livelihoods, all of the farmers were clearly focused on what they had been resettled for, that is, agricultural production. The participants at Tembo and Rutherdale, all engaged in rain-fed crop and livestock production, all at a semi-subsistence level. This is in contrast to many of these farmers' peasantry backgrounds, which they had prior to resettlement. They were also not practising 'briefcase farming' where one practises agriculture remotely while fully employed elsewhere in town. All the farmers were sedentarised at their plots. Moving away from the peasantry backgrounds, the farmers had also diversified into market gardening and had ventured into various other income generating projects including gold panning and buying and selling of commodities. Asked whether he was involved in other income generating projects, one farmer responded by saying:

Yes, we are involved in gold-panning. That is what helps us to survive. If we rely on farming only, it will not be enough (Participant, 2019).

Another participant had this to say;

I am not really interested in panning. I do poultry (chickens) farming, so I sell chickens. I also have a small cross-border business between Zimbabwe and South Africa where I buy and sell products and goods I buy in South Africa at the local market (Participant, 2019).

Apart from supplementing their daily needs with proceeds from other ventures, the money that the farmers receive is also used to get inputs for the land. Most of the farmers indicated that the Presidential Input Scheme and Commanded Agriculture, championed by the government to help farmers with inputs, was not nearly enough. As a result of this, it is essential that these farmers find other income generating activities to help them to buy inputs for each cropping season.

The participants at Rutherdale however, seemed to have multiple streams of income divorced from the land itself. Some had well to do children overseas and in the urban areas who would periodically send remittances. Where agriculture was involved, their social capital and access to other means of finance boosted their farming endeavours, in comparison to the A1 farmers at Tembo. The participants at Rutherdale were also able to get more inputs through the Command Agriculture programme or the Presidential Input Scheme. In part, the researcher recognises that it is because their farms are larger, but there is also an element of leverage because of their social standing as compared to the A1 farmers at Tembo, who are from generally poorer backgrounds.

In terms of access to social amenities, the farmers at Tembo were deeply disadvantaged by the resettlement. This position was gleaned from the numerous complaints the farmers raised on access to clean drinking water and electricity. The farmers had to walk long distances of up to seven kilometres to access clean safe drinking water. The respondents had this to say about the clean water crisis at Tembo:

Farmer 1:

We've been drinking river water for 20 years now, there is no proper well or borehole nearby. You have to travel very long distances to get good, clean water (Participant, 2019).

Farmer 2:

... the only problem this side is clean water. Bathing water and water to do dishes we can find but clean drinking and cooking water is a challenge. We do not own a cart yet so we have to borrow a cart from neighbours to fetch water, otherwise one of the children has to take a wheelbarrow to carry water. So, at one point, we ended up having to cook with dirty river water. We were told that the [Member of Parliament] MP said he wants to drill a borehole, so, hopefully that happens. We tried to do it together as a community but it becomes difficult because the prices continue increasing because of currency issues being experienced in the country. Perhaps, if we finish with the electricity project we are undertaking as a community, we will get to the borehole (Participant, 2019).

Access to education and healthcare at Tembo seems to not be of great concern, particularly due to the prevailing socio-economic deterioration in the country. The farmers and their children are able to walk to Shamva General Hospital which is four kilometres away. A satellite clinic two kilometres away is also being built. They have three options in terms of schooling and education; Ming Chang, a Chinese built school, is slightly closer than Wadzanai Primary and Secondary School, which is about six kilometres away. They also have a choice of Shamva Primary School which is four and a half kilometres away. The situation is however different in this regard at Rutherland, as the schools are much further away, in excess of six kilometres. Residents of Rutherland also have to use Shamva General Hospital for healthcare services, and this hospital is almost seven kilometres away. The participants at Rutherland were however not bothered as all of their children were now grown.

In relation to social cohesion, all the farmers indicated that they had not brought any relatives along with them and thus their neighbours were all strangers. Conflicts were therefore inevitable, especially boundary conflicts and the issue of stray animals. Nonetheless, most of the farmers indicated that they were getting along well with their neighbours. One of the farmers had this to say on this matter:

We get along because people all come from different places with the same goal, to have a great harvest on the farm. So, when I face a challenge, I just ask my neighbour because

they know we have the same goal. We all came here to build and to learn together. We teach each other and learn from one another (Participant, 2019).

The following narration is also a good example of the level of social cohesion and cooperation among the farmers and youths at the resettled sites:

I was the chairman of the development committee. We had volunteer clubs where youths would come and help, for example to build a road. We received machinery from someone to build a road. But sometimes the road is ruined by water because of where the land is situated. The issue of boreholes and electricity is caused by money because people plan their finances differently so we do not all always have the funds available at the same time. A borehole may not be a priority to another individual at a time where it may be a priority to someone else (Participant, 2019).

Such social networking at Tembo and Rutherdale farms was important in overcoming some of the challenges that the resettled households faced, and particularly, the lack of energy and drinking water. Farmers at Tembo have, for the past three years, been able to put money together and draw up electricity for their households. Each person contributed equal amounts of money towards the project and at the time of the interviews, only 100 metres of the needed electricity cables had been left to complete the project. Residents of these two spaces had also organised a development committee that was overseeing development projects at the farm. The secretary of the development committee, who is also a farmer at Tembo, showed great enthusiasm about the electricity project. She said:

We created a committee for which I am the secretary and we managed to get electricity here. We just need an extra 100 metres of electricity cables which [Zimbabwe Electricity Supply Authority] ZESA said they do not have at the present moment. We are now planning on putting money together for us to get a borehole so that we have clean drinking water. A lot of people say they do not have money but for the electricity, everyone will have a pole near their house, and they can pay later when they have the money. As a collective we have purchased the needed electricity poles for each household, those that said they do not have money will pay when they can to the committee and have electricity connected. The challenge remaining is drinking water. We go to distant places as far as



Wadzanai sometimes, to get clean water, but for others, we have to go to the river. If you do not have an oxcart, we just help each other, you just put your bucket in someone else's cart, and they collect water for you. When I do not have drinking water I can just go and ask the neighbours. But we want to get a borehole so that we can get clean drinking water that is close by (Participant, 2019).

### **5.3 IMPACTS OF THE LAND REFORM PROGRAMME ON ASSET OWNERSHIP, INCOME GENERATION, FOOD SECURITY AND FARMERS' OWN PERSONAL DEVELOPMENT**

The questions asked under this section sought to provide understanding of the effect of acquiring land on the resettled farmers with regards to ownership of assets and the income generated from the agricultural activities on their farms. The questions also aimed to gain understanding of the food production and how it has contributed to the food security of the farmers and their families.

#### **5.3.1 Asset ownership**

This study revealed that all the resettled farmers at the study sites had enormous improvements in asset ownership. Chapter Four revealed that the farmers brought very little to nothing at resettlement but at the time of this research, all of them had bigger pieces of land. More than 90% of the households now had ox-drawn carts and wheelbarrows, used especially for fetching water. Cattle ownership had drastically improved, mostly due to the need for its power on ox drawn ploughs. The biggest increase in cattle figures was from 10 to 42 beasts. The farmers had also bought ploughs, built houses, bought grinding meals and diesel engines to pump water. One innovative farmer now has a fruit tree plantation. One of the farmers aptly captured these benefits when she said:

We bought everything here, we had no farming utensils. Other people would lend us their cattle here and there, but we did most of the work with our hands. The first time, we farmed cotton. I managed to sell nine bales of cotton and from there, we ended up buying an ox cart and a cow. Now we have seven cows, so we use those and the cart. We also bought a plough. There were no houses here, we initially built two small bedrooms and a kitchen

from wood, then eventually we demolished all of them then built a brick kitchen and a bedroom. Our son farmed some tobacco and built a bedroom for himself and bought an ox cart and our other son also farmed and built a bedroom. We also bought a grinding mill and a diesel engine, so we water the fields with it. We have half a hectare of maize, half a hectare of beans, vegetables, tomatoes. We are not struggling at all with food (Participant, 2019).

Another farmer had this to say on her improved asset ownership position:

When we came, we bought two ploughs, ox carts and other animals as well which I bought through farming. Since 2004 till 2007 things were going well. Sometimes I would produce 35 bales of cotton which allowed me to buy eight cattle at once and build a house. I have five rooms, plastered in and out with floors. I built a kitchen with eight iron roofing sheets. I built chicken runs and also plastered them in and out, with flooring as well. I built a toilet and bathroom and also plastered it. I roofed all the rooms I built, and I no longer have thatch on any rooms. I have many animals now. The benefits from farming have been so many. I did all of this with my three children (Participant, 2019).

One farmer who started from scratch had this to say about his improved position:

We had nothing, we bought everything with farming money. I now have seven cows. When I came, we used to farm with hoes until we were given ploughs by my parents then eventually, we managed to buy our own and we then returned the ones we had received. So, we buy tools as we go. If we had pipes, we would irrigate from the river here. Life would be much easier (Participant, 2019).

Another farmer who had dramatic changes to asset ownership also had this to say:

Life has really changed. When I relocated, I only had the 10 cattle. I had no furniture inside my house, I did not even own a house when I relocated. Now I managed to farm for two years and managed to buy a stand and built a house in Wadzanai which I am renting out. That's where my children are now attending school. I bought a grinding mill for the maize. I also bought a maize popping machine to make snacks which my children can carry with them to school. Other people also come and buy the corn snacks, and this helps with a little

bit of income. Life is much better. Where we used to live, I didn't farm very much and the little we farmed we could not sell, we even had to buy. For me to even acquire the cash to buy from other people was a challenge. Now when I receive rent from the tenants in Wadzanai and from the money from the grinding mill, we can make progress. We had to make do because I have six children and they all needed to go to school (Participant, 2019).

The story is equally inspiring at Rutherland farm. Farmers were able to drill boreholes, build modern houses fully fitted with tiles. The Agricultural Extension Officer for Rutherland, Ward 28, Mr Banda on the issue of asset ownership said:

The difference between the time when the farmers started and now is very visible. Some of them did not have decent houses on the land as they had acquired bare land, but over time they have built a lot of permanent structures, modern houses and have drilled boreholes. Some have bought cars, shellers, trucks and other movable assets with proceeds from the land (Banda, 2019).

This is consistent with Erskine's sentiments as presented in Figure 2.1 in the analytical framework, showing that land reform ultimately leads to the overcoming of poverty.

### **5.3.2 Income generation**

All the interviewed farmers indicated that there had been a substantial increase in their standard of living, and they were now generating sufficient income for their survival. The measures used to safeguard this newly acquired standard of living were in themselves, dynamic. A significant portion of this income was being generated from rain fed crop production and livestock rearing. The major crops being produced were maize and tobacco. All the farmers had also ventured into market gardening to attain self-sufficiency and were selling their surplus produce for a profit.

Whilst some farmers ventured into growing different produce such as sugar beans, others ventured even further off into gold panning and the buying and selling of household commodities. In times of liquidity crises, farmers resorted to selling livestock to ensure their survival. One farmer was now receiving rent from a house he constructed at the nearby growth point using proceeds from his farming activities. It is interesting to note that all the farmers in the area were now aware of the need to have more than one source of income and were thus involved in various other income

generating projects outside their farming activities, particularly due to the economic landscape of Zimbabwe. One of the farmers said:

Right now, you cannot rely on farming only. You need another stream of income. Even the maize we farm, we store some of it and then sell it to buy fertiliser. The advantage I at least have is that with Command Agriculture, although I did not receive top fertiliser, I did at least receive some compound D fertilisers which helped and made the harvest increase. I would not have managed if I had needed to buy the compound D with my cash. So, Command really helped me there (Participant, 2019).

Other farmers who had no other source of income other than selling their agricultural produce had this to say:

No, I do not have any other source of income. I sell my farm produce. When I sell, I buy the things I need to buy immediately after selling. If there is any leftover money, that is what we use for our day to day lives (Participant, 2019).

### **5.3.3 Food security**

The Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) of the United Nations, describes food security as a situation which exists when “... all people at all times have physical and economic access to safe and nutritious food that meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life ...” FAO (1996). In wanting to compare the previous disposition of the current resettled farmers to their disposition before settlement, the study sought to understand if there was increased food security since resettlement. The study found that, relative to their food reserves in the communal areas, food reserves steadily increased after the FTLRP. By the next farming season, most households still had sufficient food. Resettled households were now quite self-sufficient in terms of food supply. One household, when asked whether it needed food supplements responded thus:

No not at all! We are actually still eating maize we harvested last year. We just sprayed some insecticides to preserve it, but we still have some (Participant, 2019).

The farmers were growing their own vegetables. They had their livestock for meat and were engaged in various other income generating projects to raise funds for their day to day living. The households were producing in far excess to their needs.

Each household interviewed, cultivated the *bindu* (vegetable garden). The concept of the *bindu* is one that was carried over from their previous communal lands and is a common phenomenon in most Zimbabwean homes. The *bindu* is essentially a small patch of land, usually detached from the allocated fields or land, and is placed near the homestead or parts of the fields that are swampy and have a lot of moisture. Farmers usually reserve the *bindu* to plant leafy green vegetables, tomatoes, onions, peppers, carrots, peas, green beans, groundnuts and so forth. Due to the fact that the cultivation of the *bindu* is all year round, the farmers sell their excess produce at markets for petty cash during seasons where maize is not ready for harvest yet. The farmers at Tembo were selling a bundle of leafy greens for US\$0.50 or the RTGS dollar equivalent, while a medium sized bowl of tomatoes was sold for US\$1 and a medium sized bowl of peas and green beans for US\$2. One farmer said that she would roughly sell produce worth US\$30 on a good day at the market, going once or twice a week, averaging an income of US\$150 to US\$200 a month from her *bindu*. She further explained how it has helped by stating that:

I do not have to worry about bread in the morning or food when the agricultural season for maize is still in progress. The proceeds that I get from my garden are enough to feed my family. Even if we can't eat meat every day, I know that I have rape (leafy greens) in my garden to accompany our staple which is *sadza* (mealie meal thick porridge/ pap). We are catered for (Participant, 2019).

Although nearly all of the farmers had livestock, they did point out that they do not frivolously slaughter the animals to get meat. Once in a while, they will slaughter a goat, primarily during celebrations or social events of a good measure such as Christmas holidays. They attain their protein mainly from beans, eggs and fish from one of the nearby dams. They are also able to milk the cows that they have for tea or fermented/ sour milk to accompany their staple dish, *sadza*. Livestock act as a form of insurance and wealth and an asset that cannot be easily discarded.

### **5.3.4 Personal development**

This aspect was not asked directly from the respondents but was gleaned from the responses already provided by the farmers in this chapter. Firstly, by becoming aware of the need to have several sources of income, the farmers gained financial intelligence and were in the right direction in terms of generating wealth for themselves and their future generations, instead of focusing on survival. The farmers had gained a lot of technical hands-on skills as they were executing most of the duties themselves and only hired labour here and there when they were overwhelmed. The farmers had also developed socialisation skills as they were relating with their neighbours well. One such skill was conflict resolution.

Important farm management skills were also gained by the farmers as they were responsible for the whole agricultural production process from planning to marketing. Networking skills had also been gained as some farmers clearly indicated that they used this skill to get inputs for their activities where others failed to.

A key respondent, Mr Banda, is also tasked with educating the farmers on the latest technologies and how best to maximise the profit that they earn from their agricultural activities. He had this to say:

Although we are under equipped and are unable to do some of the mandates that we have, we have been able with the little resources we have, to galvanise farmers to succeed in their endeavours (Banda, 2019).

### **5.3.5 Labour and Employment**

Scoones (2010) rightly points out the displacement of farm workers employed in the large commercial farms at the turn of the FTLRP. He notes, in concert with numerous other academics, that the scale and implications of the displacements nationally, are largely unknown but estimated that the number is around 1 000 000 (one million) people, including their dependants or families (Scoones, 2010: 127). None of the participants or key informants could give the exact number of displaced farm workers at the study sites. They however noted that, although the farm workers are

not all employed by the newly resettled farmers, most of them remained logged on the workers village/ compound on the two study sites. They were not driven out or evicted by the newly resettled farmers at Rutherland or at Tembo. Those that left, were able to do so on their own accord or left in search of employment elsewhere.

The newly resettled farmers thus employ some of these former farm workers on a seasonal basis, especially at Rutherland, where plot sizes are much larger than at Tembo. The new farmers also employ two or three permanent workers to take care of their livestock throughout the year and in seasons where there is not much farming activity. The permanent staff on some plots at Rutherland have also been given a hectare or two to carry out their personal farming activities, thereby increasing the number of beneficiaries of the FTLRP that would not ordinarily be counted on the national statistics, as they are a result of a multiplier effect.

At Tembo, the farmers mainly farmed with their immediate family, especially during the planting process. Seasonal workers would then be called in at harvesting or during the weeding process if the farmer has the financial resources to do so. Other times, farmers at Tembo would communally share the load in a process commonly known as *mushandira*. This involves the farmers taking turns to help out at each other's farms, so as to lighten the workload. However, the farmers noted that the process was taxing to undertake, as it required a substantial amount of social cohesion and planning. In the end, the farmers opted to work in silos. One farmer had this to say:

I farm with my two boys from that start of the planting season all the way up to harvesting. We used to do *mushandira* in the beginning, but we experienced a lot of problems because sometimes you would go and work at someone's farm, and when it was their turn to come to yours, they would start to make numerous excuses (Participant, 2019).

#### **5.4 ROLES OF OTHER STAKEHOLDERS IN THE TEMBO AND RUTHERDALE RESETTLEMENT PROGRAMME**

All the farmers acknowledged the positive role that the government was playing in support of the resettlement exercise. The government over the years has gone to great lengths to ensure that farmers get the necessary inputs for the farming seasons. Table 5.1 adequately shows the initiatives

adopted by government in giving farmers inputs until the year 2012. It also summarises the objectives of each initiative and the weaknesses that followed. It is important to note that the government of Zimbabwe also initiated the Targeted Command Agriculture Program, TCAP (also known as the Special Maize Programme for Import Substitution, as well as Command Agriculture) in 2016–2019, in order to stimulate the production of maize and other commodities. The weaknesses however, interestingly replicate, hand in glove, the other initiatives mentioned below.

**Table 5.1: Farming input Schemes from the year 2000-2012**

<b>Name</b>	<b>Starting year</b>	<b>Initiative</b>	<b>Weakness</b>
Government Input Scheme	2000	Provide inputs and fuel for the coming six years	Failure in funding, programme ended in 2003.
Productive Sector Facility (PSF)	2004	Provide financial resources to productive sectors.	
Agricultural Sector Productivity Enhancement Facility (ASPEF)	2005	Meaningful source of affordable financing for farmers.	1) Limited fund: only a small number of farmers enable to benefit. 2) Preference for larger-scale farmers.
Operation Maguta	2005	Improve land utilisation and provide inputs.	Shortage of inputs, delay in distribution, incomplete input packages.
Champion Farmers Programme	2008	Improve land utilisation and provide inputs to targeted farmers, once with the best production.	Shortage of inputs, delay in distribution, incomplete input packages.
Presidential Well Wishers Support Scheme (Box 3.2)	2012	Provide inputs to households in need.	Seen as a way for ZANU (PF) to win votes for the coming elections.

(Source: Mugwagwa, 2012; Scoones et al., 2010, p. 98-99)

The farmers were continually facing many of the challenges summarised in the table above. They narrated the following:



Farmer 1:

We received diesel but we could not find a tractor to use the diesel because they were overwhelmed. So, we ended up having to pay for it to come and we ended up farming 3 hectares of maize. We planted the seeds with a planter, and we had also received compound D fertiliser<sup>6</sup>. But after all of this, we did not receive any top fertilizer<sup>7</sup> and the maize was starting to shrivel. We ended up finding top fertilizer somewhere else. But we did not really yield much that year. We had a bit of yield, but it was not anywhere near what it could have been (Participant, 2019).

Farmer 2:

Yes, I did receive inputs. We received compound D and seed and I decided to buy my own diesel. But I did not get any top fertilizer and you could not count on them providing it. Luckily, I had stocked up some on my own but I just needed a little more. So, I ended up using the one I had stocked up by myself (Participant, 2019).

Chimhowu and Hulme (2006) discuss the difference between resettlement areas that were sponsored by the state and the resettlements that were not sponsored. They argue that state-sponsored resettlement areas were more productive since the government provided settlers with capital and other services to boost their production levels. Both Tembo and Rutherland farms represent resettlement areas that had very minimal state sponsorship. Participants indicated that little or no government support in terms of capital and other agricultural inputs, has limited their production. In the instances where there is government support, it often comes late or in the wrong quantities. Households at Tembo and Rutherland farms, believe that if the government could make loans available, they could improve their production levels. Mandizadza (2010), indicates that capital assets should complement each other for them to sustain livelihoods. It is therefore important that the government make financial assistance available to settlers to increase their production levels.

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<sup>6</sup> Compound D is a phosphorous fertilizer best used in the planting stage.

<sup>7</sup> Ammonium nitrate is used as a top-dressing fertilizer for crops.

Key informant Mr Kudyanyemba, acknowledges the mammoth task that government is dealing with in terms of supporting the farmers. He points out that the larger macro-economic situation prevailing in the country causes an impediment in the successful implementation of government projects. He also however took time to point out that even with the little that government has done to help farmers across the country, there is a donor syndrome, that is, a dependence on financial donations or support for the success of agricultural ventures, amongst farmers. He highlighted their failure to graduate as envisioned by the government. He says:

When the land reform process was undertaken, government saw the need to take on more extension officers to help the notably increased number of farmers in their farming activities. It then compartmentalised the extension officers into various categories. I have worked in the agri-business division, helping farmers treat farming as a business. We have however seen that farmers are not as independent as we had expected. By now they should have been weaned off from the input schemes but there seems to be a donor syndrome happening. Year after year, even with the resources at their disposal, farmers continue to need some sort of a loan or input scheme from the government. We offer advisory services on treating farming as a business, advising on markets and which crops to plant but it seems we still face a mammoth task (Kudyanyemba, 2019).

## **5.5 KEY CONCERNS OF THE RESETTLED FARMERS AT TEMBO AND RUTHERDALE FARMS**

The FTLRP, although having benefitted the resettled farmers as per their account, still raises some areas of great concern. All the interviewed farmers at the study sites raised a plethora of economic, social and physical concerns that were affecting them. These will be discussed in this section so that readily implementable solutions can be sought in the last chapter of the thesis.

### **5.5.1 Socio-economic concerns**

#### ***Property rights and land tenure security***

According to Ensminger (1992), property rights can be defined as “the exclusive right of possessing something” or “rules governing the use of resources”. Under the FTLRP, farmers were

given 99-year lease agreements by the government or offer letters. Essentially, the government or the state remains as the owner of the land, with the newly resettled farmers on a lease for 99 years (Mkodzongi, 2019). All the participants at the Study sites did not have 99-year lease agreements. They only had the governments Offer Letter of land. According to Mkodzongi (2019), the government felt that it could not give land for free with title to the newly resettled farmers, fearing that they might sell the land in an open market if they have full rights to the property. This however, has become a point of contestation as farmers cannot use the land as collateral against bank credit because in simpler terms, they are not the owners of the land, but merely tenants on the land. Participants in Rutherland were more concerned about property rights and land tenure security than farmers at Tembo. The participants at Rutherland all strongly believe that they would be doing much better in their farming activities and would be more comfortable in developing the land, if they had title deeds instead of lease agreements. At Tembo, worry was centred around shelter, as all of them were now living on the land allocated to them. They feared that if there was a reversal or withdrawal of the lease agreements or offer letters, they would not have anywhere to stay. Although participants at Rutherland had some concerns about shelter, these were not as exacerbated as those of their counterparts at Tembo. This is primarily because some of the participants at Rutherland do not live on the land but own houses elsewhere, particularly in the leafy low-density suburb of Shamva.

### *Availability of inputs*

The availability of inputs was a problem that is multi-faceted. Issues were raised that had to do with the unequal access to the inputs from government, with some farmers resorting to nepotism to access the inputs. One farmer had this to say on this matter:

The most important thing for a farmer is the inputs. The current government assisted input scheme; Command Agriculture does give all people inputs. It is only available to certain people who are connected and besides, to get into Command Agriculture it's by chance. It depends if the person who is allocating the inputs, knows you. Last year for example they took 3 people only on this farm out of the 13 that were placed on Command Agriculture and the rest did not receive inputs (Participant, 2019).

Those farmers who managed to get into the Command Agriculture input scheme cited immense challenges associated with the process. They complained that the inputs were not being distributed timeously by the government. When they are eventually delivered, they are not in the order that farmers expect them to be in, in order for them to carry out the farming season. For example, a farmer would ordinarily need diesel first to plough and prepare the land for planting using a tractor. Once that is completed, they would need compound D fertiliser and seeds to plant, followed by the top fertiliser and other necessary chemicals. In 2019 and preceding years, the government allocated inputs in no particular order and gave resettled farmers whatever they had at that specific time. It would, for example, give farmers top fertiliser before diesel or, it would give them compound D fertiliser without the accompanying seed. Farmers would then have to wait for the correct input if they had not personally bought their own. By the time farmers eventually received all the essential inputs from the government, the planting season for maize for example, ending conservatively in January, would have ended, leaving farmers at a conundrum. One farmer said:

They should give people the supplies on time because if we receive them on time, we can be better prepared for the planting season. Some seeds need to be planted early such as maize seeds (Participant, 2019).

Most of the time, the inputs were also inadequate, and the farmers had to sell their assets to supplement government efforts. One farmer had this to say on this matter:

I did receive compound D fertiliser and diesel, but we did NOT get seed. We only then managed to receive supplies because we knew someone, and we had to beg to receive seed. We did NOT receive top fertiliser and the other chemicals. I did not take the inputs so, I ended up buying it myself. For me seed, was a problem and I was not aware of it, but other people received it. We only managed to receive compound D (Participant, 2019).

When asked the question, “so, when you do not receive some supplies, do you then buy them yourself?”, the farmer responded:

Yes. At that time, I had no top fertiliser at all. I ended up selling some cattle to buy top fertilisers. Even when we started with the farming, too many people needed tractors and they were overwhelmed, so we ended up doing it using the cattle. I even ended up selling some diesel as well so that I could get some top fertiliser. Sometimes things will be hard

so you have to sell some things in order to acquire some things so that everything balances (Participant, 2019).

### ***Fluctuating prices of inputs and outputs***

All the farmers raised the issue of fluctuating and highly unstable prices of both inputs and outputs. In most cases, the prices charged for the outputs and the resultant income from the produce was inadequate to purchase inputs for the next season. One farmer said:

Last year the amount of money I used to buy fertiliser is different from how much I used this year. That is where farmers have challenges. Even the price we sold tobacco with last year, it is very different from the price we are selling it at now. For example, the lowest grade of tobacco (the black tobacco) we sell it for a dollar per kilogram. For you to produce 100 kgs of it need about two bags of fertiliser and a bag of fertiliser is RTGS\$270. So, if you sell tobacco, you have to buy extra bags of fertiliser to keep before prices go up again. Like this year, there has not been much rain, we have been experiencing a drought. So, imagine as a farmer experiencing drought together with inflation. If you do not have fertiliser at the start of the season it is very difficult (Participant, 2019).

Both government key informants, Mr Banda and Mr Kudyanyemba lamented that farmers had an uphill task when it comes to going back to plant the next season. Mr Kudyanyemba stated:

At the centre of it, is definitely the deteriorating socio-economic climate and the marketing system as a whole in the nation. The marketing system is not favourable to the farmer. The government insists that all farmers should sell their produce as a Statutory Instrument of Law at the GMB. No one currently, is allowed to buy maize from farmers except the Grain Marketing Board, at stipulated and prescribed government price. The problem arises when the farmer has used their own money to get the inputs because of reach of Command Agriculture. They would ordinarily have gotten their inputs at a very high cost. When they then are mandated to only sell their produce at the Grain Marketing Board, being given the low government gazetted prices per tonne, it will not tally with the high input costs incurred. The farmer in the next planting season will be left with no choice but not to go back again into the field (Kudyanyemba, 2019).

Mr Banda (2019) also added by saying:

The prices that the Grain Marketing Board is offering the farmer is not nearly enough for the farmer to go back into the field. Currently they are offering RTGS \$2100 per tonne but fertiliser costs up to RTGS \$375 a bag and you need about 10 to 15 bags for a hectare, if you are using sparingly. This subsequently means that once you have incurred all other costs of chemicals, labour, seed and transportation, the farmer is at a loss.

### *Infrastructural provisions*

This problem required a lot of attention as the farmers were resettled where there was very little to no infrastructure. There was no access to roads within the farms themselves, as most of it was virgin land. This also meant that there were no schools or clinics, neither was there any electricity, drinking water and other such facilities. At the time of this research, some facilities were in the process of being built, but were still not functional. Others were makeshift and temporary. The following transcribed interviews captured this concern well:

Farmer 1:

We go to Wadzanai hospital but they are building a clinic for us here. It is not yet functional. It is about three kilometres away. There are schools in Wadzanai but there is also Ming Chang Chinese school, which is a little bit closer than Wadzanai (Participant, 2019).

Farmer 2:

Potable water is the major problem we have at Tembo. We have resolved that bathing water and water to do other household chores such as washing we can find, but potable water is really a challenge. Luckily, I have an ox-drawn cart, so I am able to fetch water from a distance, but those that do not have sometimes end up having to cook with dirty water if none of the neighbours with an ox-drawn cart is going to fetch water that day. We have knocked on government doors time and time again, but we are still yet to get clean water. The MP said he wants to drill a borehole, so hopefully that happens in the near future. It's

just that we are presently tasked with an electricity project as a community, so money is tight, but once we are finished, we resolved to drill a borehole, if by then the government has not come through (Participant, 2019).

When asked whether there were any clinics and access to drinking water in their area, one farmer responded:

They are there, but there is a distance to walk. We are however lucky, some of the resettlement farms like Mandimu do not have any clinics nearby. They have to walk about 17 kilometres. A taxi from there to the nearest clinic is very expensive. They have been drinking river water for 20 years now, there is no proper well or borehole nearby. You have to travel very long distances to get good, clean water (Participant, 2019).

The farmers were having to wake up as early as 4 and 5 A.M to fetch water from the nearest water source. The residents had resorted to helping each other to fetch drinking water and had already asked their local Member of Parliament to drill a borehole for them. One farmer said:

We let an ox cart go and then a lot of people can put their Buckets on the cart and one person goes. We just assist each other (Participant, 2019).

The farmers also bemoaned the lack of energy infrastructure in their area. They had even tried everything they possibly could to bring electricity to the area. All that was left was an electric transformer to complete the project, but they did not have the finances to fund this purchase. One of the farmers said that:

the availability of electricity would make it easier to water the fields and for the water pumps as well (Participant, 2019).

### ***Boundary conflicts***

At the time of resettlement, the farmers had divided their plots manually and also by sight without proper demarcations. The lack of fixed and clear boundaries which would ensure that there was no encroachment onto other farmers' properties, was a point of constant conflict. The government only recently sent surveyors and peggers to assist farmers nationwide, to clearly define borders

using a GPS system. This was one of the key social problems that the farmers had managed to overcome as captured in the following narratives:

Farmer 1:

Boundary issues were a challenge because there are always issues where people are involved, but we just deal with the issues as we go because we are all each other's family now. Nobody is leaving. The GPS system that the government brought about a year or two ago, at least clarified the boundary challenges. They showed us pegs on each person's property (Participant, 2019).

Farmer 2:

Those were a challenge. One of the neighbours was involved in a conflict previously and actually ended up being beaten up and ended up going to court over the issue. The matter was then dismissed following the clarification we received from the Ministry of Lands and they pegged the boundaries for us. Since then, we had no problems with boundaries. Some people do plant along the boundaries because there is no fence on one of the sides of our farm. We do not want conflict so we want to just put up a fence quietly. But it did not affect the farming, it was just mostly talk around the community, but I cannot say conflict affected anyone's yield (Participant, 2019).

Farmer 3:

We had several challenges, but the government sent the Ministry of Lands and they showed us all the boundaries. But the challenge is with the people individuals that came and settled informally in recent years (Participant, 2019).

The situation in Rutherdale was slightly different, as the government mandated pegging of boundaries using the GPS system in actuality caused some challenges to the community. When the GPS system was used to define these boundaries, some farmers were given land which is not arable or that is part of a water way. One of the farmers had this to say:



The GPS system has made me lose a bit of arable land that I previously had. My boundaries were moved further north into the mountains and I lost grazing lands, although I maintained the same number of hectares. Now part of my farm encompasses streams and canals that were previously not there, and one cannot farm on the banks of waterways (Participant, 2019).

### *Illegal settlements*

There is immense conflict between former farm workers and the newly resettled farmers. The issue is around citizenship. Most of the former farm workers are of Malawian and Zambian descent, and since the government of Zimbabwe classifies them as 'alien', they were unable to acquire land as part of land distribution, notwithstanding their lengthy tenure on the land prior to the implementation of the programme. With nowhere to go, some remained on the land whilst others left, only to come back a few years later, causing conflict with the newly resettled farmers. This was also now a formidable challenge which was non-existent at the time of resettlement. The following responses clearly bring out the issues surrounding this matter:

Farmer 1:

Here we had four people that were left legally on the farm when the former white owner was pushed out, others left with him in protest, others just came back informally over the years and just found space on the land and settled there informally, almost 70 people. These are the people that are causing problems because they came and settled near the grazing areas, so our cattle do not have enough land and that is causing problems. They chase our cattle away when they go and graze near the areas where they chose to settle, so our cattle are no longer well fed. At the moment, I am actually having issues because my cattle supposedly ate someone's maize, but the individual is not even here legitimately. So even when we have community meetings, they are the ones causing problems (Participant, 2019).

Farmer 2:

The farm workers did not have any problems when we initially arrived. The problem came with the other settlers that came and were trying to fit into the compound where they lived.

They were refusing to share the space and were destroying the grazing land. Even today, they are now injuring our cattle when they go and graze on that side. Back then we would not know who injured our cattle but now we know. So that is what is now causing issues with other people. We now wanted them to even leave the land because they are no longer farm workers anyway. They are even digging ditches that our cattle sometimes fall into and die. They are now uncontrollable because there are so many of them. The problem is that they live in our grazing land (Participant, 2019).

### *Envy*

As with any community, friction between individuals is bound to happen. Only one farmer complained about this and said:

The area we live has some jealous individuals because some people are uneducated and the area is not well developed. So, people look down on other people and there is no sense of togetherness. When you encounter problems, some people celebrate. That is a challenge with not being with close family members around. We all come from different backgrounds so people do not always want what is best for their neighbours. If we were more united, I think we would have a lot more successes as a community (Participant, 2019).

## **5.5.2 Physical and ecological concerns**

### *Climate change*

Climate records demonstrate that Zimbabwe is already beginning to experience the effects of climate change, notably rainfall variability and extreme events. These conditions, combined with warming trends, are expected to render land increasingly unsuitable for profitable agricultural ventures, which poses a major threat to the economy and the livelihoods of the poor. This threat is made worse by Zimbabwe's dependence on rain-fed agriculture and climate sensitive resources. It is expected that farmers, who represent approximately 62 per cent of the total population, will bear disproportionate impacts due to their limited adaptive capacity. Consequently, climate change poses a major threat to sustainable development at the micro and macro levels (Brown et al., 2012).

Only one farmer raised this concern saying:

The problem now is the environment and climate. Sometimes you will buy 30 bags of seed, 19 can get dry in the ground when you are looking forward to a harvest because sometimes it will not rain after you have put all the necessary fertilisers. The rain can come early and stop early before the plants are ready, so there is sometimes no alignment between the plants and the rain. So, I decided, let me find another more stable source of income so that I know that we are not starving even in the times where it is raining (Participant, 2019).

The agricultural extension (AGRITEX) and the agri-business officers, who were key informants for this research, ascertained that the whole agricultural business was seriously threatened by climate change. The officers were conducting fieldwork conscientizing farmers on this matter. Banda (2019) shared:

The issue of climate change is one that we are constantly grappling with. Zimbabwe experiences a drought cycle every two or so years. This last season was extremely tough for the farmers as some of their crops failed to come to maturity. Those that had a bit of foresight, forfeited the entire season all together and decided not to plant. We are constantly conducting fieldwork and workshops with farmers to tell them what the meteorological department will be forecasting. At least this helps the farmers to plan accordingly. Our push is that, if we are able to galvanise pipes and pumps for each community that is near a dam or river, we would for now, be able to plant every planting season.

## **5.6 CHAPTER SUMMARY**

This chapter provided the findings reflecting how the lives of resettled farmers changed after relocation. The responses from the participants addressed the issues of ownership of assets, generation of income, food security and the employment and labour on the farms. The chapter also presented the challenges faced with regards to government supplies through Command Agriculture, exploring some of the successes and failures. The findings reflected that there are inconsistencies in the manner in which supplies are provided to farmers which in some cases has negative effects on the crop yield. Additionally, the farming areas also have challenges in infrastructure as some basic amenities such as schools, clinics and potable water are unavailable

or not easily accessible. Having outlined these findings and addressed the second and third research objectives presented in section 1.4, the following chapter will provide an analysis of the research findings.

## **CHAPTER SIX**

### **CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION**

#### **6.1 INTRODUCTION**

This study has examined the situation and conditions of resettled farmers on A1 plots in Tembo, and drew comparisons with A2 resettled farmers in Rutherland. This was done with the intent of understanding how their circumstances have changed since they acquired land through the FTLRP, and what impact receiving that land has had on their livelihoods. The study aimed to provide an answer to one pertinent question on land reform in Zimbabwe, which this research argues, has been neglected in previous analyses of the Zimbabwe FTLRP. The question is, ‘How has land reform, particularly the FTLRP, changed the circumstances and situation of resettled poor households in resettlement plots in Mashonaland Central?’

This chapter thus concludes the research. The conclusions will be discussed and commented on using existing literature. Readily implementable recommendations are put forward to address the farmers’ key concerns, raised in Chapter Five of the thesis. Lastly, suggestions for further research conclude the chapter.

#### **6.2 SUMMARY OF THE RESEARCH**

This research sought to document and analyse the impacts of the land reform program at Tembo and Rutherland farms in Mashonaland central on the livelihoods of the people resettled at the two farms in 2000. The two farms are located about six kilometres away from Shamva mine in the province. The study sought to critically engage in the debates surrounding the current myth held by the country’s general populace, which is also confirmed by various authors, which is that the country’s land reform programme has failed to alleviate poverty and improve food security for the resettled farmers. A qualitative research design was adopted for the research. In depth interviews with the resettled farmers were the main data collection instruments and hence the data gathered was mainly qualitative. The research objectives were addressed throughout the study. Chapter Four addressed research objectives one and two, while Chapter Five addressed objectives three and four.

The preceding chapters discussed the issues pertinent to the topic and also added to the study through literature. The ensuing sections discuss the conclusions drawn from the gathered data.

## **6.3 DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS**

Having laid out the findings the following section will provide a discussion and analysis of the findings. As mentioned, a thematic analysis will be employed to conduct analysis. A thematic analysis is “a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data” (Braun & Clarke, 2006). For this research, the findings were classified into themes as appropriately found by the researcher, and these will form the basis of analysis.

From the responses provided by the respondents, the researcher classified the participants’ responses and experiences into the following themes: Social class of land recipients; Land and gender; Multiple income streams; Access to land; Social dynamics and cohesion and The role of stakeholders and state sponsorship. Other key issues and challenges raised by the participants will also be discussed. These themes all address and contribute to the fulfilment of the research objectives of the study.

### **6.3.1 Social class of land recipients**

Similar to most land acquisition processes that took place in the country in 2000, the land acquisition process for the study sites involved *jambanja*, a process that involved forceful takeover of all or part of the white farmers’ lands. Consequently, land was sub-divided and allocated to beneficiaries using a purely random sample. The pieces of land were then registered with the Ministry of Lands and Agriculture, after which offer letters were generated and offered to the tenants. However, unlike many other land reform programmes in the country, such as those of Mashonaland East province, there were no legal complexities regarding land acquisition for the two farms under study (Presidential Land Review Committee, 2003). The takeover of the farms was not challenged in court leaving the beneficiaries free to occupy and invest on their plots.

Although the land uptake level for the acquired farms in the country was 45 to 93% (Makunike 2014), the uptake level for the allocated plots was 100% for the study area. In addition, the

Presidential Land Review Committee Report of 2003 noted that the elite and people with political connections to the ruling party were the major beneficiaries of the land reform programme in the country. However, in sharp contrast to other land reform programmes in different parts of the country, the beneficiaries to the land reform programme under study were ordinary people who were particularly passionate about farming and improving their livelihoods. No participant had any meaningful elite or political connections that outrightly influenced allocation of the land that they occupied. Even though there were cases of study participants who had previously worked in government and had some sort of social capital within the Shamva district, these individuals were the exception and not the norm. As found by this study, the majority of recipients, particularly at Tembo farm were individuals who relocated from their family rural homes in the hope of acquiring land in order to improve their lives. This access to land was a positive step in alleviating poverty and an effort to address inequality for indigenous Zimbabweans who had been previously disadvantaged. One disparity that did arise and was very evident is the gender imbalance in the allocation of land throughout the country, including the chosen study area for this research.

### **6.3.2 Land and gender**

Previous studies, particularly those of Scoones (2010) and Marongwe (2011) amongst others, consider the process of land reforms in general, highly gendered. The proportion of women who acquired land as compared to men is highly skewed in favour of the male population. Mandishona (1996) writes that about an estimated 70% of rural and communal households are *de-facto* female headed. This is primarily due to a variety of factors which may include a migrant-labour system or death of a husband. Deductively, this means the majority of the work on the land is by women, with men sending remittances or sourcing for inputs through wage labour in urban areas. Yet, land rights are not proportionally accorded to females, and those few women who are granted these rights do so on a basis of family ties and kinship.

The cultural exploitation of women, traditional gender roles and hyper-masculinity are believed to have played a significant role in the disenfranchisement of women during land occupations of the FTLRP. For example, in Matabeleland, a predominantly livestock farming area, the prevailing Ndebele culture, according to Bhatasara and Chiweshe (2017), emphasises the masculine and militaristic nature of livestock farming, rooted in precolonial Ndebele culture. Such a male-centred

conceptualisation of the relationship between ownership of livestock and power, pushed women out of active participation in acquiring their own land. Quite similarly in Mashonaland, approaches to attaining land were guided by Shona customs which do not recognise married women in their own right outside of their marriage. Shona customs have historically perceived women almost as legal minors, who are not equipped to own their own property. Resettlement permits were thus allocated or assigned to married couples only and strictly in the husband's name (Goebel, 2015). As a consequence of this, wives of resettled farmers, who are usually financially dependent on their husbands, find it almost impossible to leave an unhappy marriage as their livelihoods are dependent on the revenues garnered from the farm, which is in the husband's name.

Bhatasara and Chiweshe (2017: 161), also point out how the *jambanja* process was a “highly masculinised social field of war veterans, traditional authorities and state agents”, thereby excluding femininity and women in the process. They however argue that some women were able to manoeuvre this by finding their place in the different processes of the land grab, such as through mobilising the grassroots for support and canvassing other women to join the *jambanja*. This female involvement legitimised the *jambanja* process from a numbers perspective. Scoones (2010), agrees with this position but notes that women were still confined to stereotypical gender roles within the camps, being segregated to duties such as cooking, collecting firewood and fetching water. This meant that very few of them were able to rise to leadership positions within the *jambanja* camps. Those that were able to be given roles such as treasury or secretary, based on the assumption that women are more trustworthy and more organised than their male counterparts. It is important to note that despite all that has been mentioned, literature and empirical evidence from other parts of the country such as Mwenezi, shows that women were still able to negotiate their access to land using their marriages or other institutions which they had formed within the camps to lobby for their inclusion (Bhatasara & Chiweshe, 2017).

For this research, three out of the eight participants who were interviewed at Tembo farm were women, whilst there were no female participants at Rutherdale. The researcher notes that, at the time of land allocation, the land was given to the husbands of the three women at Tembo. Two of them are now widowed and were able to transfer ownership to themselves as the primary holder of the land. According to one of the participants at Rutherdale, only one of the thirty-four farmers at Rutherdale is female. She is also widowed. This cements Goebel's (2005) argument that the



agency of women, particularly when it comes to land is always questioned, needing male reinforcement to thrive. Even when the husband has passed away, cultural practices of *kurova guva*, which is essentially the invitation of the departed husband's spirit back into the family as an overseer, becomes the basis of the widow's claimant to the land, since technically in cultural terms, the deceased husband is still within the family unit.

This is evidence of continuous inequality on the gender spectrum regarding land. Although one can argue that this is a result of the majority of individuals involved in the *jambanja* were males, the disparity remains visible in that none of the women had been the primary owners of the land. One of the women who participated in the study indicated that she had managed to make significant improvements on her piece of land, she was venturing into other businesses to create multiple income streams and was farming more than enough for her family. One can conclude that women in fact play a major role in the success of agrarian Zimbabwe notwithstanding the visible inequality. Access to land for women to contribute to the country's economy is of paramount importance.

### **6.3.3 Multiple income streams**

All of the farmers allocated plots at the farms under study were dedicated to what they had been resettled for. They were all engaged in rain-fed crop and livestock production, all at a semi-subsistence level compared to the peasantry backgrounds that they all had prior to resettlement. The farmers had also diversified into market gardening and had ventured into various other income generating projects including, but not limited to, gold panning and buying and selling of commodities. These findings are in sharp contrast to findings by the Presidential Land Review Committee Report of 2003, which concluded that most of the beneficiaries to the land reform programme in the country were elites or urban beneficiaries who were fully employed elsewhere.

When engaging with the idea of 'livelihoods', it has been recognised that very few households rely on a single income generating activity for survival. Households engage in a wide range of activities to pursue a livelihood, ranging from agriculture to off-farm activities (Dekker, 2004). This gives rise to the concept of multiple livelihoods, and in such a context, households should be careful that they do not lose focus on why they were resettled. However, in the face of climate change and

the recurrent droughts, one would support Chimhowu and Hulme (2006) who advise that it was essential for household heads to take up non-farm employment to make up for the reduced production levels. Diversification into non-farm income sources accounted for a considerable share of household income for the resettled farmers under study.

As demonstrated in this research, some of the livelihood strategies were natural resource based, such as crop and production and gold panning while others were non-natural resource based, such as the buying and selling of commodities. It is apparent that the farmers do not receiving sufficient support and funding from government in the form of subsidies and as a result, farmers needed to find other methods of income in order to acquire more money to put back into their agricultural activities. This is coupled with a struggling economy in which inflation continues to rise. It is however important to note the benefits that access to land brought the farmers in that by owning a piece of land, they are able to build on it and create other income streams through activities such as grinding mill services and cultivating the *bindu*. This has contributed to poverty alleviation.

#### **6.3.4 Access to land**

Most existing literature attests to the fact that the land reform programme in Zimbabwe, did not have a direct and meaningful impact on poverty reduction. However, this research goes against the grain and attests that all the resettled farmers in this study had enormous improvements in asset ownership. The assets included bigger pieces of land, ox-drawn carts, ploughs, houses, grinding mills and diesel engines to pump water. The farmers are now generating sufficient income for their survival and are able to make investments in several arenas, even outside of agriculture. Farmers also became aware of the need for more than one source of income to be secure and responded accordingly. Additionally, the levels of food security for resettled families increased substantially and farmers were now equipped with several skills including farm management, financial intelligence, socialisation, and a whole range of other technical agricultural skills. Kinsey (2004) argues that although the issue of whether the land reform in Zimbabwe was a success or not is debatable, the effects of the programme on households at the study sites proved to be more positive than negative.

The study participants reported that the land reform programme gave them the opportunity to access more land than they had before. They argued that before resettlement, they had very small pieces of land and that limited their farming activities. Participants argued that having access to more land helped them improve their livelihoods as they could now grow a more diverse range of crops than before. This echoes Barr's (2002) sentiments who indicates that the resettlement programme enhanced the well-being of many rural households whose livelihoods depended on subsistence farming, as they now had access to large pieces of land. However, it is important to take note of Mandizadza's (2010) observation that land on its own, cannot be sufficient as a resource for sustaining livelihoods. There is need for other capital assets to be made available to resettled farmers for their livelihoods to be enhanced. Chimhowu and Hulme (2006) found that resettled farmers needed to have access to inputs and other resources to be productive. They therefore noted that having land without the other resources to make it productive, was one of the greatest setbacks of the Fast Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP) in Zimbabwe. In this research, the resettled farmers bemoaned the lack of inputs, which they argued was preventing them from raising their production levels.

The successes mentioned in this section can all be attributed to access to land. Farmers have managed to acquire the assets they have as a result of owning land. Having larger pieces of land in comparison to their previous homes has allowed them to increase their agricultural activities and have enough for subsistence farming. Although some farmers mainly farm for themselves and their families and do not necessarily produce to sell at the Grain Marketing Board, one can conclude that land reform and redistribution was successful in bettering the lives of the many indigenous Zimbabweans by providing them with access to land.

### **6.3.5 Social dynamics and cohesion**

The construction of authority and a new way of living outside of the traditional emblems found in previous communal areas, was fascinating for the researcher. The farmers at the study sites had built new community structures of authority which were divergent from the norm of falling under a Chieftaincy or Clan as is traditionally in communal areas. Mujere (2011) notes that the process of receiving land under the FTLRP allowed diverse individuals from different backgrounds and lineages to converge at a location and create a community for themselves. This is different from

how societies in the communal areas, where most of the resettled farmers originate from, are built. Usually, communities would be formed around clans, tribes and lineages, with a chief and headmen having a hereditary claim on their authority. However, because everyone is from a different background in expropriated farm areas, this was not the case for the newly resettled farmers. They marginalised traditional authorities and instead, opted for village committees headed by a village chairman. Village committees are essentially the backbone of institutionalised management of the newly created resettlement areas. They usually report to the District Lands Committee in the various districts that they come from, which are chaired by district administrators. The village committees are generally secular and democratic which is contrasted to the traditional local authority in the communal areas, that is usually based on ancestral religion and lineage membership (Goebel, 2005).

The farmers at Tembo used the village committee as the basis for developing their community and as a source of leadership. They were able to pull funds together to supply electricity to the farm through their village committee. The village committee would also periodically oversee the *dare* or *musangano*, which is a compulsory meeting held every fortnight to discuss the various issues affecting the community. An adult representative from each household has to be present at the *musangano*, as major collective decisions are made there.

The farmers at both Tembo and Rutherland all agreed that they were living in harmony and had managed to establish a meaningful community that had values of togetherness, development and a determination for success in their agricultural endeavours. Only one isolated participant noted envy and jealousy amongst the members of the community at Tembo, but the rest of the participants noted that they are comfortable with each other and growing relations that they had not envisioned prior to resettlement. This is primary in addressing the second research objective as it shows that many farmers, to a greater extent, have managed to adapt to resettlement and have been living harmoniously with other farmers within the farm to which they relocated.

### *Conflicts on boundaries and with former farm workers*

Although as a nucleus, the resettled farmers enjoyed great social cohesion and unity, they noted that it was former farm workers that stayed behind at the farm workers' compound/village, and those that had immigrated to the area after the initial resettlement period, that were causing problems. A myriad of accusations was levelled against them particularly at Tembo. The resettled farmers complained that the former farm workers were cruel to their livestock when they are in the grazing lands, with an incident of livestock being killed and dumped in a ditch.

Amongst themselves, the only problem that resettled farmers raised was conflict on boundaries before the government deployed the Ministry of Lands to follow up with a new GPS system that then clearly marked out the boundaries. One of the participants at Tembo also said that the boundary conflict had ended up in a fist fight at one stage between two farmers, with the issue being brought up before the courts of law. The Presidential Land Review Committee Report of 2003 asserts that most of these conflicts around boundaries and with former farm workers were occurring possibly because people were abusing the communal land ownership legislation. According to this legislation, no individual has the right to exclude any other individual from access and use of the communal resources.

This in some cases proved to be a challenge in terms of adaptation for some of the farmers although it was the small minority. Former farm workers and the resettled farmers both view themselves as rightful inhabitants on the land and this creates conflict. Ultimately, one cannot address this issue without making linkages to colonisation. As discussed in the literature review, Scoones et al. (2010) maintain that land redistribution was a necessity in undoing the social and economic imbalances stemming from colonisation. On the issue of conflict, the challenges arising from it are a result of a clash between the new resettlement brought by land reform and redistribution and the old white-owned farm settlements brought by colonisation. As such, continuous effort to address these conflicts is necessary.

#### **6.3.6 Roles of other stakeholders**

Only the government was actively involved and supporting the resettled farmers at the study sites. As noted by Makunike (2014) and the Presidential Land Review Committee Report of 2003, this

could be because the government had exhausted the goodwill of donors and the international community. The agribusiness and the agricultural extension officers were the ones on the ground at the time of this research. Responses to these revealed that they were always busy attending to farmers.

By way of comment, one can say that the land distribution programme in Zimbabwe was carried out in different phases starting from the early 1980s. The government however did not provide adequate support systems to farm settlers in these different phases. Chimhowu and Hulme (2006) note that there were notable differences between resettlement areas that were sponsored by the state and the resettlements that were not state sponsored with the latter being worse than the former in all regards. The authors demonstrated that those state-sponsored resettlement areas were more productive since the government provided settlers with at least some capital and other services to boost their production levels. Tembo and Rutherdale farms represented such schemes. Mandizadza (2010) indicates that capital assets should complement each other for them to sustain livelihoods. It is therefore important that the government continues to support the farmers until they are self-reliant.

This study found that farmers do not receive enough support from the government. It is worth noting that some farmers did acknowledge the assistance brought by Command Agriculture, but it is not nearly enough in comparison to the assistance it would bring if there was consistency in the supplies that are supposed to be provided by the government. Many of the farmers struggled to yield much harvest due to insufficient fertiliser or diesel supply at the beginning of the farming season. This made it difficult for the farmers to plan ahead due to the unpredictability of the supplies. As such, farmers have been forced to become self-sufficient. The situation is also aggravated by the constant fluctuating prices of fertilisers and seed. Thus, in addition to the unpredictability of the climate, farmers are also faced with unpredictability of supplies and the prices which proves to be a major challenge. One can thus conclude that the farmers would, at the very least to a small degree be much more successful if there was more efficient and effective government support. Although poverty has been alleviated to a degree, more can be done by the government.

## **6.4 KEY CONCERNS OF THE RESETTLED FARMERS AT TEMBO AND RUTHERDALE FARMS**

All the interviewed farmers at the study sites raised a plethora of economic, social and physical concerns that were affecting them. The economic concerns involved the availability of inputs in terms of timeliness, quantities and equal access. The fluctuating prices of inputs and outputs were also a cause for concern among the resettled farmers. Hanlon (2013) notes that the macro economic outlook of the country is a big impediment for the success of farmers across Zimbabwe. He noted that at the time of the Government of National Unity between 2009 and 2013, when the country experienced a level of economic stability because of the introduction of the US dollar as a mode of exchange, farmers produced more and were able to invest in their land with minimum government support. This highlights the fact that if there is stability in the macro economy, there is bound to be a positive effect on the productivity of farmers.

In terms of infrastructural provisions, resettled farmers were having difficulties in accessing schools, clinics, electricity, and clean drinking water. This could possibly be because agriculture and access to these social amenities, more often than not, have received separate research and policy attention in the land reform discourse in the country. On the whole, and similar to other areas within the country where land redistribution was instituted, the land reform programme at Tembo and Rutherford farms lacked adequate technical, financial and social services to support the resettled farmers. Farmers narrated walking a great distance in order to access healthcare or something as important as daily drinking water.

Land tenure and property rights were also a central theme amongst the challenges that farmers faced. The fact that farmers are unable to use their land as collateral to financial institutions for loans is hampering growth. This access to financing is essential for the development of the plots and has a multiplier effect in the economic growth of the country (Scoones, 2010). If farmers were able to have title deeds to the land distributed to them, they would generally feel more secure on the land and develop it knowing fully well that they possess full rights to the land. Lavigne-Delville (2003) postulates that “tenure is not just about the legal and administrative definitions of property rights, but also the social and political underpinnings of land use”, meaning that farmers that do

not have security of tenure are not fully expressive in their use of land because it simply does not belong to them.

The only physical concern raised by the farmers was climate change and global warming, which has negatively affected their crop yields. The effect of climate change on rainfall in Zimbabwe differs from one climate model to the next, which is why the projected range of rainfall decline of between 5% and 18% is so large (Brazier, 2017). This has had an adverse impact on rain-fed crop production because of the erratic nature of rainfall. Two participants at the study sites noted that in the 2018/2019 cropping season, they did not end up planting anything because of the unpredictability of rainfall in the country at the time. Those that did plant complained that the rains did not come as they had anticipated and thus, having a negative impact on their 2019 yield. Once again, it is important to consider the inextricable link between Zimbabwe's agriculture sector and government support. The farmers should ideally be in a better position if the government assisted with irrigation systems as this would increase the productivity, but the farming areas do not even have potable water and resultantly, productivity on farms is not at the level it could be. Land reform thus did bring about poverty reduction, but more can be done to assist farmers.

## **6.5 OBSERVATIONS AND CONCLUSION**

This study therefore concurs with the observations by authors such as Moyo (1995) and Kinsey (1999), who argue that the root cause of poverty in rural areas of Zimbabwe is the unequal access to, and use of land. Therefore, the potential that access to land has to break the cycle of poverty among the rural peasants in the country is quite high. However, the study also demonstrates that for the land reform programme to achieve meaningful results, it needs adequate technical, financial and social services to support the resettled farmers.

Based on the findings of the study, it can be concluded that the land reform programme at Tembo and Rutherdale farms had a positive effect on the lives of the beneficiaries. The beneficiaries managed to access land; a resource that is invaluable among rural households whose livelihoods depend on farming. However, although they gained larger pieces of land at both study sites, there is still need for households to wean themselves from government support and become self-reliant. Dekker (2004) highlighted that having land alone and lacking other necessary resources is not enough to make agriculture a sustainable livelihood strategy for resettled households. However,



from the perspectives of the farmers and the Agritex and Agribusiness officers interviewed for this study, this resettlement scheme was an opportunity for “ordinary” people to get land. Indeed, the data for this research shows that the majority of those who took part and eventually received land through the scheme were “ordinary” people from the province who could no longer sustain themselves, their family land or were living on overcrowded or degraded land. The other beneficiaries were professionals who also needed land. The overcrowding and poor soils led to conditions of ‘extreme frustration’ (Huizer, 2001).

Moreover, findings from this research demonstrate that land redistribution exercises for both Tembo and Rutherland farms led to significant welfare gains for resettled households, which was also shown to be the case for the original resettlement households during the 1980s (Kinsey, et al., 1998; 1999; Gunning, et al., 2000; Owens, et al., 2003).

However, the resettled farmers surveyed for this study also faced a number of challenges including the inflationary conditions and fluctuating prices of inputs and outputs. The farmers struggled to access affordable inputs, which in turn had adverse implications on productivity. It is evident that the economy has greatly had an impact on the level of success of the farmers as the prices and access to inputs affects the amount of harvest at the end of the farming season.

As a means to supplement their incomes, many resettled farmers joined the contract farming strategy, ushered in by the government. However, some farmers were unable to meet the requirements needed to become beneficiaries. Resettled farmers noted that the contract farming could be highly exploitative, but they were not sure how to resolve the situation. Some were finding it difficult to opt out as it would be difficult to bounce back later. Moreover, the farmers in this study obtain cash incomes and other items in kind from a range of non-farm income-earning activities, which helped to augment their incomes.

In addition to contributing to the growing body of empirical evidence on Zimbabwe’s land reform programme, the research contributes to debates on land reform, smallholders, contract farming, and the dynamics of agrarian change. It also affirms the deagrarianisation philosophy forwarded by Bryceson and Jamal (1997) and Bryceson (2002,) that rural households pursue a variety of livelihood strategies that are not necessarily rooted in agriculture. However, within the study sites for this study, the income earned from farming and other non-farm activities was ploughed back

into farming and asset accumulation, including the accumulation of agricultural tools and equipment.

The results of this study support the notion that the state has a leading role to play in land redistribution in order to raise the productivity and ultimately the living standards of rural families. However, under the current circumstances, farmers cannot solely depend on government support for survival. There is need for self-sufficiency as government support is unreliable. One can undoubtedly acknowledge the role access to land has played in the betterment of the lives of farmers. Although not a panacea to itself, the ability to own a piece of land on which one can enterprise, create business and build properties for their families was a necessity for the indigenous Zimbabweans and the redistribution of land made this a possibility.

## **6.6 RECOMMENDATIONS AND LESSONS LEARNT FROM THE STUDY**

In light of the findings and analysis of this study, the following section will outline the appropriate recommendations which may be implemented in an attempt to improve the lives of farmers to further alleviate poverty following land reform.

### **6.6.1 Recommendations to resettled farmers**

In relation to the availability of financial resources, one could advise that the resettled farmers participate in '*mukando*' or stokvels, a popular type of savings club undertaken especially by women in both urban and rural areas of Zimbabwe. In this club, the club members contribute a monthly fixed sum of money which in turn, is given to one member each month. Members can also borrow from the club. This creates an opportunity for the club members to purchase large inputs or make investments into their farms that they normally would not be able to do because of lack of resources.

This study, supporting the literature evidenced that farming on its own is not enough to sustain the livelihoods of farming families. As such, it is recommended that the resettled farmers in the study area could also further diversify their income generating activities and consider brick making and traditional beer brewing, especially in the seasons when they are waiting for their harvest.

Traditional beer is popular in the rural and communal areas of Mashonaland Central because of the expense of bottled beer. This project has been lucrative in other resettlement areas such as Mandimu and Hastings, further north of Shamva.

Resettled farmers at Tembo and Rutherdale farms should also create more and strengthen existing social networks so that they have the capacity to attack some of the key concerns they raised. One committee they have created to solve the electricity challenge was a good starting point. The committee was only left with the ZESA transformer and a 100-meter cable to get electricity connected at the time when this research was conducted. A similar committee could be formed to harness water for irrigation and for household use. Farmers must thus continually and intentionally work towards achieving common goals within their communities.

The resettled farmers could also pursue the idea of work groups, which are groups of people who collectively come together and help each other perform certain tasks. In this case, a dedicated number of households come together to form a group where they rotate working on each other's plots. Member households allocate days when they assist each other with farm work, and the member to be assisted, advises the other group members on the type of work they need to be assisted with. Whether they need garden fencing, weeding or planting, members will spend a specified number of hours working on that member's plot. The time spent working is predetermined and varies among group members. This will ensure that all members of the community succeed together, as a community and that poverty is indeed alleviated in all of the households within the specified area.

Hired and permanent farm workers at the newly resettled areas should be incentivised and tied to their workplaces by ensuring that they have decent accommodation and other basic amenities. Land reform beneficiaries providing these could be encouraged to provide these in various ways. For example, the mode of remunerating hired and permanent farm workers could be changed from fixed salaries to share percentage ownership schemes of profits. With such schemes, workers will be more motivated to reach set agricultural targets, without the need to of policing.

## 6.6.2 Recommendations to government

A sustainable poverty reducing land reform programme needs to address two issues: first, how to provide productive assets and inputs to the beneficiaries, and second, how to make the beneficiaries more productive. To this end, evidence from this study attests that access to land is not an end in itself. It needs to be complemented by other factors, to ensure that it is productively used. The government needs to create a more sustainable input and funding model that goes beyond the Command Agriculture Contract Farming Input Scheme. A great point of departure is the issuing of title deeds and security of tenure to the farmers so that they are able to finance themselves through banks and other financial institutions. In this scenario, land can be used as collateral. This allows the burden to be lifted from government which constantly has to finance agriculture, and enables other entities to come on board. The researcher recognises that the fear is that if the farmer who has title deeds, fails to pay the bank, the bank would take the land and auction it on an open market, which essentially reverses that FTLRP. However, efforts can be made through acts of parliament to protect land beneficiaries.

A continuous training process needs to be implemented for the resettled farmers to enable life-long learning for the beneficiaries of land reform programmes. Financial intelligence and climate smart agriculture could be key training areas for every newly resettled farmer to curb climate change and a donor syndrome mentality with regards to access to inputs. The government thus needs to expand the reach of extension officers, collaborate with international partners such as DFID, USAID and other development organisations on best practice for these matters.

In the allocation of land to beneficiaries, land should be set aside for resettlement service centres for each programme. These will provide services to farm workers and new settlers in A1 areas, and also for non-farming entrepreneurs and workers within resettlement areas. Such centres should be built around some of the centrally located existing farm compounds. These should be augmented in area and excised from A1 and A2 land subdivisions. These centres should be turned into state properties governed by local authorities in collaboration with farm workers, settlers and relevant government agencies, within the existing hierarchy of settlements and administrative structures in the country. All stakeholders to the resettlement scheme could be psyched up to contribute to these establishments.

The resettled farmers in any area, including the ones under study, should consider rainwater harvesting. Dams and weirs could therefore be constructed so that water for domestic use can be easily pumped to the residents. To date, the residents of the study area have not considered this option since 2002. In light of unpredictability of rain, making use of rainwater harvesting will assist farmers with access to water for their crops on days where there is no rain and government must consider this option as means of assisting farmers with access to water.

As such, it is recommended that resettled farmers be empowered to mobilise resources and establish their own communities. Government could assist the resettled farmers by establishing the requisite structures to achieve this objective.

The benefits of the land reform programme in the country could be improved through careful planning, implementation and support from other stakeholders. There is a need to introduce capital intensive and technically modernised farming methods in the resettled areas.

In the two study sites, there is need for the government to employ more Agritex and agribusiness officers as the two already employed were overwhelmed by the number of clients they were expected to serve. The availability of such officers would help settlers to acquire necessary information, for example on how to improve their production levels and to be climate smart.

The government should provide support structures for initiatives that facilitate the creation of social networks of resettled farmers. Encouraging the establishment of cooperatives can improve the livelihoods of households on farms. Such messages can be conveyed to people through workshops. In these workshops, it would also be important that people are advised on how the social networks they have can also benefit community members who want to participate but have no means to do so. The government could also provide a mobile clinic to solve the health concerns that the farmers raised.

In conclusion, the land reform programme for Tembo and Rutherdale farms greatly benefited the beneficiaries of the scheme. The resettled farmers in the area were living in harmony with each

other and had developed social networks to tackle their challenges. There is however need for further government support and intervention with the intend to make the farmers more self-sufficient. The government could also come in as a facilitator to initiatives by the households themselves to solve their own problems

## **6.7 SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH**

This research suggests that other successful land reform programs in different parts of the country be unveiled and studied so that the underlying principles behind their successes are unearthed. These principles could then be used to introduce any other new land reform and resettlement programs in the country and elsewhere, especially in South Africa, where the land issue has become quite a hot topic and ticking time bomb. On a somewhat related note, further research is needed on the relationship between contract farming companies and their impacts on individual households in the area. The impact of contract farming on household food security and smallholder development are of particular interest, and should be monitored and assessed over time in order to determine the full costs and benefits to beneficiaries. The role of community-based savings clubs and work groups also deserves more attention.

## **6.8 CHAPTER SUMMARY**

This chapter provided the final discussion and conclusion to the study. A summary of the research was provided followed by the discussion on the findings of the research presented in Chapters Four and Five. The discussion was laid out on the basis of themes stemming from the responses provided by the research participants. The chapter also discussed some of the key challenges faced by farmers upon relocation as well as the main observations as found by the researcher throughout the research process. Taking into cognisance the challenges and key issues raised throughout the thematic analysis, the chapter then outlined appropriate recommendations for the farming communities and the government and provided suggestions for future research, thus concluding this study.

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## **APPENDIX 1: CONSENT FORM**

Department of Anthropology and Archaeology

Ref: Tanaka Maimba

### **Informed Consent Form – Key Informant**

#### **Land Reform as a means of poverty alleviation and inequality redress in Mashonaland Central, Zimbabwe, post 2000**

Dear participant,

You are hereby invited to participate in a study that is carried out as part of a Masters in Development Studies programme by Mr Tanaka Maimba, a student at the University of Pretoria. The study will assist the researcher in understanding the poverty reduction aspects as well as inequality redress of the Fast Track Land Reform Program carried out post 2000 in Zimbabwe. Please take time to read through this letter as it gives information on the study and your rights as a participant.

#### **Title of the Study**

Land Reform as a means of poverty alleviation and inequality redress in Mashonaland Central, Zimbabwe, post 2000

#### **What will happen in the study?**

The interviewer who will be the researcher will sit down with you for an interview. The interviewer will gather your views on the Land reform program and how it has impacted the general wellbeing of those that were allocated land. The interview will take about an hour of your time and I will be writing down your answers to the interview questions. You can choose to have the interview in English or Shona, I am fluent in both languages thus there will be no need for a translator.

## **Risks and discomforts**

There will be no danger/harm to you or to your institution. It may however be difficult for you to share some information, and you will be free not to answer any questions that may make you feel uncomfortable. If you experience some level of discomfort after joining the study, and you would like to stop participation, please be free to let me know. You will be allowed to stop participation without any prejudice and the data already collected will be discarded.

## **Are there any benefits for joining the study?**

Your participation is purely voluntary, and you will not receive any payments in money or gifts for your participation. Your participation will assist in our understanding of the Land reform process in Zimbabwe, and you may benefit policy makers or other countries that wish to embark on Land reform if the publication of the results manages to inform policy debates.

## **Participants' rights**

You may decide against participation in the study, to withdraw from the study or opt not to answer certain question without any prejudice or negative consequences to your person.

## **Confidentiality**

Apart from me as the researcher, the data will be shared with my supervisor, Prof. Vusi Thebe of the University of Pretoria. You may choose to remain anonymous, and every effort will be made to ensure that the information you share is not linked to you, although in some cases it may be difficult due to the position you hold in the organisation. In case you choose to remain anonymous, your identity will not be revealed, and you will be identified through a pseudonym. The data will be stored in a password protected computer during fieldwork, and in the Department of Anthropology and Archaeology, for a period of 15 years for archiving purposes. If the data is used during this period, it will only be for research purposes. The results will be produced in the form of a dissertation or scientific paper or may be presented at both local and international forums like workshops and conferences. The voice recordings of the interviews will not be broadcasted on radio, television, internet or on social media but will be utilised to make findings for the study.

**Any questions?**

If you have any questions or would want me to explain anything further, you are welcome to phone or text me on \_\_\_\_\_. You can also send me an email on the following address: \_\_\_\_\_

**CONSENT DECLARATION**

I..... (write your name) hereby  
to participate in this study

**Signature of Participant**

**Date**

**Signature of Researcher**

**Date**

## **APPENDIX 2**

### **INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR RESETTLED FARMERS**

#### **PART 1**

1.1 Age, sex

1.2 Resettlement area and size of land acquired; year acquired

1.3 Makeup of household (how many children, wives etc)

#### **PART 2**

Who are the land beneficiaries that were resettled in Shamva under the Fast Track Land Reform and Resettlement Programme after 2000?

2.1 Where were you living before being resettled in this area?

2.2 What was the process that you undertook to get the land?

2.3 How long did the process take?

#### **PART 3**

How do resettled farmers see their resettlement experience? Have they been able to adapt to resettlement life?

3.1 What kind of livelihood did you lead in your past area? (Have they always been farmers)

3.2 How was the transition from the previous area to the newly resettled area (a comparison with where they used to live)

3.3 Have you been able to adapt to resettlement life?

## PART 4

What forms of livelihoods and employment have resettled farmers in Shamva created since resettling in the newly resettled areas?

4.1 What kind of community cohesion have you created with other resettled farmers?

4.2 Have you created employment on your farm, if yes, what kind of employment?

4.3 Is what you are producing just enough for your family or are you feeding into the mainstream economy? If not, why?

## PART 5

5.1 What changes in terms of assets, human development, income generation and food security were brought by resettlement?

5.2 Were these achieved through agricultural production?

5.3 How has the government helped?

5.4 What further assistance if any, would you like to receive from the government?

## **APPENDIX 3**

### **INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR KEY INFORMANTS**

#### **PART 1**

- 1.1 Name, Age, sex
- 1.2 Position and years active
- 1.3 What is the extent of your work?

#### **PART 2**

Who are the land beneficiaries that were resettled in Shamva under the Fast Track Land Reform and Resettlement Programme after 2000?

- 2.1 How many people are resettled in the area of your jurisdiction?
- 2.2 What was the process that they undertook to get the land?
- 2.3 How long did the process take?

#### **PART 3**

How do resettled farmers see their resettlement experience? Have they been able to adapt to resettlement life?

- 3.1 What kind of livelihood did farmers lead in their past area? (Have they always been farmers)
- 3.2 How was the transition from the previous area to the newly resettled area (a comparison with where they used to live)
- 3.3 Have they been able to adapt to resettlement life?
- 3.4 How have you assisted them over the years?

## **PART 4**

What forms of livelihoods and employment have resettled farmers in Shamva created since resettling in the newly resettled areas?

4.1 What kind of community cohesion have they created with other resettled farmers?

4.2 Have they created employment on their farm, if yes, what kind of employment?

4.3 Has there been any disagreements with former farm workers? If so, what has been your position on that?

4.3 What changes in terms of assets, human development, income generation and food security were brought by resettlement?

4.4 Were these achieved through agricultural production?

## **PART 5 – AGRITEX AND AGRIBUSINESS OFFICERS**

5.1 How has the government helped?

5.2 What further assistance if any, would you like the farmers to receive from the government?

5.3 What dynamics come to play with security of tenure

5.4 What are the challenges that you face in your work?

5.5 How do you see the future of Agriculture in Zimbabwe looking at the prevailing conditions?



