

**Impacts of Zimbabwe's Fast Track Land Reform Programme on small-scale
farmers in Mushandike and Mvurwi**

by

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DECLARATION

I, **Priscilla Mutangi**, declare that this dissertation which I hereby submit for the degree of Master of Social Science (Development Studies) at the University of Pretoria, is my own work and has not previously been submitted by me for a degree at this or any other tertiary institution. Where secondary material is used, this has carefully been acknowledged and referenced in accordance with University requirements.

Signature:

Date: 12 December 2014

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ACRONYMS

AGRITEX	Agricultural Technical & Extension Services
BCP	British Conservative Party
CAs	Catchment Areas
DA	District Administrator
DFID	Department for International Development
ESAP	Economic Structural Adjustment Programme
EU	European Union
FAO	Food Agricultural Organisation
FTLRP	Fast Track Land Reform Programme
GNU	Government of National Unity
GoZ	Government of Zimbabwe
IMCs	Irrigation Management Councils
IMF	International Monetary Fund
LEDREZ	Labour and Economic Development Research Institute, Zimbabwe
SCCs	Sub Catchment Councils
UANC	United African National Council
UDI	Unilateral Declaration of Independence
UN	United Nations
WB	World Bank
WLZ	Women and Land in Zimbabwe
ZANU PF	Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front
ZAPU	Zimbabwe African People's Union
ZINWA	Zimbabwe National Water Authority

ABSTRACT

This dissertation presents an analysis of small-scale farmers' experiences of and responses to the Fast Track Land Reform Programme in Zimbabwe. It is argued that this topic has been understudied, especially in the geographical areas of Mushandike and Mvurwi. The study employs both qualitative and quantitative research designs. Data collection techniques include questionnaires, participant observation, life histories, interviews and focus group discussions. Theories and debates on land reform and poverty alleviation that inform this study are discussed. It was evident from the field research that small-scale farmers experienced an improvement in their quality of life as was witnessed in improved levels of income, diets, types of housing and acquired assets. Land distribution according to gender is a particular concern. Very few women own land despite the fact that they till the land. The study concludes that land reform is essential for the improvement of the lives of the landless and the rural poor. Support systems are however necessary to achieve improved livelihoods.

Key words: Fast Track Land Reform Programme, land tenure, livelihoods, coping strategies, small-scale farmers, extension officers, traditional leadership, social integration and cohesion.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction and background to the study

In Zimbabwe, there is a saying about land that is often heard: 'land is the economy, economy is the land, and money is in the soil' (*ivhu hupfumi, mari iri muvhu*). Most people believe that land is the asset which leads to prosperity. Land is a fundamental livelihood asset because shelter, food production, and other livelihood activities all depend on it. Secure land rights reduce household vulnerability and guarantee a basic level of self-provisioning and supplementary income. For many poor people, land and the investments they have made on it, is their single largest capital asset. Land is therefore believed to be the key to production as it forms part of the means of production. However, the land situation in Zimbabwe is complicated.

Due to British colonisation, many black people were dispossessed of their land in Zimbabwe and were left concentrated in rural reserves with very small and unproductive pieces of land (Chaumba 2006; Cliffe 2013; Moyo 2000; Sachikonye 2003). The white minority got the bigger piece of the cake. Struggles were fought to retain the land to no avail. The Lancaster House conference of 1979 did not do justice to the land issue as there were measures that were put in place to safeguard the interests of white people like the willing buyer willing seller measure which made sure that land remains in the hands of white people. It is against this background that land reforms in Zimbabwe became necessary to equitably distribute land and improve people's livelihoods as more than 70% of Zimbabwe's population reside in rural areas as well as depend on the land for their livelihoods. As small-scale farmers got access to land they indeed had multiple experiences and responses due to this opportunity. This study seeks to examine these using Mushandike irrigation scheme and Mvurwi settlement as case studies.

This chapter introduces and gives the contextual background of the study. It further gives an overview of study design elements such as the research problem, purpose, objectives, scope, methodology, limitations, and boundaries of the study. The chapter

further previews existing literature on Zimbabwe's Fast Track Land Reform Programme.

1.2 Statement of the research problem

The unsatisfactory results of land reform in Zimbabwe gave birth to the Fast Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP). The FTLRP in Zimbabwe was officialised in 2000. It was the Government's policy intention of correcting the racially skewed land distribution in Zimbabwe that was inherited at the attainment of Independence in Zimbabwe in 1980. Several scholars have written about the FTLRP: Chaumba (2006), Chigumira (2006), Dzingirai (2003), Goebel (2005), Kinsey (1999), Mamimine (2003), Marongwe (2002), Masiwa (2004), Moyo (1995), Nkomo (2000), Palmer (1990),

Sachikonye (2003), Wekwete (1991), Zawe (2006) and Zikhali (2008), among others. Mabumbo (2011), for example, investigated the impacts of land reform in Zimbabwe's South East Lowveld on resettled farmers' investment plans and confidence. He argues that despite allocation of land to poor landless peasants, there was a new form of land grabbing that was taking place led by large businesses and supported by Zimbabwe's political elite in 2011. Lahiff (2002) looked at the emerging patterns of land rights and land administration on redistributed land and the likely impact of redistributing land on such a large scale and change in landholding on the wider economy and political system. Mandizadza (2009) mainly focused on the scope and potential of providing land to the poor to ensure that households were able to provide food for themselves. He contends that small-scale agriculture leads to livelihood enhancement and poverty alleviation. Scoones (2010) also argued that the FTLRP was not a complete failure but had complexities and had both successes and failures. He laments the fact that not many scholars who wrote about the FTLRP had empirical evidence authenticating their findings. This study presents an attempt to remedy the situation. Whilst some studies have to a certain extent explored small-scale farmers' experiences with the FTLRP (see Chaumba 2006; Mabumbo 2011; Mandizadza 2009), the geographical areas of Mushandike and Mvurwi have been neglected. In addition, a Social Science

perspective is lacking.

1.3 Research purpose

Against the above backdrop (see 1.2), the purpose of this study is to explore small-scale farmers' experiences of and responses to the FTLRP in Mushandike and Mvurwi. In order to allow for an in depth analysis of the impacts of the FTLRP on small-scale farmers the study focuses on farmers' everyday living circumstances.

1.4 Research objectives

To realise the above stated research purpose (see 1.3), the following specific objectives are adopted:

- To determine the small-scale farmers' social context and relationships.
- To document small-scale farmers' experiences of the FTLRP.
- To explore the impacts of the FTLRP on the livelihoods of small-scale farmers.

To explore small-scale farmers' responses and coping strategies to land resettlement challenges.

1.5 Significance of the study

Studies carried out on land reform and the FTLRP in Zimbabwe since 2000 largely concentrate on the pros and cons of FTLRP from an economic, environmental, and political perspective. More so, the existing literature focuses on the negative impacts of the FTLRP – how it turned Zimbabwe from being the bread basket of Africa into being 'the begging basket' (Sachikonye 2003:22). Although it is acknowledged that current debates on land reform models in Africa to some extent includes Zimbabwe's FTLRP, there still remains a knowledge gap on smallholder farmers' experiences and

responses to the FTLRP in Mushandike and Mvurwi which remain scarcely explored with regard to their livelihoods, social relationships, productivity, security of tenure, and land rights. Much of what was documented was not founded on empirical research and was mostly negative hence it is imperative to conduct a research to find out the farmers' real experiences and responses to the FTLRP. The area of smallholder farmers' experiences and responses to FTLRP is also by and large understudied in Mushandike and Mvurwi settlements. It is hoped that this study will start by filling this gap and that it will assist development stakeholders, practitioners and scholars in terms of gaining a better understanding of the realities at grass-roots level, especially the importance of land in people's lives. This, in turn, should result in better policies and practices to ensure food security and improved livelihoods. Since this study is only exploratory in nature, it is further hoped that it will stimulate ideas to attract interest in potential avenues for future research.

1.6 Research methods

This is an exploratory study focusing on the experiences of small-scale farmers in relation to the FTLRP. Primary research was mostly used for the purposes of data gathering. Both quantitative and qualitative research methods were used. The data collection process involved both literature and field research.

1.6.1 Literature research

The literature research for this dissertation was largely influenced by Scoones' book, titled *Zimbabwean Land Reform: Myths and Realities* (Scoones 2010). His claim that much of what has been said about the state of agriculture in Zimbabwe was not founded on empirical research stimulated my interest in the topic of this dissertation. This book led me to more literature on land reform such as the 2001 book by Ghimire, titled *Whose land: civil society perspectives on land reform and rural poverty reduction*. I also started reading FAO publications and an article by Adam, Sibanda and Turner

(1999) which talk about the terms and conditions under which land is held, used and transacted. From this literature it emerged that there was scant data on the impact of the Fast Track Land Reform Programme on small-scale farmers.

As I continued with the literature research, I reviewed the scholarly work of Mandizadza (2009) about the Fast Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP) and livelihoods in Zimbabwe as well as that of Goebel (2005) on gender and land reform and Pazvakavambwa and Hakutangwi (2006) who focus on extension services in Zimbabwe.

It was also necessary to gain insight into the issues and circumstances around land reform in Zimbabwe as well as policies informing land reform. Reviewing the former Zimbabwean constitution as well as the colonial land policies such as the Land Apportionment Act was helpful.

Reading Cliffe's work (2007) on land reform in South Africa also assisted me in understanding the importance of land reform as well as the insecure, overlapping and disputed land rights that often result from previous systems of governance. Vogel's perspectives on property rights and the rural land market in Latin America also enhanced my understanding of land rights and land reform. The fact that Chambers and Conway (1992) as well as Hebinck and Bourdillon (2001) bring the concept of sustainable rural livelihoods into the land reform debates made me realise that land is crucial for rural livelihoods. In this regard valuable data was also obtained from Scoones (2010) who cites natural, financial, human, social and physical capital as important for livelihood construction (these are further discussed in Chapter 2).

The publications cited above made it possible to contextualise land reform and its importance in offering sustainable livelihoods in Zimbabwe. Equally important for this study, was the gender dimension – the different factors that relate to gender inequalities embedded in land rights. Hebinck and Bourdillon (2001), Goebel (2005), McFadden (1996), Zinanga (1996), Boserup (1999) and Moyo (2000) all talk about the fact that land rights and land utilisation are gendered. They demonstrate that disparities in terms of land access is one of the major causes for social and gender

inequalities in rural areas. Gender differentiated rights to land have implications on rural food security and nutrition as well as on the wellbeing of families and individuals.

Information around the key issues of the study area such as livelihoods, land reforms, land tenure, social service provision, and house hold resilience is available in journals, text books, dissertations, in-house publications, government acts and policies on land, and in media reports. All these influenced my decision on the theoretical frameworks that underpin this study.

Firstly, I was influenced by socialist perspectives on land. These hold that the means of production includes labour, capital, and land as a fixed asset. Ownership of land determines one's status. Land reform resulting in the equitable distribution of land becomes a prerequisite for rural development. Land reform has a critical bearing on economic development and poverty reduction in rural areas. This is despite the fact that land issues are often complex and politically difficult. Rural development can therefore be achieved by including land reforms. Secure access to land provides a basis for investment in better livelihoods and improved living conditions.

Secondly, the sustainable livelihood framework expounded by the UK Department for International Development (DFID) also informed this study. The framework clearly highlights that there are many factors that affect livelihoods. It explores people's assets, livelihood outcomes sought (their objectives), and strategies employed to gain these goals. The sustainable livelihood framework includes five types of assets, namely human, natural, financial, social and physical capital. This study looks at these capitals to see how they affect livelihoods and how the capitals are often combined by farmers to improve their livelihoods.

Thirdly, this study is understood from a community development point of view where development brings a positive change in the lives of people such as an improvement in the quality of peoples' lives. Community driven (bottom up) projects are likely to yield positive results compared to those characterised by a top down approach (see Chambers 1983). The argument is that people are able to take care of their own development. Local people comprehend their position better than outsiders, thus the

need to let them drive development projects.

1.6.2 Field research

The field research for this study was undertaken at the Mushandike resettlement scheme in Masvingo District – the first of its kind since Zimbabwe’s independence – and in Mvurwi settlement in the Mazoe District – one of the most recent areas where people have resettled themselves. It was important to gain a comparative perspective in terms of land reform both before and after the advent of the FTLRP. The focus was on the manifold ways in which the FTLRP has impacted on both. Mushandike irrigation scheme comprises of 21 villages but the study focused on 3 villages (villages 11, 13 and 15) which were randomly selected. The field research was undertaken for seven months from June to December 2011. During the course of my field research in Mushandike, I stayed with my aunt who is one of the small-scale farmers, a widow and a mother of seven children. Most of her children were working in other towns except for one son who was still part of the irrigation scheme. He obtained a portion of his mother’s plot but had his own house. My aunt lived with her four grandsons.

I stayed with my aunt for four months and then I spent two months in Mvurwi where I stayed with one of the small-scale farmers who also acted as my guide. The people who informed the study include irrigation farmers, dry land farmers, extension officers, head men, and irrigation scheme drop outs. In Mvurwi my informants included the head man, extension workers, resettled farmers and farm workers.

During my research I was assisted by two research guides. The research guide who assisted me in Mushandike stayed in the same village as my aunt. She was an energetic woman in her early twenties, knowledgeable about most villages in Mushandike. She completed the ‘ordinary level’ at school (comparable to grade 11 in South Africa) and was thus literate. Reasons for choosing this research guide include the fact that the research guide was a sociable person hence knew and was on talking terms with many people. It was therefore easy to approach farmers and informants to gather information. The potential bias was that farmers were likely to want to please

the research guide as they knew her and the guide could also influence the selection of the informants. The fact that I stayed in the same village with the research guide made it easy for me to reflect on some issues later in the day after field work. Since the research guide knew Mushandike area and the farmers, she tended to lead me to the most well-to-do farmers but I was able to overcome this challenge of biased informant selection by the use of stratified random sampling.

In Mvurwi, I identified a research guide when I first went to arrange and organise for the research in the area. I was introduced to Mvurwi settlement by the chief Agritex officer who is resident at Mazoe District which is 50km south of Harare. Being introduced to Mvurwi settlement could make the informants associate me with this government department hence they could not freely give the information as they would want to please so that they continue to get the support in the form of inputs and advice. On the other hand being associated with the chief Agritex officer could make the informants relaxed and cooperative if they had good working relations with the Agritex personnel. The research guide I selected was one of the farmers who got plots in Mvurwi. The research guide was a man who seemed organised and was proactive. Although I did not know the research guide in Mvurwi prior to the field research, the guide was helpful and committed in showing me around the study area and to the key people such as the head man, the four villages of Mvurwi two of which were studied, farm compounds and the farmers. The research guide did not have many responsibilities at home, hence we managed to spend more time in the field. As a man the research guide was not always patient with some informants who were difficult, who could not easily give information. The research guide was a young man in his early thirties with a small family consisting of his wife and three children. His main cash crop was tobacco and he depended on the labour from ex-farm workers since he had a small family.

Each site had hundreds of potential informants but 60 were selected for each site which included small scale farmers, agricultural extension officers, head men, district administrators and scheme drop outs. Drop outs are the people who were allocated plots in the case of Mushandike, more specifically those who moved from the communal lands to the plots but later left the plots to either go back to the communal

areas or in search of other jobs. The sample frame at Mushandike included 30 small scale farmers, 6 agricultural extension officers, 3 head men, 10 dry land farmers, 10 farm workers and 1 District Administrator. The sample for Mvurwi comprised of 40 farmers, 2 extension officers, 4 head men, 10 farm workers and 4 drop outs. The sample groups of farmers were randomly selected from the randomly selected villages. The farmers who comprised the focus group discussions were selected due to their availability.

Various data collection techniques were employed, including participant observation, in depth interviews, focus group discussions, structured questionnaires and life histories.

During the seven months of research, participant observation was mainly used to gather information. Participant observation meant that the researcher stayed with community members and participated in their daily activities such as farmers' meetings (including ones to resolve disputes), irrigating, planting and weeding in the fields. This method helped to build rapport and confidence between the farmers and the researcher to an extent that farmers disclosed information of a sensitive nature.

In-depth interviews were used to solicit valid and reliable information from interviewees. An interview schedule with relevant topics was used to guide the interviews (see Annexure A). There was room to probe for more information whenever necessary. The interviews with the government officials were conducted at their offices after appointments were made. The in-depth interviews were conducted with the following: one District Administrator, Community Development officer, irrigation farmers, dry land farmers and four Agricultural Extension Officers (two from each site).

Focus group discussions were another important part of my field research. They were conducted with male farmers and female farmers, each group consisting of not more than ten participants to get areas of consensus as well as differences in opinion in experiences and responses to land reform. Focus group discussions were conducted with three groups which included males, females and with mixed groups in each study site (Mushandike and Mvurwi). The duration of focus group discussions were between

thirty and forty five minutes. The research guides assisted with the identification of focus group participants as they knew the people in the community. The same topics were discussed during each session with different participants. Some of these sessions were held in the fields and others at homesteads depending on the availability of the participants. There were differences of opinion based on the difference in group composition. In a focus group composed of women it came out that their main concern was to own land in their names rather than to access it through their husbands. A focus group consisting of men focused on the issue of title deeds for collateral in order to access loans from banks. In a focus group by both men and women, women were rather on the quiet side and did not raise the issue of owning land in their names. This is attributed to the fact that culturally, men are household heads thus in their presence women cannot take the lead. The issue that came out most in the mixed focus group was how the lives of farmers changed for the better after land reform. There was consensus from all groups that the FTLRP improved the farmers' livelihoods.

Structured questionnaires were also employed in this study. They were useful in establishing and analysing the demographic information of farmer households, farming patterns, level of crop yields, and farmer attitudes towards the FTLRP in Mushandike and Mvurwi settlements. The structured questionnaires were administered by the researcher writing down the answers as some farmers' literacy levels are low.

Life histories were used in capturing the small scale farmers' lives before settlement, i.e. how they joined the settlements and what their expectations and challenges were. They also confirmed certain issues that came out in interviews and focus group discussions, such as how their livelihoods improved. Since life histories are time consuming and all encompassing, a total of six life histories of the farmers were documented (three farmers from each study site). Another data collection tool used was direct observation as farmers were observed doing their day to day duties like irrigation, weeding, and harvesting.

1.7 Limitations of the study

As much as I had made adequate preparations (such as pre-testing the research instruments and having manageable size focus groups), I met certain challenges during the course of the research. The political climate was still charged after the presidential elections. Not all informants were willing to divulge all the information for fear of victimization and being misinterpreted. Informants were not free to give information about the ways in which aid (in the form of farming inputs) was distributed to farmers. At the time of my research, a lot was going on in Mushandike as farmers were busy with wheat planting hence the farmers were not always readily available for interviews. Since I am a woman I felt more comfortable talking to other women than to men. Efforts were made to make sure there was equal representation of men and women as informants. Financial constraints were another limitation faced in conducting the research. The mode of transport which I used to move from one village to the next (about 15kms) and to the agricultural extension offices (about 20kms) was a donkey cart. An alternative mode of transport was car hire but this cost R1000 per day and was not within the available budget for field research. Travelling from one place to another was thus problematic and meant that I had to travel during daylight hours. Interviews thus had to be concluded early enough despite not having exhausted everything with the informants. In Mushandike, I had the additional constraint that the research guide's time was limited. Since she was responsible for preparing meals and performing other house chores we often had to conclude our day early.

The informants had the challenge of recalling what was asked about their experiences before the FTLRP (eight years into the past). People also tended to experience the challenge of self-reporting: people were more inclined to speak highly of themselves when asked questions concerning their relations with other farmers. Selection and sequence of questions asked by the researcher were also sources of bias.

1.8 Data analyses

After the data was collected the researcher ordered the data, organised it according to themes such as livelihoods, gender and land tenure. The researcher then identified

the gaps and found ways to fill them looking at the emerging patterns of responses. Data interpretation was done, deductions made, and conclusions drawn.

Due to the large sample of informants, it would have been ideal to use a software programme such as the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS). Software programmes can be used to analyse data to easily manipulate relationships between variables. SPSS has the advantage of handling large volumes of data. Whilst I appreciate the advantages of the SPSS programme, it was not used because most of the data collected were of a qualitative nature (experiential) and thus not easy to deal with using SPSS.

1.9 Validity and reliability issues

As mentioned above (see 1.6.2), a combination of several data collection techniques were used to increase the study accuracy. In addition, triangulation was used to gather the same kind of information. For example, when interviewing government officials there was a question on how land reform has benefited small-scale farmers in Mushandike and Mvurwi (see Annexure C). To verify the data, the same question was asked in focus group discussions. I also tried to get the same information through participant observation by observing the types of housing (brick and asbestos houses compared to the pole and mud houses they used to have in their former homesteads), household appliances (such as televisions and fridges), and the number and types of livestock and by participating in daily activities such as sharing meals (to observe daily dietary patterns). The data gathered by using these various research methods were also compared for similarities and differences.

Pretesting of research instruments was done with the understanding that some terminology used in questionnaires, interview schedules, and other research instruments may not be well understood by informants. Pretesting was therefore done to avoid the scenario where problems arise in full scale administration of the research instruments.

Pretesting of research instruments was done with a smaller group of informants in a similar setting to that of the main research area. This was done in the initial stages of the research when the researcher went to Mushandike in 2011 to pre-test research instruments before the actual research. The pretesting phase was carried out in order to identify problems with the data collection instruments so that possible solutions could be sought and adjustments made to research instruments.

In Mushandike a total of three villages were studied. For the purposes of pretesting, one village, village 13, was selected and a total of fifteen informants were used. These included two Agritex officers, ten small scale farmers and three dry land farmers. Pre-tested instruments include the questionnaire, interview schedule and a list of questions for use during focus group discussions. As the research tools were being pretested, I took note of the problematic areas which needed attention. These included a lack of clarity, leading questions, and sensitive questions. An example came from the questionnaire where informants were asked about the number of members in each household. The term 'household' was not defined with the result that some included extended family members yet to others it meant the nuclear family. To make sure the question was well worded provision was made for a nuclear family (parents and children) and an extended family (people staying together not necessarily just parents and children). Another warning came when one of Agritex's officers, in an interview, gave other people's opinions and not his own. Since I wanted to hear the informant's input the words 'in your opinion' were added to the question. A question which was administered to twelve informants (which included ten farmers and two drop outs) was found to be a leading question. The question 'how has land reform benefitted small-scale farmers' made informants agree that the small-scale farmers benefitted even in instances where they could not tell how they benefitted. The question was changed after considering possible solutions to read 'In what ways has the land reform changed the lives of small-scale farmers?'

1.10 Ethical considerations

It is any researcher's obligation to respect the rights, needs, and values of informants. Code of conduct or research practice was underpinned by professional and moral considerations (the do's and don'ts in field work). I took special steps to protect informants' rights and desires. I got informed consent of informants orally before undertaking research in Mushandike and Mvurwi as I was introduced by the head men. This resulted in informants cooperating with the researcher in giving the necessary information. There were instances where casual conversations were done just to get some insights or clarification of some issues. In such cases informal consent was sought by asking people whether they would mind if the information is used for academic purposes. The informants were fully aware that nothing would be given to them in return and their participation was purely voluntary. The research purpose was clearly explained to the informants. In order to respect the confidentiality of informants, pseudo names were used to protect the identity of informants. Informants were given the assurance that all information was confidential. Tape recorders were not used during interviews as this would have raised some suspicion.

The researcher did not raise people's hopes or promised them assistance in any way. Other scholarly ideas and works were acknowledged with all informants given equal weighting. No responses were treated as of less value. I was careful and responsible in handling research notes with confidential information. Research findings were not manipulated to suit my own convictions or opinions. Efforts were made to avoid this bias by having a clear schedule of what I wanted to find out and by sticking to that schedule.

My seven months' stay in the study areas helped to build confidence in informants. They were given assurance that the information collected was purely for academic purposes and that pseudo names would be used in place of their' names, thus making them free to participate.

The conflicts between irrigation and dry land farmers were mitigated by staying clear from them and by leaving the issue in the hands of the traditional leadership who could

also take the matters up with the government.

1.11 Structure of the dissertation

The dissertation is structured into five chapters. Chapter 2 focuses on the review of literature related to land reform in Zimbabwe, land tenure, land rights, livelihoods and the gender dimension of the FTLRP. The chapter reflects the existing knowledge in the field of the research topic.

Chapter 3 presents an overview of the insights into and the dynamics of land resettlement, especially in terms of the FTLRP. The latter is posited against the literature on Zimbabwe's land reform from the pre-colonial to the postcolonial period.

Chapter 4 gives the analyses, interpretation and discussion of field research findings, illustrating the experiences and responses of small-scale farmers to land reform and showing how land access improved the farmers' livelihoods.

Chapter 5 wraps up the dissertation highlighting the research findings, conclusions and recommendations. Chapter 5 concludes that land access through land reform improved the farmers' quality of life manifested in the quality of houses, number of meals per day, assets acquired, and increases in agricultural yields. Farmers who got land under the FTLRP had limited access to certain social services such as educational and health services due to the nature of the land reform. There was no planning done to provide health and educational services before people got resettled or were allocated plots under the FTLRP. While farmers in old schemes such as Mushandike had social services in their proximity, farmers were of the opinion that security of tenure could improve their investment on the farms.

1.12 Chapter summary

This chapter was important in contextualizing the study, defining key terms and the

methodology. It gave the problem statement that there are no studies done in Mushandike and Mvurwi settlements to explore farmers' experiences and responses to the Fast Track Land Reform Programme. Specific objectives and research questions were given. The chapter outlined sample designs, data collection, and the data analysis plans. The literature research process was also explained. The structure of the dissertation was explained in terms of the chapters that follow.

CHAPTER 2:

LITERATURE REVIEW: ARGUMENTS RELATED TO LAND REFORM AND LIVELIHOODS

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, an overview is given of the land reform debates. These include the approaches to land reform and reasons for carrying out land reforms. The chapter explores the argument that access to land or land reform leads to an improvement in people's livelihoods. The literature on land tenure covering individual, communal and open access is explored. The chapter will also discuss the issue of livelihoods, including the resources critical for livelihoods. Furthermore, the chapter outlines the gender dimension on the land issue in Zimbabwe. The relationship between agriculture and rural development is also explored with regards to the role of agriculture as an agent of rural development in Zimbabwe. The impact of land reform on farmers' lives is also assessed. The last part of the chapter covers the theoretical framework in terms of the land reform debate.

2.2 Land reform

Land reform is defined as 'a significant change in agrarian structure, resulting in increased access to land by the rural poor as well as a secured tenure for those who work on the land' (Ghimire 2001:2; Erlank 2014). It refers to the transfer of ownership from the more powerful to the less powerful. Nkomo (2002:5) defines land reform as 'a change in the customary or legal institution of property rights and duties of those who own or use agricultural land'. Land reform involves the changing of laws, regulations or customs regarding land ownership. Land reform can be government initiated or government backed in land redistribution (Batty & Joseph 2005).

Land reform is usually done by national governments to correct historic imbalances

and injustices as well as to distribute land more equitably. Land reforms are commonly done in cases where a large percentage of land is owned by a few land owners resulting in idle or under-utilised land (FAO 1987). Land restitution and land redistribution programmes are the forms taken by land reform. There is consensus by national and international bodies, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and the academic community that land reform is crucial for rural development and to reduce rural poverty and hunger (Ghimire 2001:1-5; Erlank 2014) but the underlying question is, what is the suitable mechanism to transfer land to the land poor and marginalised groups of people? National and international bodies, NGOs and the academic community differ in the best approaches to land reform. The proposed approaches are land restitution and radical land reform. Land restitution is the act of restoring to the rightful owner land that has been taken away. Land redistribution is the division of large holdings of land into smaller ones to bring about a more equitable apportionment of agricultural land. Ghimire (2001:3) postulates that the intentions and perceived benefits of these approaches vary greatly and this explains the reason why land reforms have not been successful in most contexts. There have been cases of successful land reforms such as in Japan, Korea, Taiwan, Mexico, China and Cuba (Besley & Burgess 2000).

Land reforms are advocated for a number of reasons which include a greater population in developing countries which are the near landless, land less and farm workers. The FAO (1987) suggests that there were 817 million small-scale and landless rural labourers in Asia, Africa and Latin America in the mid-1980s. On the one hand, land is central and crucial for rural people to have access to shelter, food, employment and improved livelihoods, therefore access to land should be taken as an important human right (Plant 1993; Kunnemann 1997, 1998). Land reforms in countries help to include the poor in formal economic growth and poverty reduction and if there is security of land ownership the farmers become keen to invest on the land and they also take good care of the land.

On the other hand, there are arguments levelled against land reforms, namely because of their political nature, land reforms may cause further hardships or conflict can result in victimization of others that may not be politically aligned with the party in

power for example the MDC supporters in Zimbabwe not able to get plots like their ZANU PF counterparts. Furthermore, there can be potential elite capture of land through corruption resulting in the further marginalisation of such groups as the poor, women and indigenous communities. If not properly handled, land reforms can result in economic decline and increased food insecurity (Deininger, Hoogeveen & Kinsey 2000:92-133). There are different approaches to land reform and these are briefly described in the next section.

According to Bryden and Geisler (2007) there are three approaches to land reform in developing countries namely the conservative, the radical and the liberal approach. Conservative reforms are those done through market based principles and procedures of land transfer and access (sold on a willing buyer willing seller basis). There is little government involvement in this land reform approach in terms of support. The revolutionary approach involves comprehensive redistribution of land and agricultural resources. The government is heavily involved in this approach and land is compulsorily taken without compensation. This approach is suitable for addressing land access and inequalities as well as to relieve pressure in congested communal areas. The liberal approach borrows from both the conservative and revolutionary approaches. It uses both the market principles and with some degree of state intervention (Bouquet 2009; Kloppers & Pienaar 2014 Quan 1997; Sikor & Muller 2009).

In my opinion, the revolutionary approach to land reform could suit many African countries that do not have money to compensate for land. The dilemma that governments usually find themselves in is that of upsetting big stakeholders such as business people and political elites who may be holding big tracts when they distribute land and this translates into loss of political influence and other socio-economic favours. Moreover, usually the elite groups in power own much land. In most cases the elite group considers to adopt land reform when they are pressurized by the peasants. A case in point is that of the war veterans in Svosve community in Zimbabwe who occupied white owned farms when the government was doing little about their landlessness situation and the government of Zimbabwe then took an initiative to resettle people.

The need for tenure has been necessitated by lack of necessary collateral which also facilitates access to loans and credits (Ghimire 2001; Widman 2014). Indeed the provision of important credit and extension services by government to land reform beneficiaries is important for the sustainability of the land reform.

Development and multilateral organizations such as the World Bank have advocated for the land market approach. NGOs throughout the 1980s have timidly pursued the land reform agenda and have put more emphasis on populations' access to common property resources, sustainable farming practices, customary rights of indigenous people and women's land rights but have not actually addressed the racially skewed land reform in Zimbabwe (Ghimire 2001). Man (2012) contends that for any effective and socially just land reform the active participation of peasants and representative organisations is of importance.

2.3 Land tenure

Land tenure is defined as 'the terms and conditions under which land is held, used and transacted' (Adams, Sibanda & Tuner 1999:15). According to the FAO (1987), land tenure is the relationship, whether legally or customarily defined among people, as individuals or groups, with respect to land. According to Thebe (2012) rural people value and consider as important the type of land tenure that better their rural conditions. Land tenure also encompasses rules made by society to regulate people's behaviour with regard to land. Land tenure is very important to the farmer to enable the farmer to freely invest in the land without fear of one day leaving the land. Land tenure reform addresses issues concerning land insecurity and disputed land rights from previous systems of governance (Widman 2014; Cliffe 2007). Land tenure falls into four categories namely private, communal, open access and state land tenure. Under private land tenure, individuals or communities have exclusive rights to the parcels of land. Communal land tenure holds that members of the community have the right to use the land it is communally owned. The open access type means that people in the community have the right to use the land and no one can

be excluded in utilizing the land resource. The state has the mandate under the state type of land tenure to keep the resources in this case the land for its citizens (Adams, Sibanda & Tuner 1999:13; Thebe 2012).

Prosterman (2013), postulates that granting of reliable tenure security also implies respect for minimum human dignity. This is true as access to land would mean access to shelter, employment and being food secure. Ghimire (2001:5) further argues that possession of secure legal land titles encourages peasants to invest more time and resources in making land more fertile and productive. Tenure security may therefore encourage farmers to employ sustainable practices of agriculture such as soil and water conservation.

Mafege (1993) and Platteau (1995) contemplate that attempting to impose private entitlement in Africa where communal tenure system is prevalent creates confusion and weakens the existing tenure security and communal solidarity. Various studies such as by Adams, Sibanda and Tuner and practical experiments illustrate that communal land tenure in Africa and parts of Asia and Latin America have the potential to provide strong tenure security and family welfare. People might therefore have better family welfare but the challenge is usually of accessing credit and loans from the bank. The FAO (1993) supports this view and notes that long term lease arrangements, backed with state provision of agricultural inputs, have helped to improve peasants' income and land productivity in countries such as China and Vietnam. Zimbabwe's 99 year lease (where a person is permitted to use land for a space of 99 years yet the land belongs to the government such that an individual cannot sell the land as his or her own property) if appropriately backed with input provision has the potential for success.

Although it is agreed that land market can produce efficiency gains, Vogel (1996) and Janvry (1997) question the land market's ability (where land can be sold at the market) to avail land for distribution to the rural poor. Platteau (1995) gives credence to this view and argues that the land market only help the powerful to get even more land through market mechanisms. This could be true of Zimbabwe if land would be put on an open market most of the landless peasants would not afford to purchase land due

to monetary constraints and a few elite would be able to benefit.

Land tenure systems have changed over time due to socio-economic and political changes. Nowadays focus on land policies in most countries have shifted from issues of poverty alleviation, equity and livelihoods to economic efficiency and investment through the free market (Vogel 1996). In Tanzania for instance under the Ujamaa policy due to structural adjustment 13 million people were forced to settle in 8,000 villages not considering the peoples livelihood prospects. Debate over which type of land tenure best protects women's land rights also comes into play. Some have advocated for the privatized individual tenure but some authors like Razavi (2002) found it to erode women's land rights. Land reform can positively contribute to the betterment of poor peasants' livelihoods.

2.4 Livelihoods

Rural livelihoods according to Jacobs & Makaudze 2013; Bourdillon (2001), aim to improve the lives of poor people and to strengthen the sustainability of their livelihoods. The approach is inherently responsive to people's own interpretations of and priorities for their livelihoods. Although the concept of sustainable rural livelihoods improves peoples' livelihoods it does not impact negatively on the environment.

According to Adhikari (2013) there is an increased realisation for the need for alternative livelihood options to have sustainable environments and economy. Shackleton (2000) argues that livelihoods of the poor are complex and dynamic. Poor people's livelihoods are best understood by the poor themselves rather than by experts or outsiders. It is therefore important that the local people participate in any project aimed at improving their livelihoods. Many households in southern Africa consider a range of activities such as casual and permanent wage employment, remittances, welfare grants, crop production and animal husbandry for their livelihood. Cattle are used for draught and transport thus increasing the household livelihood.

According to Hebinck and Bourdillon (2001:11) there are generally three main strategies by which rural people earn their livelihoods namely agricultural intensification, livelihood diversification, and migration. Chambers and Conway (1992) are of the view that for a livelihood to be sustainable it should have the capacity to cope with as well as recover from stresses and shocks. They further argue that a livelihood should maintain its assets and capabilities while not disadvantaging future generations. Manandhar (2013) notes that diversification of livelihoods like community forestry was effective in improving sustainable resources for rural livelihoods. Scoones (2008) notes that there are five sources of capital critical for livelihoods: natural, human, financial, physical, and social capital. These are discussed below.

➤ **Natural capital**

Natural capital comprises of natural resources such as land and water. Resources that make up natural capital vary from intangible goods like biodiversity to tangible assets such as land and trees Pilecek, Chromy & Jancak 2013. Natural capital is therefore useful to people who derive their livelihoods from resource-based activities like farming. Land is regarded as a key natural asset to farmers.

➤ **Financial capital**

Financial capital refers to financial resources in the form of cash or credit used by people to gain their livelihood goals. Remittances, pensions, livestock and other economic assets such as basic infrastructure and production equipment and technologies all form part of financial capital and are essential for the pursuit of any livelihood strategy.

➤ **Human capital**

Human capital refers to the skills, knowledge, ability to labour, good health, and the physical ability important for the successful pursuit of different livelihood strategies. The quality and amount of labour available determines human capital (Mandizadza 2009). Human capital is important for the use of other capitals (financial, natural, and social) and it cannot on its own secure better livelihood outcomes.

➤ **Social capital**

Social capital or social resources include networks, social claims, social relations, affiliations and associations upon which people draw when pursuing different livelihood strategies (Anoshkina 2014:309). Briggs and de Souza (1997: 111-118) are of the idea that people must combine capital endowments that they have access to and control over in order to create livelihoods. Dzialek (2014) is the view that social capital can explain differences in economic development between countries and regions.

➤ **Physical capital**

Physical capital constitutes basic infrastructure such as shelter, transport, and communications as well as goods like tools and equipment crucial to maintain livelihoods (De la pena Garcia, 2014).

2.5 Sources of livelihoods

The main source of livelihood for rural Zimbabweans during the colonial era (1966-1980) was 'agriculture producing maize the staple food' and a few cash crops' (Anderson 2002:28-29; also see Arrighi 1973:11). Phimister (1993) also notes that Zimbabwean livelihoods during the colonial era depended on a vibrant agricultural industry as farmers supplied maize and livestock to the mining industries. Manadhar & Shin (2013) agrees with Phimister (1993) and Arrighi (1973) and notes that 70% of the peasants' income came from agricultural goods in Zimbabwe in the early 1990s. Production was in some instances affected by drought resulting in poor yields. No or poor yields forced peasant farmers into wage employment. The peasants' agricultural productivity was then affected by the colonial agricultural policies which sought to undermine peasants' agricultural productivity which restricted black farmers to produce certain crops while white farmers grew cash crops to force black peasants into wage employment thereby supporting white commercial farmers by supplying labour (Mandizadza 2009).

Today in Zimbabwe many people as in other developing countries still consider

agriculture to be their main source of livelihood. This view is supported by Shackleton (2000) who suggests that the majority of household income in developing countries rural areas is generated from land based activities. Shackleton (2000) and Adhikari (2013) further argues that land based livelihood strategies are of paramount importance in providing food (subsistence) as well as a rural safety net.

The World Bank gives credence to Shackleton's view and states that three out of four people in developing countries reside in rural areas where they mostly depend on agriculture. Furthermore, agriculture is the mainstay of the economy in Zimbabwe. About 65% of Zimbabwe's population depends on the sector for their livelihood. Comparatively, May (2000:13-14) suggests that more than 60 per cent households depend on other sources of income such as wage employment and pensions while agriculture contributes to livelihoods in a smaller way.

While it is agreed that agriculture might not be the main source of livelihood agriculture gives a supplementary income. Access to land also allows diversification of livelihood strategies such as livestock keeping and agricultural production as put by Lahiff (2002; also see 2.5 above). As alluded to by Chambers (1983), the strategies of the poor are usually diverse, and often complex. Moreover the poor understand their position better than development practitioners and are able to have various other ways of earning a living other than employment as well as being resilient during tough times. Chambers (1983) contends that outsiders and development workers purport to know the situation of the rural poor yet it's the poor's reality that should count. The poor know better how they live, what their realistic priorities are and what can help them. It is against this idea that development workers are encouraged to involve communities in their own development.

2.6 Women's land rights in Zimbabwe

Gender refers to 'the socially constructed roles, behaviour, activities and attributes that a particular society considers appropriate for men and women' (Bourdillon & Hebinck 2001:6). Goebel (2005:33) in his book, *Gender and land reform*, declares that 'this

world is undeniably divided into two groups, one called "women" and another called "men", with prescribed roles, rules of conduct, and norms of relations between the two sexes'. Furthermore boys and girls from an early age undergo intense socialization efforts that produce and code as "natural" gendered divisions of labour, access to economic and cultural resources, identities, roles, hierarchies of privilege, and heterosexual marriage and child bearing (McFadden 1996; Zinanga 1996).

Literature on agriculture, production and gender relations argue that women across the world lack control over the land and property they use in production (Boserup 1999). Worby (2001) at a smaller scale recognizes that 'the land reform process in Zimbabwe is turning out to be ultimately about exclusion, rather than inclusion as the ZANU PF government claims'. Furthermore, liberalization policies have short-changed women of their land rights as most women in Zimbabwe are not able to compete with men to buy land on the open market due to poverty. Many women participated in the liberation struggle that brought independence to Zimbabwe in 1980. Despite the high involvement of women during the war, at independence the land question focused mostly on correcting racial land inequalities whilst perpetuating the inequality between black men and women as rightly stated by Mushunje (2001:1): 'while colonial injustices were being corrected, post-colonial injustices were emerging and these manifested in the discrimination against black women by black men.' In the South African context gender discrimination is further cited by McClintock (1991:105) who states that 'no nationalism in the world has granted women and men the same privileged access to the resources of the nation state. So far all nationalism is dependent on powerful constructions of gender difference'.

Boserup (1999) contends that women's relationship with the land is determined by customs and laws of inheritance and marriage. According to tradition in Zimbabwe, land belongs to man (the head of the house) and this has negatively affected women's land rights. Upon the death of a husband the last son of the family is given ownership of the land but if he is still young, the land is kept for him until he is a grown up. In 1999, the International Women's Movement was shocked by the decision of the supreme court of Zimbabwe that Vernia Magaya was not in a position to inherit her father's estate citing customary law as a reason for treating women as 'junior males'

and she did not inherit the father's estate (Southern Africa Chronicle 1999). In exceptional cases women inherit their fathers' property. Women can also have access to land of their marital homes. In some contexts where husbands understand women can keep the proceeds of crops they produce on their husbands' property but will not have formal ownership of the land such that they cannot use it as collateral for loans and credit and cannot sell it should any need arise.

Mudege (2007:457) argues that in Zimbabwe in the few cases where women are household heads and have plots registered in their name they are often not the decision makers. In the event of the death of a husband, decision making concerning land use and crop varieties is assumed by the eldest son. A female plot holder in Mudzingo village presents a good example of how decision making powers are taken out of women's hands. The female plot holder did not have any children and the brother gave her his son (nephew to her) to stay with. The nephew assumed the decision making role but there were always conflicts between the aunt and her nephew. Upon the death of the female plot holder, the plot was taken over by the nephew and would in future be inherited by a male relative (Mudege 2007). Concerning the Zimbabwean situation Gaidzanwa (1995) and Jacobs (1991) therefore demand that more should be done to keep land in the hands of women as 'what the government gives in the interest of gender equity, custom takes away' (Mudege 2008:458). Based on the literature research it can therefore be concluded that women land ownership in Zimbabwe does not necessarily translate to empowerment.

The issue of women land ownership has also been politicised. Kaori Izumi, in her paper on land reform initiatives in Zimbabwe, contests that political parties have used the question of the direction, the pace and the way in which land reform is instituted as a

means of acquiring support in new multi-party systems. Izumi also seeks to establish whether market-driven land reform can be compatible with the goal of equal distribution of land among vulnerable groups, including poor people, the landless and women. Debates on land reform have shown that women's land rights have been affected by state policies, market forces, and traditional social structures in different ways and to different extents.

According to tradition in Zimbabwe, land is a male domain. The power relations within different institutions such as the local and national structures, the community, family and household also tend to affect women's access and rights to land (Agarwal 1994). Women in Zimbabwe have access to land through marriage. Widows and divorced women may get small plots in their natal or married families. Rutherford (2001:150) argues that the gendered aspect of land allocation seems to be persistent, being one of those rigidities and modes of power that sustain 'women' as a category. In Zimbabwe, prior to 1982, women's lack of land rights was underpinned by their legal status as minors that stated that women were minors (Stewart, Ncube & Maboreke, 1990). The Legal Age of Majority Act (LAMA) instituted by the new government in 1982 gave women majority status at the age of eighteen. In communal areas, the introduction of LAMA did not help much as customary law still had an upper hand throughout the 1980s. Hence women did not get access to land in their own right but land was continuously assigned to married men (Chimedza 1988). There is therefore a call by national feminist movements like the Zimbabwe Feminist Forum for the formal land entitlement of women. Feminist literature holds that securing land rights for women is central to improving both women's livelihoods and food security more generally (Razavi 2002:16).

Cornhiel (1997) argues that where the value of land increases, women usually lose customary rights. During liberalization, land gains value as a commodity for investment and characteristic of this phenomenon is land grabbing by political elites, appropriation of village land by the state, and allocation of land to investors nationally and locally (Moyo 1995). In such cases the poor end up selling their land in order to earn a living. In addition, Kesby (1999:27-28) argues that what complicates women's struggles for land rights in Zimbabwe is that the relations between land and culture are profoundly about the construction and reconstruction of masculinity. Kesby goes further to say, that this form of physical strength requires women's distance from the land as outsiders in patrilocal settlement, just as it requires women's distance from their children through constructing children as belonging to the patrilineage. In rural Zimbabwe women are usually the main farmers who depend on remittances from husbands working in waged work (Goebel, 2005:2-3). Husbands are deemed decision

makers even though they are away from the homestead for most of the time.

In Zimbabwe, state representatives have considered extending land rights to women as interfering with culture. In August 1994, a rural woman suggested that land permits in resettlement areas be jointly registered in the names of spouses and in his response, the president of Zimbabwe, Robert Mugabe, asserted that 'if women want property, then they should not get married' (Cheater & Gaidzanwa 1996:200). This therefore means that women are threatened with social exclusion by the state when they call for equal land rights. At the end of it all, the evidence presented is that women's land entitlements are overly vulnerable in the face of privatized individual tenure as not all the women in Zimbabwe can have the resources and power to acquire land for themselves. Communal land tenure might therefore be more preferable than individual land tenure as it at least gives women an opportunity to farm on their husband's land (Goebel 2005).

2.7 Rural development

Agriculture is the most important component of rural development in Zimbabwe since land is the asset many poor rural people can use to improve their lives. It is therefore paramount to discuss rural development in relation to land reform and agriculture. The less privileged and poor such as women and the landless are mostly concentrated in rural areas. Rural development as defined by Rashid (2012:62) is 'a strategy designed to improve the economic and social life of a specific group of people the rural poor'. It involves extending of benefits of development to the poorest among those who seek a livelihood in the rural areas, small-scale farmers, tenants, and the landless. Rural development is a process conducted by community members. In this process, local people help their community become fundamentally better to manage change rather than only create jobs, income, and infrastructure (Shaffer 1989:1).

To bring about meaningful change, according to Shaffer (1989), rural development should to be integrated. Furthermore development planning with one focus is inadequate hence there is need for multisector planning. Rural development is

concerned with areas of rural societies such as the economy, natural resources, and cultural practices besides economic production and infrastructure. There are new terms that have been associated with rural development such as food security, livelihoods and household economy, sustainable development and participation.

According to Chambers (1990), rural development seeks to accomplish the following objectives:

- 'Improving the living standards of rural dwellers through economic security expressed in adequate food, shelter, clothing and employment.
- Making rural economies and households more productive and less vulnerable to natural disasters, poverty and exploitation.
- Engendering participatory and sustainable development in the planning and implementation processes.
- Ensuring local autonomy and sustenance of traditional custom.'

The main thrust of rural development is to fight underdevelopment mostly manifested in poverty. Poverty includes landlessness, vulnerability to economic and political manipulation, and marginalisation from resources and institutions of power and lack of access to health, sanitation facilities, and shelter. Poverty comes in three different forms and levels namely absolute poverty, relative poverty, and qualitative poverty. Absolute poverty occurs when one cannot make enough money to access basic needs such as food, shelter, clothing, education, and health. Relative poverty refers to the poverty of one household when compared to others in the same community but might not be absolutely poor. Qualitative poverty refers to a situation where a household or an individual may have a lesser access to goods that satisfy human needs. Rural development is mostly concerned with absolute poverty rather than with relative and qualitative poverty (Chambers 1990).

Christenson (1989) posits that rural development builds the five capitals of a community (see 2.5 above). Moreover, development increases people's choices and brings about change in the positive. There are some concepts that are critical to development such as 'participation'.

2.8 Participation

Participation is generally regarded as the key to real development. Makumbe (1996:5) and other authors such as Chambers (1994) and Fawaz-Yissi and Vallejos-Cartes (2012) argue that for meaningful development to take place there is need for participation of grassroots-based beneficiaries. Bergdall (1993:83) argues that participation remains elusive as it means different things to different people. He defines participation as 'sensitizing people with the aim of increasing the receptivity and ability of rural people to respond to development programs as well as to encourage local initiatives'. Another definition given by Bergdall (1993) is 'a voluntary contribution by the people to public programmes which contribute to national development but the people are not expected to take part in shaping the programme or criticizing its content'. The former definition encourages local people's involvement in projects unlike the later which does not allow people to criticise the content or shape the programme.

The way participation is commonly used has resulted in various interpretations as well as lack of definitional clarity (Crawford 2003:6). There are two distinct conceptions of participation namely 'instrumental' and 'genuine'. Instrumental participation according to Crawford 2003 seeks to accomplish agency objectives by minimally involving local communities whilst the donor agencies have the overall say. Tania Murray Li (1999) and Ferguson (1990) are of the opinion that development projects can be imposed on people and communities without necessarily consulting them or considering what is culturally right to their communities and people. In contrast, 'genuine participation' involves local communities' involvement in coming up with the development agenda from the beginning and they will have control to the end.

Participation varies in its degree of local communities' involvement. Arnstein (1969:239) in explaining the degree of people's involvement uses the metaphor of a ladder. She contends that there is some participation which is equal to or that can be seen as non-participation. At the very lowest of the ladder are forms of non-participation which she referred to as manipulation and therapy. This is often seen in cases where participants are encouraged to sign forms as a way of participating so

that participants can buy an already laid out course of action. In this case people are just used by decision makers. Therapy is another form of non-participation where people are gathered in the name of making decisions but are actually told about their shortcomings. Decision makers use this form of participation to tell people what they want and do not want, whilst pretending to seek their advice. Arnstein (1969:238) further argues that therapy and manipulation are worse than non-participation at all. Participation just like partnership can be used as a disguise to allow power relations to continue to operate.

In contrast to Makumbe's view that participation is critical for development, Pieterse (2002:26) contends that development can and does take place without community participation. He argues that representative community organizations are not representative of the community at all because elites are mostly taken at the expense of more marginal social groups such as women and the poorest.

Craig and Porter (1997:51) note that what hinders real participation is the need for development projects to be doubly accountable both to the intended participants as well as to the source of funds that would have made opportunities possible. They argue that this accountability calls for effective management which is contradictory to participation as it will then not leave room for the community's effective participation. Furthermore, many of the objectives that have to be met in projects would have been established well before the beginning of the projects making genuine participation almost impossible. At the end of the day projects are more managed than being more participatory. Craig and Porter (1997) therefore come to the conclusion that the control aspect of development is much more pervasive than is widely recognised.

According to Makumbe (1996:5), development is 'the process of improving the living standards of people by improving their material worth or resource base, as well as the facilitation of change in the distribution of material goods among the people'. There is need for experts to work together with the local people in order to achieve development. In such a scenario where there are development experts and the community, politics is almost inevitable. The 'politics of development' entails among other things, issues as who gets what, when and how, who has the final say and the

level of participation of the communities due to the relationship of experts in projects and the recipients or local people Ferguson (1990).

The other notable thing in the politics of development is the extent to which the so-called 'experts of development' are not informed about the real situation of the poor people. Chambers (1983:12) argues that rural poverty is unperceived as officials, businessmen and international 'experts' do not take time to learn the situation on the ground and to be involved with the poorest at grassroots level. He claims that 'they are quick to travel comfortably in limousine comfort and get back to the city the same day without observing anything of the rural condition' (Chambers 1983:5). He thus contends that the direct rural experience of most urban-based outsiders is limited to brief and hurried visits. Chambers (1983:5) also notes that development professionals are biased against contact with and learning from the poorer people.

In most cases experts already have ways in which they think problems can be addressed or poverty can be alleviated well before consultations are done with the local people. This is supported by Ferguson (1994) who is of the view that development processes are structures of knowledge which (pre)determine the ways in which development projects are allowed to function and development practitioners are allowed to act in specific historical contexts. In this way experts come with blue prints or use the top-down approach where the how to do comes from the experts regardless of their ignorance to the real issues and problems of the local people. The end result in most cases is the non-sustainability of projects which would have been imposed on people. This is illustrated by Ferguson with specific reference to his research of the Thaba Tseka Project in Lesotho. Lesotho was taken to be a backward and traditional state that needed transformation by development practitioners. To achieve the transformation to make it a society that achieve economic development projects a livestock project was introduced in 1975 by outside practitioners which sought to introduce new breeds of cattle and reduce the number of pastured cattle in Thaba Tseka. Unfortunately, the value of cattle to the people of Lesotho had not been established (a store of wealth as well as an insurance policy against old age.) The cattle project in Thaba Tseka was not sustainable as the cultural values of the local people were never established (Ferguson 1994).

Ferguson further argues that the development apparatus besides uplifting people's livelihoods expands state power. Ferguson states that 'the development apparatus may do what it does, not at the bidding of some knowing and not even the powerful subject who is making it all happen, but behind the backs or against the will of even the most powerful actors' (Ferguson 1994:18). Of essence is the fact that such apparent failure in achieving its objective corresponds to a success in the real function of development, which is expanding state power while at the same time depoliticizing its own political task (Ferguson 1994:14). Not only does development expand state power but it also brings the issue of governmentality (having development projects makes it easy for governments to rule the people or subjects whom they are giving development projects). According to Cooper and Stoler (1997:13) the rationale for development as an activity of nation-states, draws on the more general logic of governmentality, the need by nation states to control their subjects. Foucault (1982:26) supports the assertion and argues that when powerful subjects impose their ideas on others it results in struggles against exploitation hence the less powerful should not be regarded as passive. Cooper and Stoler (1997) explain that the main aim of development is to govern and control the conditions under which people live their lives and in that way the government spreads its rule to its subjects. This view is supported by Scott (1995) who contends that in the postcolonial era, concern with welfare and improvement fell under the rubric of development and provided many governing regimes with a significant part of their claim to legitimacy. The government thus had something to give to the people making it easier rule over the people.

The gift of development is another view to development given by Stirrat and Henkel (1997). They posit that in the world of development there are always two groups of people, the givers (experts) and the receivers (community). The givers are those who have something to give while the receivers are usually poor and less fortunate. Gifts are seen as the beginning of a chain of transactions between various people and organizations. Grillo and Stirrat (1997:18-19) argue that 'what starts off as a pure gift, an act of seemingly disinterested giving, morally and ethically divorced from the mundane world, becomes in the end an object or a service intimately entwined in the mundane and interested world'. A gift in the world of development reinforces the

difference between the giver and the poor receiver although the way it is given tries to deny these differences. Gift giving should be viewed in the context of systems of exchange which include obligations to give, receive and repay. Receiving is often attached with conditional ties and the gift becomes a form of patronage as well as a means of control. The pure gift is thus problematic in that it leaves the receiver in a position of indebtedness and powerlessness (Stirrat and Henkel 1997). Participation of all shareholders especially of the grassroots people is a requirement for any real development to take place in any development project.

2.9 Household resilience and land tenure

The term 'livelihood' should be understood within the context of land reform and livelihoods. Chambers and Conway (1991:4) describe livelihoods as including family income, poverty mitigation, access to social services and the overall improved quality of life. Livelihood constitutes capabilities, assets and activities required for a means of living. A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stress and shocks and maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets both now and in the future. According to Ellis (1998:4), a livelihood is often conceptualised as 'income in cash and in kind: as well as the social institutions (kin, family, compound and village), gender relations, property rights required to support and sustain a given standard of living'. Access to public services, such as education, health services, roads, water and related infrastructure form part of livelihoods. In the face of difficulties households have to be resilient.

Household resilience is defined by the European Report on Development (2010:10) as 'a household's ability to maintain a certain level of wellbeing (food security) in the face of risks, depending on that household's available options, to make a living and its ability to handle risks'. LEDRIZ (2012) identified aspects that are critical to comprehensive and social protection. These include housing and health services. LEDRIZ is of the view that the provision of housing cannot be separated from the provision of other basic needs such as safe drinking water, good sanitation, accessible

roads, schools and hospitals. These social services are enshrined in the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Maslow's hierarchy of needs (1985) also points to the importance of such basic needs as food and shelter for the survival of people. In instances where people are not able to access such services households find different ways to cope. Land and land tenure is very critical for the provision of people's basic needs.

Land tenure is defined as 'the terms and conditions under which land is held, used and transacted' (Ntsebeza & Hall 2007:35). The issue of land tenure is essential to every farmer as it determines investments to be made by the farmer on the farm resulting in the farm's success. Land is held under the individualized and traditional land tenure systems. The individualised type of land tenure is considered as superior to the traditional land tenure system due to the fact that farmers are given incentives to use land more efficiently. The individualized tenure is viewed as the demarcation and registration of freehold title (Barrows & Roth 2007).

2.10 Chapter summary

To conclude, this chapter covered land reforms and the reason why they are done which is to distribute land to the landless in order to improve their livelihoods. The chapter has explored approaches to land reform and these include the conservative, the radical and the liberal approach. The issue of livelihoods has also been reviewed exploring the five sources of capital critical for livelihoods which are natural, financial, human, physical and social capital. In this chapter it was evident that agriculture is the main source of livelihoods for the majority of rural based populations in developing countries. People depend on land based economic activities. People depend on land for example shelter, food and fuel. To further understand and situate this dissertation Chapter 3 is devoted to a detailed account of land and agrarian reform in Zimbabwe from pre- colonial times to the present.

CHAPTER 3:

LAND AND AGRARIAN REFORM IN ZIMBABWE

3.1 Introduction

This chapter gives an account of the land and agrarian reform in Zimbabwe. It deals with the land question how the issue of land was dealt with as from pre-colonial times (before 1966). The black African people had access to good fertile land before the coming in of white settlers. The chapter gives an account of how the black people were disposed of their land and were pushed to rocky unfertile soils with erratic rainfall. An account is also given of how the black African people of Zimbabwe have responded to the issue of land and the efforts made by both the people and the government to get the land back. The account of the land and agrarian reform in Zimbabwe has been divided into different time segments, namely land reform from pre-colonial times (before 1966) to 1980 (Zimbabwe's independence), post-independence (1980 to 1990) and the changing course (1990 to 2000) (time of the FTLRP).

3.2 Land reform from pre-colonial times (before 1966) to 1980 (Zimbabwe's independence)

Land reform is generally accepted to mean a significant change in agrarian structure, resulting in increased access to land by the rural poor as well as a secured tenure for those who actually work on the land (Ghimire, Krishna & Bruce 2001:7). Land reform is therefore taken to mean more than a mere claim-driven process where ancestral land is claimed back by people who were dispossessed. Bowyer-Bower (2000:1) views land reform as a means to distribute land to the landless and poor people to ease poverty, correct population-land imbalances, and boost agriculture in a nation or as a reward for having fought a liberation struggle.

Land has always been a contentious issue that dates back to pre-colonial times. As in

the past, the land question remains the root of political tension within Zimbabwe and with the colonial power, Britain. Bloody tribal and ethnic battles were fought for land before European settlers arrived, over a century ago. There were two major groups of people in Zimbabwe, the Ndebele and the Shona. The Shona largely depended on agricultural and pastoral activities while the Ndebele's livelihood was based on highly organised military structures, raiding the Shona people. This was because the Ndebele never used to cultivate foodstuffs but survived on hunting wildlife and raiding the Shona to get grain among other things (Dudley 1992; Tshuma 1997).

The dispossession of blacks of their land started with European settler occupation of Zimbabwe. Zimbabwean colonization started in the 1890s with the coming in of the British South Africa Company (BSAC) led by Cecil John Rhodes. Disappointed by the amount of gold deposits in Zimbabwe, BSAC opted for the settlement of European farmers for farming purposes instead. BSAC received a royal charter of incorporation from Britain. The charter included the right of BSAC to expropriate and distribute land. After the colonial conquest by the British in the late 1890s, life changed drastically for both the Ndebele and Shona people. Efforts were made to move blacks into native reserves. The first African reserves were in Matebeleland in 1890 (Masiwa 2004:126; Moyo 1995).

In 1896 the war of the first *chimurenga*, translated to mean 'revolutionary struggle', was waged as the Shona and Ndebele people realised that the Rhodesian government was not interested in bettering their conditions. The leaders of the two tribes were however arrested and hanged after their partial success in mobilising people to fight against the Rhodesian government. The Land Apportionment Act was passed in 1930 which formalized racial separation of land. Africans were driven to the marginal areas with poor soils and erratic rainfall, whilst Europeans occupied black Zimbabweans' most coveted land. Conflicts between black and white people continued. In the late 1950s, the ZANU and ZAPU political parties surfaced but their leaders were arrested and the parties banned to silence black people and thwart any opposition. The struggle between black and white people continued (Moyo 1994). A series of repressive legislation which prohibited Africans from participating in the mainstream economy were passed, among these was the Native Land Husbandry Act of 1951. This Act

limited the number of stock that an individual African household was allowed to have to five and also introduced soil and water conservation methods such as terracing. The policy of segregation had led to severe overcrowding and land degradation in the reserves (Masiwa 2004; Ncube 2003). The degradation in the native reserves was confirmed by the then Catholic Bishop of Umtali in June 1959 when he asked

‘Can you in conscience blame the African, if eking out a tenuous existence from poor soil in an overcrowded reserve, he is swayed by subversive propaganda, while close beside him there lies hundreds of thousands of hectares of fertile soil which he may not cultivate, not occupy, not grace, because although it lies unused and unattended, it belongs to some individual or a group of individuals who perhaps do not use the land in the hope of profit from speculation?’ (Masiwa 2004:28).

There was racial inequality prevalent in Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) in the 1960s. Black Africans had a population density of 46 per square mile while the white settlers had 1 per square mile. In the same fashion, a black African worker earned 110 pounds per month while for the same job a white worker earned 12000 pounds per month. In terms of education expenditure only 30 pounds were spent for a black child compared to 340 pounds spent on a white child (Moyo 2000:5-28).

Ian Smith was appointed the prime minister of Rhodesia in 1964 and pressed for independence from Britain. Since Ian Smith could not agree with the imposed strict rules by Britain before he could get independence, he went for the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI). UDI meant that Ian Smith was independent from Britain. After the UDI the economy in monetary terms of the then Rhodesia improved save for the black conditions. This led to the ZANU and ZAPU guerrilla warfare which saw many white people leaving their farms. In 1976, due to international pressure, Ian Smith reached an agreement with political leaders and agreed that there would be majority rule in two years’ time. The agreement led to the internal settlement of 3 March 1978 and general elections which were to be held in April of 1979. All Rhodesian residents were allowed to vote as long as they were 18 years of age. The United African National Council (UANC) party led by Bishop Muzorewa swapped the majority of the seats reserved for blacks and took office in June of the same year (Chaumba 2003; Palmer 1990).

The British Conservative Party (BCP) declined to recognise the UANC (majority government that had resulted from the internal settlement) and decided to go for further negotiations. The Lancaster House Conference thus took place in late 1979.

The name Lancaster was derived from the place in Britain where the conference was held.

3.3 The Lancaster House Agreement

In a bid to resolve land issues in Zimbabwe, the Lancaster House negotiations were started in 1979 where the Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU PF), the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), the UANC and Britain agreed to take part in the election of 27 February 1980. Robert Mugabe's ZANU-PF party came out victorious in these elections and Mugabe was appointed the president of Rhodesia which was then renamed Zimbabwe. During the negotiations a number of principles were put forward, which were meant to regulate land reform and these included: the acquisition of land only on a willing seller willing buyer basis; compensation to be remitted in foreign currency; and underutilized land could be acquired for public purposes but at full market value.

The British government was influential in the Lancaster House negotiations to the extent that the rights of the white minority were protected for the first ten years after independence which was obtained in April 1980 as the constitution adopted in 1980 was still in force. It was believed that the land issue could be resolved by buying out white farmers as was done in Kenya. Britain agreed to avail half of the costs of resettlement whilst the Government of Zimbabwe would match that funding to make up the full costs of the resettlement programme. Unlike in the case of Kenya where 95 per cent of the financing for land acquisition came from donors, most foreign donors were reluctant to finance Zimbabwe's land acquisition with the exception of Britain. This was because there were issues that were not so clear, for example the European Union (EU) could not commit itself to the Land Reform and Resettlement Programme on the basis of a policy document but rather preferred concrete proposals for projects

which showed how government was to carry out the land reform programme (Masiwa 2004:30; Mumbengegwi 1998).

The Lancaster House Agreement stipulated that land would only change ownership on a willing buyer willing seller basis, and white farmers would continue farming if they so wished (Chaumba 2006; Moyo 1995). The approach was thus restrictive in nature in that the Government of Zimbabwe could not have access to vast tracts of land for resettlement. The other challenge that emanated from the Lancaster House Constitution was that the white farmers gave up land in the drier agro-economic regions, not suitable for farming (Saruchera 2002; Wolmer 2001). Furthermore, by the time of the Lancaster House negotiations, the white commercial farmers were producing 90 per cent of the country's marketed food requirements. Learning from the Mozambican experience where massive poverty and unemployment wreaked havoc following the flight of commercial farmers after independence, the commercial farmers in Zimbabwe were thus protected soon after independence (Lahiff 2003).

Since the Lancaster House Agreement did not have a detailed and enforceable commitment from any of the foreign donors, this left the Zimbabwean government with the political responsibility for the programme but with no means to abide by the constitutional guarantees. In Mumbengegwi's words (as quoted in Masiwa 2004:31),

'This agreement so compromised the character of the new Zimbabwean state that it was constrained from acting decisively in the interests of the peasants, especially over the land issue... The post-independent state found itself reduced to the role of mediator between the conflicting interests of the two agrarian classes (commercial farmers and peasants). The commercial farmers demanded continuity while the peasants expected change'.

3.4 Post-independence (1980-1990)

Upon the attainment of political independence in 1980, the new ZANU PF government promised to give land to the people as a way of empowering them. To attain this empowerment, the Land Redistribution and Resettlement Programme were identified by the government. The land reform targeted the landless, war veterans, the poor and

commercial farm workers. The first phase of the land reform programme commenced immediately after the attainment of independence in 1980 (Marimira & Odero 2003). The phase aimed at redistributing land and developing rural areas through the provision of infrastructure and other socio-economic services to better the lives of people negatively affected by the war of liberation (Masiwa 2004:30). The Government of Zimbabwe aimed to resettle 162 000 families during the period 1982-1985 and to acquire 8.3 million hectares from white farmers to resettle the landless black people. But the government failed to do so due to challenges such as the constraints of the Lancaster House Agreement like the willing buyer willing seller and the ever rising land prices as white commercial farmers were free to charge any amount of money for their farms. Consequently, the Land Acquisition Act was introduced in 1992 (Coldham 2001). The Act stated that all land for sale ought to be offered to the government first. It also stipulated that under-utilized land would be identified for possible involuntary appropriation. Despite the introduction of the Land Acquisition Act not much progress was made in terms of resettling needy people, which could have avoided the land problems as the peoples' greatest need was land (Sachikonye 2003).

In the late 1980s, white farmers owned 29 percent of the land as opposed to 42 percent in 1980. Many of the beneficiaries of this acquired land were however senior government officials and the new ruling elite (Palmer, 1990:17). Their inclusion strengthened the position of commercial farmers and their lobbying ability with the government (Palmer 1990). This contributed to the scaling down of the land issue during this era. Most of the 400 farms that were acquired were allocated to senior ZANU PF officials (Moyo 2003). The land issue thus disappeared from the policy scene in the mid-1980s and was not much talked about. It was however during this period that squatting on vacant and unutilized land began. In some cases squatters were evicted but in others the government acquired the land (Creevey 1986).

3.5 Changing Course: 1990-2000: Fast Track Land Reform Programme

Upon the expiry of the imposed restrictions by the Lancaster House Constitution on 18 April 1990, the land issue emerged again. According to the Lancaster House Agreement's stipulations, white commercial farmers could freely use the land in their possession for ten years. In order to introduce the new land policy the government legislated it in two phases, one by amending the constitution and secondly by new legislation in terms of the constitution. The Constitution of Zimbabwe Amendment Act, provided that commercial and unutilised land be acquired for resettlement with fair compensation being payable in a 'reasonable time'. It should however be noted that this was in contrast to the Lancaster provision for 'adequate' compensation that had to be paid 'promptly' (Dzingirai 2003; Moyo 1994).

During the late 1990s, farm invasions were started by landless people (the first phase of the land reform programme) as was done in the late 1980s but this time the government was reluctant to evict them. The government first turned a blind eye on the squatters and later encouraged the seizure of the land (Chaumba 2003).

The second phase of the land reform programme came at a time of hardships for the ruling ZANU PF government. The other challenge was the introduction of the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (hereafter ESAP). The Government of Zimbabwe embraced a more market-driven economic policy in 1991 due to pressure from the International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank, and organised business. ESAP sought to restructure output from the production of non-tradable goods such as towards the production of tradable goods. As insisted by its proponents 'open trade systems need to be a part of a comprehensive set of liberal, market oriented, structural and other economic reforms that will result in high-quality, sustained growth' (Sharer 1998:4). By the early 1990s, ESAP had taken root as an economic reform in the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank (WB). This meant a stronger focus on private enterprise, such as commercial farming, and less on state led programs. There was also a tendency in the donor community not to include land reform in its conception of development in Zimbabwe; it rather supported efforts to improve practices in the existing land distribution context (Chaumba 2006; Moyo, 1996).

ESAP had a negative impact on the economy of Zimbabwe as well as on the general populace. The effects of ESAP greatly affected the resettlement programme in Zimbabwe. The flow of capital into the country was significantly reduced by high interest rates and high prices for imported goods which hampered local business (Lopes 1996). Money that had been pledged for the resettlement programme was not honoured. For instance the 1991 plan had pledged \$400 million to the resettlement programme but in the 1995 budget the programme only got \$10 million which only purchased three farms. In the preceding year 1996, the resettlement programme got even a smaller allotment of \$7 million (Masiwa 2004:7). Authors like Drinkwater (1989), Vivian (1994) and Wekwete (1991) argue that the new Zimbabwe Government (after independence) later came to adopt a colonial like ideology that focused on equitable access to land rather than the problem of environmental degradation in African areas. The GoZ thus shifted its focus from justice to productivity. The other problem that faced the resettlement programme is the redistribution of land that lacked transparency. Some claimed that it was marked by regional, ethnic, and class biases that favoured elite Africans from regions and ethnic groups that dominated in the ruling Zanu PF party (Moyo 1995: 17). Along the same line of thinking Alexander (1994:30) argues that as the class interest of people in government shifted, the logic of the colonialist that had cast poor peasant farmers as backward and environmentally destructive increasingly made sense. The 1990 agrarian policies thus differed slightly from those of the colonial state. The policies advocated for centralised bureaucratic control and an emphasis on technological change to improve 'backward' African practices.

The then secretary for Local Government, Rural and Urban Development, Mr Willard Chiwewe, warned of a revolution unless government took a radical approach in resettling millions of landless Zimbabweans. Zimbabwe was sitting on a time bomb, which could explode at any time if government failed to redress land imbalances. As Goebel (2005:6) notes 'One of the greatest forces for the liberation struggle was for land and assuming independence, land redistribution was a national need. The landless group was the most volatile'.

The late 1990s also saw the emergence of opposition political parties which were

prepared to challenge the ZANU PF government in the way it was handling the land issue. As the Government of Zimbabwe faced rising political opposition, it seriously considered resuscitating the resettlement programme. Hence the National Land Acquisition Committee was formed in 1996 at the party's congress. The committee's task was to identify land for resettlement. The Land Acquisition Act was also amended in April 1996. The amendment empowered the government to designate land in vast tracts for resettlement purposes. It also accelerated the rate at which land was identified for acquisition. This resulted in close to four million hectares of land being identified countrywide by November 1997 as shown in Table 1 below.

Table 1: Farms identified for acquisition, November 1997

Province	No. of Farms	Area in Ha
Manicaland	122	144 788.50
Mashonaland Central	114	148 293.03
Mashonaland East	291	339 839.07
Mashonaland West	410	508 828.34
Masvingo	110	888 797.95
Matebeleland North	52	305 485.87
Matebeleland South	186	919 420.9
Midlands	203	550 129.93
Grand Total	1488	3 805 583.66

The Herald (1997:12)

Most of the farm owners contested the acquired farms in the court of law but to no avail, as the decisions of the court were not abided to by the Government of Zimbabwe. As much as the government wanted to deal with the land problem, it faced huge financial problems. It needed an estimated \$US 1.9 billion which it hoped to raise from international donors. Despite the government's high sounding budget, it failed to attract donor support to finance the land reform programme. In a bid to raise sufficient funds for the second phase of the resettlement programme, the government organised a donors' conference in Harare in September 1998. The international donors were however suspicious of the government's moves, taking into consideration the passing of the Land Acquisition Act of 1992 which saw the government compulsorily or

forcefully acquiring land (Tshuma 1997). The outcome of the conference was disappointing as the donors' contributions only came to \$ZW 7 339 000 out of the \$ZW 42 billion the government had requested (see Table 2 below). Most donors pledged technical support rather than money.

Table 2: Financial support pledged by donors, September 1998

Donor / Country	Status	Amount pledged (Z\$)	Other (support in kind)
China	Foreign	-	Agricultural machinery worth \$ZW12m
Netherlands	Foreign	-	Technical support and co-finance infrastructure development
USA	Foreign	-	Technical assistance
Israel, Australia, Cuba, Egypt, Brazil, Japan, Korea, Ireland	Foreign	-	Technical support in the form of building schools, clinics, expertise and technology transfer
Commercial Bank of Zimbabwe	Local	5 000 000	
Inter-Market Holdings Ltd	Local	2 000 000	
Barclays Bank	Local	100 000	
Delta Co-operation	Local	100 000	
Anglo American	Foreign	100 000	
Bertilia Shipping	Foreign	39 000	
Total		7 339 000	

The Herald (1998:7)

Despite lack of support from the donors' conference, the government went ahead to launch the second phase of the Land Reform and Resettlement Programme in 1999. The second phase aimed to acquire 5 million hectares of land to resettle 150 000 families in 5 years. It was also during this time that the drafting of the constitution started. The draft constitution aimed, among other things, to make land acquisition for resettlement easier for the government. A Constitutional Commission was formed to gather views on the draft constitution. Sections 56 and 57 of the Constitution dealt with the land issue. Section 56 stipulated that:

1. Everyone's right to own property and to use and enjoy their property must be protected, although this right may be subordinated in the public interest.
2. The state or an authority authorized by an act of parliament may acquire land compulsorily for public purposes or in the public interest.
 - (a) in accordance with fair procedures set out in the Act of Parliament and
 - (b) Subject, to section seven, so long as compensation is paid just and equitable in regard to its amount, timing and the manner of payment.
3. A law that extinguishes or diminishes anyone's vested or contingent right to be paid a pension, gratuity or similar payment arising out of employment is to be regarded as a law that acquires or authorizes the compulsory acquisition of that person's property (Masiwa 2004:57).

Section 57 of the draft constitution in summation captured that the people of Zimbabwe were unjustifiably disposed of their land with no compensation during the colonial times. People fought to regain their sovereignty and land which led to independence of 18 April 1980. The people of Zimbabwe are therefore entitled to reassert their right and gain ownership of their land. When considering compensation of the compulsorily acquired land, factors to be considered include the history of land ownership, use and occupation of land, price paid for the land when last acquired, value of land improvements and financial constraints that necessitate the payment of compensation in installments over a period of time (Moyo 2008:35; Masiwa 2004:58).

In response to the amendment of clause 57 summarised above, Britain's view was that no state could impose an obligation on another. Zimbabwe's argument was however based on the promises made in the late 1970s that led to an end of the liberation war ushering Zimbabwe into independence in 1980. In the negotiations of the late 1970s, land was the key issue and the international community had pledged to offer their help to this end (Palmer 1990:27; Holman 2000:15).

Between 1998 and 1999 there was a wave of farm occupations by villagers and farm workers but the government called the occupations illegal and resorted to forced evictions. One of the factors that encouraged people to occupy farms was the proximity of the farms to their homes, poor relations between farmers and neighbouring farms, and historical land claims by the communities. A constitutional referendum was held in February 2000 and was rejected at national level. Dorman

(2000:3-4) is of the view that the referendum was rejected because the electorate perceived that the constitutional changes gave too much power to the president. Frustrated by the results of the referendum, war veterans and landless villagers started invading commercial farms. Farm invasions were wide spread in Zimbabwe after the Svosve incident. The Svosve communal villagers in June 1998 occupied Igava farm, vowing to stay on until Government had made a written commitment to resettle them. The occupation of the undesignated land and white commercial farms by the landless constituted the wave of farm invasions. The 2000 wave of farm invasions were by contrary encouraged by the government and orchestrated by the war veterans. It was with the 2000 wave of farm-violence that the international community and the Zimbabwean government realised that the time bomb (land issue) had finally exploded.

According to Goebel (2005), Zikhali (2008), and Moyo (2000) at the end of 2000, the Government of Zimbabwe initiated a fast track resettlement programme that legitimated many of the occupations that had occurred and encouraged many members of the elite, war veterans and rural folk to begin farming on pieces of formerly white commercial land. Raftopolous (2000) offers the same sentiments about the redistribution of land and stresses that the process was really about the takeover by the country's ruling elite of Zimbabwe's main economic asset, the agricultural land. Although the draft constitution was rejected, the parliament of Zimbabwe amended the Constitution in April 2000. The amendment empowered the government to acquire commercial farms without having to compensate for the soil but for the farm improvements only (Masiwa 2004:11).

The farm invasions became more violent as the June 2000 parliamentary elections approached as the ZANU PF encouraged people to invade white farms as a way of campaigning and they continued even after the ruling party won the majority of the seats (Moyo 1995:20-21). Some commercial farmers vowed to stay on their farms despite the disturbances on the farms such as not being allowed to harvest their crops and staying in constant fear. In August 2000, News 24 in South Africa reported that the widespread farm invasions in Zimbabwe led to the killing of most animals, even the rarest species in ranches and on farms. Among the rare species were black rhino

of which there were only about 300 left in Zimbabwe's parks and reserves by 2000. The police were reported to be doing little about the situation and sometimes even condoned the activities.

Against the above backdrop, it is important to consider the history of Mushandike Irrigation Scheme.

3.6 Historical background of Mushandike Irrigation Scheme and the FTLRP

With the failure of Rhodes' dream of vast gold deposits to materialise, the economy of Rhodesia was restructured in 1904. Efforts were redirected towards agriculture by the British South African Company (BSAC) and white settlers were taken to be the main agents of economic development (Machingaidze 1980). However, not all the provinces of the colony were suitable for agricultural production. In some provinces such as Masvingo (in which Mushandike lies) agriculture could not flourish due to dry climatic conditions. The colony could however not afford importing food stuffs due to financial constraints as her geographical position as a land locked country made imports very expensive. On the other hand dry land farming could not supply the colony with adequate food supplies. This necessitated the introduction of irrigation farming in the colony.

The white settlers that were in 'Masvingo Umshandige settlement', a name derived from *mushandirapamwe* which means 'working collectively' (hereafter referred to as Mushandike), were initially settled in the area as they came in prospecting for gold. The colonial state in the 1890s, expropriated the Mushandike area to the settlers. Some mines were opened but later on closed due to the fact that they were not making much profit out of gold mining. The settlers could however not abandon the area and move to other agriculturally suitable areas within the colony as they had used all the money they came into the colony with for buying land and prospecting (Gwanzura 1985:23).

The colonial state was geared for economic prosperity through agriculture. The state

could therefore not stand the chance of losing farmers (settlers who had then resorted to agriculture) in Mushandike valley. As the farmers complained to the state about their falling living standards compared to that of other settlers in other areas, the state responded by providing irrigation facilities. The gorge on Mushandike River also made irrigation farming possible as the river could be dammed. The white settlers in Mushandike started irrigation farming with the help of subsidies from the government, but still had a lot of difficulties since the area proved unsuitable for agriculture. The farmers tried different types of farming from dairy and maize production to the cultivation of drought resistant crops (millet and sorghum) that finally suited the dry natural region. By the time the scheme started to show signs of success in the late 1970s, farming operations were disrupted by the liberation struggle. Most farmers abandoned the farms as they were called up by the colonial government to the war front and others relocated to towns that proved to be safe from war. As the liberation struggle intensified no irrigation took place as farms were abandoned (Gwanzura 1985).

Upon the attainment of independence in 1980 the Government of Zimbabwe concentrated on repairing the irrigation infrastructure. Since land in Zimbabwe was unequally distributed between the whites and blacks emanating from the 1930 Land Apportionment Act that divided land on racial lines, the Government of Zimbabwe therefore embarked on land redistribution in the form of resettlement schemes. According to Gwanzura (1985) the Government of Zimbabwe used the resettlement schemes as a tool of changing property relations in agriculture from capitalistic to socialistic relations. Land was distributed to the landless and not necessarily to ones who are in a better position to farm productively. The Government took over Mushandike valley since it was lying idle after it was abandoned by white settlers and mostly because as an irrigation scheme the government would resettle farmers intensively. The main objective that led to the establishment of Mushandike irrigation scheme was to release economic pressure from the surrounding communal areas. Planners of the resettlement scheme that included the AGRITEX department and the Ministry of Agriculture agreed on plot sizes of 1.5 hectares and four units of livestock per farmer so as to accommodate more farmers (Gwanzura 1985:25). Planners did

not overlook the issue of farmer selection:

‘Experience has shown that it does not pay to select as irrigators the down and outs or have nots....irrigation is a very difficult job and if a person has failed elsewhere he will certainly fail on an irrigation scheme. It should therefore be a criterion for the selection of the irrigators that they have proved successful elsewhere. Farmers that were chosen into the scheme were supposed to have had a record of selling produce with the Grain Marketing Board (GMB) and at least have two cattle for draught power (Hughes 1985:5).

After the Government of Zimbabwe acquired 3.5 million hectares and resettled 71 000 households between 1980 and 1990, the communal areas still remained congested. Thus pressure mounted on GoZ to accelerate its reform programme. Not satisfied with the pace of land redistribution, people resorted to vigorous protests and land occupations. The Svosve villagers are a case in point see 3.4 above. One example comes from Svosve communal village where villagers in June 1998 occupied Igava farm, vowing to stay on until Government had made a written undertaking to resettle them. Igava farm is one of the three farms that were targeted by villagers in Marondera. Subsistence farmers from Svosve village occupied three farms in their hundreds namely Daskop, Homepark and Igava. They picked these farms from the government's list of farms to be acquired but according to the farmers the government's pace was too slow. Igava farm belonged to Mr Hasluck. In the end, the squatters refused to be moved despite threats to be moved by the police citing that the government would break its promise of resettling them as it had done with the handing out of seed corn (Donald 1998). These violent farm invasions started by the Svosve community gave birth to the Fast Track Land Reform Programme (Moyo 1994) – an accelerated resettlement programme through which Government legitimised the farm invasions. On 15 July 2000 the FTLRP was officially launched and it targeted to acquire one million hectares and resettle 30000 families. Three years were earmarked for the completion of the FTLRP. There are two models which were identified for the resettlement of people, namely A1 and A2. The A1 model targeted the rural landless and farmers were to be resettled either in villages or self-contained small farms of about 5 hectares. The farms were leased on a 99 year contract with an option to buy. The A2 model on the other hand was a commercial farming land use model to empower African farmers. The beneficiaries could buy the land within the 99 year

lease period given. For farmers to be allocated land in this scheme they had to give evidence of experience in farming and availability of resources such as inputs. Since the resettlement of farmers was not completed in the three years as planned, there was an overlapping phase called the Expanded Period Phase (2000-2010). This phase was meant to pursue and complete all activities initiated during the Fast Track Land Reform Programme. The activities to be implemented in this period included

- ✓ Identification of land to be acquired (up to 2001)
- ✓ Assessment of the suitability of farms (up to 2001)
- ✓ Gazetting of properties to be acquired (up to 2001)
- ✓ Serving of preliminary notices and acquisition orders (up to 2002)
- ✓ Filling of court applications (up to 2002)
- ✓ Land valuation and assessment for compensation (up to 2004)
- ✓ Settler election and emplacement (up to 2005)
- ✓ Provision of access roads, water points and dip tanks (up to 2010)
- ✓ Detailed land use planning (2010)
- ✓ Provision of secondary infrastructure (2010) (Masiwa 2004).

Measurement of the success of the above activities however turned out to be difficult considering that the whole process was not organised well and was also characterised by nepotism, corruption, and lack of funds, among other things.

Looking at the legal framework of the FTLRP, it is argued that the programme started without any legal backing (Madhuku 2010:15). In many instances it undermined the judiciary system. One such instance happened when judges who ordered the removal of farm invaders from white commercial farms could no longer exercise their powers because of political pressure from the ZANU PF ruling party. The judges could not go ahead to make independent decisions as political pressure was mounting. The government argued that the land issue was a political issue which could not be solved through the courts. The commercial farmers contested that the FTLRP exercise was illegal in terms of the constitution of the country and challenged the presidential powers which they felt were being abused when it was convenient for the government to do so. A case in point is the promulgation of land acquisition regulations passed by the

parliament which enabled the government of Zimbabwe to compulsorily acquire land without necessarily having to compensate for the land fairly and adequately (Coldham 2001:4).

After independence in 1980, it was impossible for the GoZ to acquire land due to constitutional constraints for the first ten years. At the expiry of the first ten years, the government set out plans for an accelerated programme through the National land Policy of 1990. The government amended section 16 of the Constitution which provided strong protection against compulsory acquisition of property and enacted the Land Acquisition Act. The promulgation of the land acquisition regulations was to enable the government of Zimbabwe to acquire white commercial farms without paying regard to fair and adequate compensation but rather putting the responsibility on Britain of establishing a fund to compensate for the agricultural land compulsorily acquired for resettlement (Coldham 2001).

Commenting on the dimensions the 'land question' took with land occupations, Madhuku (2010:25) contends that there is an intractable link between law and politics: 'one might wonder whether the law follows politics or the other way round'. One school of thought says that law merely reflects, or is a mere record of the political wishes of its authors. A conflicting school of thought holds that politicians do not have unlimited power to make law. Though misleading as they may seem, these two views, according to Madhuku (2010) dominated the land question in Zimbabwe since 1890.

It is argued that people in power at any particular time usually make sure that law follows the dictates of politics. This explains the reason why the white ruling minority passed unjust and draconian pieces of legislation such as the 1930 Land Apportionment Act and the 1951 Native Land Husbandry Act. In similar fashion, the black majority engaged in an armed struggle to do away with the draconian laws (Masiwa 2004).

Astrow (1983:5) presents a radical view that nationalist leaders never intended to alter the land patterns that Zimbabwe inherited at independence in any substantive way. He argues that they were rather satisfied with the British proposal (Lancaster House

Agreement) that white people were to continue farming the land in their possession for the first ten years after independence and thereafter land was to be compensated at market value by the Zimbabwean government should the government require it. Astrow (1983:5) labels the nationalist leaders 'petit bourgeoisie'. According to Astrow (1983:6), the nationalist leaders were only concerned with the transfer of political power and not necessarily the change of the status quo. This may explain the reason why very little has been done to resettle the landless African masses.

However, authors like Tshuma (1997) and Moyo (1995) differ from Astrow and contend that the Zimbabwe nationalist leaders (Mugabe, the leader of the ZANU-PF and Nkomo, the ZAPU leader) lacked the political muscle to institutionalize a different framework to deal with the land question. The proposal by the Patriotic Front was rejected by the British government despite the meaningful argument that went with the proposal because according to Masiwa (2004:128) 'real political power at the Lancaster House conference lay with the British government whose avowed aim was to preserve white settler privileges'.

3.7 Assessment of the Fast Track Land Reform Programme

Magaramombe (2001), comments on the FTLRP by focusing on the farm workers' community. He argues that land reform in Zimbabwe brought about positive changes to farm workers in the form of the grievance handling procedure and workers committees. Prior to the land reform, the relationship between white farmers and black farm workers was determined by the Master and Servant Act of 1901. According to this Act, farmers (described as 'masters') were responsible for setting wages without consulting farm workers. Although the grievance handling procedure and workers committee are now at the disposal of farm workers, their success according to Kanyenze (2001) is very minimal as they are often frustrated by the farmers who often victimize those that try to stand up for their rights either by demoting or firing them. The grievance handling procedure involves a number of steps, namely definition of the nature of the dissatisfaction; gathering of the facts; analysis of the facts; applying the

answer; and a follow up.

The functions of the workers' committee include representing workers in any matter affecting their rights and interests, negotiating collective bargaining agreements relating to the terms and conditions of employment of the workers with the employer, and recommending collective job action to workers and selecting members to represent employers in the workers council. The workers council has a chair person, secretary and committee members.

Structures of workers committees were generally put in place so as to instill fear in workers and command compliance. The grievance procedure is also not worker friendly as most workers are uneducated hence do not understand the procedure (Amanor & Dede 1995:11).

With the 2000 referendum defeat, the issue of workers' rights to land and resettlement could no longer hold water as the people of Zimbabwe had voted against the draft constitution that constituted the provisions of how land was to be distributed even to the farm workers. The government's relationship with farmers and the donor community also got sour so that no aid was to be anticipated for the reform programme. As a result of all these developments, farm workers were no longer seen as a specific category to be considered for resettlement (Masiwa 2004).

Yet another argument on farm workers presented by Magaramombe (2001:30) is that with the introduction of the FTLRP quite a sizeable number of farm workers suffered loss of livelihoods and in some instances even their homes. Although most farm workers still reside on the farms, they are economically stuck as they have limited employment options and no longer work as farm labourers. Farm workers are not given the first priority to have access to land as most of them are foreign nationals (Masiwa 2004). The FTLRP is not clear on the position of ex-farm workers with regards to land. As a result farm workers have limited access to land, housing, water and sanitation services, health and schooling facilities (Sachikonye 2003:5). Loss of employment and permanent worker status can be cited as one of the major impacts of FTLRP on farm workers. Contract work has become the norm of the day in most

farms. Quite a sizeable number of farm workers therefore do not have a regular income which they can rely on. Sachikonye (2003:7) further argues that there was no specific effort made to address the needs of farm workers under land reform as an ad hoc approach was taken.

Moyo (2000), an economist, examines the role of economic liberalization in the reconstruction of the political economy of Zimbabwe's land question. He is of the view that land transfer would make a positive difference in the agricultural sector as many people would be engaged in producing for the economy. He further argues that land redistribution would increase the possibility of economic participation by a wider range of rural and urban people. However, for Moyo, the future arrives early. He sees the FTLRP as a swift process without any frictions or hurdles that would immediately alleviate poverty.

Marongwe (2002) evaluates the socio-economic impact of FTLRP. He finds the impact of the programme to be largely negative. All the sectors of the economy that he assessed indicated negative growth. He attributes this to the high levels of violence that accompanied the programme, which bred an environment of uncertainty on the farms. This in turn forced many white farmers to reduce production. On the other hand, the incoming new settlers possessed limited resources, experience, and technical support to make any impact as to resolve the situation.

Mamimine (2003) is of the opinion that the first phase of the Land Reform Programme after independence in 1980 was aimed at developing rural areas through the provision of infrastructure and other socio-economic services in order to ameliorate the plight of the people negatively affected by the war of liberation. He cites the stipulations of the Lancaster House Conference of 1979 as the major set-back to the whole programme. The concept of the willing buyer willing seller crippled the government's effort since it was financially weak. Sachikonye (2003) acknowledges the part played by the 2000-2001 drought in undermining food security but goes on to castigate the entire FTLRP as the destabilizing force. He argues that the FTLRP caused uncertainty to farmers coupled with disturbances such that farmers scaled down their production.

Zikhali (2008) analyses the impact of the FTLRP on the agricultural productivity of program beneficiaries. Comparing programme beneficiaries and a control group of farmers, Zikhali concludes that FTLRP beneficiaries are more productive than communal farmers. For her the source of this productivity differential lies in differences in input usage as well as return. Zikhali (2008) contends that FTLRP beneficiaries have been able to mitigate the reductions in output per hectare better than communal farmers due to the fact that the Zimbabwean government gives them preferential treatment when it comes to accessing farm inputs such as fertilizers. Her results confirm the constraints imposed on agricultural productivity by poverty and suggest that policies aimed at alleviating poverty will have a positive impact on agricultural productivity.

In contrast to Zikhali (2008), Chigumira (2006) argues that the agricultural production of the newly resettled farmers was lower compared to that of the commercial farmers. This differentiation can be explained on the ground that commercial farmers have vast lands and have access to loans which resettled farmers do not have. Households were subsisting off the land and exploiting their natural resources for purposes of consumption, construction, grazing land and income generation. It was also found that, the levels of human, social, and financial capital were low and this constrained the ability of farmers to solely rely on agricultural production. The inflationary and the declining macro-economic environment had affected the new farmers adversely. Findings revealed that households received little support from government and complained of the increasing costs of agricultural inputs and the unavailability of certain inputs such as agro-chemicals and seeds, and that these factors constrained their ability to be productive. Some of the factors that Chigumira (2006) allude to as constraining agricultural growth and sustainable rural development in newly resettled areas are the unstable political environment, the declining economic environment, and failure from government to provide infrastructural and financial support to the newly resettled farmers. This has forced FTLRP beneficiaries to resort to off-farm sources of income and exploitation of their natural resources. Chigumira (2006) is therefore of the opinion that the land problem in Zimbabwe has not been adequately resolved as not all who should have benefited from the program have land and therefore land

demands in the future are imminent.

3.8 Small-scale irrigation farming and water rights in Zimbabwe

Irrigation development in Zimbabwe has been going on for more than a century (Zawe 2006). The Government of Zimbabwe realised the significance of irrigation development in mitigating drought and boosting agricultural productivity. Much has been done by the Government of Zimbabwe in conjunction with the donor community and the private sector since the attainment of independence in 1980. An estimated area of 550 000 hectares is currently under irrigation. The 550 000 hectares include both functional and non-functional irrigation systems as well as informal irrigation schemes. According to a 1990 report by the FAO, 200 000 to 250 000 hectares can be irrigated. Most of the irrigated area is under sprinkler irrigation (over 80%); the remainder (including Mushandike) is under surface irrigation (GoZ 1999). Zimbabwe's Ministry of Lands, Agriculture and Water Development (1994) argues that there is potential for more development of irrigation farming, taking into consideration the potential water resources. The water resources include inland dams and trans-boundary Rivers such as the Zambezi.

There are three major types of small-scale irrigation schemes in Zimbabwe namely the farmer managed schemes, government managed schemes, and jointly managed schemes. In government managed schemes, there is the presence of government through the Department of Agricultural Technical and Extension Services (AGRITEX). In farmer managed schemes, the schemes are managed by the farmers themselves through the Irrigation Management Committees (IMCs) although they are developed by the government. In the jointly managed schemes, the government shares responsibility together with the farmers, for instance the farmers are responsible for the infield infrastructure while the government is responsible for the head works (FAO 2000). Of the three schemes, the farmer managed scheme has proved to be most successful due to the reason that farmers feel to be part and parcel of the scheme as opposed to government owned where farmers do not feel encouraged to invest on the

farm as they see the scheme as belonging to government. The farmers are also not careful when using water and infrastructure since it is the government that does the repairs.

Ten million four hundred people (seventy per cent) of the population of Zimbabwe reside in rural areas. The majority of them depend on agriculture for their livelihood (Rukuni 1994:17; Manzungu 1996:24). Cash is generated from the sale of surplus food crops such as maize and peanuts and cash crops like tobacco, cotton, and paprika. Natural resources utilised by these rural dwellers are arable land for crop production, rivers, springs and underground water for human and livestock consumption and irrigation (Ministry of Agriculture 1997).

Furthermore, the agriculture sector is responsible for national food security (Moyo 1996:5). A particular season usually impacts either positively or negatively on the entire economy of the country. The economy of Zimbabwe was thus according to Manzungu (1996) negatively affected during and after the droughts of 1986/87, 1991/92 and 1994/95 respectively. The argument is that when there is a good agricultural season it usually goes well with all sectors of the economy.

There are a number of principles that guide water resources management in Zimbabwe. First, any commercial use of water requires a water permit. This obviously excludes primary purposes such as domestic uses for example for washing and cooking. Secondly, water is managed by catchment areas (on a hydrological basis since rivers do not match administrative boundaries). This resulted in the country being divided into catchment councils (CCs) which in-turn is subdivided into sub catchment councils (SCCs). Thirdly, stakeholders can participate in decision making at all levels about the use and management of water. On the ground, not all the stakeholders participate in decision making for example farmers in irrigation schemes only have representatives which in most cases side-line women farmers. All the stakeholders are represented in CCs and SCCs on the Zimbabwe National Water Authority (ZINWA). The environment on the other hand is considered a legitimate water user; hence it competes with other uses which could be industrial, mining, and domestic users.

Finally, in Zimbabwe water is now being regarded as an economic good. There is therefore a requirement for commercial water users to pay for it according to the 'user pays' principle in order to recover costs incurred in administering and managing water. At independence white settler farmers had a considerable amount of flow rights estimated at twelve thousand (Bolding 2004:293). Government loans and subsidies helped establish a nationwide network of dams and irrigation infrastructure on white commercial farms (Bolding 2004). This led to a skewed distribution of public water resources at independence, rendering an unfair advantage to white settlers who had applied for water rights first (Zawe 2006). The 1992 worst drought ever recorded in the history of Zimbabwe gave birth to the water reform process started in 1993. At the end of it all, the 1998 Water Act replaced the 1976 Water Act which means that since 1998 all farmers have to pay for the water they use.

The legal issues in irrigation development centre around resource management issues such as land, water, and the irrigation infrastructure. Unlike in large scale commercial farms, it is problematic in small-scale irrigation farming, as farmers do not own irrigation infrastructure and there is no legal clarity in relation to farmers' rights on water.

3.9 Gender and land

According to Women and Land in Zimbabwe (2000:3) the issue of gender has been likened to that of race, class or religion in that women and men seem to fall into two different classes as far as access to land is concerned. The term gender is mostly confused and used interchangeably with women's issues. Gender is however more than just a debate on women's issues. It discusses and brings to the attention of policy makers and implementers critical issues such as land allocation for the overall development of the country.

The culture of people significantly contributes to the lack of consideration of gender in land issues. In Zimbabwe to be born a woman puts one in an inferior position while being born male automatically puts one in a superior position. Land has always been

considered a male rather than a female domain. Gender inequality in Zimbabwe was evident even in the pre-colonial when women did not own land but could access it through their male relatives. Women would have a piece of land allocated to them by a male relative (Cross et al. 1997). Land is a contested issue in Zimbabwe, between black and white, rich and poor and more specifically men and women (Women and Land in Zimbabwe 2000). Most Zimbabweans depend on land for their livelihoods. Moyo (1996:8) also emphasises that 'land underpins the economic, social and political lives of the majority of people in Zimbabwe'. Although the importance of land cannot be over emphasized, women have been marginalized in access to and ownership of land in Zimbabwe.

There are a number of policy frameworks that attempt to create an enabling environment for women's empowerment and these include, among others, the legal age of majority (eighteen years) which conferred majority status on women. Prior to this, women in Zimbabwe were considered as minors (people below the age of eighteen) but after the Legal Age of Majority act when one is eighteen years of age one is considered to be an adult despite the issue of gender (Channeaux-Repond 1994).

In analysing the National Land Policy Framework paper, the paper falls short of mainstreaming gender as there are gender gaps that impact negatively on women's access to and control of land. In the framework paper there is mention of the term 'equitable access to land', which is the closest mention or allusion to gender issues and not equality (see WLZ 2000). According to Masiwa (2004:24) there is therefore no use of terms such as equity and justice that would be used to bring social justice to men and women thriving for equitable distribution of land in the country.

3.10 Chapter summary

The land and agrarian reform has been detailed in this chapter which falls into three segments namely land reform from pre-colonial times (before 1966) to 1980 (Zimbabwe's independence), post-independence (1980 to 1990), and the changing

course of 1990 to 2000 (time of the FTLRP). There have been many debates around the Fast Track Land Reform Programme in terms of its impacts on different groups of people and the economy but there has been a missing link as far as the small-scale farmers are concerned. The following chapter gives the research findings of small-scale farmers' experiences of and responses to the FTLRP.

CHAPTER 4:

RESEARCH FINDINGS: SMALL-SCALE FARMERS' EXPERIENCES OF AND RESPONSES TO ZIMBABWE'S FAST TRACK LAND REFORM PROGRAMME

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the research findings of the Mushandike and Mvurwi small-scale farmers' experiences of and responses to the Fast Track Land Reform Programme. It first gives the profile of Mushandike and Mvurwi settlements. A number of debatable issues are then raised in this chapter. The land tenure issue comes out to be very important to farmers. For farmers to invest on the land they need the assurance that they will remain on the land for a long time. There is also an imbalance in terms of land ownership between men and women. There are more men who own land than women. The advent of the FTLRP saw the rise of contestations over limited resources such as land and water in Mushandike settlement as the resettled farmers contested for these resources with the dry land farmers who resettled themselves through the FTLRP. In the face of hardships some farmers resorted to using indigenous knowledge as coping strategies. These issues will be further analysed in Chapter 5.

4.2 Profile of Mushandike irrigation scheme

The Mushandike irrigation scheme in Masvingo District was established in 1986 and is located 20kms south of Masvingo town along the Masvingo-Beitbridge main road. Mushandike irrigation scheme is in natural region 4 which receives 450-600mm of rainfall per annum. The rainfall is very unreliable such that crop production is problematic. The inhabitants of region 4 practice subsistence farming despite the harsh climatic conditions. Farming is their main source of income and food. Dry resistant crops grown are millet and sorghum. Maize is however also grown since it is the staple food in Zimbabwe. According to the FAO (2000), irrigation farming is essential in region 4 to ensure good agricultural production.

Mushandike shopping centre is located along the Masvingo-Beitbridge road. The township has services like shops, butcheries, and a clinic and also houses the Agritex offices (agricultural extension services) Mushandike township has a population of not more than 95 households. The Masvingo-Beitbridge road has proved to be a good connection in many ways. The road provides a ready market for vegetables such as tomatoes and green mealies which some of the Mushandike inhabitants (mostly dry land women farmers and a few irrigation farmers) sell to travellers alongside the road. Some irrigation and dry land farmers sell their own produce in order to get cash for other necessities like sugar, salt, cooking oil, and laundry soap. Farmers' produce is transported to Masvingo daily as they make use of trucks that use the Masvingo-Beitbridge road and farmers pay for the transportation of their produce).

Mushandike secondary school has Form one up to Form six classes. In Zimbabwe one spends seven years in primary education and then six years in secondary school before one can go for tertiary education. Most pupils come from the irrigation villages but a few are the children of professionals such as teachers, police officers, and agricultural extension officers. Late in the afternoon young adults (15 to 25 years of age) are seen hanging around this area, taking a break from their daily activities. On the right hand side of the road as one drives from Harare towards Beitbridge is a dusty road, which leads to the irrigation scheme. Mushandike irrigation scheme is 10kms from the Harare-Beitbridge main road. Non-farmer vendors buy vegetables for resell from the irrigation scheme daily if business is thriving or whenever their vegetables are sold out. Scotch carts hired by vendors are usually seen transporting vegetables from the scheme to the main road. People in this locality do different activities to make a living. Government workers (teachers, police officers among others) earn a salary but some like Agritex officers practice farming to complement their salaries. Farmers in Mushandike mostly came from the four districts close to Mushandike namely Gutu, Bikita, Chivi and Zaka. Figure 1 below shows the location of Mushandike irrigation scheme.

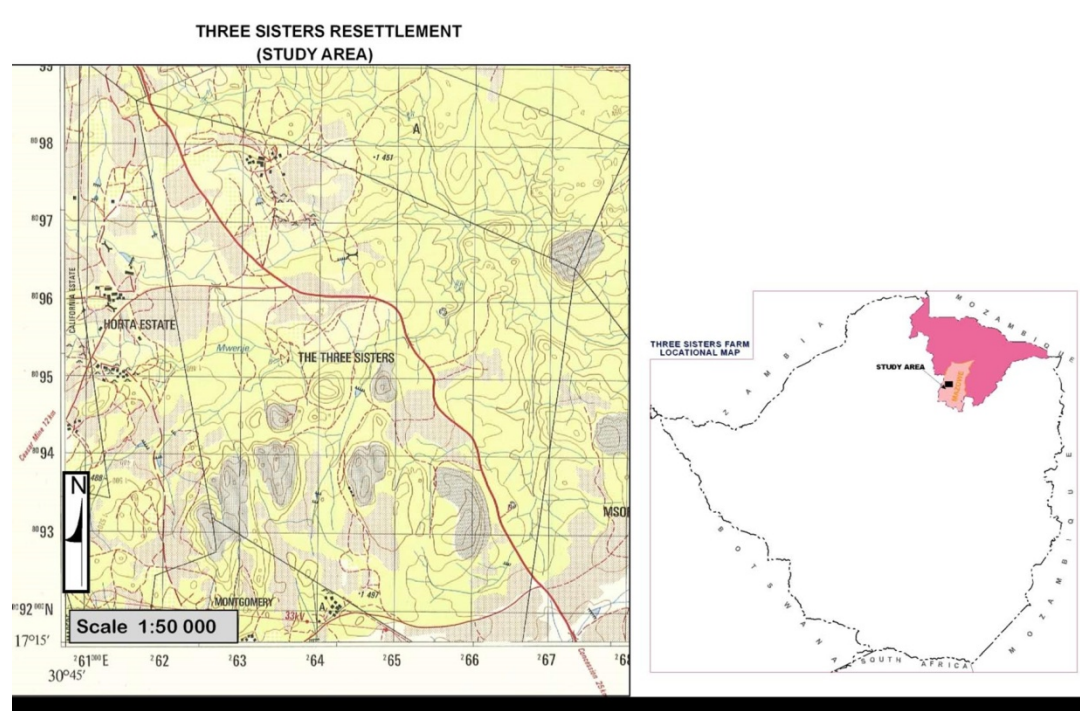
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4.3 Profile of Mvurwi settlement

Mvurwi settlement was chosen as another research area because it is a newly resettled settlement compared to Mushandike to allow for comparison between these two settlements. Mvurwi is a peri-urban commercial farming area (that has both attributes of urban and rural lives) that is situated 100kms south of Harare. Mvurwi settlement is 25kms away south of Mvurwi town which is run by a local board. Mvurwi is in agricultural natural region 3 and receives 700 mm of rainfall annually. Major crops grown are tobacco, maize, ground nuts, soya beans, and round nuts. The land on which Mvurwi settlement was developed initially belonged to a white commercial farmer whose farm of 500 hectares was grabbed by land hungry people in 2000. The white farmer had three daughters from whom the former farm name, Three Sisters, was derived. Mvurwi scheme beneficiaries are people whose common agenda was grabbing productive land. Mvurwi farmers comprise of unemployed middle aged people between 20 and 45 years, civil servants (mainly teachers and soldiers) from neighbouring schools and camps, local business people, and former farm workers. The map below shows the location of Mvurwi settlement (Surveyor General 2007).

Figure 2: Geographical location of Mvurwi settlement



4.3 Demographic features of Mushandike and Mvurwi resettlement schemes

Below are the demographic features of the 60 informants in each of the settlements which give a better appreciation of Mushandike and Mvurwi. These include the gender distribution, land allocation according to gender, age distribution, marital status, household size, literacy levels, and income sources.

4.3.1 Gender distribution

Gender is very important in the context of agriculture. Gender dimensions can be seen in land ownership, decision making, and the working of the land (labour). Figures 3 and 4 below show land allocation to farmers according to gender.

Figure 3: Land allocation according to gender at Mushandike

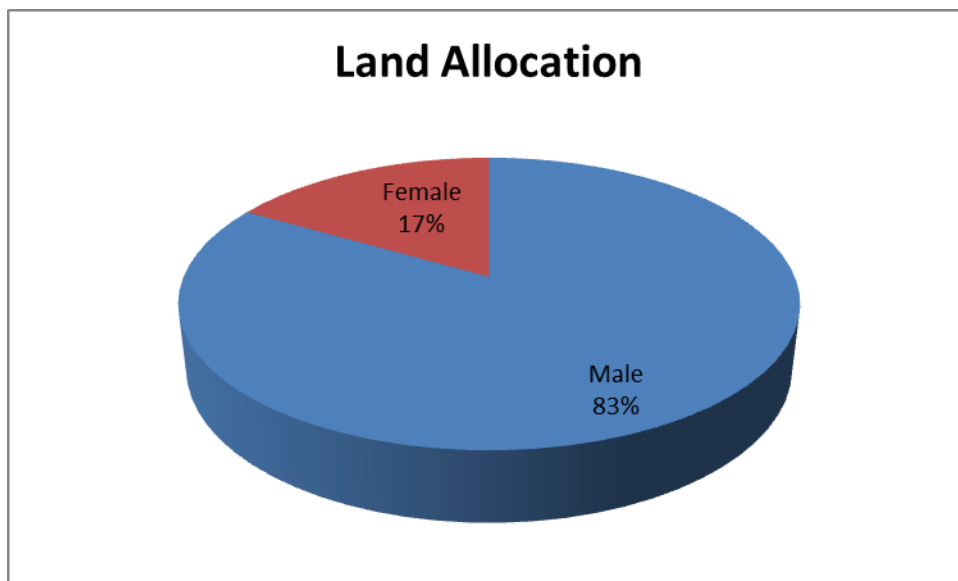
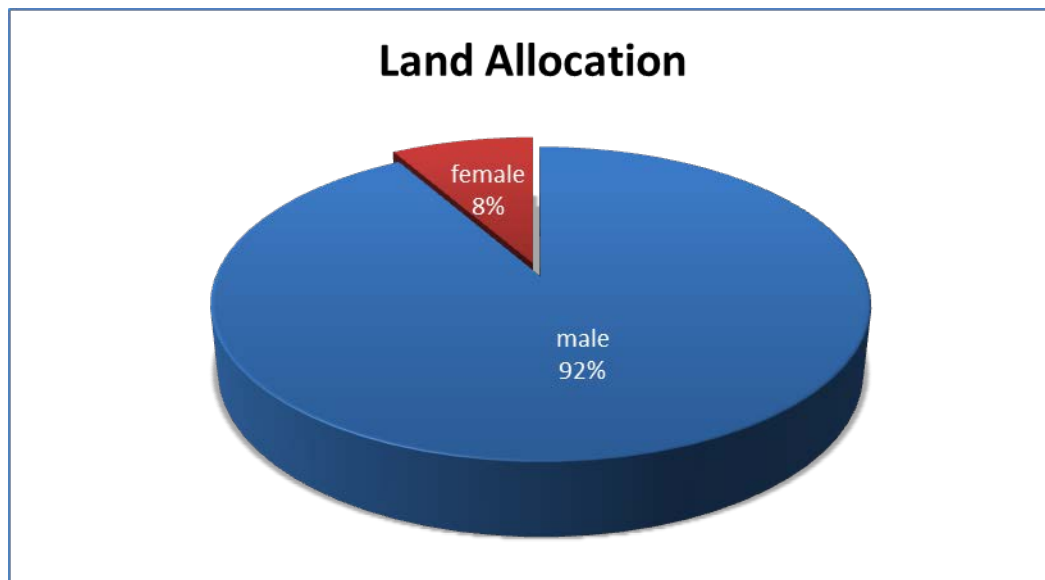


Figure 4: Land allocation according to gender at Mvurwi



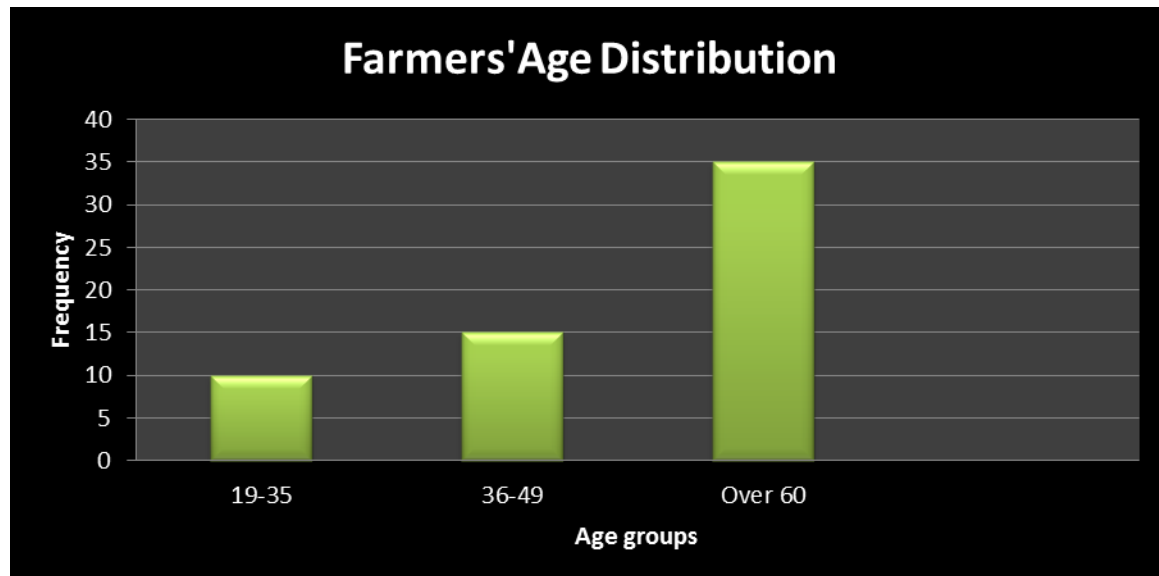
Both Mushandike and Mvurwi settlements have a proportionately high percentage of male plot holders. Mushandike has 83% and Mvurwi has 92% of male plot holders to women plot holders. There are several factors that can be attributed to this, such as the nature of violent demonstrations that did not accommodate many women when grabbing land during the FTLRP and customary law which holds that the household head is a man and that land is a preserve of men.

4.3.2 Age distribution

The age of farmers as a variable in agriculture shows the experience of farmers, how mobile the young aged are, and the availability of other job opportunities which would not restrict the young aged to agriculture only. Figures 5 and 6 below show the age

distribution of farmers at Mushandike and Mvurwi settlements respectively.

Figure 5: Age distribution of Mushandike farmers

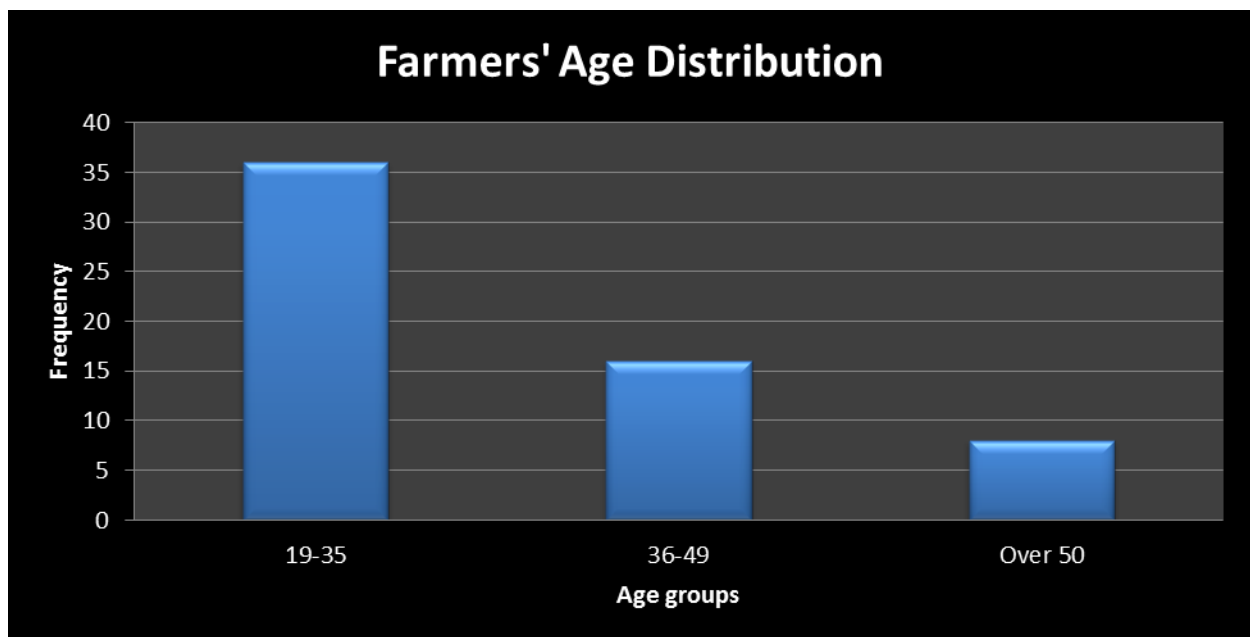


Most of the farmers (35 out of the 60 informants) in Mushandike irrigation scheme are over 60 years old. The age group with most farmers in Mushandike is over 60 years since farmers joined the scheme back in 1986 which implies that the majority of them joined the scheme when they were around 30-35 years of age. The farmers in the age range 36-49 are 15 in number and consist of those farmers who joined the scheme late. The ten farmers in the age range of 19 to 35 years are the farmers' children who inherited the plots from their parents.

Figure 6 below shows a contrasting picture of age ranges showing more farmers in the 19 to 35 years age range at Mvurwi compared to Mushandike.

After many years of farming Mushandike farmers are more experienced. The bulk of Mvurwi's farmers (35) are in the age group of 19-35 which makes 60%. The high number of young people engaged in farming in Mvurwi points to the fact that there are limited job opportunities and that the youth are resorting to farming.

Figure 6: Age distribution of Mvurwi farmers

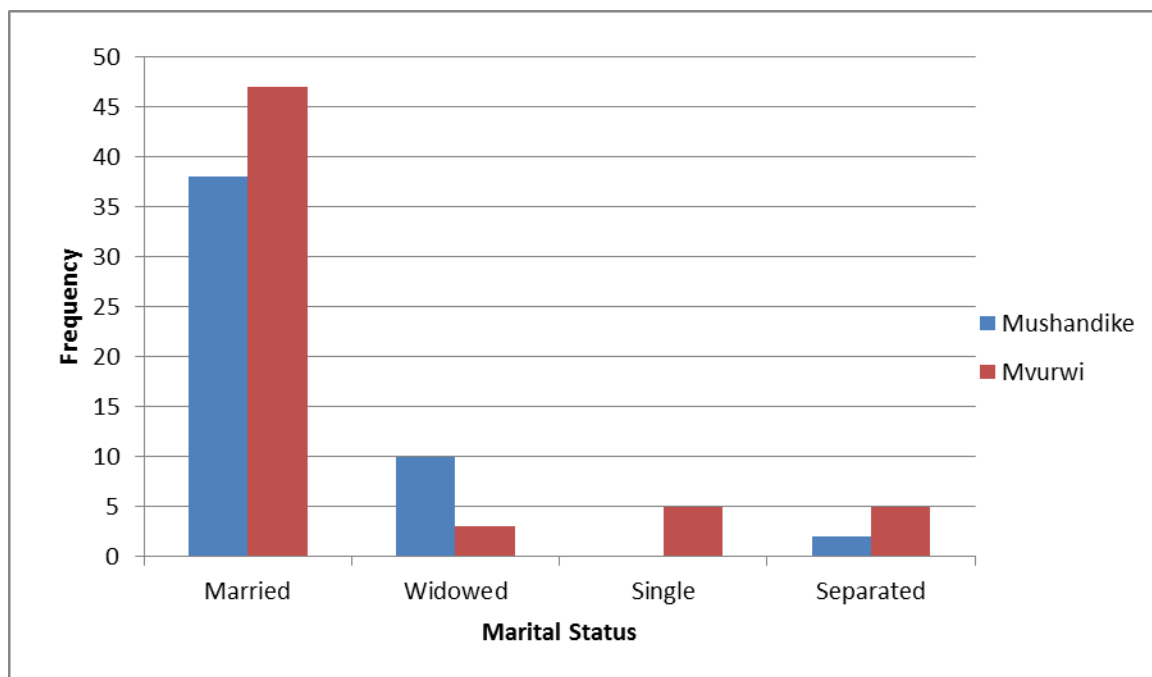


4.3.3 Marital status

A farmer's marital status can determine the farmer's sources of labour, division of labour, and the issue of land rights. A man with a big family gets cheap and available labour from his family and division of labour is done on the basis of gender. A farmer's marital status also has a bearing on the availability of labour and land ownership.

At both schemes most farmers are married and labour come from their wives and children. Widowed women inherited plots from their late husbands. Women who are separated from their husbands lose out on land as husbands claim ownership of the land and women are chased away from the homestead. Mushandike has a higher number of widowed farmers than Mvurwi. This may be attributed to the high age of the farmers in Mushandike.

Figure 7: Farmers' marital status at Mushandike and Mvurwi



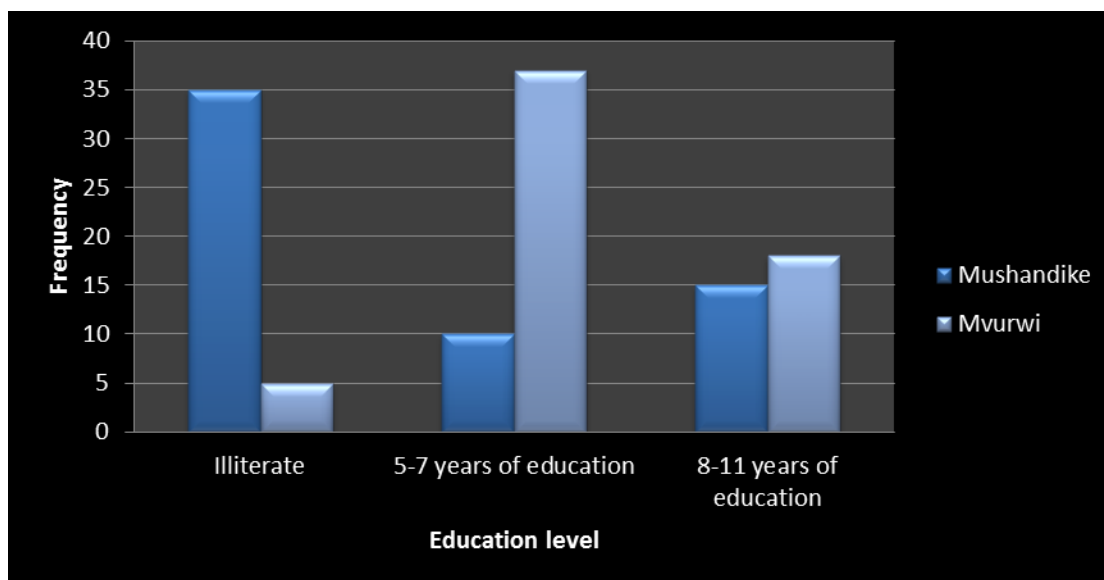
4.3.4 Household size

The term 'household' refers to 'small groups of persons who share the same living accommodation, who pool some or all of their income and wealth and consume certain types of goods and services collectively, mainly housing and food' (Mandizadza 2009:11). The criteria of the existence of family or emotional ties may also be added. 'Household' for this study includes extended family. Mushandike has an average household of 10 people and Mvurwi an average of 6 people. The household size has a bearing on agricultural labour. A big household provides more labour and the reverse is true.

4.3.5 Literacy levels

Education level has a bearing on what one can and cannot accomplish in life and also determines one's capacity for development or success in life. As shown in Figure 8 below, most farmers in Mushandike are illiterate. Most farmers could not read and write (most of them were aged between 50 and 60 years) with the exception of a few others who attended standard 6 (equivalent of secondary education) and who could read and write. Age groups of farmers ranged from 20-40 years (sons and in-laws of farmers who originally settled in Mushandike) and 41 to over 60 years consist of farmers who originally settled in Mushandike. Farmers in Mushandike are also mainly dependant on farming as they do not have many options due to their low education levels. Most of the farmers at Mvurwi are literate in comparison to Mushandike farmers.

Figure 8: Farmers' education levels



4.3.6 Leadership

Leadership shows the farmers' involvement in the day to day running of their schemes. In Mushandike, farmers are organised in the way they run the irrigation scheme. It was observed that every village has a production committee which works hand in hand with agricultural extension officers in farming activities. The production committee represents farmers and oversees the running of the scheme which includes irrigation of crops and sourcing of farm inputs. The security committee works together with the headman mainly in social issues of the scheme such as dispute resolution among farmers. These committees comprise of a chairperson, secretary and four committee members. This shows farmers' participation in the schemes and the committees help farmers take ownership of the schemes.

4.3.7 Income levels in the last three years

Farmers are expected to have settled down with each passing year, gained experience, and improved their capacity which in turn leads to a realization of high incomes. The farmers' incomes increased with each successive year they spent in the scheme. Table 3 below shows an income increment which according to the farmers point to gained experience and skills, improved capacity, and access to farming inputs.

Table 3: Household income patterns after being resettled

Farming income	Year one		Year two		Year three	
Range in US\$	A*	B	A	B	A	B
1000-3000	45	35	15	20	10	10
4000-7000	10	20	35	40	35	30
8000-10000	5	5	10	-	15	20

*Key: A = Mushandike; B = Mvurwi

4.3.8 Number of cattle per household after resettlement

Among Shona-speaking people cattle is a symbol of wealth and can be used as insurance in the old age. Farmers saw a rise in the number of cattle they owned after resettlement as shown below.

Table 4: Number of cattle per household after resettlement

Number of cattle	Year one	Year two	Year three
Range	Number of	Number of	Number of
1-2	45	35	10
3-4	15	20	40
5-6	0	5	10

With improved income (mainly from agricultural activities) farmers were able to acquire assets such as cattle. Farmers were however limited to owning not more than six cattle in the schemes to avoid overgrazing in the schemes.

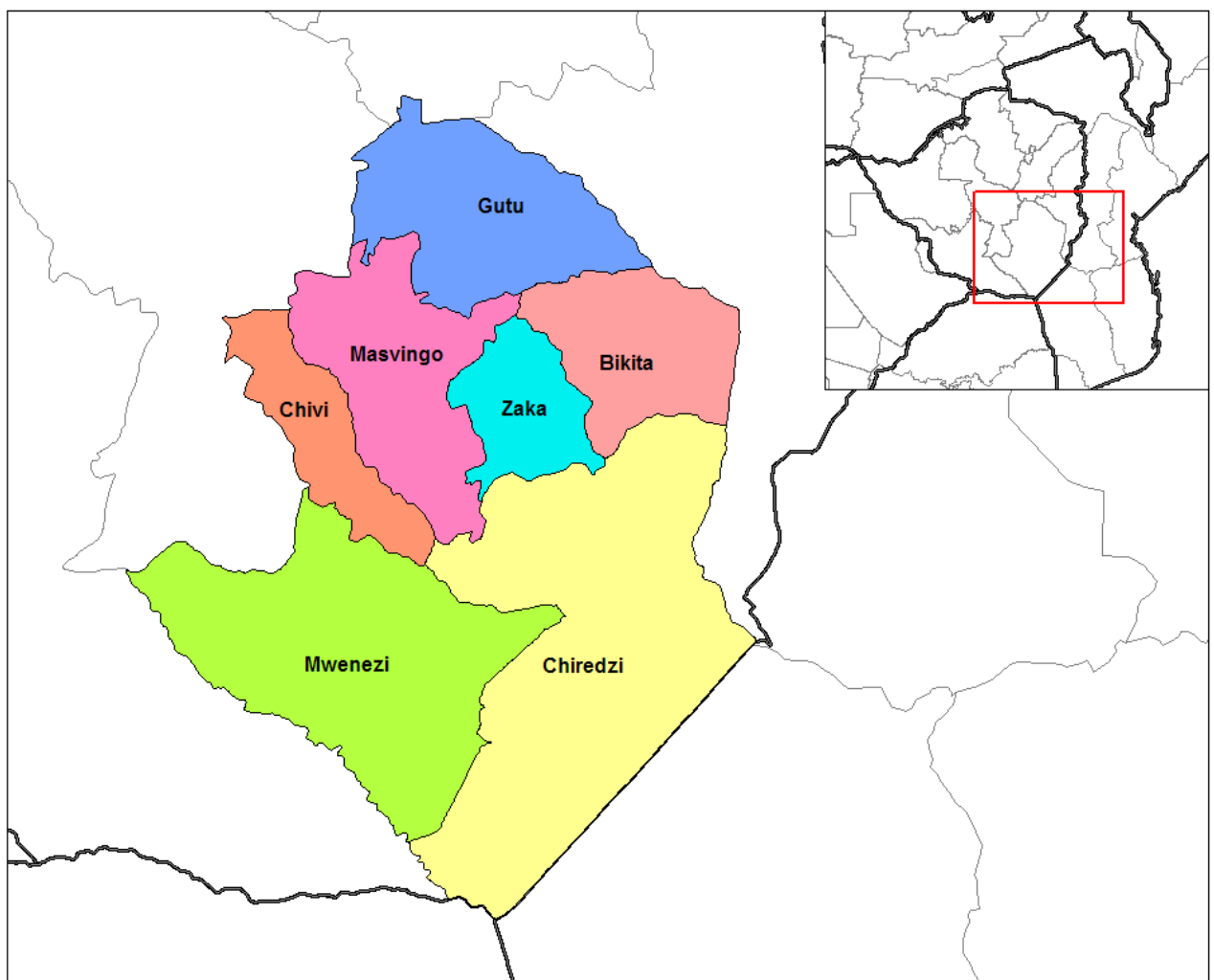
4.3.9 Master farmers' certificates

All farmers in Mushandike irrigation scheme were holders of master farmer certificates when they joined the scheme. Master farmers' certificates were awarded to accomplished farmers by the agricultural extension officers. Being a holder of a master farmer certificate was a selection criterion to ensure that the farmers who were to be admitted into the scheme had some farming knowledge. Mvurwi had only five farmers who held master farmer certificates. For Mvurwi the selection criteria was the participation of people in the violent land grabbing demonstrations at the Three Sisters farm by mainly middle aged men.

4.5 Farmers' districts of origin

Mvurwi farmers were from diverse backgrounds such that some were former farm workers others teachers and some business people. They were also from different districts of origin such as Chiweshe and Guruve. Figure 9 below shows Masvingo Province and its Districts.

Figure 9: Masvingo Province and its districts



(Surveyor General 1980)

4.6 Size of allocated and utilised land

Size of land utilised may show the farmer's ability, and availability of inputs. Table 5 below shows the size of utilised land by farmers.

Table 5: Land allocated and utilised by farmers

	Land allocated (hectare)	Land utilised (hectare)
Mushandike	1.5	1 -1.5
Mvurwi	6	0.5 – 5

Ninety percent of the farmers in Mushandike use all the land and also grow crops three times a year due to the availability of irrigation water. About 30 percent of farmers in Mvurwi still operate at subsistence level due to their backgrounds as farm workers and subsistence farmers as well due to lack of capacity.

It is important to highlight that farmers in Mushandike irrigation scheme were used to getting inputs such as fertilisers and seeds from the government through the Grain Marketing Board (GMB). The GMB would then get its money back with interest from the farmers' proceeds.

4.7 Motivation for resettlement and farmer experiences of the FTLRP

The sample frame at Mushandike included 30 small scale farmers, 6 agricultural extension officers, 3 head men, 10 dry land farmers, 10 farm workers and 1 District Administrator. The sample for Mvurwi comprised of 40 farmers, 2 extension officers, 4 head men and 10 farm workers and 4 drop outs.

The six life histories presented below highlight farmers' motivations for settling and their various experiences of and responses to the FTLRP in both Mushandike and Mvurwi settlements. Note that pseudonyms are used in place of the informants' real names in these life histories.

Munacho Chipenzi from Mushandike irrigation scheme:

Born in Chivi district in 1958, Chipenzi completed his secondary education at Zifunzi High School before he was employed by the GoZ as a policeman to look after the state farms in 1980. In 1986, Chipenzi resigned from working for the state to accept a position at Dherudhe, a company which was involved in building irrigation water canals. Seeing that irrigation farming was really promising, Chipenzi grabbed the opportunity to become part of the village 13 irrigation farmers in Mushandike as he also held a master farmers' certificate. He started producing for sale in 1986 and resigned from Dherudhe Company in that same year to solely rely on irrigation farming. Since then Chipenzi did not look for any other employment and considers irrigation farming to be his main source of income: 'farming on its own is a profession and I think I am better off in farming'. Chipenzi used to get five tonnes of wheat per harvest before the FTLRP and now gets three tonnes which he attributes, among other factors, to limited water and lack of inputs such as seed and fertiliser due to the unfavourable economic climate. Chipenzi realised that the work load in the irrigation scheme had increased as he, like other farmers, shifted from subsistence to commercial farming. 'Work parties (*humwe*) and pulling together of resources has helped us in a great way' said Chipenzi. In drought years (1992 for example) the wheat yield went down. Chipenzi has a family of ten: two of his children are younger than 15 years of age and are still in school, the other two are involved in tertiary education and the first three children have since left the irrigation scheme and stay in the nearest town of Masvingo. Munacho also stays with his mother who is eighty years old. This brings the number of his dependents to five.

Tavaka Dure from Mushandike irrigation scheme:

Tavaka was born in 1955 in Zaka District. He farmed at subsistence level with his parents and siblings because of the small size of land they owned and the semi-dry climatic conditions that characterise Zaka. When Tavaka heard about the opportunity to join Mushandike irrigation scheme he was quick to grab it in anticipation of a better life: 'Only those of us who had a track record of good yields and with master farmer certificates managed to be part of the irrigation scheme'. Tavaka managed to improve

his life at Mushandike irrigation scheme. His yield level increased with time as he got more experienced in commercial farming. Tavaka got to a point of harvesting 5 tonnes of maize, 4 tonnes of wheat, 4 tonnes of beans and 3 tonnes of tomatoes per year in 1992. This meant an improved life for him as witnessed in his diet and number of meals compared to the lives of his counterparts back in Zaka District who barely produced a tonne of maize. Tavaka pointed out the improvements that came to his life due to the resettlement programme, 'I now have five cattle here in the scheme from two cattle, my chickens have increased and I have donkeys for draught power. I now have confidence that I can also farm productively due to the training by agriculture extension services'. Tavaka pointed out that he missed his extended family as most relatives could not meet the requirements used for admission into the Mushandike irrigation scheme. Mushandike irrigation scheme according to Tavaka Dure 'has been affected with drought in drought years such as the years 1992 and 2002'. He also cited the high prices and scarcity of inputs as challenges that the farmers at Mushandike experienced. During the FTLRP Tavaka lost his grazing land just like other irrigation farmers to people who settled in the grazing area of the Mushandike irrigation scheme. Water was also diverted by the new settlers for their own use from the canals which reduced the amount of water for irrigation. Loss of grazing land meant loss of time in the fields and limited water. Tavaka however considered himself to be better off than his counterparts in Zaka District because even challenging times like scarcity of inputs and drought he still managed to get enough for his family and could trade part of his yield for other grocery items.

Talkmore Muza from Mushandike irrigation scheme:

Talkmore was in his forties when he joined the Mushandike irrigation scheme. Before joining the scheme he lived in Mapanzure communal area which was overcrowded and received erratic limited rainfall. For Talkmore, it was 'my agriculture know-how and the few farm implements I had that paved a way for me to be part of Mushandike irrigation scheme'. Although one of the aims of Mushandike irrigation scheme was to decongest the surrounding communal areas not everyone was eligible to be part of the scheme. In Mapanzure communal area Talkmore used to produce at most two tonnes of maize and had two oxen for draught power and a few chickens. Talkmore

testifies of the improvement he has seen in his own life. 'Life has changed in a great way for me. When I joined the scheme in 1986 I only had two cattle but now I have five due to limited number required here otherwise I could have had more cattle'. It was the irrigation scheme's policy that farmers had to keep not more than six cattle to avoid overgrazing. Talkmore's yield levels have tripled due to the availability of irrigation water, agricultural extension services, and access to markets. Talkmore attributes high yields to the farming skills he and other farmers got from their training with extension officers on crop rotation and the crops suitable for the soils as well as provision of inputs like seed and fertiliser and irrigation water. He managed to buy household appliances such as a television, a fridge and a stove. Farm implements he managed to buy include a plough and a planter. Talkmore's homestead comprises of a brick and grass thatched round kitchen, a big brick and asbestos house that comprises of a dining room and the bed rooms. With the advent of the FTLRP, life for Mushandike irrigation farmers was negatively affected in some way. In Talkmore's words 'FTLRP has brought dry land farmers into our grazing area, now we do not have anywhere to put our cattle. Talkmore believes that improved sourcing of inputs and access to markets are necessary if farmers are to optimally benefit from the resettlement programme.

Mori Muchuwa from Mvurwi resettlement scheme:

Mori is 42 years of age, a father of one daughter, and a teacher by profession. He teaches at Dandamera primary school and lives in Dandamera Township in Concession. In 1999 Mori was on leave and decided to join the people who were going to grab farms that belonged to white farmers in the surrounding areas since people were mobilising each other for that cause. For Mori 'desperate need for land' was the driving force for him to join the *jambanja* (literally meaning 'violence'). At that time, Mori and the other protesters which Mori suggested were about fifty people went to the Three Sisters farm early in the morning only to return home in the evening. After two weeks of spending full days at the farm the war veterans and the protesters took over the farm. The farm was subdivided into several six hectare plots and given to people who used to come to the farm and spend days protesting against the white farmer whom they accused of having vast land despite many black Zimbabweans

being landless. Mori was also given six hectares of land at Three Sisters - known as 'Mvurwi settlement' by 2003. Life for Mori has changed significantly. 'I used to live on my salary only but now most of my food items such as maize for maize meal, peanut butter, beans and soya beans, I personally produce'. Before he had access to land Mori used to live on his salary which was barely enough for him and his wife and daughter. Mori produces maize mainly for sale and for subsistence. His first maize yield in 2001 was 5 tonnes. Mori now has six heads of cattle, two goats, and several chickens. 'Meat is no longer a problem to us, the choice is between chicken or goat meat'. He noted challenges in the provision of health and education services which are not in the proximity of their settlement. Health services are accessed from Mvurwi town, situated 25kms away from Mvurwi settlement (formerly Three Sisters' farm). Primary school children walk 10kms to school while those at secondary level have to stay with relatives in neighbouring towns. Mori has great expectations for his future, 'now that he has the means of production, land I can go very far'. Asked what the expectations were, he called on government to provide primary and secondary schools, a clinic, and good road networks that attract public transport to their area to link them to town and to the markets.

Luckmore Musanhi from Mvurwi resettlement scheme:

Luckmore Musanhi was born and bred in Guruve District. He trained as a teacher during his tertiary education. He was stationed at Magwenya High school and stayed at the mission school with his wife and two children. He joined the farm demonstrations at Three Sisters after realizing that his salary alone was not meeting his family's needs. Land at Luckmore's rural home was limited and his unemployed brothers farmed at the family homestead. He got land in 2000, six hectares on a subdivision of the farm. Luckmore managed to transfer his belongings which included two oxen and a plough from his rural home to the new settlement. Some of his belongings were at first left at the village due to the uncertainty of land tenure at the new settlement. At the new settlement Luckmore owns two dairy cows whose milk is bought locally at the farm and he harvests at least three tonnes of maize yearly. Luckmore's family stays at the new settlement whilst he returns home from Magwenya School on weekends and during the week when there are things that need urgent attention. Luckmore hails the

FTLRP for bettering his life and he plans to quit his teaching profession to pursue agriculture. Despite the success story of the FTLRP Luckmore says that they as new farmers are not cushioned from the after effects of the structural adjustment programmes that started to see the spiralling down of the economy of Zimbabwe. In Mvurwi settlement, despite the fact that farmers are not related, they pull their resources together for their common good and to make their work a lot easier.

Mugejo Muchadura from Mvurwi resettlement scheme:

Mugejo Muchadura is another beneficiary of the FTLRP in Mvurwi settlement. He is a local business man in the area with retail shops who had 'desired to have land for a long time'. Through participation in the violent demonstrations to chase away the white farmer, Mugejo got a six hectare piece of land at the farm that was given to all those who participated in the protests for land. Finally getting land was 'a dream come true' for Mugejo. At the time he got land Mugejo had high expectations of what he could achieve. Although Mugejo has managed to produce about 4-5 tonnes of maize yearly as from 2003, Mugejo's expectations are not met. Mugejo thought that 'land would act as collateral for loans at the bank as well as getting access to inputs'. To his surprise, the 99 year lease given for the land could not help in any way in accessing credit as banks do not loan to farmers without title deeds for the farms. For farmers like Mugejo what it means is 'the land belongs to the state'. Mugejo like many farmers in Mvurwi and Mushandike are reluctant to invest heavily on the farms due to uncertainty. Mugejo confirmed that inputs like maize seed, fertiliser, and fuel were distributed to the farmers by the government and farmers were expected to pay back after selling their produce. Mugejo still expects that the government will build schools and clinics in the proximity to serve resettled people. Asked about his perceptions of land reform Mugejo hailed land reform: 'this was a long awaited time for me and I am happy for this opportunity to get land', however he expressed concern over the 99 year lease which did not give entitlement to farmers. Mugejo was of the opinion that illegal land sale was looming large due to lack of land entitlement. Mugejo suggested that farmers be given land in their names so that land can be used as an asset; that farmers can freely invest on the land; and that illegal land sales can be curbed.

Key trends in the farmers' life histories

The selection criterion for farmers in Mushandike was being in possession of a master farmer certificate. Most farmers in Mushandike took farming full time. They did not rely on other jobs for their survival; farming constituted their main income. When farmers had heavy workloads they called for work parties where other farmers would come and help thus showing their social cohesion and integration. Farmers witnessed yield increase with time in the scheme as they could harvest five tonnes of maize for example Tavaka in the second life history. The yield increase was attributed to irrigation farming, availability of land and the agricultural extension services given to farmers. There was a marked improvement in the life of farmers witnessed by improved diet, increased number of meals, cattle, household gadgets and brick and asbestos houses. Farmers managed to buy cattle up to six which was the maximum for farmers in Mushandike to avoid over grazing. Because of their achievements, the farmers gained self confidence that they can farm productively and make a difference. Farmers in Mushandike experienced challenges of accessing inputs due to their high prices during the difficult years around 2008. The other challenge they faced was the occupation of their grazing land by the dry land farmers who settled themselves in Mushandike during the FTLRP in the year 2000.

For Mvurwi farmers, the criterion to get land in the settlement was involvement in demonstrations against the white farmer who used to own the land before it was taken over by the land hungry people led by war veterans. In Mvurwi farmers got six hectares of land and managed to produce their own food such as maize, groundnuts, beans and soya beans. Farmers in Mvurwi settlements desire the provision of social services such as education and health facilities such as clinics as they are far from these services (about 25kms away). The farmers in both Mushandike and Mvurwi expressed concern over land entitlement. Due to lack of land entitlement farmers cannot access loans and credit as banks want title deeds as collateral.

4.8 Farmers' attitudes towards the FTLRP

Table 6 below gives the farmers assessment of the FTLRP, their attitudes and the knowledge gained. The farmers' perceptions are that life has improved for resettled farmers since 55 out of 60 farmers in Mushandike strongly agreed with this statement while 40 out of 60 farmers in Mvurwi also strongly agreed to the same notion. Farmers also strongly agreed that land reform had more benefits (better yields and incomes) as shown by 56 out of 60 farmers who strongly agreed with the statement in Mushandike and 50 out of 60 farmers in Mvurwi settlement. The score of farmers on the Likert scale shows that farmers were happy with the FTLRP which brought an improvement in the farmers' livelihoods. Farmers in the Mushandike and Mvurwi feel obliged to support or say positive things about the government as they are conscious that it is the government that established the resettlement scheme in the case of Mushandike and authorised the resettlement in the case of Mvurwi. This explains the big numbers of farmers whose responses were neutral as they could not say anything negative about the government. Farmers in Mvurwi strongly disagree that farmers can cope with most scheme challenges yet Mushandike farmers have 20 farmers that agree and 20 out of 60 who are neutral. This may be because Mvurwi farmers face huge challenges such as lack of social services yet for Mushandike the challenges can be solved by other alternatives such as the use of indigenous knowledge systems (IKS) when there is lack of resources. A good example is the use of manure in place of fertiliser.

Table 6: Farmer attitudes about the FTLRP

Instruction: Tick the appropriate Likert scale response for each of the following statements:

Attitudinal statement	Strongly agree		Agree		Neutral		Disagree		Strongly disagree	
	Site A	Site B	Site A	Site B	Site A	Site B	Site A	Site B	Site A	Site B
1. Life for resettled farmers has improved	55	40	7	13	2	3				
2. Land reform has had several benefits	56	50	4	6		4				
3. Government support services are accessible (inputs)	20	30	30	20	5	10	5			
4. Social services are available and accessible (health, education)	45		15			20		40		
5. Farmers have the capacity to cope with most scheme challenges			20	5	20	5	15	20	5	30
6. Farmers feel empowered and confident to scale up activities	30	20	10	20	10	10	10	10		
7. Farmers are organised in groups for their own benefit (work parties)	55	40		10	5	5				
8. Female farmers do most of the farming activities in the scheme	20	25	20	20	15	5	5	10		
9. Farmer productivity can be sustained without Agritex input	15	20	35		10	15		20		5
10. Men and women in the scheme have equal opportunities							15	20	45	40
11. Farm input allocations are done in a partisan manner	40	35	10	25	5	5	5			

Key: A = Mushandike Irrigation Scheme; B = Mvurwi Resettlement Scheme

Access to land by farmers in both Mushandike and Mvurwi brought marked improvements in the farmers' lives. Improvements are noticed economically, technologically and socially. Access to land, which is the main means of production saw farmers grow a variety of crops and increased their production levels. Improvement in farmers' income was noticed with the number of years spent in the scheme. For the three recorded years in the first year 75% of households were in the farming income bracket of \$1000-\$3000 but by year 3 about 58% of households belonged, to the income bracket of \$4000-7000 and a further 25% were found in the income bracket of \$8000-\$10 000.

On average, farmers in Mushandike got \$4500 in income while Mvurwi got \$2500 in every farming season. Due to an increase in their incomes, farmers send their children to boarding schools such as Gokomere School in Masvingo. Some farmers send their children to Mushandike primary and secondary schools about 6kms from the scheme. There are more children who attend school in Mushandike than in Masvingo as Mushandike is cheaper as a day school compared to boarding schools in Masvingo. Farmers in Mushandike have access to health, education, and agricultural extension services as these are all located at Mushandike. This is supported by responses to the above Likert scale where 75% of farmers in Mushandike strongly agreed that social services were both available and accessible. Mvurwi resettlement has a different scenario from Mushandike in terms of social services. Near 67% of farmers in Mvurwi disagreed with the statement that social services were both accessible and available. Education and health facilities are not found in the proximity of Mvurwi. When farmers get sick they have to travel to Mvurwi (about 25kms away) to access medication. Due to the long distance some farmers resort to the use of traditional medicines. There is no secondary school in Mvurwi resettlement hence children at secondary school level have to stay with relatives in Mvurwi in order to attend school. The case in Mvurwi differs from that of Mushandike because Mushandike is a planned resettlement scheme while Mvurwi settlement was not planned but done in a haphazard manner.

Access to agricultural extension services has changed farmers' knowledge of farming and perceptions about themselves. Farmers now feel confident in carrying out, their

farming activities, they feel that they can earn a living through farming and can farm commercially. This position is supported by the evidence from responses to the above Likert scale where 50% of farmers supported the statement that farmers felt that they were empowered to scale up agricultural activities. Although there are other sources of livelihood, farming activities are highly ranked as a source of livelihood for many farmers.

4.9 Insights of government officials

Information was gathered from conversations with government officials on the topic of how the FTLRP has benefited small-scale farmers resettled in Mushandike and Mvurwi. The information from the government officials is given below. According to the agricultural extension officers farmers got land which saw them grow a variety of crops and increased their production levels and they enjoyed access to agricultural extension services that improved their knowledge, skills and capacity. Coupled with skills and access to land farmers have improved their yield levels which have also translated into higher incomes and acquiring farm implements.

Some information came from the development officer from Mushandike. Farmers' lives have changed for the better in terms of the type of houses they have. Farmers now own brick and asbestos houses compared to the pole and mud houses they used to have in their former resettlements. Have improved number of meals from one meal to three meals a day and their diet have improved because of the gardens which they own where they grow different vegetables like tomatoes, onions and beans which enhance their diet. Farmers can also afford to send their children to school. Most importantly the development officer was pleased that farmers had the means of production, the land which would make their development sustainable.

4.10 Small-scale farmers' experiences of land reform

It came out from government officials' inputs during interviews that farmers in Mushandike were selected due to their competence in farming. One had to hold a master farmer's certificate to be admitted into the scheme, have at least two cattle, and a record of selling farm produce with the GMB. In the case of Mvurwi, people organised themselves, held land demonstrations and forcefully took land for two weeks. After two weeks, those that participated were each allocated 6 hectares of land. As farmers at Mvurwi got allocated land, they felt that the opportunity they were waiting for had finally come. They felt that they at last had the means of production and were optimistic that life would be better for them in future. There was consensus in focus group discussions in both Mushandike and Mvurwi that farmers were excited to join the scheme and were looking forward to an improved life. As one farmer said, 'money is in land' (*mari iri muvhu*). They were also at the same time anxious as to whether they would be able to cope with commercial farming since they were used to subsistence farming.

When asked about their experiences in resettlements, farmers in Mushandike clearly remembered how they used to get inputs (fertiliser and seed) from the government through the Grain Marketing Board (GMB). Women were quick to raise their disgruntlement during the focus group discussions in the presence of men about how only a few of them own land. They made statements such as the following: 'As women we don't have land except for widows who inherit their husband's land, mostly its men who own land' (*Isu hatina minda inonzi ndeyavarume*). Information from the demographic data shows that in Mushandike irrigation scheme men who own land account for 83% while women with land in their names only account for 17%. Mvurwi resettlement has a percentage of 92% of male farmers who own land compared to 8% of women who possess land. Farmers in this case are those who were allocated land. Although most women don't own land they farm on their husbands' plots. This suggests that men and women do not have equal opportunities in the schemes. Unequal distribution of farm inputs is yet another experience of farmers. This position was supported in responses to the Likert scale question (see table 6). Informants indicated that input allocations are done in a partisan manner. Interviews also confirm

this position as one informant stated that she only got a chain used to fasten the ox drawn plough while other male farmers who supported the ruling party got tractors and harrows.

There are various crops grown in these settlements. Cash crops such as maize, wheat, paprika, and soya beans are considered 'men's crops' (*mbeu dzevarume*) while women are associated with groundnuts and round nuts which are usually used to supplement families' diets. Life histories show that although women also work in the fields, men as household heads usually have the decision making powers over the proceeds of their produce. A few women are able to manipulate their husbands into making particular decisions with regard to the proceeds of their produce for example buying sofas.

Mushandike irrigation farmers experienced a shocks when other communal farmers and some landless people from the surrounding areas, who later literally became known as 'dry land farmers' (*vekumakombo*), during the FTLRP in 2000 invaded and resettled in the irrigation farmers' grazing area. The immigration of dry land farmers led to competition for resources such as water and land as the resources were meant for a certain number of farmers. When Mushandike irrigation was established it was meant to supply a certain number of farmers with water. The conflicts between irrigation farmers and dry land farmers then became inevitable. These conflicts were not yet resolved at the time of my field research. Dry land farmers diverted irrigation water from the canals for their own use such as brick moulding and household use and were suspected of stealing farm implements from the irrigation farmers' fields. When the dry land farmers first invaded the irrigation farmers' grazing land their relationship with each other went bad as they were suspected of stealing and diverting water as highlighted above. With time the dry land farmers became acceptable to the irrigation farmers as they became a cheap source of labour for weeding and harvesting. Dry land farmers could be paid for their labour either in cash or in kind, receiving maize or other food stuffs. During the rainy season the dry land farmers are busy in their field but in the dry season May up to October they are a source of cheap labour. Dry land farmers and irrigation farmers have established friendships and even marriages in a few instances. Parents of the newly married couples have left their

children to make their own decisions.

4.11 Farmers' livelihoods

Due to increased incomes, farmers also managed to acquire livestock which are a symbol of wealth in the Shona culture and are also used as a cushion in difficult times and in times of need such as when there is need for children's school fees. After resettling there was an increase in the number and type of livestock both in Mushandike and Mvurwi (see Table 5 above). Table 7 below shows the type and increase of livestock after resettlement in both schemes.

Table 7: Livestock possession and increase upon resettlement

Domestic animals	Number of Mushandike			Number of Mvurwi		
	Before	After	Increase	Before	After	Increase
Cattle	20	45	25	10	15	5
Pigs	0	2	2	10	5	-
Chickens	15	30	15	25	35	10
Goats	5	0	5	5	15	10
Total	60	60	-	60	60	-

Table 7 shows an increase in the number of cattle that farmers possessed in both Mushandike and Mvurwi. In Mushandike irrigation scheme there was an increase of 55.5 per cent increase of cattle ownership upon resettlement. Mvurwi witnessed an increase of 33.3 per cent in cattle ownership. Cattle are very useful for draught power and are regarded as a symbol of wealth such that most people strive to own cattle. Although Mushandike had restrictions on the number of cattle owned by farmers because of the plot sizes an increase was realised in the number of households that owned cattle. The increase confirms improved wealth status of households as many households had more cattle after resettlement. Mushandike farmers after settlement

witnessed the down spiraling in goat ownership to zero because of the plot sizes and also because goats are naturally known to have devastating effects on horticulture activities done in the scheme. Mvurwi farmers, on the other hand, can afford to have goats due to their vast pieces of land which allow farmers to rear goats on other pieces of land. There was therefore an increase of goat ownership of 66.6 per cent. Chickens are considered a special form of family relish, they do not require much rearing effort as they are free range chickens hence most households in the two settlements own chickens.

Farmers now have an improvement in their technology in that they now use ox drawn ploughs and tractors in some instances compared to the use of hoes in their former settlements. This has to some extent lessened the women's burden of tilling the land. Due to the success of farmers' agricultural activities (like the growing of wheat, maize, beans, tomatoes and turnips in Mushandike and tobacco, paprika, maize and soya beans in Mvurwi) farmers have managed to increase their incomes which they in turn used to acquire farm implements and household goods.

Brick and asbestos houses were seen on almost every homestead and in Mushandike about 90 per cent of the homesteads and farmers have access to electricity which they use for lighting and refrigeration. Farmers still resort to the use of wood for cooking as a cheap source of power. Three meals per day were standard for most households in the scheme and women were able to supplement their family meals with 'women's crops' such as groundnuts.

Table 8: Farmers' livelihood sources before and after land resettlement

Source of household income	Mushandike households		Mvurwi households	
	Before	After	Before	After
Agricultural activities	25	35	6	20
Self-employment	5	0	19	10
Pension benefits	5	2	10	10
Saving clubs / loans	10	0	1	0
Burial society benefits	5	5	5	5
Earned salary	5	5	10	5
Foreign currency	0	13	9	10
Total	60	60	60	60

From Table 8 above it is clear that 35 out of 60 households in Mushandike consider agricultural activities as their predominant source of livelihood. Twenty one per cent of Mushandike households regard foreign currency remittances as their predominant source of livelihood. A number of farmers' grown up sons and daughters have migrated to other countries in search of greener pastures. Farmers in Mushandike therefore receive foreign currency remittances from their children. Savings clubs have been affected by the inflation and by the change of currency (dollarization) which took place in Zimbabwe around 2008.

During times of economic hardships, inflation and drought, farmers have considered income sources other than farming so that they do not depend on farming only. Farmers have other income sources such as burial societies which account for 8% of farmers' household income in Mushandike and pension benefits which account for 16% of Mvurwi farmers' household income. Agricultural activities, however, remains the main source of farmers' income with 58% after farmers' resettlement in Mushandike.

Table 9 below shows that with each passing year an increase was realised in farmers' yields both in Mushandike and settlements. This is attributed to farmers' experience

they gained over the years.

Table 9: Yield increase 1987-1989

Year	Maize	Beans	Wheat	Tomatoes
1987	2	0.5	2	0.4
1988	3	1	2.5	0.9
1989	4	2	4	1.5
1990	5	2.5	4	2

4.12 Social integration

Social integration is when people come together for their common good. In Mushandike it was observed during the study that farmers pull their resources and work together in instances like when there is need to repair and clean up irrigation canals. Farmers are organised by the production committee and they work together in cleaning and repairing canals which at the end of the day benefit everyone in the irrigation scheme. During times of heavy workloads work parties (*humwe*) are called to help in the fields. When a farmer calls for a work party he provides food which consists of meat, thick porridge and beer. The invited farmers bring their farm implements such as hoes, ploughs and oxen to use during the work party. There was consensus in focus group discussions that work parties were common and useful to farmers.

In as much as farmers work together there are some contestations that were observed between irrigation and dry land farmers as well as among the irrigation farmers themselves. The contestations are as a result of competition for resources such as land and water. Dry land farmers were often accused of stealing farm implements left in the fields and diverting water for their own household use and brick moulding. Irrigation farmers only started missing their farm implements after the resettling of the dry land farmers. The other reason for the contestations is that conflict is inevitable

where people stay together. Irrigation farmers have their own share of contestations amongst themselves. A good example I personally experienced was when cattle of one widow strayed into the plot of another man. The man apparently knocked very hard on the widow's door and asked her to go and collect her cattle from the plot. She was made to pay by the owner of the field three bags of maize for the maize consumed by her cattle.

4.13. Farmers' responses and coping strategies to challenges

Farmers in both Mushandike and Mvurwi settlements came up with various coping strategies in the face of land resettlement challenges. From the interviews it emerged that there was a lack of farm inputs such as fertiliser and seed due to the bad economic conditions that prevailed in Zimbabwe. Whenever farm inputs were available they were beyond the financial reach of many. In response to the challenge of farm inputs, farmers have relied on their indigenous knowledge. Most farmers have resorted to using manure instead of fertilizer. Furthermore farmers have selected and stored seeds from their produce to use in the next planting season.

As farmers in Mushandike could not access other household goods, they traded with the women vendors who were trading groceries, food and blankets with farm produce such as beans. This issue of barter trade is also seen in Tavaka's life history who considers himself better off than his rural counterparts (those he left in the communal areas surrounding Mushandike irrigation scheme) since he can exchange his farm produce for grocery items in times of economic hardships (see 4.7).

Although there was conflict between the irrigation and dry land farmers, the irrigation farmers had to coexist with the dry land farmers. Irrigation farmers have started to utilise the cheap labour they get from dry land farmers who are also willing to be paid in cash or in kind. Dry land farmers are usually not busy during the dry season as they rely on raining water to practice farming. During this season dry land farmers avail cheap labour to irrigation farmers. Dry land farmers accept payment in cash or in kind. They accept maize or beans or any agricultural produce.

Interviews with Government officials revealed that there are sometimes conflicts between irrigation farmers emanating from plot boundaries. There are farmers who continuously encroach onto other farmers' plots. This conflict has been resolved by the security committee who took it up to the agricultural extension officers who demarcated the plot boundaries again the plots of the conflicting farmers.

4.14 Chapter summary

The field research findings show that small-scale farmers experienced an improvement in their quality of life witnessed by the type of houses they built in the resettled areas, a marked increase in their livestock, their ability to send their children to boarding schools, improved diet and increased number of meals. An improvement in the small-scale farmers' livelihoods can be attributed to access to land and the availability of agricultural extension services. Farmers in both Mushandike and Mvurwi settlements had social cohesion and integration as they worked, together in work parties during times of heavy workloads.

CHAPTER 5:

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

The overall purpose of the study was to fill the knowledge gap about small-scale farmers' experiences and responses to the FTLRP. The study used Mushandike irrigation scheme in Masvingo District and Mvurwi settlement in Mazoe District to determine how the FTLRP has affected small-scale farmers' livelihoods. In order to allow an in depth analysis or assessment of the impact of the FTLRP on small-scale irrigation farmers, the study focused on farmers' lived realities.

5.2 Objectives of the study revisited

The study's major objective was to assess the impact of the FTLRP on small-scale farmers in Mushandike irrigation scheme and Mvurwi settlement. The specific objectives were to document small-scale farmers' experiences to the land reform, to explore the impact of the land reform on the livelihoods of small-scale farmers, to determine the social relationships and to explore the farmers' responses and coping strategies to land resettlement challenges faced in these settlements.

5.3 Major findings

5.3.1 Selection criteria

It came out from the research findings that selection criteria were used for farmers to be admitted into the resettlement schemes. For the Mushandike scheme farmers had

to be in possession of a master farmer certificate with at least two cattle and a record of selling farm produce with the GMB to show competence. Most of the farmers were selected from the surrounding districts of Gutu, Chivi, Bikita and Zaka as Mushandike's establishment was meant to decongest the surrounding districts. The prerequisite for Mvurwi farmers was that farmers were supposed to have participated in land demonstration (*jambanja*) after which land was allocated to those who participated. The use of the selection criteria to admit farmers into schemes is not unique to Mushandike and Mvurwi, the GoZ has used the same criteria in Zimbabwe in the 1980s in Guruve as people were resettled to large pieces of land of about 6 hectares.

5.3.2 Land as a means of production

Study findings revealed through the farmers' experiences that land in both Mushandike and Mvurwi was taken as the main means of production as farmers depended mainly on farming for their livelihoods. In Mushandike 35 households out of 60 households regard agricultural related activities as their predominant source of household income. Farmers' livelihoods in both Mushandike and Mvurwi improved in a number of ways. Access to land changed the farmers' status from having no land at all to owning productive land. Land is a means of production hence by access to land farmers are in a position to produce. Mvurwi has 30 households out of 60 also depending on agriculture. Matsa and Matsa (2010) confirm this position when they acknowledge that land is the back bone of the peasant economy that characterise Zimbabwe's rural areas. They further argue that every peasant farmer desired to have land in the good farming regions. According to Moyo (2004), about 70% of Zimbabwe's population in rural areas depend on agriculture. Moyo (1995) and GOZ (2001) hold that land underpins the economic, social and political lives of most Zimbabweans who depend on agriculture for their social reproduction. The importance of land in Zimbabwe can be traced back to the liberation struggle waged in 1966 prompted by a deep desire for land. Getting land meant change of status for the farmers. For most farmers land was for them a basic need they could not do without.

Mushandike and Mvurwi's main sources of household livelihoods are land based agricultural activities. After resettlement in Mushandike 59% of farmers and 33.3% of farmers in Mvurwi regarded agriculture as their main source of income and livelihood. Studies by Ellis (2000), Bryceson (2000) and Rigg (2005) support this finding. Mushandike irrigation scheme practices irrigation farming while Mvurwi settlement practices dry land farming. The types of crops commonly grown at Mushandike are wheat and maize, with most farmers producing between 1 and 4 tonnes. Mvurwi's commonly grown crops are tobacco, paprika and maize and farmers produce between 1 to 2 tonnes of maize. Factors such as inputs and draught power affect the farmers' yields. Farmers with no or little inputs are likely to have low yields. Mandizadza (2009) maintains that the asset base of individual households determines the outcome of their production activities. Farmers who have better inputs like fertiliser and seed and farm machinery like tractors are bound to produce more than those who have problems in accessing agricultural inputs. Kepe and Cousins (2002) also argue that it is necessary to have other capital assets (such as ploughs and tractors) for land to be a sufficient livelihood resource.

Although land reform in Zimbabwe brought the long awaited land to the land hungry landless peasants it also expanded the state's power. Land reform was even used as an electoral tool to win the vote of many landless and land hungry peasants.

5.3.3 Farmers' improved lives

The quality of life of farmers changed for the better after settlement in Mvurwi and Mushandike. As farmers got land they were able to produce, thus improving their diet and number of meals per day. Farmers have managed to see an improvement in their income with each passing year as was shown in Table 3. In the first year of farming in Mushandike irrigation scheme most farmers, about seventy five per cent were in the income bracket of \$1000-\$3000. The third year of farming saw most farmers getting into the income bracket of \$4000-7000 about 58.3%.

The improvement in the quality of life for farmers is also seen by the type and number

of livestock and assets acquired by the farmers (see Table 7). As farmers' incomes improved, they managed to acquire livestock - mainly cattle which are seen as an investment and can be used in farmers' old age and when there is need. Matsa and Matsa (2010:3) view cattle, as the major form of draught power in Zimbabwe's communal and resettlement areas. Ownership of strong and healthy oxen measures the farmer's success. The improvement in the quality of life revealed in this study is not a new phenomenon. According to Deininger, Hoogeveen & Kinsey (2000), Zimbabwe's FTLRP was successful in natural region 2 as witnessed by substantial amounts of assets acquired by farmers and increased agricultural productivity. The study revealed enhanced nutrition in most households of Mvurwi and Mushandike settlements which has also improved the farmers' quality of life. This improvement is illustrated by the number of meals per household per day. There was consensus in focus group discussions concerning farmers' improved diets and number of meals. In rural areas people used to have two meals per day as households tried to save the food as they could not produce enough food for the whole year. Due to land reform, with large pieces of land and access to inputs, their yields have increased to such an extent that households now have at least three meals per day (usually tea and bread or sweet potatoes in the morning, thick porridge and relish in the afternoon and thick porridge and relish in the evening). The farmers' nutrition has also been complemented with vegetables and women's crops such as round nuts and ground nuts.

5.3.4 Social services

In the analysis of the study findings, it came out clearly that in Mushandike there has been an improvement in the area of social services provision. All farmers in Mushandike indicated that social services are available and accessible. Mushandike has a primary and secondary school located at Mushandike Township which is a central place for the irrigation villages. Because of their improved incomes farmers can afford to send their children to school. Some farmers even send their children to boarding schools that are more expensive than the local Mushandike School.

Mushandike primary and secondary schools were established by the government to accommodate children of resettled farmers as the irrigation scheme was planned. The government has the mandate to provide essential services to its resettlement models such as a primary school, a clinic, boreholes, dip tanks, roads and farmer support services such as seed packs (GOZ, 2001).

Mushandike Township also offers health facilities. Farmer households have access to affordable basic health care at Mushandike clinic which is about 5kms away. Patients with worse conditions are referred to Masvingo General Hospital. Because of large volumes of patients farmers have to go early to the clinic as patients, queue up for the service. The nurses at the clinic make sure that all patients are treated before close of day every day. Also situated at Mushandike Township are the Agritex officers who offer extension services to farmers. According to farmers, agricultural extension services have improved the lives of farmers in a remarkable way. Farmers have acquired many farming skills. Due to these skills farmers have changed their own self-perception and believe that they are able to make positive changes in their own lives as they produce commercially. The majority of farmers in Mushandike (66.6% of my sample) feel empowered and confident to scale up farming activities mainly due to the skills they got from Agritex extension services.

Mvurwi resettlement paints a contrasting picture to Mushandike irrigation scheme in as far as social service provision is concerned. Social services provision in Mvurwi is generally poor as shown by the 66.6 % of farmers who strongly disagreed with the statement that social services are available and accessible. The nearest primary school which farmers' children can attend is 10kms away. Children thus have to walk 20kms a day to attend school. There is no secondary school in the area and this means that pupils after seven years of education have to make other arrangements like staying with relatives in other cities if they are to continue with education. Absence of a secondary school in Mvurwi settlement may point to the fact that white commercial farmers only desired to educate African people to an extent that they could only read and write so that they could be useful at the farm. Another explanation that may be attributed to this scenario is the way Mvurwi resettlement was established. The resettlement was done in an unplanned way hence there were no social services put

in place. Matsa and Matsa (2010) comment that the situation in newly resettled farms show the remote nature of the new settlements and highlights the acuteness of problems that the newly resettled farmers' children have to endure as schools are far away. The issue of transport is another problem faced by Mvurwi settlers as public transport is non-existent. There is a very narrow road which services the area. No buses pass through the area due to the poor road. Farmers have to depend on private cars that use this road but there is always uncertainty as to whether one will be able to get to his/her destination and on time. Mushandike gives a contrasting picture. Mushandike irrigation scheme is close to the Beitbridge Masvingo main road which offers transport in forms of trucks, buses and small cars to farmers.

It emerged from the study that there is lack of health services in Mvurwi settlement as there is no clinic in the area. Farmers in Mvurwi have resorted to the use of traditional medicines and others visit religious prophets when sick. Farmers therefore end up having to travel about 25kms to access health facilities in Mvurwi town. Farmers complained that the 25kms distance to Mvurwi hospital is far away – especially when persons are seriously ill or experience labour pains. Thirty three per cent of farmers in Mvurwi were neutral concerning the issue of social service provision. This was because some of them are former farm workers who are used to the situation as they have been staying in that locality for a long time. Some farmers feel that they cannot say anything negative about the government as they are grateful for the land they got and optimistic that the government will in due course provide the social services.

5.3.5 Social cohesion

Study findings have shown that farmers in Mushandike and Mvurwi have managed to come together and pull their resources together hence experience social integration, organisation and cohesion. Farmers in both settlements organise themselves for their common good. When for example there is need to clean the canals farmers organise themselves and work together to clean the canals for that common good. This can be attributed to the unity that farmers have or the knowledge that the end result will benefit

all of them.

Another observed phenomenon is the issue of work parties which are called by farmers when there are heavy workloads. When farmers got resettled they were separated from their relatives based in communal areas who were their support system who would help whenever need arose. The existence of work parties helps to fill that gap, offering support that the farmers used to be offered by their relatives. When a farmer calls for a work party it is the farmer's responsibility to provide food in terms of thick porridge, meat and beer. Farmers bring their farm implements such as their oxen and ox-drawn ploughs and hoes to help work in the fields. As farmers work together and help each other their ties and relationships are made stronger.

Social cohesion is another trend evident in the study in terms of how farmers relate. Farmers formed a burial society where they pay a little amount of money every month. When there is a funeral of one of their members, the burial society supports in terms of buying a standard coffin, groceries for the funeral such as bread, salt, sugar and vegetables. Farmers in both Mushandike and Mvurwi belong to various churches which also show integration and social cohesion. The churches include the Dutch Reformed church, Evangelical churches and apostolic sects. Farmers through churches have come to have cemented relationships as they help each other in the most difficult times such during sickness death. Church members can organise themselves to help a sick member to plough weed or harvest. When a member of their church dies it is the church's responsibility to organise and run the burial service. Different churches are also given an opportunity to share words of comfort with the family further showing their integration and organisation. There are however some farmers who experience social isolation as they are staying away from relatives which they left in their former communal areas.

Irrigation and dry land farmers in Mushandike because of their working relationships ended up integrated. Irrigation farmers employed dry land farmers who could be paid either in cash or in kind. The irrigation and dry land farmers ended up with good relations.

5.3.6 Land tenure

The land tenure issue came out strongly in this study. Land tenure is essential to every farmer as it determines how much the farmer is prepared to invest into the farm resulting in the farm's success. Ninety one per cent of farmers in Mushandike and 90% of farmers in Mvurwi ascribed to the fact that land tenure is very important and determines how much the farmer is prepared to invest into the land. Farmers in both Mushandike and Mvurwi have been given land but they not have the title deeds of the land which they till. The land is leased to farmers by the Government of Zimbabwe for a 99 year period. This means that land belongs to the government. Farmers in the resettlement schemes therefore desired that they have land registered in their names. The farmers' concern was that if the land was not entitled to them they could not use it as collateral to access loans and inputs. Uncertainty around land ownership also meant that farmers were hesitant to earnestly invest on the land (by erecting permanent structures, for example) as they were not sure as to when they would have to leave the land.

There have been debates about the kind of land tenure that encourages farmers to invest on the land and safeguards the farmers land rights. There are land tenure systems that can be identified as privatised or individualised and communal or traditional land tenure systems. Individualized tenure is viewed as the demarcation and registration of freehold title. This type of land tenure is considered as superior by farmers due to the fact that farmers are given incentives to use land more efficiently and hence maximize agriculture's contribution to social well-being (Barrows and Roth 1990). Hardin (1968) agrees with Barrows and Roth and advocates that resources ought to be privatized in order to attain sustainable use. Barrows and Roth (1990) further argue that farmers under individualized land tenure invest in the land to conserve soil as well as maintain its soil fertility. Loan and credit facilities are also at the disposal of such farmers while Massell and Johnson (1968) attribute the high crop outputs by commercial farmers to incentives created by individualization, as opposed to the lower crop outputs of traditional tenure farmers in Zimbabwe. Some scholars such as Chimhowu and Woodhouse (2008:33) argue that the high productivity levels of commercial farms compared to tribal reserves can however be attributed to better

management skills and additional resource endowments and the criteria used to select farmers for the purchase area. Chimhowu and Woodhouse (2008), however contend that the selling of land in Zimbabwe has its roots in the customary African land tenure and has implications for tenure security, in that it does not safeguard land.

According to GoZ's policy, communal land cannot be sold although it can be inherited. A case study of Svosve communal area in Zimbabwe in 2005 by Chimhowu and Woodhouse show that people end up being involved in informal sale and renting out (commoditization) of land that erodes the land rights of rural people in Zimbabwe. Chimhowu and Woodhouse (2008) therefore suggest that policies to protect the poor will need to look beyond the communitarian discourse currently favoured by the government in face of commoditization and the inequality of land access associated with it. Scoones (2008) notes that in Zimbabwe change of land tenure brought about certain myths such as that land reform has been a total failure, that the beneficiaries of land reform have largely been political cronies, that there is no investment in the new resettlements, that agriculture is in complete ruins and that the rural economy has collapsed. Scoones' argument is that there are landless people from towns and rural areas who have benefited from the FTLRP and have seen their lives improve.

5.3.7 Land reform and gender

An observable trend in both Mushandike and Mvurwi settlements is that there are more men than women who farm. Only 8.3 % of farmers in Mvurwi are women and 16.6 % in Mushandike are women while most plot holders are men. This could be attributed to three factors namely culture, selection criteria, and poverty. In Shona culture a man is the household head and land belongs to the man. When a household does well in farming the master farmer certificate is awarded to the household head hence when selection time came for farmers to be admitted into Mushandike irrigation scheme mostly men got allocated most of the land. Zimbabwean women are traditionally and by nature peaceful and take care of their families with the result that their involvement

in land demonstrations was not pronounced. According to Goebel (2005) the FTLRP practices privileged men as primary recipients of resettlement land and the emerging role of traditional authorities in the land reform process marginalizes women. The findings of this study seconded Goebel's observation since most women in the settlements accessed land through their husbands. Few women who had land were widows who inherited the land from their late husbands. Richardson (2003) offers the same sentiments and argues that the legal provisions on women's rights remain weak. Kenya provides a good example where 98% of women are involved in agriculture on a full time basis but only 5% of them own the land.

The way land is allocated display the government's insensitivity to the issue of gender. Scoones (2010: 54-55) note that although women actively participated in the farm invasions by cooking for the people at the base who were doing farm invasions, fetching water and firewood, very few of them managed to get land from their efforts . Women who got land in Masvingo Province were only 13 per cent of the total population of Masvingo Province. This finding is in sync with the argument by Ghimire (2001:2) who adds that rural women fall among the most vulnerable and deprived. Women fall in the category of the rural poor without access to land and women are often doubly penalised because of their gender. Moreover, women despite their overwhelming contribution to agriculture and household's responsibility, own marginalised (far from markets) and least productive land. Agarwal (1994) further argues that women are the last to access services and support by land reform programmes.

From the study it emerged that women did not get equal opportunities of accessing land as their male counterparts. Land was given to men being the household heads as accepted by tradition. Land was therefore traditionally a male domain. This finding is in line with Boserup's argument who contends that women's relationship with the land is seriously determined by customs and laws of inheritance and marriage (1999). In exceptional cases women inherit their fathers' property. Women can also have access to land of their marital homes. Women are not decision makers – not even in the few cases where they are land owners. Mgugu and Chimonyo (2004) observe that the legislation on the access and control over natural resources in Zimbabwe is gender

blind. Matsa and Matsa (2010) further strengthen Mgugu and Chimonyo's observation when they argue that women are discriminated against by traditional leadership which again is male dominated.

This study's findings also reinforce Gaidzanwa's argument (1996) that there are no laws in Zimbabwe to safeguard women's land rights which is still the case in Zimbabwe. In some contexts women can keep the proceeds of crops they produce on their husbands' property but will not have formal ownership of the land such that they cannot use it as collateral for loans and credit and cannot sell it should any need arise.

There is also an argument about which land tenure system individualised or collective, best safeguards land rights. Some authors like Barrows & Roth (1990) advocated for the individualised land tenure system arguing that it gives all people the same chances of buying land at a market price. Adams, Sibanda and Turner (1999) come from a different angle and argue that the individualised system still side-lines the poor including women who may not have the money to buy land at market prices. It is therefore recommended that women have land registered in their own names rather than in their husbands'. In the few cases that women get land in their names, the land after their death inherited by male relatives like sons or nephews and never by daughters. This was further supported by Gaidzanwa (1996:15) who said 'what government gives to women, custom takes away'.

Gender roles were another aspect that was studied at Mushandike irrigation scheme and Mvurwi resettlement. The conclusion is that there are men and women's roles although in some instances these roles can be done by both men and women. Men perform chores and roles such as tilling the land and herding cattle while women weed, plant and take care of the family.

Closely linked to the gender roles is the issue of the type of crops culturally or traditionally grown by men and women. In most instances the trend for crops was that cash crops belonged to men while women's crops were crops that add to the nutritional value of the family (Jacobs 1991). The issue of whose crops they are is determined

by who controls the proceeds of certain crops and determines how the proceeds are going to be used. Evidence from focus group discussions illustrate that crops like wheat and beans are regarded as men's crops while tomatoes and groundnuts are women's crops.

5.3.8 Farmer support systems

The findings have also highlighted that the supply of inputs is an issue of concern to farmers both in Mushandike and Mvurwi. After farmers got access to land there was need for support in terms of agricultural inputs in the initial stages, so that farmers would not be stuck without inputs. Ghimire (2001:2) acknowledges that provision of agricultural inputs, loans and credit facilities and extension services are as crucial to farmers as providing them with land in the first place. In support of Ghimire's view, Moyo (2007) notes that not all countries that have landlessness lack land reform measures but lack peasant support systems such as loans, credit, input supply and there are little or no efforts to protect the gains of the land reform. In the case of Mushandike and Mvurwi inputs were given by the government through the GMB and traditional leadership. Mandizadza (2009) notes that land on its own cannot be sufficient as a livelihood resource. Kepe and Cousins (2002) agree with Mandizadza and state that the provision of land on its own without follow up services cannot assure livelihoods. Responses to questions asked by means of a Likert scale (see Table 7) revealed that farm inputs such as fertiliser and seed and farm implements from farmer support programmes were not equally distributed among the farmers in Mushandike and Mvurwi as evidenced by the 67% of farmers in Mushandike and 58% of farmers in Mvurwi who agreed with the statement that farm inputs were distributed on party tickets.

Extension services also came out in the study as critical for the improvement of the farmers' productivity. The farmers' yield increase could be due to the experience gained by farmers over the years in farming and the skills acquired from agricultural extension officers as well as the availability of inputs. The issue of farmers getting skills

from agricultural extension services is not new. Pazvakavambwa and Hakutangwi (2006) noted that the Department of Agriculture was set up to provide technical support and advice on the cultivation of certain crops. According to Mandizadza (2009:15), extension services started in 1926 but it started with a coercive and prescriptive approach to African farmers with the intention of conserving the environment. The agricultural extension services to the white farmers sought to improve the farmers' yield.

5.3.9 Challenges faced by small-scale farmers

Mushandike irrigation scheme was established by the Government of Zimbabwe. Farmers in the scheme feel obliged to support the government (through its ZANU PF political party) which they associate with the establishment of the scheme. Farmers are hesitant to come out in the open about their political alignment if they belong to a party other than ZANU PF. They risk losing their plots and are side-lined when farm inputs are distributed. Such an incident happened in Mushandike irrigation scheme where a woman was given a chain for an ox plough while well-known party supporters went away with tractors.

In Mushandike, unlike in Mvurwi, there were conflicts that resulted from the competition over limited resources such as land and water. The water and land in Mushandike irrigation scheme were meant to serve the irrigation farmers that were admitted into the scheme, but the coming in of dry land farmers led to competition and contestations over these resources. This is in line with Ghimire's observation (2001) that newcomer poor migrants may come into conflict with the traditional resource users or tribal populations.

5.3.10 Farmers' coping strategies

In the face of resettlement challenges, farmers adopt various coping strategies.

Farmers in both Mushandike and Mvurwi adopted a number of coping strategies to increase their household resilience to counter food insecurity. To complement their incomes from agricultural activities, irrigation farmers started income generating projects such as keeping chickens. Few farmers consisting of elderly farmers and child headed households in Mushandike have resorted to renting out portions of their 1.5 hectare plots in order to sustain themselves. According to Chimhowu & Woodhouse (2008:285-308) such commoditisation of land erodes women's land rights. Land commoditisation gives women money but just for a season yet they are losing the main means of production. Selling of farm inputs like maize seed and fertiliser is the other way that farmers have adopted when faced with a situation that needs money. During the time of high inflation households in Mushandike resorted to barter trade as a way of selling their produce like beans to get household groceries such as soap, cooking oil, soil and blankets from cross border traders. This trend in Zimbabwe is also reported on by Gaidzanwa (1996) who writes about *madaiza*, i.e. traders who exchange clothes for maize.

Farmers resort to the use of indigenous knowledge when faced with scarcity of inputs. Farmers in Mushandike used manure to compliment limited fertilizer and selected seed from their produce.

It also came out in the study that irrigation and dry land farmers ended up co-existing together despite their differences. When faced with the coming in of dry land farmers the irrigation farmers were initially shocked but they later considered to accommodate them (some even intermarried) by recognising them as a source of labour. Dry land farmers were paid either in cash or in kind.

During the years in which agriculture was disturbed by lack of inputs, farmers diversified their income sources to include non-agricultural sources like barter trade and foreign currency remittance. In the face of unavailability of social services such as health services farmers made use of traditional medicines.

5.4 Recommendations

After gathering research findings and analysing them it is important to come up with recommendations. For this study, the following recommendations may be made:

- Resettlement schemes that were already established by the government are supposed to be safe guarded from occupations by dry land farmers as occupying such resettlements defeat the purpose of resettling people in the first place. Dry land farmers should be removed from the Mushandike irrigation farmers grazing land despite the fact that they had become a valuable source of labour and be resettled somewhere else as their occupation resulted in disrupting irrigation farmers who ended up having to find people to look after their cattle and losing some volume of water to dry land farmers.
- The whole essence of resettling farmers in Mushandike irrigation scheme was to relieve pressure in the surrounding communal areas of Masvingo and to make sure that farmers improve their production levels by irrigating their crops. Having people come and resettle in the designated grazing land of irrigation farmers disturbs the production of irrigation farmers. The FTLRP came as a way of correcting the racially skewed land allocation but in the case of Mushandike the coming in of dry land farmers did more harm than good.
- Farmer support services should be availed to all resettled farmers to back land reforms and improve farmers' livelihoods. The Government' extension and support services should be improved for example Agritex officers should be provided with adequate transport for easy access to all resettlement areas.
- Access of land to farmers is vital as land is the farmers' main means of production. Without support services, land on its own cannot be of much benefit to farmers. Farmers therefore need support services like the availability of agricultural extension officers, credit schemes and loans from banks inputs like seed and fertiliser.
- Land rights ought to be extended to women and legislation should be put in place to enable women to have plots and land in their own right and to have control over it.

- According to this study women constitute only 17% in Mushandike and 8% in Mvurwi of those who own land. Land is thus not equally distributed between men and women. This land allocation trend is caused by custom and tradition which holds that land is a male domain. Due to lack of land access women are not free to make decisions on which type of crops to grow and how to spend agricultural proceeds. It is therefore important that women get land in their names in order to benefit from it and have control over it.
- Social services (communication systems, roads, transport, schools and clinics) must be provided in every resettlement scheme by the Government of Zimbabwe.
- Due to the haphazard way Mvurwi settlement was made there was no social service provision made for the settlers. To avoid people having to travel 25kms to schools or clinics Mvurwi settlers should work together with the government to provide these services. In future the governments have to consider providing these services before resettling people.
- Farmers should be given security of tenure and security of tenure must be protected for farmers to be able to farm effectively and productively. Farmers in both Mushandike and Mvurwi do not have security of tenure and title deeds. Absence of security of tenure and title deeds, have resulted in them not being able to acquire loans as banks require collateral.

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ANNEXURES

ANNEXURE A: PERMISSION FROM MUSHANDIKE CHIEF

2010-07-20

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

RE: APPROVAL LETTER TO CARRY OUT RESEARCH ON MUSHANDIKE IRRIGATION SCHEME

It came to my attention that Priscilla Mutangi (s28406801) who is studying for a Masters of Sociology Degree in Community Development at the University of Pretoria, South Africa, would like to carry out a study-related research in Mushandike Irrigation Scheme. She has sought permission to that effect. Her application is supported by a letter dated 1 June 2009, written and signed by Professor and Mrs. Kriel, her lecturers.

Accordingly, permission is hereby granted to carry out the research in a manner she deems appropriate to gather the required information.

Please do not hesitate to contact the writer should you require further clarifications regarding this matter.

Sincerel,

T. Chirau

ANNEXURE B: PERMISSION FROM MVURWI CHIEF

2010-07- 20

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

RE: APPROVAL LETTER TO CARRY OUT RESEARCH IN MVURWI SETTLEMENT

It came to my attention that Priscilla Mutangi (s28406801) who is studying for a Masters of Sociology Degree in Community Development at the University of Pretoria, South Africa, would like to carry out a study-related research in Mushandike Irrigation Scheme. She has sought permission to that effect. Her application is supported by a letter dated 1 June 2009, written and signed by Professor and Mrs. Kriel, her lecturers.

Accordingly, permission is hereby granted to carry out the research in a manner she deems appropriate to gather the required information.

Please do not hesitate to contact the writer should you require further clarifications regarding this matter.

Sincerely,

C. Chigwada

ANNEXURE C: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS

1. In your opinion how have the land reform support programs benefited small-scale farmers resettled in Mushandike/ Mvurwi?
2. In your opinion what has been the constraints and challenges met by resettled farmers?
3. How did land reform facilitate small-scale farm productivity on resettled land?
4. With support of quantitative data substantiate your answer to 3 above.
5. In your opinion how has small-scale farmers responded to challenges and constraints they met in the resettlement schemes
6. In what ways do you interface with small-scale farmers in Mushandike/Mvurwi?

ANNEXURE D: FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. How were beneficiaries of the resettlement programme identified and identified?
2. What were the farmers' experiences to land reform resettlement programmes?
3. How has the resettlement programmes benefited small-scale farmers to date?
4. What practical evidence is available to demonstrate positive impacts of the land reform programme to the livelihood of farmers?
5. What challenges did farmers encounter since joining the resettlement scheme?
6. How have the farmers responded to the resettlement programme opportunities and challenges?
7. What does government need to do to support farmers realise sustainable (long term) benefits of the land reform programme?
8. How are small-scale farmers organised, capacitated and empowered in order to optimize benefits of the resettlement programme?
9. In your opinion how do politicians influence the activities of resettled farmers?
10. What advice should be given to future beneficiaries of similar future land resettlement schemes?
11. Considering the above collective responses what else does the group want discussed in the context?

ANNEXURE E: FIELD OBSERVATIONS CHECKLIST

1. Quality of life based on the nature of houses, number and type of livestock, number of meals per day and social services provision.
2. How farmers relate/interact among themselves and with other communities.
3. What constitute a typical farmer's day in the scheme.
4. Gender dimensions in the schemes (division of labour and related crops).
5. Frequency and quality of interactions between Agritex officers and farmers.
6. Farming challenges/constraints faced by farmers in the resettlement scheme.
7. Profile and viability of farming activities (agriculture as business) in scheme.
8. Farmer sources of livelihoods in the scheme (income generation and supplementary activities)
9. Availability, affordability, accessibility and acceptability of essential social services in the scheme
10. Relationships between resettled farmers and service providers/stakeholders

ANNEXURE F: QUESTIONNAIRE FOR FARMER HOUSEHOLD HEADS

Farmer demographic information

Age..... Sex.....Male/Female
Marital status.....single/ married/ widowed/ on separation
Number of people in household (nucleus family size)..... (extended family).....
Educational level..... Civic leadership/responsibilities.....
Income source and level in the last three years.....
Holder of master farmer certificate prior to joining resettlement scheme Yes/No
District of origin prior to joining the resettlement scheme
Size of land allocated..... Currently utilized

Farmer integration and organization practices

1. How often are farmer planning and review meetings with extension officers held?
.....
2. Which social groups/clubs do small-scale farmers establish or belong/affiliate to?
.....
3. Where do resettled farmers go to seek health services when not well?
.....
4. Where and how do farmers get their farming inputs?
.....
5. Under what circumstances do some resettled farmers rent out their plots?
.....

Farmer resettlement experiences

1. In your own opinion what has been the level of government support to resettled small-scale farmers?
2. How have resettled farmers responded to resource constraints, requisite resettlement conditions and government expectations and political patronage?
3. What has been the role of political party in the land resettlement schemes?
4. How were small-scale farmers selected and admitted into the scheme?

5. What role do government extension workers play in the resettlement schemes?
6. What main farming challenges and constraints are faced by small-scale farmers?

Viability of farming activities in the scheme

1. What types of crops are commonly grown in the resettlement schemes?
2. On what level is farming in the resettlement practised Subsistence or commercial?
3. What has been the level of your yield per acre for any three the following crops maize, wheat, sugar beans, tomatoes, paprika and tobacco in the past five years?
4. What assets have you acquired since joining the resettlement scheme?
5. 1 Indicate how many cattle, goats, sheep, chickens and donkeys did you have on joining the resettlement scheme?
- 5.2 Indicate how many cattle, goats, sheep, chickens and donkeys do you now have after joining the resettlement scheme?
6. 1 How much do you spend on inputs in any given farming season?
- 6.2 How much do you get or earn from your farming activities in any given season?
- 6.3 How much of your total annual farming earnings do you spend on each of the following budget items: education, health, and agriculture?

Assessment of farmer knowledge, attitudes, behaviours and practices. Tick the appropriate Likert scale response for each of the following statements

Attitudinal statement	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Life for resettled farmers has improved					
Land reform has had more benefits than challenges					
Comprehensive government support services are accessible					
Social services are available and accessible					
Farmers have capacity to cope with most scheme challenges					

Farmers feel empowered and confident to scale up activities					
Scheme farmers are organised in groups for their own benefits					
Female farmers do most of the farming activities in the scheme					
Farmer productivity can still be sustained without Agritex input					
Men and women in the scheme have equal opportunities					
Scheme farm input allocations are done in a partisan manner					

ANNEXURE G: INFORMED CONSENT FORM



Department of Anthropology & Archaeology,

University of Pretoria

RESEARCH PROJECT: IMPACTS OF ZIMBABWE'S FAST TRACK LAND REFORM PROGRAMME ON SMALL-SCALE FARMERS IN MUSHANDIKE AND MVURWI

My name is Priscilla Mutangi. I am a post graduate student (nr. 28406801) in the Department of Anthropology and Archaeology at the University of Pretoria and I am conducting field research on the impact of Fast Track Land Reform Programme on small-scale irrigation farmers in Mushandike and Mvurwi. Permission to conduct the research was granted by the chiefs of Mushandike and Mvurwi. Mrs I. Kriel of the above department will act as my preliminary supervisor.

Will you please participate in my research project by joining the discussions and interviews?

I will do my utmost to ensure your anonymity in all my written reports by using either code names or pseudonyms. I do not expect you to divulge any information that might compromise you in any way. All information will be treated as confidential and you may withdraw from discussions or interviews at any time without any consequences. My aim, objectives and research methods are summarised on the reverse side of this page. I will provide you, upon request, with any additional information on my research project and answer any questions about my studies, my research methods, and myself. You may also contact me at the following telephone number: 072 780 7530.

I, the undersigned, have read the above and I understand the nature and objectives of the research project of Priscilla Mutangi as well as my potential role in it and my right to withdraw from it at any stage
I voluntarily consent to participate in all discussions and interviews.

Full name of participant	Signature of participant	Date