

**THE WIDER VISION OF SOCIAL POLICY: AN ANALYSIS OF THE
TRANSFORMATIVE ROLE OF THE FAST TRACK LAND REFORM
PROGRAMME IN ZVIMBA DISTRICT (ZIMBABWE)**

by

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Declaration

I declare that the thesis is my own work, based on original research, and has not been submitted elsewhere for another award. The secondary sources consulted have been acknowledged by way of references. The Government of Zimbabwe granted permission through the relevant ministries, to access and reside in Zvimba district for data collection.

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Dedication

Felistas Ngombe, my wife.

Lestencia Nyasha, Taombekwa and Rukudzo Mazvitaisho, my daughters.

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List of Acronyms

AAPG	All Africa Parliamentary Group
AGRITEX	Agricultural, Technical and Extension Services
AIAS	African Institute for Agrarian Studies
AIDS	Acquired Immunity Deficiency Syndrome
AKTIS	Agriculture, Knowledge, Technology and Innovation Systems
AR	Agrarian Reform
ARDA	Agriculture and Rural Development Authority
AREX	Department of Agriculture and Rural Extension
BIPPA	Bilateral Promotion and Protection Agreement
CA	Communal Area
CAADP	Comprehensive African Agriculture Development Programme
CAIS	Command Agriculture Inputs Scheme
CBO	Community Based Organisation
CFSS	Commercial Farm Settlement Scheme
CF	Contract Farming
CFU	Commercial Farmers Union
COTTCO	Cotton Company of Zimbabwe
CSO	Central Statistical Office/ Civil Society Organisation
DA	District Administrator
DAC	District AIDS Committee
DAEO	District Agricultural Extension Officer
DCC	District Co-ordinating Committee
DDF	District Development Fund
DLC	District Lands Committee
DLIC	District Land Identification Committee
EIRR	Economic Internal Rate of Return
EMA	Environmental Management Agency
ESAP	Economic Structural Adjustment Programme
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations
FCTZ	Farm Community Trust of Zimbabwe
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FLIs	Farm Level Institutions
FNSP	Food and Nutrition Security Policy
FTFs	Fast Track Farms
FTLR	Fast Track Land Reform
FTLRP	Fast Track Land Reform Programme
GAPWUZ	General Agriculture and Plantation Workers Union
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GMB	Grain Marketing Board
GoZ	Government of Zimbabwe
GPA	Global Political Agreement
Ha	Hectare
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
IAPRI	International Agricultural Policy Research Institute
ICA	Intensive Conservation Area
IDS	Institute of Development Studies
INGO	International Non-Governmental Organisation

JAG	Justice for Agriculture
LC	Land Commission
LCA	Land Commission Act
LCB	Land Commission Bill
LRRP	Land Reform and Resettlement Programme
LLA	Land Acquisition Act
LSCF	Large Scale Commercial Farm
MDC	Movement for Democratic Change
MDC-A	Movement for Democratic Change (Alliance)
MA1	Model A1
MA2	Model A2
MLRR	Ministry of Lands and Rural Resettlement
NAC	National AIDS Council
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NR	Natural Region
NRAs	New Resettlement Areas
ORAs	Old Resettlement Areas
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
PF ZAPU	Zimbabwe African People's Union Patriotic Front
PLIC	Provincial Land Identification Committee
RBZ	Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe
RCZ	Research Council of Zimbabwe
RDC	Rural District Council
SADC	Southern Africa Development Community
SAFIRE	Southern Alliance for Indigenous Resources
SIRDC	Scientific Industrial Research and Documentation Centre
SMAIAS	Sam Moyo African Institute for Agrarian Studies
SPSS	Statistical Package for Social Sciences
SSCF	Small Scale Commercial Farm
TCAS	Targeted Command Agriculture Scheme
TIMB	Tobacco Industrial Board
TSP	Transformative Social Policy
TTL	Tribal Trust Land
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
VIDCO	Village Development Committee
WAC	Ward AIDS Committee
WB	World Bank
WADCO	Ward Development Committee
ZAIP	Zimbabwe Agricultural Investment Plan
ZANU PF	Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front
ZCAPF	Zimbabwe Comprehensive Agricultural Policy Framework
ZESA	Zimbabwe Electricity Supply Company
ZFU	Zimbabwe Farmers Union
ZIDERA	Zimbabwe Democracy and Economic Recovery Act
ZIJRI	Zimbabwe Joint Resettlement Initiative
ZIMASSET	Zimbabwe Agenda for Socio-Economic Transformation
ZIMSTAT	Zimbabwe National Statistical Agency
ZNA	Zimbabwe National Army
ZNAPF	Zimbabwe National Agricultural Policy Framework

ZNFU	Zimbabwe National Farmers Union
ZRDC	Zvimba Rural District Council
ZRP	Zimbabwe Republic Police

Abstract

The thesis focuses on the social policy dimension of Zimbabwe's Fast Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP). Interrogating land reform in the context of Transformative Social Policy (TSP) is a critical lacuna in Zimbabwe's land reform and dominant social policy literature, implying the absence of a wider vision of social policy. This vision emphasises the consideration of the five tasks of social policy (production, redistribution, reproduction, protection and social cohesion); and acknowledges the symbiotic link between social policy and development. The thesis asks, how did the FTLRP and land occupations unfold; what is the new agrarian structure and, forms of social organisation in the aftermath of the fast track land reform; and how has the programme played out in relation to redistribution, production, social protection, reproduction and social cohesion? The thesis is based on a qualitative-dominant mixed methods research approach, and is complemented by predominantly quantitative data gathered by the African Institute for Agrarian Studies (AIAS), now Sam Moyo African Institute for Agrarian Studies (SMAIAS); and a sample of 150 A1 land beneficiaries drawn from Dalkeith, Whyndhill and St Lucia Farms. Using grounded empirical data gathered in an eight (8) months-long ethnography in Zvimba district, Mashonaland West Province; and transcending ideological and epistemological debates, the thesis argues that, despite shortcomings, the fast track land reform is a crucial social policy 'instrument' with immense potential to transform lives. Across the district, land is a core economic, social and political resource that is central in enhancing wellbeing. The centrality of land reform in transforming lives is hampered mainly by land use and production constraints, and as the study results show, this dimension has the least positive outcomes. Diverse targeted support services that are mainly crystallised around land use and production, value chains and markets, are essential. If the farmers are appropriately supported, the benefits of land reform are potentially immense. Overall, land reform must be understood as a transformative social policy initiative and fast track is the case study for demonstrating this. The thesis contributes primarily to approaches and literature on land reform and social policy.

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Chapter One: Introduction

In dominant social policy literature, especially that by the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), limited attention is paid to land reforms in the Global South as social policy instruments (Adesina 2014 – Social Policy Doctoral Seminar)

1.1 Introduction

Zimbabwe witnessed radical changes of the rural landscape in a context of extensive redistributive land reform since 2000. The “events in the late 1990s around the land question in Zimbabwe have been dramatic and transformational” (Cliffe, Alexander, Cousins and Gaidzanwa 2011, p. 907). The fast track land reform primarily started with the spontaneous war veterans-led “occupations of white-owned large-scale commercial farms” (Fox, Chigumira and Rowntree 2007, p. 1), locally known as *Jambanja*. In July 2000, the ‘illegal’ farm occupations were formalised and assumed the name Fast Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP). The fast track land reform is the third in post-independent Zimbabwe, yet remains the most topical and highly contested in terms of its origins, processes and outcomes. Broadly, the social outcomes of Zimbabwe’s fast track land reform have received very little attention (Chipenda 2020; Ncube 2018, p. 1).

An essential remark in this thesis is that, the outcomes of the FTLRP stimulated major debates among scholars, policy makers, politicians, social commentators, and so forth at both micro and macro levels on a variety of aspects. Burgeoning literature indicates the interest, and ideological and epistemological debates in the fast track land reform (Chipenda 2018, 2019, 2020; Marewo 2019; Jakaza 2019; Tekwa and Adesina 2018; Murisa 2009, 2013, 2018; Mkodzongi and Spiegel 2018; Chigumira 2018; Ndlovhu 2017, 2018; Jejenkwa and Bames 2018; Shonhe 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018; Thebe 2018; Chigumira 2018; Gwekwerere, Mutasa and Chitofori 2018; Schafer 2017; Laurie 2016; Pilosof 2016; Bhatasara and Helliker 2016; Chibwana 2016; Yan and Chen 2016; Dekker and Kinsey 2011, 2016; James

2015; Scoones 2015, 2015, 2017, 2018, 2019; Njaya 2015; Mlambo and Chitando 2015; Hanlon, Manjengwa and Smart 2014; Nyawo 2014; Moyo 2013; Moyo and Chambati 2013; Mkodzongi 2013, 2013a, 2013b, 2016, 2018; Zikhali and Chilonda 2012; Matondi 2012; Scoones, Marongwe, Mavedzenge, Mahenehene, Murimbarimba and Sukume 2010, 2011, 2019; Mutopo 2011; Mudefi 2011; Marimira 2010; Jowah 2009; Degeorges and Reilly 2007; Ruswa 2007; Jiri 2007; Raftopolous and Jensen 2003; Moyo 1995; Mukanya 1991 and so forth).

The debates pertain to the nature, processes, extent and outcomes of the land reform programme. Diverse scholars acknowledge achievements of, contestations over and criticisms levelled against the FTLRP (Jakaza 2019; Chipenda 2018, 2019; Bhatasara and Helliker 2016, p. 1; Chibwana 2016; Chiweshe, Chakona and Helliker 2015; Mkodzongi and Spiegel 2018; Mkodzongi 2011, 2013, 2016, 2018; Cliffe *et al.*, 2011; Murisa 2009, 2013, 2018; Chiweshe 2011; Ruswa, 2007 and others). Scholars engaged the FTLRP from various ideological and epistemological standpoints (livelihoods, political economy, human rights and neo-patrimonial approaches), in some cases leading to polarisation (Chipenda 2018; Chibwana 2016, p. 33; Scoones *et al.*, 2011). Accordingly, the FTLRP has created an academic rupture. However, scholars have been urged to transcend ideological and epistemological divisions, to comprehend the fast track land reform's outcomes in detail (Scoones *et al.*, 2011; Raftopolous 2009). I explore the various ideological and epistemological standpoints later in this chapter (in the Background to the Study section). In that section, I acknowledge the diversity, complexity and dynamism of the standpoints, and how they are presented in literature.

Land occupations involving contested land expropriation and in some cases, violent episodes ignited the fast track land reform. The land occupations were a response to latent and

manifest processes of colonial accumulation by dispossession, and draconian racially-skewed land tenure that was created and sustained by the British during the century-long colonisation (Moyo 2013); and dissatisfaction with the post-colonial government's response to the land question (Cliffe *et al.*, 2011, p. 907). This argument is in tandem with the remark by the South African Green Paper on Land Reform (2011, p. 2), that "all anti-colonial struggles are, at the core, about two things: repossession of land lost through force or deceit; and restoring the centrality of indigenous culture". Several other scholars made related arguments (Thebe 2018; Shonhe 2015, 2018; Nyawo 2014; Binswanger-Mkhize and Moyo 2012; Moyo 1995).

Overall, the goal of fast tracking land reform was to attain broader socioeconomic transformation of the lives of the indigenous black majority who, hitherto, were segregated and marginalised from owning and using prime agricultural land to improve and sustain their wellbeing in a context of British colonial hegemony (Mkodzongi and Spiegel 2018; Chambati 2017; Chibwana 2016; Bhatasara and Helliker 2016; Mkodzongi 2013; Moyo 2013; Moyo and Chambati 2013; Matondi 2012; Ruswa 2007; Cousins 2005). Zimbabwe's land reforms are an indelible mark in the contributions of these scholarly authorities and a corpus of others not cited in this thesis. The alienation of the black majority was a deliberate colonial policy measure meant to create rigid race-based boundaries in livelihoods, wellbeing and development (Chibwana 2016; James 2015; Mkodzongi 2013, 2016). This colonial goal was established and maintained through overt and covert ways that were intended to dislodge black-led social movements, ouster colonial hegemony in land tenure and other social policy areas. In essence, the colonialists sought to decimate any form of resistance by the black majority.

Given this colonial background and resultant development fraught with racial inequalities, accordingly, the FTLRP was expected to lead to a reconfiguration of ownership and use of

prime land, and “transformation of the socioeconomic wellbeing of the majority of the black population under the government of black majority rule” (Utete 2003, p. 3). This was a popular goal given the social, political and economic ‘ills’ of colonialism. In essence, the FTLRP, prior land reforms and development initiatives in post-colonial Zimbabwe were part of a broader drive by the Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front (ZANU PF) led government to reverse the effects of colonialism, counter neo-colonialism and transform the wellbeing of the black majority (Utete 2003). However, a mono explanation for the emergence and processes of the FTLRP is epistemologically constrained, inadequate and misleading. Alternative explanations are worthy acknowledgement. Viewed from another standpoint, the FTLRP was among the various authoritarian populism strategies applied by ZANU PF to manoeuvre and consolidate political dominance (Murisa, 2018, p. 2; Raftopolous 2009, 2013a; Bond 2008; Bond and Manyanya 2002), in a context of intensifying political “competition from the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC)” (Zamchiya 2013; Sachikonye 2005a). These scholars present the fast track land reform as “an overwhelming failure” (Derman 2006, p. 24).

Resettlement of 180 000 families on 13 million hectares in less than a decade, was a result of the FTLRP (Scoones *et al.*, 2011; Scoones 2015; Moyo 2013). This was a major improvement compared to the prior post-colonial land reforms that led to “a mere 70 000 families being resettled on 3.4 million hectares (Moyo 2013, p. 32). This figure was below the targeted 162 000 families. Such reconfiguration warrants an aftermath interrogation of various aspects, and in the context of this thesis, the FTLRP as a transformative social policy instrument. The relocation of the black population into large-scale commercial farms (LSCFs) where the whites hitherto had hegemonic presence meant the reconfiguration of the rural landscape, and emergence of new social organisation and new livelihoods opportunities

and challenges. The lived experiences and situated meanings of such outcomes should be understood and channelled into national policy.

Although a mono and homogenous standpoint cannot be generalised due to the wide diversity, complexity and evolution of the outcomes, important to understand is that, in the process of fast tracking land reform, among other aspects, access to and use of prime agricultural land has led to significant changes to the lives of some land beneficiaries. Positive changes have also been realised beyond the individual farmers to community levels (Mkodzongi and Spiegel 2018; Ncube 2018; Scoones 2017, 2018, 2019; Hanlon, Manjengwa and Smart 2012; Scoones *et al.*, 2010 2011, 2015; Moyo and Matondi 2010; Moyo, Chambati, Murisa, Siziba, Dangwa, Mujeyi and Nyoni 2009). However, some scholars (Zamchiya 2011, 2013; Sachikonye 2003, 2005a, 2005b), have contested the role of the fast track land reform in improving the socioeconomic wellbeing of individual farmers, farm households and communities. These scholars present the FTLRP as having largely failed. Evidence of significant changes or their absence is vital in informing policy for improving land reforms and related development programmes in Zimbabwe. These benefits can also accrue to other countries that are planning or have implemented land reform programmes. Research-based evidence is an important ingredient for realising such benefits.

Crucial selected studies in various sites pertaining to the outcomes of the fast track land reform exist (Chipenda 2018, 2019, 2020; Thebe 2018; Ndlovhu 2017; Chibwana 2016; James 2015; Shonhe 2015, 2017; Mkodzongi 2013, 2013a, 2013b, 2016, 2018; Mkodzongi and Spiegel 2018; Mutopo, Manjengwa and Chiweshe 2014; Sibanda and Maposa 2014; Mabhena 2014; Matondi 2012; Dekker and Kinsey 2011; Mutopo 2011; Chiweshe 2011; Scoones *et al.*, 2011, 2015, 2017, 2018, 2019; Moyo *et al.*, 2009; Murisa 2009; Cousins 2005, 2010; Sachikonye 2005a, 2005) among others. Given the breadth and depth of studies

on the fast track land reform, significant literature exists on its various aspects. It would be an unpardonable academic offence to present this thesis as the first to focus on the outcomes of the fast track land reform and its transformative impact. The fundamental changes in the rural landscape of Zimbabwe; the new farmers who have come into agricultural production, the production outcomes, farm-level institutions and the reconstitution of many small towns in the wake of the FTLRP, all point to the transformative impact—to transform an existing condition or social configuration—of the land reform process.

This thesis adds impetus to this already established field through interrogation grounded in the Transformative Social Policy (TSP) conceptual framework (focusing on production, redistribution, reproduction, protection and social cohesion as the five functional areas of social policy). Such focus prioritises the achievement of nuanced understanding of land reform as a transformative social policy instrument and enhancement of land reforms' transformative role. Despite diversity in conceptualising the transformative role of the FTLRP, these five functional areas (or tasks) of social policy are prioritised. Accordingly, I consider the satisfaction of these functional areas vital for the socioeconomic transformation of Zvimba district.

The thesis takes, as its breakaway point, the argument that, gaps exist in understanding the impact and outcomes of the FTLRP in general and its transformative role in the socioeconomic wellbeing of the land beneficiaries, particularly from a social policy perspective. Lacunae exist in both dominant social policy literature and Zimbabwe's land reform literature. In key social policy literature, mainly by the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) as a global policy 'power house', limited attention is attached to land reforms as social policy instruments. Various scholars critique OECD's social policies and those of other international development and governance institutions (see

Adesina 2014, 2020, Mkandawire 2011, 2014, 2015). In addition, Zimbabwe's land reform literature lacks focused engagement with the social policy dimensions of the FTLRP despite having acknowledged the social aspects of the land reform. Accordingly, such literature misses the understanding that, land reform is a social policy instrument. These lacunae justify the need for nuanced and grounded research on the fast track land reform, particularly its social and economic outcomes, primarily because the programme's goal was to transform the socioeconomic wellbeing of the people. Lacunae in comprehending the real or potential transformation of lives through land reforms should be addressed. The intention of this thesis therefore, is to use the FTLRP as a case study to address such gaps.

Overall, the thesis approaches the FTLRP from the perspective of Social Policy as a field. While there is little doubt that, land reform has the effect of enhancing human wellbeing - even when policymakers were explicit about this objective - it has been neglected as a social policy instrument in the field. Taking a TSP approach, the thesis interrogates the social policy outcomes of the FTLRP from the perspective of the five tasks of social policy (production, redistribution, reproduction, protection and social cohesion). I consider these as the broader vision of social policy or multi-tasking of social policy.

1.2 Terminological Clarification

Terms and concepts may assume differentiated meaning depending on the context in which they are applied. The terms and concepts I included in this section are a mere selection, and should be understood in the context of this thesis.

1.2.1 Land and agrarian reform

Essential to note is scholarly pluralism and diversity in how countries design and implement land and agrarian reforms. Such pluralism and diversity have led to differential understanding. In this section, I present basics of the concepts based on selected authorities.

Land reform involves transfer of land ownership and use that is accompanied by law changes, including regulations and customs. Rarely do governments take land redistribution as an end in itself (Rao 2011). Agrarian reform is broader than land reform, because it entails more than redistribution of agricultural land that is initiated or backed by the government, and law changes pertaining to land ownership and use. Change or redirection of a country's agricultural system including the development or revision of agrarian law, sub-division of large scale farms, land consolidation, development of infrastructure and equitable support services, credit measures, development of market institutions, agro-processing, input supply channels and so forth are central pillars of agrarian reform (World Bank 2003, p. xxii). Accordingly, agrarian reform is based on diverse measures that are implemented to reduce and/or eliminate the socio-economic obstacles emanating from existing agrarian structure and relations that reduce or impede equity and wider socioeconomic development (Boyce, Rosset and Stanton 2005, p. 2).

Depending on how land reform and agrarian reform are designed and implemented, they may focus on “transforming the role of various agrarian classes in struggles for development and democratisation, towards equitable land ownership and social relations of production, and developing the agricultural production forces to enhance food security, livelihoods and the accumulation of capital (Byres 1991, 1996, Bernstein 2010 in Moyo 2011, p. 494). Both have the goal of addressing structural bases of inequality (racial, class, ethnic, gender and so on), and creating broad ownership of land and equitable development.

Rapid and fundamental agrarian reform transforms “the relations (systems and patterns of ownership and control) of land and support services for crop and livestock production, and community life” (South African Green Paper on Land Reform 2011, p. 1). Since 1980, land and agrarian reform in Zimbabwe were primarily a response to colonial accumulation by

dispossession and racially-skewed land tenure and support services (Utete 2003). The Government of Zimbabwe (GoZ) fast-tracked the land reform in 2000, against a background of constraints to broad land acquisition and redistribution; and heightened demand for land by the black majority.

1.2.2 Transformative social policy (TSP)

The field of social policy have received wide contributions in various historical periods (Fabian Society 1884; Bismarck 1883; Keynes 1936; Beveridge 1942; Polanyi 1964; Marshall 1950, 1998; Titmuss 1958, 1964, 1968, 1974; Korpi 1983; Myrdal 1984; Esping-Andersen 1990; Folbre 2006; Kymlicka and Norman 1994; Bonoli and Pallier 1995; Bonoli 1997; Korpi 1983; Korpi and Palme 1998; Elson and Catagay 2000; Chang 2001, 2004; Devereux and Sabatier-Wheeler 2004, 2007; Townsend 2004; UNRISD 2006; Baldock, Mitton, Manning and Vickerstaff 2007; Garba 2007; Udegbe 2007; Atieno and Shem 2007; Adesina 2007a, 2007b, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2014, 2020; Mkandawire 2002b, 2004, 2005, 2011, 2015; Fine 2009; Alcock, May and Wright 2012; Yi 2015; Phiri, Molotja, Makelane, Kupamupindu and Ndinda 2015; Kanbur 2018). In various conceptualisations, social policy is categorised into residual, palliative, transformative and so forth. In this thesis, I prioritise transformative social policy as espoused in United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD) flagship research initiated in 2006; Adesina (2009); Mkandawire (2004) and Yi (2015).

TSP views “social policy as the collective public efforts aimed at affecting and promoting the social well-being of people within a given territory” (Adesina 2009, p. 38); or “the collective interventions in the economy to influence access to and the incidence of adequate and secure livelihood outcomes” (Mkandawire 2004, p. 1). Emphasis is on the inseparability of the social from the economic. TSP maintains that “the economy is embedded in society where various social, economic and political relations and structures interact with each other

through processes of exclusion and adverse incorporation, thereby preventing the poor from benefiting from development policies and market changes” (Tekwa and Adesina 2018, p. 48). Several other scholars acknowledge the intricate link between the social and the economic (see Mkandawire 2004; Hulme, Moore and Shepherd 2001).

In a development context, transformative social policy calls for the need to move away from the neoliberal approach and a return to the wider vision of social policies with their multiple productive, redistributive, social protection, social reproduction, social cohesion and nation building functions (Adesina 2009). Other social policy scholars converge on this view (see Mkandawire 2004; Hujo 2014; Yi 2015). The TSP approach emphasises the centrality of a "holistic approach in dealing with the economic, social and political relations, policy linkages and the comprehensiveness of social policy interventions to transform existing unequal and unjust social, economic and political relationships” (Yi 2015, p. 1), to enhance the wellbeing of the people.

TSP diverges from current safety nets and social protection programmes (see Sabates-Wheeler and Devereux 2008), that do not challenge underlying structural risks and their long-term implications for vulnerability, poverty and inequalities. Social policies within the TSP are poised on their potential to transform gendered, racialised, ethnicised inequality and poverty which emanate from the interactions of these social identities and categories (Shields 2008). In this thesis, I consider transformation as significant structural change and as much, economic, social (relational), institutional, as it is about the wellbeing of individuals. In Chapter 4, I explore the TSP framework and justify its relevance to interrogation of Zimbabwe’s fast track land reform.

1.3 Background to the Study

Zimbabwe's post-colonial government addressed colonially-engineered race-based inequalities in socioeconomic wellbeing that led to the majority of the black population being widely alienated, exploited, subordinated and relegated to gruelling poverty by engaging in three phases of land reform, and various other expansionist social policies. The initial notch of land acquisition and resettlement implemented in 1980 extended to 1998 while the second phase was started in September 1998 and spanned to 1999 (Utete 2003). Spontaneous land occupations by war veterans and land-hungry peasants started in 1999 and later formalised in 2000 to become the FTLRP. Some scholars note the late 1998 small-scale 'invasion' of LSCFs for example, occupation of Igava Farm by Chief Svosve and 'his people' as an early indication of mounting demand for land by peasants (Ruswa 2007). I explore colonial accumulation by dispossession, the land question in Zimbabwe and the post-colonial responses to the land issues (through the three phases of land acquisition and redistribution) in Chapter 3. Socioeconomic transformation of the black majority is a recurring theme in all the three phases of Zimbabwe's land reform and several social policies implemented by the post-colonial government.

In Zimbabwe, there is renewed interest in the agrarian sector given the recent political developments in 2017 dubbed 'soft coup' (Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum 2017), that led to the unexpected and dramatic resignation of President Robert Mugabe and the rise of his deputy, Emmerson Mnangagwa to presidency. Mnangagwa has been the 'right hand man' of Mugabe's government since 1980. Diverse concerns and anxiety exist in the post-Mugabe era, particularly on how Mnangagwa will handle the unfinished business of the FTLRP and the agricultural sector. What do the future hold for the land beneficiaries in the Mnangagwa era? How will the outcomes of the FTLRP play out in the Mnangagwa administration? In the African region, there is renewed interest in the FTLRP given that Namibia and South Africa are calling for land expropriation without compensation (Nyaungwe and Toyana 2018; Kepe

and Hall 2018). Scholars are grappling with the questions, “Almost two decades after the FTLRP, what lessons can be drawn from Zimbabwe’s land reform and how relevant are the lessons to the land questions of other former settler colonies?” Land questions in for example, South Africa were noted earlier (see Hall 2003, 2009) but have been recently elevated due to increasing demand for land by the indigenous populations.

Vast significant literature exists on Zimbabwe’s land reforms in general and on the FTLRP in particular (Moyo 1995, 2004, 2011, 2013; Moyo and Chambati 2013; Moyo and Sukume 2004; Moyo *et al.*, 2009; Moyo and Yeros 2005a, 2005b; Chambati 2011, 2013, 2017; Sachikonye 2003, 2005a, 2005b; Richardson 2005; Alexander 2006; Cousins 2010; Scoones *et al.*, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2015, 2017, 2019; Chari 1999; Chakona 2011; Cliffe *et al.*, 2011; Scoones 2017, 2018; Sacco 2008; Murisa 2009, 2013, 2017, 2018; Chiweshe 2011; Dekker and Kinsey 2011; Matondi 2012; Binswanger-Mkhize and Moyo 2012; Muchesa 2013; Marimira 2010; Chamunogwa 2012; Mkodzongi 2013, 2013a, 2013b, 2016; James 2015; Nyawo 2016; Rwodzi 2017; Mkodzongi and Spiegel 2018; Thebe 2018; Ncube 2018 and many others). These scholars built a diverse and rich body of knowledge upon which further studies can be done and in this thesis, my point of departure is that, despite the breadth of these contributions, a focused engagement with land reform as a social policy instrument in Zimbabwe’s land reform literature was non-existent. However, such literature is gradually accumulating (see Tekwa and Adesina 2018; Mazwi, Muchetu and Chibwana 2018; Chipenda, 2018, 2019, 2020; Chibwana 2016). As I explained in the Introduction, hegemonic social policy literature, particularly that by the OECD has limited focus on land reforms as social policy instruments. This thesis contributes to the currently low but vital literature on land reform and social policy.

The fast track land reform represents a major reconfiguration of the rural landscape in post-colonial Zimbabwe, is widely the most topical, and has over the years, been marked by heated debates, criticisms and acknowledgement of success. In terms of debates and epistemological standpoints, distillation of the approaches shows that, broadly, there are those who consider the programme in negative terms and those who are more positive towards it. The former group covers a range of responses including ‘the conservative approach’ and others whose opposition is more political (to ZANU PF), but not necessarily conservative. The more positive group covers a range of approaches including Sam Moyo’s *political economy approach* to Ian Scoones’ *livelihoods approach*. I focus on the specifics of the various debates to provide a firm background to the study.

As highlighted, the FTLRP has been interrogated from various standpoints influenced by diverse ideological and epistemological standpoints of the diverse scholars, in most cases leading to polarisation, especially in the early phases. Such polarisation is captured by Helliker (2011), in Chibwana (2016, p. 33) as follows:

“Polarised between a minority position that argues that, the radical restructuring of agrarian capital has served as a progressive tendency that has opened up opportunities for black small-scale farmers, and a majority position that insists that, land redistribution has dramatically undercut agricultural production, thereby severely compromising food security for most Zimbabweans. This latter position brings to the fore violent state action in instigating land occupations and in thwarting political opposition to ‘fast track’”.

In a similar context of presenting polarisation among scholars emanating from the FTLRP, Moore (2004) in Rutherford (2008, p. 77) characterised the division “among left leaning academic commentators as between patriotic agrarianists and critical cosmopolitans”. Scholars in each approach have brought out their views and, over the years, progressively have come to a much more accommodating position. Raftopolous (2009) and Scoones *et al.*

(2015), urge scholars to transcend the debates in pursuit of comprehensive understanding of the FTLRP, and enhancing its outcomes.

Before attempting an outline of the ideological and epistemological approaches to Zimbabwe's fast track land reform, it is crucial to acknowledge that, the approaches may be variedly presented and interpreted, and are dynamic therefore, rigid categorisation may overshadow the areas of convergence. Emerging scholars are accepting and rejuvenating some aspects of these 'old' approaches, while discarding or reorienting others, and in some cases reworking the approaches. Yet, other scholars straddle the approaches. Relativity and diversity therefore, characterises these approaches. What I present below (the analytical approaches), is drawn from literature, and complemented by my assessment.

(i) Neopatrimonialism

Neopatrimonialism, a new variant of patrimonialism, depicts "different styles of exercising authority, idiosyncratic mannerisms of certain individual leaders and social practices within states" (Mkandawire 2015, p. 2). This approach is used by some scholars to analyse the motivations, processes and outcomes of the FTLRP. Under neopatrimonialism, the state is reduced to "an institution that is rife with racism, endemic corruption, patronage and tribalism" (Bach 2012, p. 221). Other scholars focus on different aspects of how the state is viewed through neopatrimonial lens (see Mkandawire 2012; Olukoshi 2011; de Grassi 2008; Mustapha 2002).

Scholars using a neopatrimonial approach (for example, Sachikonye 2002; Hammar 2003), argue that, the fast track land reform was a ZANU PF-engineered project in response to 'loss of grip' on the masses as shown by the outcomes of a constitutional referendum in 2000. In the referendum, "the majority did not vote in favour of ZANU PF's standpoint" (Raftopolous

2002, p. 413). Accordingly, the state had to resort to politics of patronage (Schafer 2017); exclusionary development (Zamchiya 2013), and in some cases direct and indirect violence (Raftopolous 2009, pp. 211-213, 2013a). Focus on violence acknowledges my argument that, most scholars on Zimbabwe's land reform adopt human rights lenses in evaluating the motivations and processes of the FTLRP. Scholars of a neopatrimonial persuasion contend that, "the *Third Chimurenga* was a desperate way of seeking political support in the context of growing opposition" (Moore 2001, p. 255). They point to various examples of patrimonial practices. Central among these is the change of 'tone' of the government including the "*anti-Blair slogan/vote* and *the land is the economy* mantra" (Moore 2005, p. 8). Viewed from the neopatrimonial approach, the FTLRP, was a ZANU PF project to recollect, reposition and consolidate political grip in a context of shrinking populism (Moore 2005, p. 8).

In supporting the view that ZANU PF moved to use fast track land reform to 'win back lost hearts', Gonese, Marongwe, Mukora and Kinsey (2005, p. 5) argue that, the FTLRP "was compelled by Robert Mugabe's political megalomania to his cynical manipulation of the land issue as an election tool". The "state elites 'stage-managed' and manipulated the peasantry in order to rescue political power that was fast slipping away from their hands, signalling impending eviction from power" (Moore 2005, p. 8). These views are consonant with Anderson's (2005, p. 385) argument that, "there was a 'complete democratic breakdown in the late 1990s in Zimbabwe and hence a decreased likelihood of obtaining an inclusive policy environment". The fast track land reform is viewed by some as a blunder (African Research Bulletin 2015, p. 20740C).

As with any approach to the FTLRP, neopatrimonialism cannot be accepted or discarded wholesale. Empirically-informed neopatrimonial arguments are important in the interrogation of the FTLRP. However, the neopatrimonial approach fails to explain grassroots

demands for land and traditional leaders' occupation of white-owned commercial farms that occurred as early as 1998 (for example, the Svosve people occupied Igava Farm in 1998). Moreover, use of 'blanket' terms such as 'elites', 'universal corruption', 'top cronies' and so on are dislodged by other scholars (see Shonhe 2015; James 2015; Manjengwa, Hanlon and Smart 2014; Mkodzongi 2013; Dekker and Kinsey 2011; Moyo *et al.*, 2009; Moyo, 2011; Chambati 2011, 2013, 2017) among others. These scholars argue that, the FTLRP did not play out uniformly and its outcomes are evolving, therefore, grounded and nuanced analyses are essential for enhanced context-specific understanding of its outcomes.

(ii) Two 'Left' camps? Livelihoods and Political economy

Although debatable among other scholarly quarters, the Livelihoods and Political economy approaches, particularly those by Ian Scoones and Sam Moyo respectively, constitute the 'two left camps' (see Chibwana 2016). However, this should be understood as a relative position pertaining to the two approaches because some scholars reject this view. Moyo and Yeros (2007b) discuss the 'left' position in detail and take a position that, both Livelihoods and Political economy approaches are 'left' camps. Important to understand however, is that, these approaches are broad, evolving and characterised by various scholars who converge and diverge on various aspects. Accordingly, over the years several 'left' positions and camps emerged. Basing on my assessment, many notable selected scholars contributed to the first camp (Moyo 2011, 2013; Moyo and Chambati 2013; Moyo and Yeros 2005, 2007; Moyo *et al.*, 2009; Chambati 2011, 2017; Hanlon *et al.*, 2012; Sadomba 2011); and the second camp (Scoones 2009, 2010, 2012, 2015, 2017, 2018, 2019; Chaumba, Scoones and Wolmer 2003; Scoones *et al.*, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2019; Scoones, Mavedzenge, Murimbarimba 2018; Scoones, Murimbarimba, Mahenehene 2019). Other scholars straddle these camps (see James 2015; Mkodzongi 2013; Matondi 2012; Chiweshe 2012; Mutopo 2011; Murisa 2009, 2011; Ndlovhu 2017, 2018; Mushongah 2012).

Despite differences, there are several areas of commonality: both have a nationalist and populist flare; view land reform as necessary in transforming people's lives; argue that, people took back their land through bottom-up processes; view the land reform process as having been driven by a popular rural movement (the *Third Chimurenga*, akin to the war of liberation against British colonialism); that the ZANU PF-led government responded to popular rural movements for land by backing them through the provision of the necessary technocratic and legal frameworks for land redistribution; and that, there are positive changes in land beneficiaries that could be improved through appropriate support. Furthermore, both camps largely denounce the neopatrimonial approach, and present the outcomes of the FTLRP as complex, diverse and dynamic therefore, demanding situated and nuanced analysis. Painting a uniform picture of the FTLRP is improper academic practice. Contributors to both camps have conducted wide research to arrive at this position.

(a) Livelihoods approach

Scholars of a livelihood approach persuasion focus on the FTLRP from the standpoint of livelihoods. The term 'livelihood' does not have uniform meaning in general literature on livelihoods approaches, and in (fast track) land reform. Innovations and alternative ways of understanding livelihoods are proliferating in literature, along with the rise of emerging scholars, or reorientation among the 'old' group of scholars. Accordingly, diversity marks the use of the term in and outside land reform. Before viewing the FTLRP from a livelihoods approach, I outline 'basic' understanding of livelihood. Critiques can then be made on the basis of the basic explanation. In general, a livelihood "comprises of capabilities, both material and non-material assets, and activities required for a living" (Chambers and Conway 1992, p. 5). A livelihood is deemed sustainable on its ability "to cope with, and recover from stresses and shocks, and maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, both now and in the

future, while not undermining the natural resource base” (Chambers and Conway 1992 in Ashley and Carney 1999, p. 20).

Notable in livelihoods discourses is that, people make a living through a multi-faceted web of activities and interactions. In general development studies literature, the livelihoods approach is informed by the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (SLA) - a framework that provides “an opportunity to reflect on the context, considering how diverse groups of people in a particular context follow a range and combination of livelihood strategies in view of vulnerabilities” (Chambers and Conway 1992, p. 6). Furthermore, the framework explores inter-linkages of “various forms of capital including natural, human, financial, social, physical and so forth” (Mehta, Leach, Newell, Scoones, Sivaramakrishnan and Way 1999, p. 1). North (1990) and Giddens (1984) also explore various aspects of livelihoods.

Despite conceptual variations among the scholars is the understanding that, land is a source of livelihoods, and the FTLRP paved way for broadening and diversifying livelihood options. However, the land reform also created livelihood challenges and risks. Focusing on various sites, scholars who analyse the FTLRP from a livelihoods approach focus on “livelihood pathways and patterns of accumulation from below” (Cousins 2010, p. 15); various aspects including “new farm-based entrepreneurs, a new group of petty commodity producers who regularly produce, sell and invest), and also bring out the market linkages (legal and illegal) that exist for land beneficiaries” (Scoones *et al.*, 2010, p.2). Farm and off-farm activities (for example, flora harvesting, gold panning, cross border trade); and marketing of petty commodities (agricultural and non-agricultural) are notable livelihood alternatives (Mkodzongi 2013; Mushongah 2012; Scoones *et al.*, 2010; James 2015).

The livelihoods approach has broadened and enhanced understanding of the outcomes of the fast track land reform. As with any other approach, understanding the FTLRP from a sole livelihoods standpoint has limitations. Criticisms included in this section pertain to the approach by Ian Scoones and his colleagues because generalisation may shroud differences in this approach. However, important to understand is that, along the way, Scoones and colleagues are also addressing criticism levelled against their approach. The approach lacks interrogation of “the economics and politics of globalisation, and the motives and operation of monopoly capital” (Estes 2001, p. 4) as these relate to the FTLRP. Scoones’ approach does injustice to economic thinking of global-scale economic issues (Chibwana 2016; Clarke and Carney 2008); sometimes is not critical to a plethora of critical aspects (class, ethnicity, gender, religion, cultural identity among others), in understanding the FTLRP. Essential questions such as who owns what, who gets what, who does what, how and why within national and international contexts may not be interrogated with the intention of addressing the root causes of inequality, marginalisation and poverty.

Several important aspects are not considered by Ian Scoones’ livelihoods approach including class formation, patterns of work, division of labour and distribution of income (Moyo 2009). Furthermore, the approach is queerly “silent on ‘cocktail economic and political sanctions’ which Zimbabwe was subjected to” (Chirimambowa 2012, p.3). Zimbabwe has been subjugated to “economic and political sanctions by the European Union (EU), and United States of America (USA) through the Zimbabwe Democracy and Economic Recovery Act (ZIDERA)” for implementing the FTLRP (Nyawo 2012, p.18). Sanctions after Zimbabwe’s FTLRP are a subject of inquiry by several scholars (Mararike 2018; Chirimambowa 2012; Mamdani 2008). Hegemony of the West over the Global South, and its resources is scrutinised by several scholars (Nhemachena and Dhakwa 2018; Nhemachena, Warikandwa and Amoo 2018; Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Benyera, 2015; Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2007b; 2011; 2013,

2013a, 2017). Adesina (2008) presents Archibald Monwabisi Mafeje's ideas against 'othering' of Africa and Africans.

While not valid when applied across all livelihood scholars, the livelihoods approach lacks thrust "on dealing with long-term changes in the agrarian situation of the FTLRP beneficiaries and the country as a whole" (Chibwana 2016, p. 39). In essence, the approach does not answer, "the question of the new agrarian structure that now exist in Zimbabwe, and its projected future due to its narrow focus on the current state of affairs" (Moyo 2011, p.510). The scholars fail to capture and interrogate nuances around markets and accordingly do not sufficiently emphasise "markets and their role in livelihoods development and poverty reduction among the land beneficiaries. The slow transformational areas (gradual intensification of production, improving or deteriorating environmental degradation, long-term investments in strengthening land beneficiaries' capacity, or migration due to pull or push factors) are not analysed (Moyo and Yeros 2007). Accordingly, approaching the fast track land reform using livelihoods has been criticised for failing to "provide insight on ideas for the generations to come in view of the prevailing status quo" (Moyo and Yeros 2007, p.172). The approach also merely focuses on rights lost while ignoring the rights achieved through the FTLRP. However, these criticisms fall off when applied to other scholars who include livelihoods analysis in the interrogation of the FTLRP (see Mkodzongi 2013; James 2015). Moreover, regarding the criticisms on failure to explore long-term changes in the agrarian situation and markets, Scoones and his colleagues are researching and publishing widely in these areas. Scoones *et al* (2017, 2018,2019) acknowledge expansion of local markets for beef; and generational questions in Zimbabwe's land reform using Masvingo and Mvurwi case studies. I therefore, reiterate that, livelihood scholars are diverse, and their contributions converge and diverge, are evolving; therefore, blanket categorisations, explanations and critiques are less useful.

(b) The political economy approach

From the onset, diversity and dynamism in the political economy approach should be acknowledged. Explanations and arguments presented in this section may not apply to all scholars, and are mainly relating to the late Sam Moyo and his colleagues. Scholars in this approach focus on the interaction and outcomes of political structures and practices with the economy. For some scholars, approaching the fast track land reform in this way blends the radical political economy approach and the Marxist analytical framework (see Moyo 1995, 2000, 2001, 2004, 2011, 2012, 2013; Moyo *et al.*, 2009; Moyo and Chambati 2013; Chambati 2011, 2013, 2017). The political economy approach largely informs the work of the Sam Moyo African Institute for Agrarian Studies (SMAIAS) formerly the African Institute for Agrarian Studies (AIAS). In analysing the processes and outcomes of the FTLRP, the scholars focus “on power relations that influence production, redistribution and consumption” (Chibwana 2016, p. 44).

Through political economy lenses, the social and economic conditions leading to the FTLRP are considered as having emerged from colonialism; and neoliberalism, which eroded the gains made after independence. This situation characterises the whole of the Global South. Zimbabwe’s land reform implemented in the 2000 represents the sole instance of revolutionary land reforms since the end of the Cold War. The FTLRP “transposed a racially-biased agrarian structure and discriminatory land tenure of the colonial times” (Moyo and Chambati 2013, p.1), yet the success of Zimbabwe’s emerging nationalism and the redistributive role of the FTLRP are poorly understood (Moyo and Yeros 2011, 2005b). Lack of understanding is due to ‘intellectual structural adjustment’ (Moyo and Yeros 2005b), and hostile media campaigns (Chari 2013).

Due to colonial and neo-colonial hegemony, the real demands for land by the black majority, and progress made on allocated land are not acknowledged. From the political economy approach, “land reform was a crosscutting demand of the armed liberation struggle and all the spheres of the nationalist movement” (Moyo and Yeros 2011, p.129). In all Africa’s anti-colonial struggles, land marked the call for popular sovereignty and majority rule, and control over the economy (Mkandawire 2001). However, deliberate attempts are made to suppress or distort achievements of the FTLRP because the objective of the neo-colonial and neo-liberal opinion leaders and gatekeepers is to shape public opinion against Zimbabwe (Moyo and Yeros 2005b).

Scholars operating within the political economy approach support the FTLRP and argue that, despite the economic policy contradictions that accompanied the fast track land reform programme and the liberal democratic deficit land reform remains an anti-colonial milestone (Mamdani 2008). Consonant with this view, the replacement of popular and state-sponsored land reform by market approaches (rooted in neoliberalism and dominant international land reform debates), were challenged by Zimbabwe’s FTLRP (Borras 2006). Zimbabwe’s land reform is contrary to a status quo in Africa where generally, radical policies were not entertained (Moyo 2013). The scholars interrogate emergent and developing production and trade dynamics in the fast track farm communities, and link analyses to the government processes, laws, customs and support systems. The scholars pay special “attention to new agrarian structure in the resettlements by focusing on the character of redistribution of land (and appended natural resources); and accumulation happening among the land beneficiaries (Chibwana 2016, p.48). In capturing the changes, they acknowledge and support the transformation of the agrarian structure from bi-modal to a tri-modal arrangement.

Transformation and associated accumulation of benefits of the land reform occupy centre stage in the political economy approach. In this regard, the scholars focus on both the “beneficiaries of the land reform and prevailing circumstances in the communal areas where most of the beneficiaries came from” (Chibwana 2016, p.48). Accordingly, such an approach gives an opportunity for comparison between those resettled and those in the communal areas. Political economy locates and prioritises “the outcomes of the FTLRP in a global political economy, showing the linkages between production of the new farmers at a local level to national and global economics and politics; economic alienation of Zimbabwe after the FTLRP; failure of global capital and international non-governmental organisations (INGO) to support the FTLRP; global recession and dynamics in national politics” (Chibwana 2016, p.48). Linking the afore-mentioned issues to local level (farm) dynamics enriches how the outcomes of the FTLRP are understood.

The political economy approach focuses on the extent to which small-scale farmers under the FTLRP have been able to ensure productivity in order to secure their social reproduction, while establishing broad-based and inclusive economic development that benefits the majority of the population as well as ecologically-sustainable methods of farming (Moyo 2013; Moyo and Yeros 2005, 2007). From the political economy lenses, land reform is viewed as a new agrarian order that embodies social justice, socioeconomic transformation and ecological sustainability (Moyo and Yeros 2007). Moreover, assessments of redistribution outcomes are analysed beyond the individual farmer. The argument is that, the FTLRP was successful despite experiencing challenges; and the successes should be supported.

The various contributions by Sam Moyo and colleagues enhance the breadth and depth of understanding the FTLRP by incorporating political economy dimensions. However,

acknowledging the weak points of the approach is essential in academia. The scholars tend to under-emphasise (deliberate or not), human rights abuse in the fast track process, particularly where evidence is available; dominance by the ‘political cronies’ and economic elites; and how corrupt tendencies influenced the course of land allocation and access to agricultural inputs, and other services in the post-FTLRP phase. These are major weakness of the political economy approach. However, these criticisms should not be generalised across all the scholars of political economy persuasion considering its diversity and dynamism.

(iii) Human rights approach

As with any other analytical approach, whether or not a distinctive scholarly human rights approach exists as such is debated. Arguing that a distinctive human rights approach does not exist is made on the understanding that, indeed all Zimbabwean scholars on fast track land reform refer to human rights in one way or another; and that, analysing the FTLRP from a human rights approach has mainly been linked to non-governmental organisations (NGOs). However, the prominence of the human rights theme, and its wide application by scholars in and outside NGOs justifies its inclusion as analytical approach to Zimbabwe’s land reform. Some of the scholars who adopt human rights lenses (Zamchiya 2013; Marongwe 2002, 2008, 2011; Richardson 2004, 2005), also situate their contributions in other approaches. Primary focus lies on human rights discourses, and how various human rights violations occurred in the process of fast tracking the land reform, especially through direct and indirect state violence. Several human rights violations are topical, including; land invasions, disrespect for property rights of the white commercial farmers, violation of court orders, physical and emotional abuse white farm owners and farm workers, and failure to include farm workers in land allocations in the new agrarian structure (Zamchiya 2011).

The FTLRP is presented as having led to several ‘ills’ (downplaying human rights, elevating the gains by elites, decimating the country’s economy, and causing food security crises, and widespread environmental degradation that is difficult to reverse) (African Research Bulletin 2015). However, the approach can be criticised for giving prominence to the rights of the white commercial farmers while relegating those of the black majority who were dispossessed of their land; elevates the significance of property and downplays human rights; and paints a uniform picture of human rights violation, elites and farm workers, while in practice, their situation and that of the land beneficiaries are highly differentiated. However, I should reiterate that, for some scholars, a distinctive human rights approach may not exist as such.

Having discussed the ideological and epistemological approaches to the FTLRP, and acknowledged the associated diversity, complexity and dynamism, the ensuing explanations focus on other aspects of the FTLRP. These pertain to criticisms levelled against the fast track land reform, government responses to the criticisms, and reiteration of the gap that this thesis addresses.

The FTLRP has been criticised for failing to achieve the desired transformation of the lives of the land beneficiaries, and for achieving paltry contribution to national development (Sachikonye, 2005a). The failures are presented as having resulted from lack of planning; volatility in and inconsistent procedures for land administration (Zamchiya 2011; Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum 2010); inadequate security of tenure; unclear compensation models for displaced farmers and their workers (Zamchiya 2011; Richardson 2004, 2005; Moyo 2004 in Mujeyi 2010; United Nations Zimbabwe Country Analysis Report 2014, p.43). Other causes include inadequate development of support institutions in general and low agricultural support to the land beneficiaries, leading to low agricultural production; some

land beneficiaries not recognising the importance of using the land productively (not viewing farming as business); and declining national economic performance (Sachikonye 2005b). The cumulative effect of these shortcomings, accordingly, is low socioeconomic transformation of the lives of the new land owners, and at a broader scale, the nation.

The quest to improve agricultural performance and address criticisms levelled against the FTLRP, particularly those pertaining to the role of the government (lack of planning and low support base to the new farmers); commitment to farming as business; and, land use and production constraints led the government of Zimbabwe to introduce initiatives. Notable ones include, but are not limited to the Command Agriculture Inputs Scheme (CAIS); Targeted Command Agriculture Scheme (TCAS) as a component of the CAIS; reemphasis of the role of the agricultural, technical and extension (AGRITEX) services and the Zimbabwe Agricultural Investment Plan (ZAIP); National Agriculture Policy Framework (NAPF); escalation of the Land Commission Bill (LCB) into the Land Commission Act (LCA); and decentralisation of the Land Commission (LC) to all provinces (Mazwi, Tekwa, Chambati and Mudimu 2018, p.1).

The CAIS is aimed at providing agricultural inputs to the farmers in the new farms and communal areas and is state-led contract farming (Mazwi, Chambati and Mutodi 2018). The TCAS is a specialised dimension of the Command Agriculture Scheme, and is the second agricultural scheme after the *Operation Taguta/Sisuthi*, implemented in the 2005/2006 farming season. The scheme is functional a decade and half after its introduction. The aim of the targeted CAS is to ensure maximum land use and food security through targeting the farmers who have sustainable water sources/bodies on or near their farms. Principally, the individual targeted farmer should put a minimum 200 hectares under maize production.

The Government of Zimbabwe (2013, p. 6) reports that “Zimbabwe Agricultural Investment Plan (ZAIP) covering the 2013 to 2018 period, is a shared national framework for coordinating investment by public, private and development partners into the agriculture sector. ZIAP is aimed at enhancing the realisation of the objectives of the Zimbabwe Comprehensive Agriculture Policy Framework (ZCAPF) (2012-2032); Food and Nutrition Security Policy (FNSP) (2012), and the Zimbabwe Agenda for Sustainable Socio-Economic Transformation (ZIMASSET) (2013-2018)”. The “ZAIP is aligned to the principles of the Comprehensive African Agriculture Development Programme (CAADP) that include investing in agriculture to promote economic growth and development, broad-based stakeholder participation, consultations, accountability and coordination” (Government of Zimbabwe 2013, p.7).

The Zimbabwe National Agriculture Policy Framework (2018-2030) provides policy guidelines for revamping Zimbabwe’s agricultural sector after years of decline. In association with other national planning instruments in agriculture, the ZNAPF provides guidelines for the agricultural sector to realise its potential “as a major driver of economic growth, employment creation and sustainable development. It serves as a guideline to the government, private sector, development partners and civil society organisations (CSOs)” in developing the country’s agricultural sector (Government of Zimbabwe 2018, p.3).

In the context of this thesis, coupled with the criticisms of land reforms and other policy initiatives in Africa are OECD biases in dominant social policy scholarship. Zimbabwe and other countries in the Global South are grappling with social policy concepts and practices that are divorced from their socioeconomic and political contexts. This dysfunctional status quo can be attributed to four key biases (the OECD bias in social policy literature, static comparative approach, linear view and developmentalist bias) (Mkandawire 2011).

The OECD dominates social policy literature yet, it narrowly concentrates on social protection that is informed by social assistance and safety nets; and does not challenge underlying structural inequalities and their implications to risk, inequality and poverty. In such a context, the economic and social policies are presented as parallel to and independent of each other. The wider focus of social policy is non-existent in such approaches. Accordingly, the conceptual rigour of transformative social policy is overwhelmingly lacking in such dominant literature and in the resultant social policy practice. In addition, the neoliberal policies implemented in Africa in the form of structural adjustment programmes led to mono-tasking of social policy. Indeed, the premise of neoliberalism is that, in a properly functioning market, there would be no reason for social policy since every individual will be able to secure social provisioning through the market—avoiding the need for collective social action. Accordingly, the focus is on the ultra-poor who may merit public assistance.

These lacunae have led some scholars to argue for moving away from the neoliberal approach, and the need to rethink social policies with their multiple tasks (production, redistribution, reproduction, protection and social cohesion) in the search for inclusive development (Adesina 2009, 2010, 2011, 2020; Mkandawire 2004, 2006, 2007, 2011, 2015); and Africa-centred inclusive development discourse and accumulation (Mafeje 2003). In a similar context, Adesina (2008) focuses on Mafeje's contributions in the context of the search for endogeny.

Having highlighted a brief background to Zimbabwe's land question, post-colonial effort to address the social question created by colonialism, debates on the motivations, processes and outcomes of the FTLRP, and biases in dominant social policy scholarship (particularly that by the OECD), I argue that grounded and nuanced understanding of the land reform's

outcomes is still inadequate. One such area of inadequacy that I address through this thesis is the interrogation of the FTLRP as a social policy instrument with real or potential capacity for socioeconomic transformation. Interrogating the FTLRP from TSP, the thesis brings to the fore, novel conceptual framing and literature on both social policy and land reform.

1.4 Rationale for the Study

The thesis takes as its core impetus, the neglect in conventional social policy literature, of land reform as a social policy instrument that has transformative potential in the lives of the land beneficiaries; and absence of a focused engagement with the social policy dimensions of land and agrarian reforms in Zimbabwe's land reform literature. At the epicentre of social policy lies the need to enhance people's wellbeing. Policymakers concerned with land reform often state improving the wellbeing of people as an explicit objective, and in Zimbabwe, such an explanation is marked by historical land dispossession. This thesis explores the FTLRP from a social policy perspective. In pursuit of this goal, I analyse the FTLRP's transformative potential using the five tasks of social policy (production, redistribution, reproduction, protection and social cohesion). The thesis brings together grounded, original and recent empirical and nuanced analyses of the transformative role of the FTLRP in Zvimba district, informed by the five tasks of social policy.

The thesis is variedly significant to individuals, groups and institutions that are directly or indirectly engaging or linked to land reform, agriculture, social policy and agro-related development including the land beneficiaries (both A1 and A2), government ministries and departments, rural development agencies, farm-level institutions, private sector, donors and implementing partners including NGOs, agro-based service providers, consumers of agricultural products, scholars, policy institutions and analysts (at various levels), and current and future researchers. For example, the thesis improves the effectiveness of the Government

of Zimbabwe (GoZ) in designing, implementing, monitoring, evaluating and learning from land reform through application of TSP approach.

1.5 Research Objectives and Questions

The core objective of the thesis is to analyse the FTLRP as a transformative social policy instrument by focusing on the five functions or tasks of social policy (production, redistribution, reproduction, protection and social cohesion). To satisfy this objective impeccably, I addressed the following objectives and questions:

1.5.1 Research Objectives

- Explaining the nature of the resettled communities in terms of profiles of the land beneficiaries and motivations for seeking resettlement
- Examining social and agrarian structures, and relations that characterise the post-FTLRP farms in Zvimba district, including how these developed and influence outcomes of the FTLRP
- Analysing the situated meanings and lived experiences of the FTLRP on the transformation of socioeconomic wellbeing of the land beneficiaries in Zvimba district, and how these can be interpreted from a TSP conceptual framework
- Evaluating the factors that enhance or hinder the transformative role of the FTLRP
- Recommending ways of improving and sustaining the transformative role of the FTLRP

1.5.2 Research Questions

- What is the nature of resettled communities in terms of profiles of the land beneficiaries and motivations for seeking resettlement?
- What are the social and agrarian structures, and relations that characterise the post-FTLRP farms in Zvimba district? How have these developed and how do they influence outcomes of the FTLRP?
- What are the situated meanings and lived experiences of the influence of the FTLRP on the transformation of socioeconomic wellbeing of the land beneficiaries in Zvimba district? How can the meanings and experiences be interpreted from a transformative social policy (TSP) conceptual framework?
- Using TSP functions, what factors enhance or hinder the transformative role of the FTLRP?
- From TSP, how can the transformative role of the FTLRP be enhanced and sustained?

1.6 Scope of the Study

The thesis can principally be understood in terms of three complementary pillars (the transformative focus, conceptual focus and level of analysis).

(a) Transformative focus

Socioeconomic transformation is a core focus of the study, particularly, given the transformative social policy orientation that crosscuts the thesis. Transforming the wellbeing of people through changing social organisation and production, and redistribution of key resources for development, has always been highlighted in the national policies and development agenda of Zimbabwe. This focus, in terms of policy, can be identified in the

various development policies and initiatives of Zimbabwe's post-independence government led by the ZANU-PF.

Zimbabwe's post-colonial social policies and national development plans (short, medium and long-term); exhibit a transformative agenda (examples include education policy- free universal primary and secondary education, particularly in the 1980s; health policy - free health care immediately after independence; housing policy - attempts to achieve housing for all by the year 2000, and land policy - as espoused in the three phases of land acquisition and reform). The quest to transform the lives of the black majority who were deliberately subjugated, trivialised and relegated by colonial tendencies crosscuts most of Zimbabwe's social policies. However, the achievement of this desired goal varied due to the interplay of endogenous and exogenous factors. The criteria for analysing the FTLRP as a social policy instrument in Zvimba district is based on the five functions of TSP. I highlight these in the conceptual focus section below and explore these in Chapter 4.

(b) Conceptual focus: Transformative Social Policy (TSP)

The TSP, applied as the informing framework, primarily due to its relevance in addressing the identified lacunae, is constituted by several aspects under each function or task. However, I contextualised the TSP tasks in the FTLRP as follows:

Redistribution: How the FTLRP transformed access to prime agricultural land; reconfiguration of the agrarian structure (from bimodal to trimodal); diverse profiles of the land beneficiaries; the resultant forms of social organisation among the diverse land beneficiaries; redistribution of redistributed land (the *tseu/tsewu* and portions for children or other dependents); and how the FTLRP redistributed natural resources appended to the land (both fauna and flora).

Production: How the FTLRP played out on land use patterns; production and the productive potential of the land beneficiaries; changes in land use, production trends of main crops and livestock; agricultural inputs and support services; use of agricultural labour, linkages between agricultural production and agricultural markets; and how productive capacity can be enhanced.

Reproduction: Sources of income and labour for household reproduction; capital formation; institutions and associations for mutual benefit in the farms, and how they are reproducing the social and agrarian structure created by the FTLRP; generational issues (reproduction of farming by the children of the new land owners, and youth in general); and agency to maintain or improve agricultural production and social organisation.

Protection: The land as an *ex ante* social protection tool; ownership and use of prime agricultural land as an alternative to mainstream social protection based on social assistance and safety nets provided by the government, NGOs, private well-wishers and informal assistance within the community; a place one owns, establishment of shelter and *musha*; food consumption, security and sovereignty; and how on and off-farm activities in the aftermath of the FTLRP are playing out versus social assistance.

Social cohesion/Nation building: Social organisation after the FTLRP; co-operation among land beneficiary households; transformation from strangers to neighbours, friends and relatives; farmers' network groups; threats to cohesion and actors/players in conflict and how conflicts are managed in pursuit of cohesive households and farm communities; horizontal and vertical cohesion and norms of solidarity.

I applied these social policy tasks as complementary, and all as linked to the social, economic and political facets. Understanding the FTLRP within this context depicts the wider vision of

social policy, uniquely representing a major shift in social policy thinking and engagement with the FTLRP, and other land reforms as a social policy instruments in the pursuit of broad-based and inclusive development. I explore the TSP and its application in the thesis in Chapter 4 (Conceptual Framework: Transformative Social Policy).

(c) Level of analysis: Households

I considered the post-FTLRP farm household as a core unit of analysis. How the post-FTLRP farms in Zvimba district are socially organised, and how the social policy functions (production, redistribution, reproduction, protection and social cohesion) are playing out are interrogated in relation to households. In support of the importance of household in social research, O’Laughlin in Oya (2015, p. 34) posits that, “neither the design nor interpretations of household surveys is possible without reference to the qualitative and historical information that makes the categories and questions relevant”. In other contexts, Oya (2007), and Sender, Oya and Cramer (2006) grapple with conceptualisations of households. ‘Household’ is a contested terrain.

Most scholars borrow concepts such as ‘nuclear household’ from neo-classical economics but such definitions tend to obscure cultural and social differences as well as dynamics of intra-household and gender relations. Alternative approaches, for example, working with analytically relevant typologies where the distinction between ‘open’ and ‘closed’ households, or the use of criteria other than ‘physical residence’ have also been used, and are better, especially in Africa where due to, for example, rural to urban migration, households are not necessarily fixed in place or time (Oya 2013, pp.341-342).

In most rural settings, households are the major units of social organisation. The household has many dimensions in relation to social life, and despite contestations, remains essential to

the existence of individuals. I focused on a household as “a group of persons sharing a home or living space, who aggregate and share their incomes, as evidenced by the fact that they regularly take meals together” (Scott and Marshall 2009, p.318).

Land (farm) and the farm households are intertwined. The household members provide labour and capital for the farm to be productive while the farm satisfies the consumption, investment and development needs of the household (Murisa 2009). However, due to colonial accumulation by dispossession that was intended to proletarianise the black populace, this link was ‘frustrated’ in most households of the black population. Massive land dispossession from the black majority by the white colonisers resulted in broad alienation of the black population not only from land as a major source of wellbeing, but also from the other key economic resources and activities; and social services (Moyo 1995; 2013; Chambati 2013).

Partial proletarianisation in Zimbabwe and other African countries, especially of able-bodied males created a pool of wage labour for the whites (Arrighi 1970, 1973). However, not all men moved out of the rural households to search for employment in urban areas, mines, farms and plantations. Moreover, even those who migrated left their wives and children, and kins-folk to maintain land rights, particularly the period before forceful eviction from prime land. Households vary. In current Zimbabwe, most households do not solely depend on wage labour nor do all households depend on farm production. Petty commodity production and informal trade are alternative ways of generating income.

The term partial proletarianisation does not wholly represent the in-between organisation of the households (Moyo and Yeros 2005a), and how households engaged other income generating activities and used income from rural produce and formal employment in white-owned businesses and domestic settings (Murisa 2009). Lack of access to prime land by the

majority of the black households, and dependency on waged labour continued well after independence. The land question characterised the development needs of most households in Zimbabwe (Moyo and Yeros 2005a). Household wellbeing was further compromised by worsening performance of the economy in the late 1980s, and the introduction of Economic Structural Adjustment Programmes (ESAPs) in 1990. Households bore the brunt of ESAPs, particularly those that did not own prime means of production, including land and capital. The centrality of households is enduring though they are changing in form and responsibility to members.

1.7 The Study Area: Zvimba District

I describe the study area in terms of key themes (location, population and natural conditions, pre-fast track land reform divisions and intensive conservation areas, ICAs). Details of the selected farms are presented in Chapter 2 (Methods and Approach).

1.7.1 Location

Zvimba district “is one of the six districts constituting Mashonaland West Province of Zimbabwe” (Murisa 2009, p. 245). The district is located in central northern Zimbabwe (African Institute for Agrarian Studies 2005/2006). Zvimba district is composed of thirty-five (35) wards and shares boundaries with Mazowe, Chegutu, Makonde and Chinhoyi districts and Harare city. “Mazowe district lies to the east, Chegutu district to the south, the City of Harare to the south-east, Kadoma district to the south-west, Guruve district to the north and Makonde district to the west and north-west” (Murisa 2009, p. 245).

A map of Zimbabwe, showing its provinces and districts, including Zvimba is shown in Figure 1.1, while Figure 1.2 shows a detailed map of Zvimba district.



Figure 1.1: Map of Zimbabwe showing Zvimba and other districts

Source: Ministry of Lands (2009)

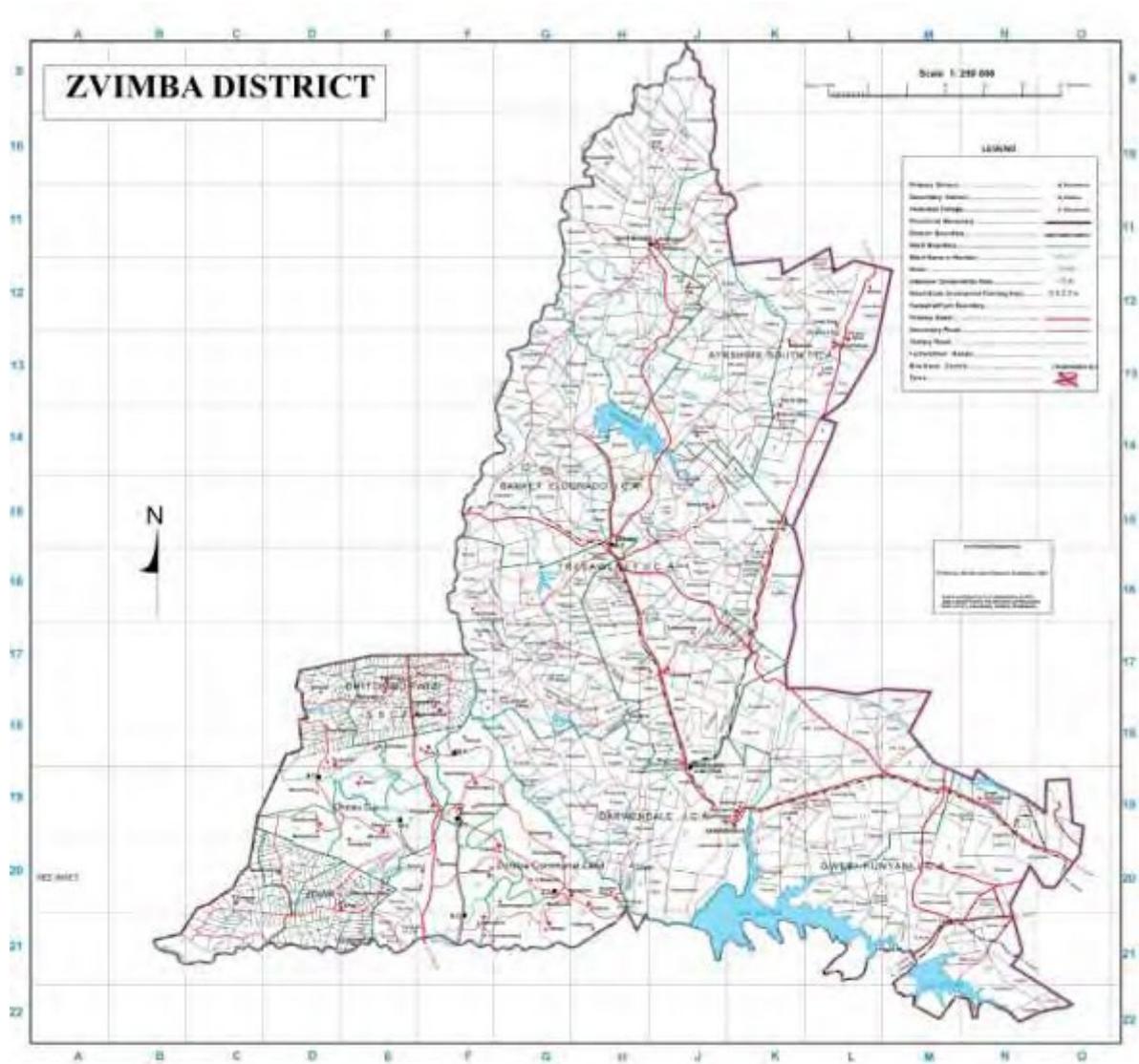


Figure 1.2: Specific and detailed Map of Zvimba District

Source: Ministry of Lands (2009)

1.7.2 Population

Zvimba district has a total population of 245 489 people and the sex categorisation of this population is 122 562 males and 122 927 females (Zimbabwe National Statistical Agency 2012). These population statistics are indicated in Figure 1.3, which also provides population details of the other districts in Mashonaland West Province.

MASHONALAND WEST

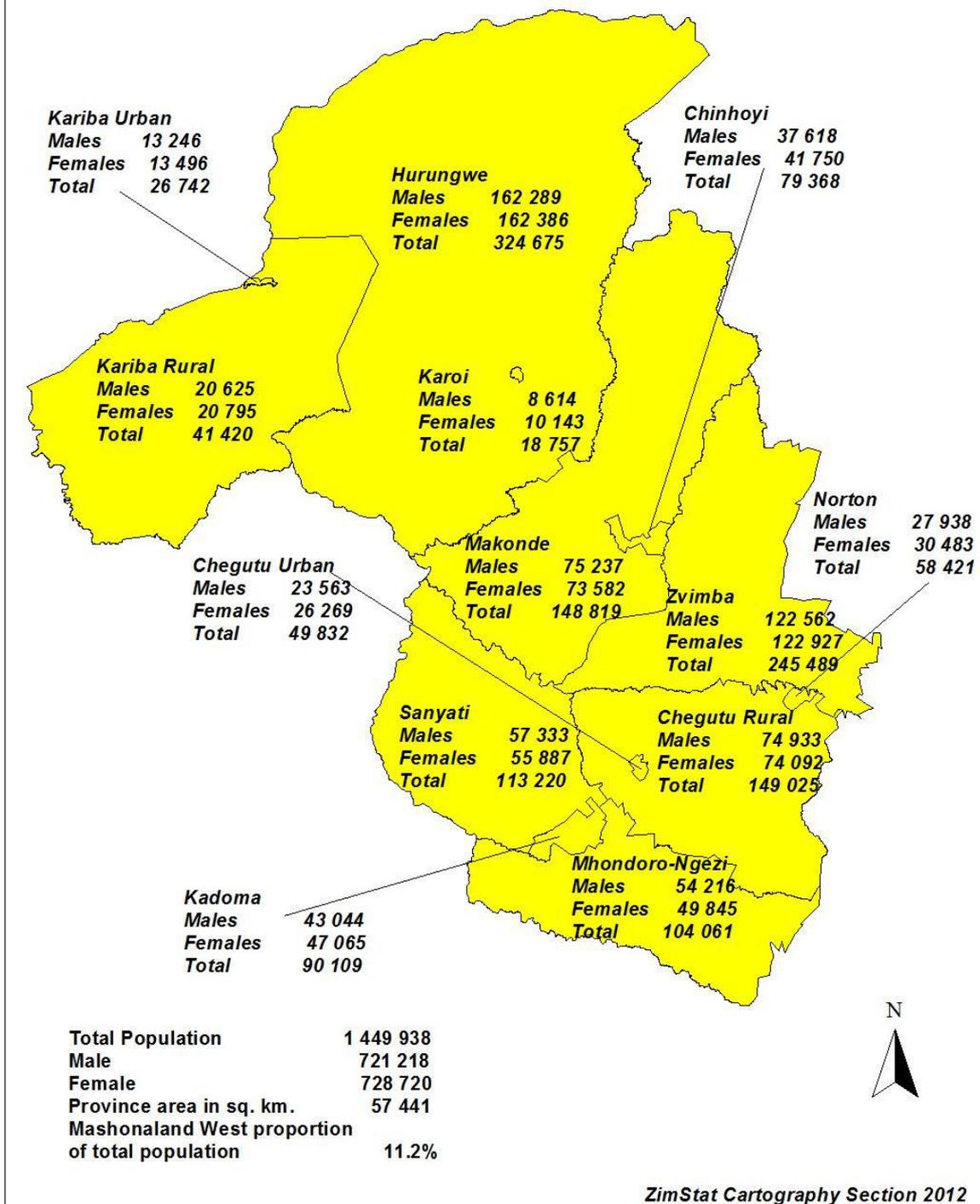


Figure 1.3: Population statistics of Zvimba and other districts in Mashonaland West Province

Source: Zimbabwe National Statistical Agency (ZIMSTAT) (2012)

The population of Zvimba district can be divided further according to the 35 wards. Such further categorisation brings out key variables such as number of households, sex categorisation, household totals and average size, and so forth. However, I did not include such further divisions due to their minimum relevance to the focus of the thesis.

1.7.3 Natural Conditions, Pre-FTLRP Land Divisions and Intensive Conservation Areas (ICAs)

Zvimba district is generally divided into two, north and south (Moyo *et al.*, 2009). The district “falls within Natural Region 2A (NR IIA) and is characterised by high and reliable rainfall patterns (700 to 1050mm), lush vegetation and rich soils. These properties are most suitable for intensive agriculture production” (Murisa 2009, p.245). Prior to the fast track land reform, “the northern part was characterised by white large-scale commercial farming whilst the south was predominantly communal farming. Zvimba district is divided into six Intensive Conservation Areas (ICAs) – Mutorashanga; Gwebi-Manyame; Raffingora; Banket; Trelawney and Darwendale” (Murisa 2009, p.21).

Land use patterns are a key variable in Zvimba and any other district. The district had “718 large-scale commercial farms and roughly 150 000 households under customary tenure” before the FTLRP (Murisa, 2009, p.21). The average hectareage per household was 2 hectares. Approximately, “20 500 farm workers were employed on temporary or permanent basis on large and medium-scale farms” (Chambati 2009, p.33). In terms of agricultural production, Zvimba district is primarily a farming and ranching district. Maize, tobacco and cotton are some of the key crops produced in the district. In addition to crop production, cattle husbandry is prioritised. In this district, cattle rearing is done for beef and dairy products.

Prior to resettlement, the land use pattern in Zvimba district was such that “large scale commercial farms (LSCF), small scale commercial farms (SSCF) and communal areas (CAs)” (Murisa 2009, p.21), grew staple cereals such as maize. They also grew wheat, soya

beans and flue-cured tobacco. Dairy and beef production was practiced in all the three sectors. However, dairy production was greater among LSCF than the other sectors (Murisa, 2009). The introduction of economic reforms in the 1990s led to a notable shift in the LSCF towards export-oriented production of horticultural crops such as carrots, cabbages, tomatoes, rape, potatoes, peas and onions (Muir 1994).

There is no significant change in land use patterns in Zvimba district in the aftermath of the FTLRP. However, there has been notable decline in the production of wheat, tobacco and maize since resettlement although land use patterns have not changed significantly (Murisa 2009, p. 22). Dwindling export market-oriented horticultural production is a notable example and several reasons have been cited (vandalism of infrastructure for example, greenhouses, and equipment, lack of expertise, low or non-existence of capital, and loss of markets due to disapproval of the FTLRP by most countries in the international community especially the main consumers (Murisa 2009, p.22).

Current horticultural farmers are still producing carrots, cabbages, tomatoes, rape, potatoes, peas and onions. However, they are now using low technology and minimum infrastructure on low hectareage, and are solely targeting the local market. Production and quality of produce are low. Non-penetration of the export market indicates loss of foreign currency earning.

1.8 Organisation of the Thesis

The other chapters constituting the thesis are organised as follows:

Chapter 2 addresses the methods and approach used in data collection. The chapter is organised in five parts, beginning with brief highlights on why I chose Zvimba district for fieldwork. The second part is a brief overview of Banket ward and the specific study sites

(Whynhill, Dalkeith and St Lucia Farms). Paradigm debates between positivists and interpretivists are presented in the third part to set a stage for application of mixed methods in ethnography. These are comprehensively interrogated and justified in the fourth part of the chapter. The chapter also provides details of entry, data sources and collection, ethical considerations, dilemmas and how these were addressed; data management, validity and reliability, and exiting the field.

In Chapter 3, I explore the land question in Zimbabwe and briefly justify the importance of land in any country. I also link the land question to legal instruments and extra economic regulations and taxes meant to enhance colonial accumulation by dispossession. I argue that, land dispossession from the indigenous Zimbabweans, and attempts to create a reserve economy and proletarianisation are at the core of the land question. Furthermore, I focus on how the post-colonial government addressed the land question through the three phases of land acquisition and resettlement (First and Second phases, and the FTLRP). Within this context, I bring out the challenges experienced in addressing the land question after independence. These include the Lancaster House Agreement's willing seller-willing buyer principle, and lack of financial support to finance land acquisition and resettlement, culminating into increasing frustration with the slow pace of land reform and spontaneous land occupations by war veterans and land-poor peasants.

Chapter 4 explores the Transformative Social Policy conceptual framework and justifies its suitability to the interrogation of the FTLRP as a transformative social policy instrument. I explore social policy in general to set a stage for detailed focus on TSP in terms of production, redistribution, reproduction, social protection and social cohesion; in the context of flagship research by the UNRISD, and the contributions of various scholars (Adesina 2009, 2014; Mkandawire 2004, 2011; Hujo 2014; Yi 2015).

Chapter 5 analyses the redistributive social policy outcomes of the FTLRP in terms of prime agricultural land and appended natural resources (fauna and flora). The transformation of the agrarian structure from bimodal to trimodal arrangement is acknowledged, including the redistribution of land to people of diverse profiles (place of origin, education, employment status, gender and farm residency). I also prioritise redistribution of redistributed land within households (the *tseu/tsewu*; age issues, particularly inclination to the elders in owning and redistributing land), and gender division of labour. The *tseu/tsewu* is a sub-division of the main plot that is allocated to a wife or wives for crop production.

In Chapter 6, I explore land use and production outcomes of the FTLRP. Notable themes are: accessing the land, commencement of production, land use patterns, and trends in production of major crops (maize, wheat and tobacco) and livestock (large and small). I argue that since occupation, production declined, and such declines are attributed to various factors (unavailability of or expensive agricultural inputs, shortage of farm infrastructure and equipment, irrigation and electricity problems, challenges in accessing markets, drought and pests or wild animals). I focus on gender and agricultural production (division of labour and the *tseu/tsewu*). In addition, I interrogate contract farming (led by both the state and private players), as a response to agricultural inputs challenges. The perspectives of both the farmers and contractors are prioritised.

In Chapter 7, I dwell on social protection outcomes of the FTLRP. The central argument is that, despite challenges, use of prime agricultural land; and on-farm and off-farm activities opened up by the FTLRP, are largely better alternatives to social assistance that is mainly provided by the government (through the Social Services Department in the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare), NGOs; charity from corporates and mutual help in families,

households and the farm community). I present land as an *ex ante* social protection tool and focus on access to land for having a place one owns, build shelter and have *musha*; food availability, consumption, sovereignty and having *dura*; livestock as short-term insurance and long-term accumulation, and innovations in social services (school, health and potable water, shopping facilities, and police services). *Musha* is a place and home for shelter, residence, economic and socio-cultural activities, and associated benefits. Generally, *dura* is a storage facility for crop produce. However, among the Shona people of Zimbabwe, *dura* is more than the physical structure (storage facility), but what is contained in that facility. I adopted this conceptualisation in this thesis.

Chapter 8 explores social reproduction outcomes. Selected areas include sources of income and labour for household reproduction, capital formation, reproduction of agriculture through children of the land beneficiaries and generational issues focusing on youth; drive to have more children and bigger households due to having accessed land; institutions, associations and networks for mutual benefit, and their agency to reproduce members and the farm community.

In Chapter 9, I interrogate social cohesion outcomes of the FTLRP by giving priority to several thematic areas (cooperation among households as shown by transformation from strangers to neighbours, friends and relatives; farmers' network groups and their role in social cohesion; threats to social cohesion and the responses). I focus on the *janus*-faced character of conflict and interrogate the triggers and types of conflict, players involved, peace-building initiatives, and how peace-building is vital for cohesive farm communities and successful agriculture.

Chapter 10 forms the conclusion of the thesis. I present a summary of the thrust of the thesis and key findings in relation to the FTLRP as a transformative social policy instrument. The recommendations are informed by ‘voices’ from Zvimba district and supported by core agricultural policy frameworks developed by the government of Zimbabwe (ZAIP, NAPF and Zimbabwe Food Poverty Atlas). I also briefly present concluding remarks that consolidate the thrust of the thesis – the FTLRP as a transformative social policy instrument.

1.9 Conclusion

The foundational chapter set the tone of the thesis by providing the core objectives and research questions that shape the thrust of the thesis. The chapter brings out two lacunae. First is the non-acknowledgement in dominant social policy literature by the OECD, of the FTLRP and other land reforms as social policy instruments. Second, is the lack of conscious engagement with land reforms as social policy instruments in Zimbabwe’s land reform literature, despite acknowledgement of its social outcomes by some scholars. However, I acknowledged that many scholars gave attention to motivations, processes and outcomes of the FTLRP, and earlier phases of land reforms. This is evidenced by the number of scholars (doctoral or general), contributing to research and literature on land reform.

The chapter also sets out the major contribution of thesis to the body of knowledge on both land reform and social policy. Using the FTLRP as a case to prove this, land reform is as social policy instrument that has potential to transform the lives of the land beneficiaries and their communities. This noble contribution is vital, particularly against a background of non-recognition, in mainstream social policy literature dominated by the OECD, of land reforms as social policy instruments. The OECD scholars, who have hegemonic presence in social policy at global level, concentrated on social policy theories, approaches and tools that are relevant to their contexts, consequently not acknowledging or relegating those from the

Global South, including land reform. Accordingly, Zimbabwe and the Global South in general, have, for a long time been grappling with social policy theories, approaches and tools that are out of context. The two-pronged focus of the thesis – land reform and social policy – implies that the thesis contributes to conceptual approaches and literature in both.

Chapter Two: Methods and Approach

Research is about enquiry, about discovery, about revealing something that was previously unknown (Finn *et al.*, 2000, p. xv)

2.1 Introduction

The chapter explores the data collection methods and approach applied, the related issues and dynamics in the field, and how I managed to attain valid results. An entire chapter has been devoted to methods and approach due to their centrality in a thesis, and any other academic research. I delve beyond mere outline to justification of the data collection methods and approach. Ten main sections constitute this chapter.

In the first section, I briefly present the justifications for choosing Zvimba district. These include but are not limited to: low academic attention paid to Zvimba district, particularly on land reform research - Moyo *et al.* (2009) and Murisa (2009); absence of specific focus on the FTLRP as a social policy instrument in the district; agro-ecological and geological qualities of the district; influence of Mugabeism and self-perception of the ‘Zvimbas’ as the ‘original’ people linked to the ruling ‘aristocrat’; and accessibility and proximity of the district thereby, facilitating efficient fieldwork). This section makes it clear that, fieldwork in Zvimba district introduces a new approach that is largely missing in literature on Zimbabwe’s FTLRP.

I present a brief overview of Banket area and the specific study sites included in fieldwork in the second section. In addition, I outline the geographical location, composition of Banket in terms of LSCFs and communal areas (CAs), land use prior to the FTLRP and land occupations. In addition, I highlight the specific study sites within Banket (Whynhill, Dalkeith and St Lucia Farms). Lion Kopje and Wannock Glen Farms, and nearby communal

areas are referred to in the analyses chapters due to their proximity to and interaction with the selected farms.

In the third section, I highlight paradigm debates (positivism versus interpretivism) to situate my study, and explore mixed methods and ethnography in literature; and justify their suitability to fieldwork in Zvimba in the fourth section. In the fifth section, I provide details of the sample informing the study. Data collection and considerations for ethics are the focus of the sixth section while in the seventh addresses data analysis. In the eighth and ninth sections, I focus on pertinent details of credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability of qualitative data; and entry, field dynamics and exit. The conclusion forms the tenth section.

2.2 Why Choose Zvimba District for Fieldwork?

Before delving into the methods of collecting data and related themes, justification for choosing Zvimba district for the fieldwork is essential. Several core considerations motivated me to choose Zvimba district for fieldwork. Broadly, the district has had low academic attention in relation to the FTLRP. Few concrete studies have been done in the area (Moyo *et al.*, 2009; Murisa 2009). The district is near Zimbabwe's capital, Harare, and is linked to other towns (Chinhoyi and Kadoma) therefore, is easily accessible; yet, exploration of the outcomes of the FTLRP is low. In relation to other areas, studies have been conducted that touch on livelihoods after the FTLRP, for example, Scoones *et al* (2010) in Masvingo; Mkodzongi (2013) in Mhondoro-Ngezi; and James (2015) in Mashonaland Central. By reviewing these studies, and appreciating that single case studies are essential but pose limitations given the diversity of local socio-political and agro-ecological, and geological conditions, I decided to focus on a different part of the country (Zvimba district in Mashonaland West Province).

In addition to the general low academic focus on the outcomes of the FTLRP, such focus, though essential in providing empirical evidence on the fast track land reform, has not been consciously informed by the social policy perspective. This lacuna, as explained in the introductory chapter, runs through this thesis. I therefore, engaged the social policy outcomes of the fast track land reform. Essentially, the FTLRP (and other land reforms) implemented in Zimbabwe are social policy instruments, and should be understood as such hence, my argument that, specific social policy outcomes should be interrogated and enhanced.

How the ‘Mugabeism’ dominant in Zvimba and self-perception of the ‘Zvimbas’ as the ‘original’ people linked to the man at the echelon of the ruling ‘aristocrat’ (before his resignation in a soft coup in 2017), played out in the FTLRP is a vital facet that had not been explored. Zvimba district is the rural home to the former president of the Republic of Zimbabwe, Robert Gabriel Mugabe. Mugabeism and its dominance in ZANU PF is an important dynamic in claims for, occupations and authority over the land. Such dynamics are largely unexplored in available literature. In this thesis, I adopted Ndlovu-Gatsheni’s (2017) conceptualisation of Mugabeism as a summation of a constellation of political contestations, political behaviour, political ideas, utterances, rhetoric and actions that are crystallised around Robert Mugabe’s political life.

Zvimba district is also a vital study site considering its agro-ecological and geological qualities. The district falls within Agro-ecological Region II (Murisa 2009, p.245), receives relatively high rainfall and is one of Zimbabwe’s medium prime agricultural areas. Zvimba district therefore, represents Zimbabwe’s medium potential agro-ecological zones. How the fast track land reform played out in prime agricultural areas including Zvimba district, should be captured. Furthermore, the district falls within a mineral-rich geological formation called

the Great Dyke. This dyke cuts across Zimbabwe, and is richly endowed with mineral deposits. In essence, the district is also a mining area, and, in addition to agriculture, mining influence the livelihoods of the resettled households (and households in neighbouring communal areas). However, it is important to clarify that, mining was not the core focus of this thesis. I refer to artisanal mining when focusing on gold panning locally known as *chikorokoza* as an off-farm activity that is essential in exploration of the land as a social policy instrument.

Zvimba district in general and Banket in particular, is easily accessible by road. Accessing and moving in and out of the area during the ethnographic study was easy. In addition, the proximity of the district to Harare facilitated easy access to the African Institute for Agrarian Studies (AIAS) (now Sam Moyo African Institute for Agrarian Studies, SMAIAS) - the 'power house' of research and literature on land and agrarian studies in Zimbabwe. Such proximity to Harare, and easy accessibility allowed me to access libraries and internet services in the capital.

The dynamics of land occupations in Zvimba district, as these are presented in literature aroused me to interrogate land occupations and land reform as a social policy instrument in a context where, against popular land invasions by war veterans, are presented as a universal reality. In Zvimba, most of the occupations were led by "traditional leaders (such as spirit mediums and chiefs), and ordinary people from neighbouring communal and urban areas (including Banket)" (Murisa 2009, p.245). War veteran activity "was limited, and they worked with traditional leaders in mobilising people from communal areas to occupy large-scale commercial farms" (Murisa 2009, p.245). The general and specific detail of Banket ward; and Dalkeith, Whyhill and St Lucia Farms are based on groundwork done by Murisa (2009), and complemented by own fieldwork.

2.3 Banket Ward and the Study Sites

Zvimba district “lies approximately 95 kilometres to the north-west of Harare” (Murisa 2009, p. 245), and is situated along the Harare-Chirundu highway. Banket is in natural ecological region II, making it suitable for intensive agriculture. Banket “serviced the needs of large-scale commercial farmers and farm workers from the surrounding farms before the FTLRP. The area is surrounded by gold and chrome mines, especially along the Great Dyke, that lies to the east of Banket. In addition, the town borders with Murombedzi communal area to the south, Chirau communal area to the south-west and Kasanze to the north” (Murisa 2009, p. 245).

Banket was made up of 41 LSCF prior to FTLRP. Of these, 16 were sub-divided into A1 farms and 25 into A2 farms. Large-scale commercial farmers produced maize and tobacco before the FTLRP. Production levels for most of the farmers was high to the extent that they belonged to the ‘Ten Tonne Club’ (named after their ability to produce ten tonnes per hectare (Ha) (Murisa 2009, p.245). Limited livestock production for beef and dairy was also part of the LSCF prior to the fast track land reform. In the aftermath of the FTLRP, there are no major changes in land use patterns.

Very limited land reform had occurred before the FTLRP mainly due to the low availability of derelict farms. Most such farms had been “exhausted in the initial land resettlement implemented in the early 1980s” (Murisa 2009, p. 245). I explore land reforms of the early 1980s in Chapter 3. Attempts to occupy LSCF, led by traditional leaders, were realised in 1998. However, these were ‘extinguished’ by the LSC farmers with Zimbabwe Republic Police (ZRP). This led “chief Matibiri of Zvimba to persuade fellow traditional leaders and spirit mediums to stop land occupations until the government had established concrete plans

for land reform” (Murisa 2009, p.245). However, Banket area, and generally Zvimba district, experienced dramatic land occupations in 2000 “soon after the ‘NO’ vote (rejection) of the Draft Constitution” (Murisa 2009, p. 245). Prior to that period, the area was politically dominated by ZANU PF. However, after 2000, the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) (now divided into various MDCs) gained momentum.

In the following sub-sections, I highlight the specific study sites (Whynhill, Dalkeith and St Lucia Farms) that were selected for fieldwork. Lion Kopje, Sutton B, Fennemerre, Noordt Gate, Wannock Glen and other farms are also referred to in this chapter due to their proximity to the selected farms, and multiple farm ownership by the white commercial farmers. St Lucia farm was owned by Ian Barret, the owner of Dalkeith, therefore, its ownership, use and related aspects are explained under Dalkeith. However, as acknowledged already, I outline the study sites based on my fieldwork, and complement with groundwork done by Murisa (2009).

2.3.1 Whynhill

Douglas Campbell, before the fast track land reform owned the farm. He also owned Sutton B, a large-scale commercial farm neighbouring Whynhill farm on joint basis with his mother. Campbell inherited Whynhill “from his father who had bought it in 1962 from a family that moved to the Eastern Highlands of Zimbabwe; and took over the running of the 1038 ha farm in the 1980s” (Murisa 2009, p.259).

Farm activity before the FTLRP included cattle rearing for beef (about 600 cattle). The farm also had a piggery project of about 200 pigs. In addition to animal production, “Campbell also grew maize, wheat, sugar beans, soya beans and tobacco” (Murisa, 2009, pp.259-260). On average, maize was grown on approximately “60 ha and more than half of the maize

produce was kept on the farm as stock feed and rations for the workers” (Murisa 2009, p.259). The remainder was sold to the Grain Marketing Board (GMB). Approximately 80 ha were used for tobacco production, and the produce was sold at the auction floors. To enhance fertility, tobacco and maize were rotated. Due to his prowess in tobacco production, “Campbell won the Mashonaland West Tobacco Farmer of the Year Award consecutively in 1994 and 1995” (Murisa 2009, p.260). In winter, he grew wheat on 50 ha and green peas on 2ha. Like maize, wheat was sold to the GMB.

As a beneficiary of the World Bank Export Incentive Scheme (WBEIS) that was “launched in 1992 to encourage diversification into export crops, in 1993, he launched horticulture production and built a greenhouse (on approximately 2ha) (Murisa, 2009, p.260). Horticultural crops included cucumbers, mangetout, green pepper and tomatoes. These crops, except for tomatoes (channelled to the local market - mainly supermarkets in Banket and Harare), were mainly meant for the export market (with the UK dominating). In 1996, greenhouses were expanded by 3 hectares for production of roses, with Holland being the major consumer.

Campbell was a member of key agricultural associations and unions. Murisa (2009) reports that, Campbell was a member of the Commercial Farmers Union (CFU) and participated actively at the level of provincial structures, including the Horticultural Producers Union (HPU) in 1995. The HPU was one of the commodity associations of the CFU. Using the HPU, “Campbell and other farmers in Mashonaland West and Mashonaland East formed a cooperative called Produco; this cooperative was tasked with identifying markets and taking care of freighting of fresh farm produce from the farmers to markets” Murisa 2009, p.260). Just before the FTLRP, the cooperative’s plan to build a flower and vegetable handling facility near the Harare International Airport (now the Robert Mugabe International Airport),

had already received approval of the City of Harare. In addition to these successes, HPU “is also credited for purchasing four refrigerated trucks to carry flowers and other fresh farm produce from members’ farms just before the FTLRP” (Murisa 2009, p.260).

Farm investment, a major contributor to the success of farming, was evident at Whyhill. Irrigation equipment (two water pumps and overhead pivots), three tractors, two Nissan diesel trucks, two motorbikes and one major diesel generator are examples of farm investments at the farm before fast track land reform. The irrigation system had the capacity to water 55ha. In addition, immovable property included a double storey farm house, three silage reservoirs, two tobacco barns, a workshop and three boreholes (Murisa 2009, p. 260). Campbell used to employ “seventy (70) full-time employees, and during peak seasons where demand for manual labour was necessary, the number increased three fold” (Murisa 2009, p.261). The farm workers resided at the farm. The distribution of the seventy workers was as follows: “eighteen (18) were responsible for the green houses, ten (10) cared for the beef herd and the rest worked in the crop fields” (Murisa 2009, p. 261).

In August 2001, Whyhill farm was listed for compulsory acquisition, and people from the communal areas (Chirau and Kasanze) descended on the farm. Land allocation was dynamic. In the initial phase, fifty-five (55) households (from the communal areas and Banket town), got A1 plots. Of these, nine (9) of the beneficiaries were female-headed households. However, all the former farm workers were not allocated land. Initially, Campbell was allowed to stay at the farm house, but was denied access to the fields and other parts of the farm. He successfully applied for permission to move his property off the farm. Campbell was given police escort and moved all property except water pumps that are alleged to have been stolen by the black new farmers (Murisa 2009, p.262). The beef herd was moved to Sutton B. According to sources, they last heard of him running a transport company in 2015.

With the migration of Campbell to Sutton B after failing to oppose the acquisition of his farm, a small group of the farm workers went with him. They remained under his employ. However, the majority remained on the farm. Dynamics of land occupation and distribution necessitated further subdivision of the farm. This led to the conversion of three hundred and eighty hectares (380ha) into an A2 plot. The plot was allocated to a former ZANU PF councillor. Due to the change, the number of A1 farmers was reduced to forty-five (45) (Murisa 2009, p. 262). Three (3) of the affected households returned to the communal areas while seven (7) were offered plots at Lion Kopje farm nearby.

2.3.2 Dalkeith Farm

Located twelve (12) kilometres south-west of Banket, Dalkeith farm has been in the Barret family since the 1920s. The late former farm owner, “Ian Barret, had another large-scale commercial farm – Fennemerre and a grocery shop at Banket” (Murisa 2009, p.246). In addition, Barret leased neighbouring large-scale commercial farms such as St Lucia and Noordt Gate. Barret engaged in diverse farm activities including livestock rearing for beef at Noordt Gate, and piggery project at Fennemerre. This project serviced the export market. He reared crocodiles for the foreign market, lodges in the area and hotels in Harare. Barret also grew maize, wheat and tobacco. Furthermore, Dalkeith had a tree plantation (measuring about 36 ha).

An oil extraction plant financed by the World Bank Export Incentive Scheme (WBEIS) introduced in the country in 1990, complemented the tree plantation. The project produced “6 000 litres of tea tree oil per month in a good summer season” (Murisa 2009, p.246). Twelve (12) full time employees were employed for the project. Most of the oil was sold to an unnamed Australian cosmetics company. Extraction of the oil was done using sophisticated distillation technology. The “other farmers in Zvimba district brought tea leaves

and stems for oil extraction at a fee” (Murisa 2009, p.246). Twelve workers were employed to cater for oil extraction.

Crocodile rearing and slaughtering facilities were built in 1990s to cater for the diversification into crocodile farming (Murisa 2009). The farm had approximately eighty (80) crocodiles in 1999. A farm house, two storehouses, tobacco bans and a dip tank were some of the immovable property at the farm (Murisa 2009, p.247). There were three tractors, irrigation equipment (pumps and pipes) to irrigate approximately fifty hectares (50ha). The farmhouse has since been converted into a primary school.

Barret employed 200 farm workers on his four (4) farms, and the bulk of them resided at Dalkeith. In the 1980s, “Dalkeith built a farm compound with a carrying capacity of one hundred and twenty (120) households” (Murisa 2009, p. 247). The workers received weekly wages, a ration of maize, and when available, crocodile meat. Peak planting seasons necessitated the need for casual labour. Farm managers requested permanent “farm workers to recommend members of their households for casual work” (Murisa 2009, p. 248). Casual labour included children for planting, weeding and harvesting. The farm owner was very popular due to his generosity to the workers.

The official sub-division of the “farm and pegging of A1 plots began in 2000, and was led by officials in the Department of Extension and Ministry of Lands and Rural Resettlement” (Murisa 2009, p. 249). This ministry was merged with the Ministry of Agriculture, Mechanisation and Irrigation Development, and now collectively called Ministry of Lands, Agriculture, Water, Climate and Rural Resettlement¹ under the ‘new’ administration headed

¹ This change should be noted in all sections of the thesis where I refer to the Ministry of Lands and Rural Resettlement, and Ministry of Agriculture, Mechanisation and Irrigation Development

by Emmerson Mnangagwa. Dalkeith farm was sub-divided into seventy-nine (79) A1 plots, eight (8) of which were allocated to female-headed households of the Manjinjiwa lineage (Murisa 2009, p.249). Twenty-three (23) members of the lineage could not be accommodated on the farm therefore, were settled in neighbouring St Lucia and Wannock Glen Farms. Three (3) households resettled at Dalkeith have no access to arable land and they refused to be resettled in neighbouring A1 farms. When the farm was occupied, the majority of the former farm workers moved into other areas; and only fifty-six (56) former farm workers' households remained in the compound providing labour to the new black settlers. Unlike the Whyndhill case, the former farm workers who remained on the farm were allocated 0.3 ha for own use. The former farm house and office were converted into a primary school but this facility cannot accommodate all the classes. Neither is it appropriate, given that it was not built for schooling purposes. Murisa (2009, p.250) made similar observations.

2.4 Research Paradigm

Every researcher brings to research a worldview (paradigm) that influences how he or she designs and conducts the research project (Ghiara 2019; Williamson and Whittaker 2017). The worldview depicts “a set of assumptions, concepts and values about reality, and practices on gaining knowledge and the methods used” (Creswell and Plano Clark 2007, p.21). How one views the world and thus, goes “about conducting research - a basic set of beliefs or assumptions that guide enquirers, constitutes a paradigm or worldview” (McGregor and Murname 2010, p.249). Any scholarship that is intended to generate new knowledge is informed by research paradigms, and “this can be done knowingly or not” (McGregor and Murname 2010, p.249).

Each paradigm is accompanied by methodology (constituted by assumptions about knowledge, values, reality and logic). Researchers should be clear about which paradigm best fits their study, and the attendant methodology appropriate when conducting the study (Pham

2018). Important to understand is that, a worldview forms the foundation for inquiry, and researchers should be cognisant of the implicit worldview influencing their studies, bearing in mind that each worldview represents a different view on the nature of reality. Worldviews are not rigid although what constitutes a worldview or methodology does not change. There are four basic ways of categorising the worldviews namely, “positivism and post positivism, constructivism (also known as interpretivism), advocacy and participatory; and pragmatism” (Creswell and Plano Clark 2007). Every paradigm has strengths and weaknesses depending on the research problem under consideration. Overall, paradigms influence how the researchers conduct and reports their enquiries.

All the four worldviews have common elements although the stances taken on each element varies (ontology, epistemology, axiology, methodology and rhetoric) (Lincoln and Guba 2000). Ontology represents the different views on the nature of reality while epistemology denotes how the researchers gain knowledge. Axiology is the role of values in research; methodology is the process of research and rhetoric is the language of research. Regardless of the diversity of worldviews, “epistemology, theoretical perspective, methodology and methods are four basic elements of any research process” (Creswell and Plano Clark 2007, p. 23). Ontology, epistemology, axiology, methodology and rhetoric should be meshed in every study (Creswell and Plano Clark 2018). I applied interpretivism – a research paradigm that is constituted by various non-positivist forms of realism. Various scholars explored non-positivist realism (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie 2004; Lincoln and Guba 2000; Creswell and Plano Clark 2017; Creswell 2012). This paradigm was the most appropriate given that, I sought to understand the diversity of lived experiences and situated meanings of the FTLRP from a social policy perspective.

2.4.1 Paradigm Debates - Positivism versus Interpretivism: Situating My Study

The production and dissemination of knowledge are contested areas in sociology and the other social sciences. The contestations pertain to the ontological, epistemological, axiological, methodological and rhetorical bases of research (Creswell 2012; Gialdino 2009; Blaikie 2008; Longino 1990). Epistemology, explained in the previous section as that “known to be true, varies from doxology (what is believed to be true)” (Creswell 2012). Science or a scientific approach then, is aimed at transforming beliefs (doxology) into epistemes (things that are known) (Galliers 1990). Such transformation is hinged on application of research paradigms, positivism and interpretivism being the core, but not the only ones. A glimpse into history of the application of the paradigms shows diverse standpoints (for example, Karl Popper and others; versus Thomas Kuhn and others).

Overall, the “production of knowledge reflects the different ways of observing, studying and measuring the world to get to know what constitutes reality” (Creswell 2007, p. 19). This is espoused in ontology as noted by various scholars (Creswell 2012; Blaikie 2000, p. 8; Neuman 1994). In addition to answering what constitutes reality, social researchers should also answer the question of, how we get to know the reality. This leads to epistemology - broadly understood as the set of approaches to the study of knowledge and in essence, a form of proof or justification of a claim about the social world (Longino 1990). Within the same context of seeking to understand epistemology, Chiweshe (2011) reports that, epistemology considers the appropriate foundation for the study of society and its manifestations. In addition, epistemology provides the underlying philosophical basis for the arguments supporting the validity of a research strategy. These explanations are essential for understanding positivism and interpretivism, and contestations between scholars pertaining to these paradigms.

(a) Positivism

Several scholars focus on positivism (Creswell and Creswell, 2018; Kalebe-Nyamongo 2012; Marsh and Stoker 2002; Lovin *et al.*, 1999; Crotty 1998; Levin 1988). Positivism prioritises measurement, quantitative data and objectivity. A positivist approach is based on theories, models, structures and framing of hypotheses. Primacy is placed on observable external reality over internal reality. Schell (1992, p. 7) shares this view. “Positivism is based on the assumption that the only authentic knowledge is scientific; such knowledge can only be attained positive affirmation of theories, structured scientific and quantitative methods” (Schell 1992, p.7). Kalebe-Nyamongo (2012, p.3) captures these views by defining positivism “as a body of techniques used to investigate phenomena and acquiring new knowledge of the natural world as well as previous knowledge base on observable, empirical, measurable evidence that is subject to the laws of reasoning”.

Positivists view reality as constant and that which can be observed and described from an objective viewpoint without affecting the phenomena being studied. Accordingly, scholars within this paradigm are of the conviction that the subject should be isolated, and that observations should be replicable (Kalebe-Nyamongo 2012). A researcher of positivist persuasion applies deductive processes to get facts and produce generalisations about cause and effect relationships between variables through objective, observable and quantifiable data (Neuman 1994). Moreover, as noted by other scholars (Marsh and Stoker 2002; Deacon *et al.*, 1999), the cause and effect relationships can be clearly identified and used to predict general patterns of human activity or outcomes. Various other scholars focus on these characteristics of positivism.

The positivist paradigm has applied widely but some of its aspects have also been criticised. The paradigm’s rigid emphasis on abstract laws, formulae and statistics pay less attention to

‘contextual factors such as cultural and social forces that influence human behaviour’ (Creswell and Plano Clark 2017). The paradigm also fails to distinguish people and social institutions from matter of the natural world (Creswell 2012). Unlike matter, people are active agents that can shape their social world therefore, are not constant. Researchers working within the positivist paradigm consider their understanding of for example, a questionnaire as similar to that of the respondent. This may not always be true. Furthermore, such researchers assume that variables involving human beings in experimental research can be controlled to achieve ‘pure’ results. Several scholars have questioned such positivist views (Creswell and Creswell 2018; Creswell and Plano Clark 2017; Creswell 2012; Johnson and Onwuegbuzie 2004; Neuman 2011; Lincoln and Guba 2000; Ritchie and Lewis 2003; Denzin 1970; Cicourel 1964; Blumer 1956).

(b) Interpretivism

The interpretive paradigm is central in the contributions of many scholars (Creswell and Creswell 2018; Creswell and Plano Clark 2017; Creswell 2012; Johnson and Onwuegbuzie 2004; Neuman 1994, 2011; Lincoln and Guba 2000; Kalebe-Nyamongo 2012; Joniak 2007; Bevir *et al.*, 2003; Williamson 2002; Deacon *et al.*, 1999; Linglof 1995; Mommsen 1992; Jennings 1983 and many others). When applying interpretivism, scholars may take different positions collectively considered to be non-positivist (Creswell and Creswell 2018). Broadly, interpretivists emphasise qualitative aspects of human beings hence, qualitative methods of human inquiry; and seek to understand their objects of interests and unquantifiable as opposed to positivist “researchers who perform tests of prediction and control” (Lindlof 1995, p. 9). Also crucial to interpretivists is prioritisation of social contexts, cultural values, norms, symbols; and social processes. Reality can only be understood through interpreting people’s cultural aspects (Creswell and Plano Clark 2017; Mommsen 1992).

Interpretivism is an ontological foundation that defines reality as some type of projection of imagination, the point of view of at least one actor and ultimately a social construction which can be explored through a science of meanings, phenomenological insight and subjective processes (Neuman 2011). On the same theme of ontology, qualitative research espoused in interpretivism “embraces an ontology that negates the existence of (or at least the efficacy of arguing for the existence of) an external reality” (Joinak 2007, p.32). Such “external reality”, for Searle (1995, p 154), is “one that exists outside and independent of our interpretations”. However, the key question is, ‘To what extent is external reality independent of the researcher’s interpretations?’

In terms of methods, interpretive epistemology is grounded in interviews (especially less or unstructured; and indepth), participant observations, focus group discussions, and document analysis (Punch 2005). Many scholars also focus on data collection methods in interpretivism (Creswell and Creswell 2018; Creswell and Plano Clark 2017; Creswell 2012; Flick 2006; Johnson and Onwuegbuzie 2004; Neuman 2011; Lincoln and Guba 2000; Kalebe-Nyamongo 2012). Through these methods, researchers can understand people’s values, beliefs, meanings, preferences, and other unquantifiable aspects (Chibwana 2016). What is implied in this understanding is that, researchers cannot completely detach themselves from their own sociocultural context. The possibility of adopting value-free and politically-neutral research is extremely low, if not impossible (Flick 2006). In real life, “researchers should reflect on their own values, views and feelings, and these may impact on their studies. Interpretive researchers achieve understanding through the researcher’s insights” (Ashley and Orenstein 2005, p. 76). Several scholars admit such impossibility (Creswell and Creswell 2018; Neuman 2011; Deacon *et al.*, 1999; Marsh and Stoker 2002).

Interpretivism acknowledges the plurality of interpretations of reality and reiterates that, such interpretations are part of scientific knowledge. The social world is constructed by people therefore, is different from matter (Williamson 2002). Interpretivism notes that people interpret and reinterpret their dynamic world. The implication of such understanding is that evidence about social action cannot be isolated from the context in which it occurs, nor from the meanings that people assign to them. People act on the “basis of their values, beliefs and preferences” (Joinak 2007, p.31). In essence, the researcher’s interpretations and representation of data obtained from participants cannot be considered completely objective because it is socially constructed (Creswell and Plano Clark 2017). I contested and transcended the rigid distinctions between positivism and interpretivism when I used the mixed methods design.

2.5 Research Design, Mixed Methods and Ethnography

Research designs are addressed in various literature (Maxwell 2005, 2019; Kura 2012; Creswell 2012, 2013; Berg 2007; Denzin and Lincoln 2005; Punch 2005; Flick 2006; Creswell and Creswell 2018; Creswell and Plano Clark 2005, 2017; Flick 2006; Johnson and Onwuegbuzie 2004; Neuman 2011; Lincoln and Guba 2000; Kalebe-Nyamongo 2012). For scholars to produce proposals and studies that are acceptable to the research committees, they should incorporate three interdependent elements. The framework elements “are philosophical assumptions about what constitutes knowledge claims; general procedures of research (strategies of inquiry); and detailed procedures of data collection, analysis and writing (methods)” (Creswell 2012, p.59).

Research designs are linked to research approaches (qualitative, quantitative and mixed methods). The research designs can be divided into several types including case study, survey, experimental, longitudinal and comparative. Further divisions can be made - single

site, multiple site, non-experimental, and participatory or researcher designs (Creswell 2010; Creswell and Plano Clark 2005). Despite the differences, “the choice of research design is determined by several considerations including the nature of the problem, the purpose of the study and the chosen conceptual or theoretical framework” (Creswell 2012, p.59).

Scholars in social science research converge on the view that, “research design is a blueprint of how a researcher plans to conduct research” (Mouton 2001, p. 55); or a roadmap meant to determine the best way to be followed in implementing a study (Terrell 2012, p. 258). In choosing a research design, a researcher should consider “the research paradigm and specific viewpoint to use” (Lett 1990, p.130). A researcher may choose to apply *emic* or *etic* viewpoints. Adopting an *emic* viewpoint implies studying people as from inside the system while *etic* viewpoint informs the researcher to study people as from outside the system. The latter viewpoint is an essential initial approach to a system alien to the researcher. However, despite such differences, the two viewpoints are not rigidly separated; they are “symbiotically linked” (Pike, 1967, p. 37).

Given these brief but crucial views about research designs, I applied a case study design (Zvimba district) because this design allowed for contextualised and detailed interrogation of the research problem (the FTLRP from a TSP approach) through ethnography to capture the situated meanings and lived experiences of the fast track land reform. A case study design was the most appropriate given the need to understand the transformative role of the FTLRP from TSP lens through mainly applying *emic* viewpoints, complemented by *etic* ones. As with any other study, and bearing in mind that the choice made on approach and design determine the methods to be applied; I chose to mix the methods.

2.5.1 Mixed methods

Despite contestations among scholars, mixing methods in research is increasingly becoming acceptable and important (Maxwell 2019; Kura 2012; Tashakkori 2010; Johnson *et al.*, 2007; Johnson and Onwuegbuzie 2004; Creswell 2003). Tashakkori (2010) draws readers to the view that, mixed research is a type of research in which a researcher or team of researchers combine elements of qualitative and quantitative research approaches (viewpoints, data collection, analysis and inferences techniques), for the broad purpose of breadth and depth of understanding and corroboration. Related to this explanation is the acknowledgement that, mixed methods is a synthesis of qualitative and quantitative research (Johnson *et al.*, 2007); and “a research design in which the researcher collects, analyses and integrates both quantitative and qualitative data in a single study or a multi-purpose programme of inquiry” (Creswell 2012, p.59).

I adapted the qualitative-quantitative continuum developed by Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004) to contextualise the mixed methods I applied in Zvimba district. Below is the diagrammatical adaptation, and the explanations.

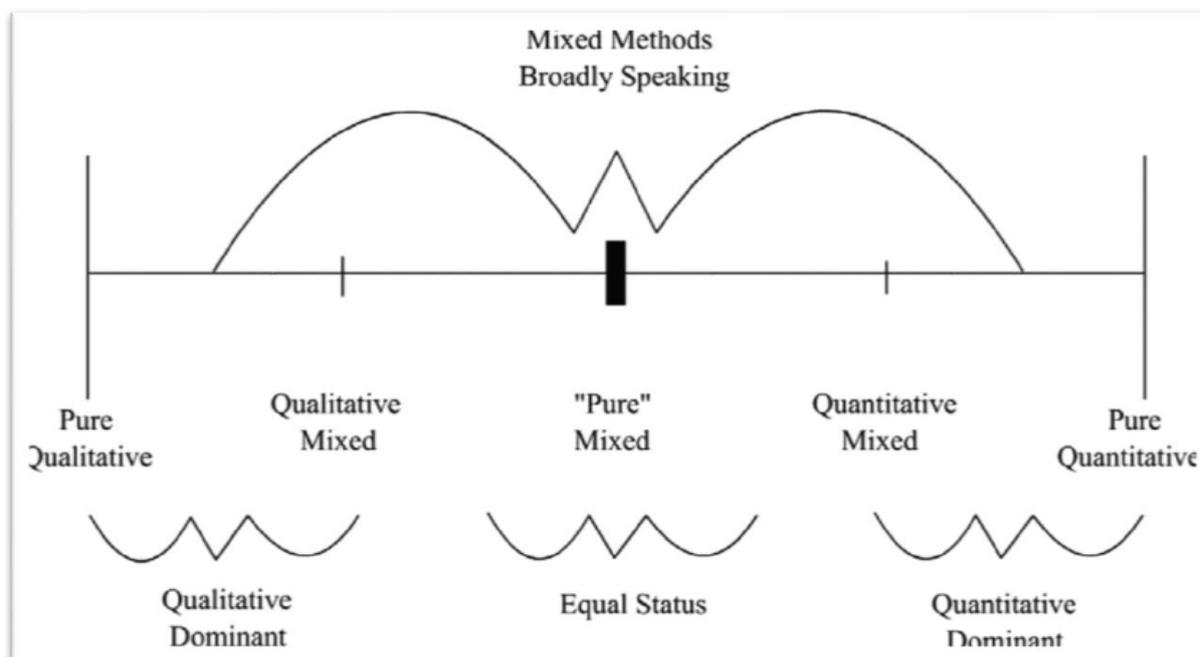


Figure 2.1 Qualitative-quantitative continuum

Adapted from Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004)

Figure 2.1 shows the qualitative-quantitative continuum. At the centre of the continuum, is pure mixed methods where qualitative and quantitative have equal status. Moving sideways (either left or right), are several overlapping groups of mixed methods types. Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004) posit that, a researcher can take either qualitative or quantitative methods yet, it is sensible to mix, provided doing so enhances the quality of the research. The type of study conducted for the thesis demanded mixing the methods – a mixture dominated by qualitative, and complemented by quantitative methods. I had a firm base of quantitative data collected by the AIAS in two baseline surveys (2005-2006 and 2013-2014). I utilised such data as a broad basis, and collected additional quantitative data specific to the study sites where necessary.

The AIAS, informed by a political economy approach, collected immense quantitative data on various themes, including but not limited to: the background to the FTLRP; its

redistributive effect pertaining to land and appended natural resources; new tri-modal agrarian structure; key characteristics of the new land beneficiaries; how land is being used; patterns of production and social organisation, and social services after the FTLRP. The three months I spent at the AIAS ushered an opportunity to review crucial data (a corpus of data that is rarely available in other secondary sources). Using TSP lenses, I noted that the data, as with many publications on Zimbabwe’s land reform, lacks conscious engagement of the social policy dimensions of the fast track land reform. Moreover, as indicated in the introductory chapter, review of dominant literature on social policy (mainly that by OECD scholars), does not prioritise land reform as a social policy instrument. Guided by the TSP conceptual framework, I developed data collection approach and methods to address these gaps. In addition to utilising the orientation phase to review key documents and secondary sources on land reform and social policy, I made preliminary visits to Zvimba district for familiarisation. In Table 2.1, I present the breakdown of the phases and activities.

Table 2.1: Breakdown of the fieldwork phases and activities

No.	Activity	Period	Duration (months)
1.	Familiarisation at AIAS; review of key documents; development of data collection tools; preliminary field visits	January-March 2015	3
2.	Refinement of tools for data collection	April 2015	1
3.	Entry and main fieldwork	May–December 2015	8
4.	Exit	December 2015	
Total			12

*Exit did not terminate linkage with the district. Visits for research and publication outside the thesis are ongoing.

Source: Own preparation for and execution of fieldwork (2015)

2.5.2 Ethnography in Zvimba District

Having received firm orientation on Zimbabwe's fast track land reform during the three months-long orientation, with priority being placed on Zvimba district, I set out for the main fieldwork in May 2015; and exited the study site in December 2015. To attain a nuanced interrogation of the FTLRP's transformative role in terms of its social policy outcomes, ethnography was a necessity. A corpus of researchers developed literature on ethnography (Bell 2019; Dilger 2019; Neto 2019; Andrews, Higgins, Andrews and Lalor 2012; Ybema 2009; Hammersley and Atkinson 2007; van Mannen 1988; Andrew 1985). My application of ethnography in Zvimba district is not new. It is a longstanding research practice in sociology. As early as 1914 and 1915, Bronislaw Kasper Malinowski pitched his tent among the Mailu and Trobriand Islanders of New Guinea respectively for ethnography. Although such early ethnographers are criticised for ethnocentrism and conducting research to pave way for colonialism, they developed the base for understanding and applying ethnography.

Ethnography is hinged on understanding how the researcher works, through utilising an insider's view (Ybema 2009). Several scholars converge on the view that fieldwork informed by ethnography involves developing close connections between the ethnographer and the groups being researched (Adjepong 2019; Dilger 2019; Neto 2019; Bell 2019). Utilising systematic, intensive, detailed observations, and indepth interviews, social organisation, behaviour and interaction can be effectively understood (Andrew 1985); including the social rules, interactional expectations and cultural values (van Mannen 1988, p. 2). The ethnographic researcher should understand everything from an insider's point of view while however, being conscious of being an outsider in analysis. Such an approach helps the researcher to understand the often taken for granted everyday life through a sharper analytical perspective (Flick 2006; Bloch 1997; Agar 1980, 1986; Spradley and McCurby 1972). I argue that, the situated meanings and lived experiences of the FTLRP are best understood

through ethnography. I explore the various pertinent details of the ethnographic escapade and how fieldwork was fulfilled in detail in the entry, data gathering and exit section.

2.6 The Sample

Including every land beneficiary and relevant institutions (government ministries and departments, agricultural contractors, schools, clinics and hospitals, EMA, NGOs and so on) in the district was not feasible therefore, I had to rely on a sample. I chose Zvimba district purposively from the six districts that the AIAS have, for years, been focusing on, for surveys pertaining to the FTLRP (Chipinge, Chiredzi, Goromonzi, Zvimba, Kwekwe and Mangwe). The choice of Zvimba was informed by a variety of justifications (as I explained in section 2.2 of this chapter). Considerations of representativeness of Zvimba district in relation to the fast track land reform were made. The importance of a sample's representativeness is emphasised by several scholars (Denzin and Lincoln 2005, p. 370; Patton 2002, p. 408). The selection of the district purposively was informed by the district's typicality/possession of particular characteristics and information required to satisfy the research questions. These are key considerations when selecting a study site or participants purposively (Cohen *et al.*, 2007, p.115; McMillan and Schumacher 2010, p. 138).

Within Zvimba district, I had to focus on specific study sites because covering the whole district was not feasible given the nature of the study (ethnographic), budget constraints, time available and practicality aspects. Detailed background information pertaining to the farms and some consideration of the general outcomes of the fast track land reform were essential as a background to my focus (interrogation of the FTLRP as a transformative social policy instrument). I requested the AIAS to provide a list of the former LSCFs in Banket ward; and from these I randomly selected three farms (Whynhill, Dalkeith and St Lucia). Basic preliminary empirical information was available on these farms. The farms were covered by

the AIAS in household surveys (2005/06 and 2013/14). In addition, Murisa (2009) focused on the first two farms but prioritised “emerging forms of social organisation and agency in the aftermath of fast track land reform”. These authorities provided background information pertaining to the three randomly selected farms. However, both did not interrogate the fast track land reform from a social policy approach.

Documented information of the farms was essential. Some households who were not accommodated at Dalkeith (for example, 23 households of the Manjinjiwa lineage) were resettled at St Lucia and Wannock Glen farms, both located near Dalkeith. In addition, against popular claims of land invasions, land subdivisions at Dalkeith were officially led (farm pegging of A1 plots began in 2000 led by the Department of Extension and Ministry of Lands. In addition, 56 of the farm workers of the predecessor owner who remained on the farm were allocated land (0.3 hectares), far less than the A1 prescribed allocations. I had keen interest in understanding how the farm workers are providing labour to A1 and A2 farmers, and working on their allocated land. Whyhill farm was included for compulsory acquisition in 2001 and people from neighbouring communal areas including Chirau and Kasanze, and Banket town occupied the farm. The farm was later formally subdivided in 2003. None of the farm workers was allocated land and one A2 plot was created. These differentiated the two farms, and how the differences played out in terms of social policy dimensions was important.

I accessed these randomly selected specific study sites through the assistance provided by AGRITEX officers (Mr. Munyanyi and Ms. Kagura); and lands officers stationed at Murombedzi (the district capital). These were sampled purposively because I knew that they possessed core information on land allocations and agricultural research, technical and extension services. They were central in providing background information and dynamics,

exploration of their services as they relate to land redistribution and production, and social cohesion (handling of land disputes by the lands officers). They also introduced me to the local leadership (village heads – *masabhuku*) and some of the farm households and facilitated the creation of rapport and access to situated aspects.

Within the villages, I applied both random and purposive sampling techniques. I sampled traditional leaders (the village heads) purposively (one from each farm). I considered these to have essential information on the role and issues pertaining to traditional leadership in the three farms villages. I selected the land beneficiaries randomly with the intention of achieving fair representation and avoidance of selection bias – problems that characterise purposive and convenience sampling. I had to transcend basic random sampling by applying stratified random sampling where strata specific data were essential, particularly pertaining to the women and youth.

I had to understand the specifics of production, redistribution, reproduction, protection and social cohesion in relation to women, men and youth. Focus on the ‘young people’ triggered the need to observe legal provisions when dealing with those aged below 18 years. I randomly sampled those who were 18 years and above (18+ age group) because, by Zimbabwean law, these fell within the legal age of majority. They, therefore, can represent themselves. For example, for random sampling of the youth to interrogate social reproduction outcomes, I got a list of all the youth at a particular farm from the youth leader, picked every name falling on an even number, and assigned a code to the selected name (for example, DY02, WY06, SLY12 for Dalkeith, Whyhill and St Lucia Farms respectively). The ‘Y’ represents youth. For women a ‘W’ was used; and land beneficiaries, ‘LB’. Table 2.2 summarises the sample and data collection methods applied to each category. The methods are explained in detail in section 2.7.

Table 2.2: The study sample

Category	No.	Data collection method(s) and Technique(s) Applied	Farm/Station
Land beneficiaries	150	Questionnaire; Focus Group Discussions (FGDs); Indepth interviews; participant observation, informal interaction and questioning	Whynhill, Dalkeith and St Lucia Farms
Traditional leaders/authority (village heads)	3	Key informant interviews	Whynhill, Dalkeith and St Lucia Farms
Agritex officers	2	Questionnaire; Indepth interviews	Banket
Lands officers	1	Questionnaire; Indepth interviews	Murombedzi Growth Point
Environmental Management Agency (EMA) officer	1	Key informant interviews	Chinhoyi Town
Farm workers	15	Indepth interviews	Whynhill, Dalkeith and St Lucia Farms
Youth	21	Focus group discussions; Indepth interviews; Informal interaction and questioning	Whynhill, Dalkeith and St Lucia Farms
Nurses (Sister in charge)	1	Key informant interviews	Banket District Hospital
Headmasters	2	Key informant interviews	Banket schools (Banket and Kuwadzana Primary schools; and Kuwadzana High school).
VIDCOs	3	Key informant interviews	
WADCOs	1	Key informant interviews	

Source: Own fieldwork (2015)

2.7 Data Sources, Collection and Ethical Issues

2.7.1 Key Documents and Secondary sources

I utilised both primary and secondary sources of data. Such integration of data sources was aimed at enhancing the quality of data; and validity, credibility and dependability of the results. I utilised documentary and secondary sources to set a background to land reforms in

Zimbabwe, and to extract empirical evidence on the outcomes of FTLRP, particularly that relating to Zvimba district. Key documents were reviewed within the confines of the study's objectives (AIAS Household Baseline Surveys 2005/06 and 2013/14 reports; Utete Land Report 2003; ZAIP 2013-2018; NAPF 2018-2030; CAADP initiated in 2003 under the African Union; ZCAPF 2012-2032; Food Poverty Atlas 2016; NFPA, 2016; FNSP 2014-2018 and ZIMASSET 2013-2018).

I prioritised the AIAS Baseline Surveys because they include outcomes of the FTLRP in six districts including Zvimba. Secondary sources (in the form of relevant publications and databases on land reform and social policy) were also reviewed. Secondary data were readily available and accessible at AIAS; and non-reactive. However, they were used with caution, considering that biases may have been intentionally or unintentionally introduced in such sources. I gathered the largest amount of data through primary sources. Complementing secondary sources with primary ones was aimed at addressing this shortcoming.

2.7.2 Primary sources, data collection methods and techniques

Having sampled those that I considered vital in the interrogation of the FTLRP as social policy instrument, I gathered large amount of primary data in five-pronged ways (questionnaires; Focus Group Discussions (FGDs); indepth interviews; participant observation, informal interactions and questioning; and key informant interviews. I prioritised the land beneficiaries; traditional leaders; farm workers; youth; VIDCOs and WADCOs; and EMA, AGRITEX and lands officers. Primary data were complemented by secondary data.

Despite the ethical dilemmas encountered, the researcher carried out ethical data gathering and analysis based on informed consent, voluntary participation (non-coercion), avoidance of harm (physical, psychological, social and political), respect and fairness in dealing with

participants, protection of privacy, appropriate reporting and providing feedback to the participants. I explore ethical considerations and dilemmas alongside primary data collection methods and techniques.

(i) Questionnaires

Although the AIAS had provided a large corpus of quantitative data, I designed, standardised and distributed questionnaires to 45 land beneficiaries, 2 AGRITEX officers and 1 lands officer to have broader understanding of the land reform processes; and land redistribution, agricultural production, reproduction, protection and social cohesion outcomes. The questionnaire for land beneficiaries is Annexure 3. From the list of farm beneficiaries provided by the land officer for each of the selected farms, I selected the name falling on an odd number and assigned a number and code based on the name of the farm, participant category, and number on the list where the name falls (for example, DLB7 for a land beneficiary at Dalkeith Farm). I also conducted follow-up indepth interviews with these participants. Through the questionnaires, I gained broader scope of the study sites, social policy gaps in AIAS' quantitative data, and a foundation for mapping qualitative data collection through indepth interviews, key informant interviews (KIIs), FGDs and participant observation, informal interactions and questioning. I explained the purpose of the study fully so that all participants would have adequate understanding and allowed every potential participant to ask questions for full clarification before accepting to participate. I also treated responses as confidential, respected the respondent's views and maintained their privacy by restricting questions to the focus of the study.

To enhance clarity of concepts and questions, create opportunity for asking questions in Shona for the benefit of those who do not understand English language, gain the benefits of face-to-face interaction, increase response rate and so forth, I administered the questionnaire to the land beneficiaries. However, AGRITEX and lands officers, I hand delivered and

collected the questionnaires after three days from the date of delivery. The assumption was that, their level of education allows them to comprehend English language and basic concepts. Follow-up indepth interviews were intended, among other reasons, to clear areas that may have been misunderstood and to explore aspects raised in questionnaires.

To enhance reliability, I standardised the questionnaires and made concerted effort to apply the instrument uniformly. Quantitative analysis and generalisations could be done on the bases of such a tool (the questionnaire), but such analysis could have been incomplete, and misdirecting without the qualitative data component. The questionnaires facilitated the collection of large amounts of quantitative data in a short space of time, but required substantial pre-planning, and complete uniform application could not be attained due to circumstances. Inclusion of open-ended questions allowed the respondents to explain, explore and argue thereby expanded the breadth of the responses, and allowed exploration of varied situated meanings and lived experiences of the FFTLRP.

In cases where some questions were not appropriately understood or limited detail was provided, particularly self-administered questionnaires for AGRITEX and lands officers, these problems were addressed through follow-up indepth interviews. Had I relied solely on self-administered questionnaires for these officers, I would not have managed to explore critical aspects for example, land use, production, capital accumulation, farm investment, environmental degradation, land conflicts and so forth). Complementing questionnaires with indepth interviews, key informant interviews, FGDs and participant observation, informal interaction and questioning in data gathering was therefore essential.

(ii) Indepth interviews

I conducted indepth interviews with 150 land beneficiaries; youth, farm workers, Agritex officers and lands officer using flexible interview guides. The guides were informed by the social policy tasks (production, redistribution, reproduction, protection and social cohesion). I also sought to obtain data on the context of the FTLRP (motivations, origin, mode of occupation and commencement of production), from the farmers in addition to core questions on social policy tasks; and additional vital aspects (agricultural credit, markets and so forth). The guides were therefore different depending on the group of participants. Examples of the flexible guides for indepth interviews are included in the Annexures section (Annexure 4, 5 and 6 for lands officers, Agritex officers and land beneficiaries respectively).

As a purposeful interaction process in which the researcher seeks to get deeper understanding pertaining to research problem (Gay *et al.*, 2011, p. 386), the indepth interviews facilitated face-to-face interaction with the land beneficiaries, Agritex and lands officers, and youth. They helped me to get clarification on 'grey areas' noted in questionnaires for Agritex and lands officers, and issues not sufficiently addressed or not included in questionnaires for land beneficiaries. The lands officer provided pertinent insights and details on land allocations, land conflicts and how these are addressed, while the Agritex officers brought to the fore core aspects and issues on agricultural production, research, technical and extension services. Farm workers contributed to exploration of current and historical farm labour provision, social protection and household reproduction through payment in cash or in kind, and other aspects related to labour.

The indepth interviews were a necessity, given that the thrust of the study required the researcher to delve into the situated meanings and lived experiences of the FTLRP from the lenses of social policy. As highlighted in 2.7.2(i), questionnaires showed that some

participants had not comprehended redistribution, protection, reproduction and social cohesion sufficiently in their contextual application in social policy. These gaps had to be addressed. The indepth interviews helped me to get unique perspectives of the participants, for example, youth on social reproduction. Where these interviews were done with the land beneficiaries in their household settings, I managed to observe the household and farm activities relevant to the study. The observational component is a key theme in the assessment of interviews by Silverman (2004, p.181). Above all, the interviews were ‘indepth’, and allowed me to explore and interrogate the transformative role of the FTLRP from diverse participants’ views.

The set of questions used were merely to guide the interactional process on core themes. However, deviations were experienced, further increasing the time consuming character of these types of interviews; and I had to refocus the participants on the thrust of the study. Given the rapport established, flexible approach adopted, refined skills in interviewing, observance of research ethics (informed consent, avoidance of harm and protection of identity and privacy), and evidence of clearance by the Government of Zimbabwe through the relevant ministries (letters provided), the indepth interviews were successfully conducted. However, I had to reduce the indepth interviews from the planned 200 to 150 due to their time consumption character.

(iii) Key informant interviews (KIIs)

To enhance the corpus of primary data, I conducted key informant interviews with traditional leadership (village heads), VIDCO and WADCO members, sister-in-charge (nurse) at Banket District Hospital, EMA officers, and headmasters. Participants for KIIs were selected on the basis of their position in the community or organisations, and knowledge and skills possessed. They provided pertinent insights on various themes including traditional

leadership and its reconfiguration due to the fast track land reform, farm community development and traditional resolution of disputes (traditional leaders); health issues and responses (nurses – sister in charge); environmental issues (EMA officer); and education in the context of FTLRP (headmaster). These various key informants are authorities in their various areas of expertise. Annexures 8 and 9 are key informant interview guides for traditional leaders and representatives of local development institutions (mainly VIDCOs and WADCOs). The importance of key informants as people of authority, occupying key positions, and possessing essential knowledge and skills is captured by several scholars (Neuman 2011; Flick 2006; Meis 2007, p. 4; Marshall 1998, p. 92). This group had participated in other studies and interviewing them proved easier.

The key informant interviews were crucial in addressing information gaps noted in indepth interviews and questionnaires. They also created opportunities for sharing information and experiences from a position of expertise and authority. Important to note is that, I engaged the traditional leaders in two capacities (as land beneficiaries and as part of the traditional leadership system). In all interactions with the key informants, I prioritised ethical data collection through seeking consent to participate in the study after having provided full information about the study and its implications; respect of varied views even if these contradicted my own; non-coercion; and respecting confidentiality. Interaction with key informants was continuous, depending on need until exit in December 2015.

(iv) Focus Group Discussions (FGDs)

I conducted 20 FGDs (15 with the land beneficiaries) and (5 with youth), focusing on areas that required group interaction. The discussions were grounded in the social policy tasks (production, redistribution, reproduction, protection and social cohesion). In order to maximise group management for effective interactions, I minimised the group size to

between six (6) and ten (10). The researcher was aware that FGDs could be affected by power, age, sex and gender; environment where discussions are conducted, and facilitation skills of the researcher. I grouped participants in 'homogenous' groups for the discussions but where necessary, I mixed the participants to gather diverse views. All the FGDs were composed of A1 land beneficiaries or members of their households (for example the youth who do not own land in their own right). I conducted the focused group discussions in usual meeting places used by the community (sheds, under trees and schools). Familiarity of the venue was essential so that the participants 'felt at home'.

Regardless of being known in the community and having met the participants in earlier interactions (distribution and collection of questionnaires, indepth interviews and informal interactions), I introduced myself and explained the thrust of my study, and its scholarly nature. I informed them that, participation was voluntary and where a participant had justification for terminating participation, he or she was allowed to do. I also encouraged them to actively participate, and to bear in mind that study was essential in improving their lives through informing policy. During these explanations and justifications, I clarified misinformation and misconceptions of why I was in Zvimba; and how my study overlapped with and diverged from others. I emphasised the ethics that guided the study, and that, I was not an undercover government or NGO agent. Furthermore, I reiterated the FGDs rules, including participation of all members; de-roling; putting party politics aside; and irrelevance of extremism, victimisation, threats and so on. I fulfilled these routines in all data collection processes except during informal interactions and questioning.

As part of recognising ethics of social science research, I requested permission to record the discussions. Most groups allowed me to record audios and others were not comfortable. Discomfort with being recorded, particularly in video format was variedly explained; but the

crosscutting reason was fear of losing land for saying politically-incorrect statements or giving out information to ‘wrong’ people. I cleared such fears by emphasising that, I am an ‘insider’- a Zimbabwean whose objective was to improve the collective success of the FTLRP hence, being allowed by the government to carry out the study.

In order to grasp issues within strata, I held some women or youth-only discussions. However, this would have raised issues with some husbands therefore, I had to justify the need for such specific groups. Indicating patriarchal hegemonic tendencies, a minority group of men requested to attend one session of the women-only FGD. On realising the conformity of what I had said when requesting permission, and the proceedings, they vacated. This was never a problem in later focused group discussions.

Managing most vocal participants and authorities (village heads, councillors and other members of VIDCOs and WADCOs), and ‘low’ participants was essential to balance participation. In one farm, a *sabhuku* (village head), by virtue of his position, sought to speak on behalf of the group. However, I successfully emphasised the need for each and every individual to speak for herself or himself. In addition, some participants were initially not vibrant in the presence of the traditional leader. I managed such group dynamics by posing questions to everyone, and neutralising potential dominance while simultaneously not extinguishing participation. Dominance would have eliminated the group basis of FGDs, leading to interpretations informed by the few.

Conducting discussions in an effective way facilitate maximisation of the benefits of FGDs including wide collection of participants’ views, feelings and attitudes (Mahr 1995, p. 12); gathering of “data and insights that would not have been tapped without group interaction; and stimulating participants by hearing ideas and experiences of others” (Lindolf and Taylor

2002, p. 182). In addition, FGDs inspire “a variety of communication aspects, including anecdotes and jokes that can deepen and widen understanding of issues, and the normative values; and probing” (Kitzinger 2004, p.64). The FGDs were also crucial in understanding solidarity, (in-)equality and power dynamics within the households and farm community. I also managed to capture core aspects of lateral and upright social cohesion. These are important in the normative framing of social policy.

I recorded key aspects of FDGs in the journal after sessions or by end of day for those who declined to be recorded. For recorded focused group discussions, I played the audios and transcribed. Recording allowed the researcher to have a primary source for reference unlike unrecorded FGDs where I had to rely on brief notes/pointers that I wrote during the discussions. However, the researcher had carried out unrecorded FGDs before therefore, managed well. The FGD guide for land beneficiaries is Annexure 7.

(v) Participant observation, informal interaction and questioning

The ethnographic approach adopted required the researcher to participate in everyday activities engaged by the land beneficiaries; to observe and informally question in the quest to have deeper understanding, mainly from the point of view of the land beneficiaries. These techniques were not haphazardly done. Informed the objective of interrogating the fast track land reform’s outcomes through social policy lenses, I adopted a conscious stance to participant observation, informal interaction and questioning. For general guidance, I developed an observation checklist and journal for recording the observations and responses.

Informal interactions and questioning enriched the study. The participant observation, informal interaction and questioning is Annexure 10 under the Annexures section. I managed to cross-check data gathered through formal interaction against that from informal

interaction. These were made possible through participating in harvesting (May 2015); gardening and household chores (throughout fieldwork); preparing and watering seedbeds (August-September 2015); and planting and weeding (October-December 2015). I also took time to hang out with youth and play soccer with them; hanging out with the land beneficiaries during their leisure time; participating in community development gatherings; and community funerals and burials, and other activities. However, participant observation and informal interactions demanded focus and reflection to avoid ‘getting native’ while simultaneously not closing myself out of pertinent activities in the farm community; effective planning and rapport creation. After every session, I reflected and recorded the proceedings; and planned for the next session or day.

2.8 Data Analysis

Analysis of data is a crucial stage in qualitative, quantitative and mixed methods research. This stage links prior phases of a study to the development of recommendations that are intended to address the research problem. All research should address a single problem or multiple problems through generation of relevant solutions because all studies are done to address problems (Creswell and Creswell 2018). I approached data analysis cognisant of several aspects, including but not limited to: the TSP grounding and lenses of the study, mixed methods approach adopted, and procedures in data analysis. In Table 2.3, I summarise the procedures I fulfilled in data analysis based on an adaptation from Creswell and Plano Clark (2007).

Table 2.3: Procedures in data analysis

Qualitative Procedures	General Procedures in Data Analysis	Qualitative Procedures
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Coding ▪ Cleaning ▪ Recoding and computing ▪ Establishing a codebook 	Preparing data for analysis	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Organising documents and visual data ▪ Transcribing text
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Visual inspection of the data ▪ Descriptive analysis ▪ Establishing trends and distribution 	Exploring the data	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Reading through the data ▪ Writing memos ▪ Developing qualitative codebook
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Choice of statistical test ▪ Analysing the data to answer research questions ▪ Applying quantitative statistical software 	Analysing the data	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Coding the data ▪ Assigning labels to codes ▪ Grouping the codes into themes or categories ▪ Inter-relating themes or abstracting to smaller sets of themes
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Representing results in statements of results ▪ Providing results in tables, figures, pie charts and so forth 	Representing the data	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Representing findings in discussions of themes or categories ▪ Presenting visual models, figures and tables
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Using external standards (external assessors) ▪ Conducting checks for validity and reliability of current data 	Validating the data	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Using researcher, participant and reviewer standards ▪ Employing validation standards (member checking, peer review, triangulation and so forth)

Adapted from Creswell and Plano Clark (2007, p.129)

A primary consideration in data analysis (as was in other phases of the study), was prioritisation of the contextualised TSP tasks, and their implications for data analysis (and recommendations). Both qualitative and quantitative data had to be analysed specifically in relation to land redistribution, land use and production, social protection, social reproduction and social cohesion. These were the main themes upon which data had to be organised and

analysed. In addition, the mixed methods orientation of the ethnography meant prioritisation of both qualitative and quantitative data, despite the approach being qualitative-dominant. Quantitative data had to be analysed using quantitative methods; and qualitative data had to be analysed using qualitative methods.

How did I analyse quantitative data? First, I had to prepare quantitative data for analysis. Important to note from the onset is that, simple quantitative procedures were applied because basic quantitative data were required for the analysis. The data was intended to complement quantitative data accessed at AIAS. Quantitative data gathered through questionnaires were coded according to TSP function. The order of the themes in the TSP tasks (and planned organisation of the thesis), was the order of the scoring (ranging from 1-5 for redistribution to social cohesion). All quantitative data were slotted as follows: Redistribution (1); land use and production (2); social protection (3); social reproduction (4); and social cohesion (5). However, this order did not imply that, 1 is better than the rest. Such coding was merely intended to attain order for categorising quantitative data. While acknowledging that, overlaps exist particularly when TSP tasks are explored qualitatively, I restricted quantification and quantitative projections according to each task as a way of cleaning. For example, the quantity of food crop produced per season had to be assigned to the production function and not to the social protection task even though crop produced has implication for social protection (the food availability and security component). Clean data were put in a database.

In exploring the data, I had to visually inspect, conduct a descriptive analysis and check for trends and distributions in the data. I examined the data to develop broad trends and shape of the distribution; and to establish preliminary understanding of the data. For example, trends in land use indicated that, in the first three years of occupation, most land beneficiaries failed

to effectively utilise 2 hectares of the plot compared to the 2015/2016 agricultural season where the majority of the land beneficiaries were utilising more than 3 hectares. The data exploration phase paved way for data analysis. I applied the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) to generate basic statistical measures. Analysed data had to be represented to show results (statement of results). The statistical measures including percentages, mean, mode and average were essential in representing quantitative results. Examples include percentages on capital accumulation, and perceptions on the existence of conflict under the social reproduction and social cohesion outcomes respectively; and average plot/farm size under crop production or average income realised from sale of agricultural produce under the land use and production outcomes. Validation of quantitative data and results is explained in section 2.9. Validity measures were meant to ensure quality of data and results so that meaningful inferences could be made from the results to the population; while reliability was sought to ensure that scores received from the participants are consistent and stable over time.

How did I analyse qualitative data? Qualitative data had to be prepared for analysis. The preparation process included organising documents and visual data, transcribing text, and preparing data for both thematic and content analysis. Examples of visual data included general and specific geographical maps of Zvimba district and the three study sites (included in Chapter 1); and activity analysis in gender division of labour (included in the analysis of production and social reproduction in Chapters 6 and 8 respectively). I transcribed audio-visual data in preparation for qualitative data exploration. The exploration phase included reading through transcribed data, and journals for participant observation and informal interaction and questioning, writing memos, and establishment of a broader picture from the qualitative data. For example, recorded interviews with youth pertaining to generational issues, and FGDs with land beneficiaries, and fieldwork journals on various aspects had to be explored. I examined and established the bigger picture of fieldwork.

I analysed qualitative data through data coding, assigning labels, grouping codes pertaining to one theme, interrelating themes, and applying thematic and content analysis. I divided text into smaller units through the use of phrases, sentences and paragraphs; and assigned labels to these. The labels were based on contextualised TSP tasks (redistribution, production, protection, reproduction and social cohesion); and sub-divisions of these. For example, under social protection outcomes, sub-labels included food availability, food consumption, nutrition, food sovereignty, livestock as short and long-term insurance; livestock as long-term accumulation, *dura*, *musha* and so forth. I drew additional labels from the participants' exact words, or additional themes raised by the participants for example, *chikorokoza* (artisanal gold mining) and wild fruits gathering under social protection outcomes. I also put these codes on printed transcripts and field notes. Thematic and content analyses were applied. Important to note is that, data analysis was not a once off activity. I conducted preliminary analysis at various stages of the ethnography in preparation for final analysis.

I also had to make a decision on how to represent analysed data in summary form. Discussion involved providing evidence for the themes; figures depicting the physical setting of the study; frameworks and so forth. The Figure showing the physical setting of the study site (Zvimba including Banket ward), is shown in Chapter 1. Themes and sub-themes were derived from TSP tasks. I made key considerations on discussing evidence of a theme or sub-theme. The guiding criterion was to build a convincing interrogation that justified that, the theme emerged from the data or guiding conceptual framework. This involved inclusion of sub-themes, citing specific quotes, using different perspectives from participants to show divergent views, and using different sources of data to cite multiple items of evidence. Interrelated themes comprised a chronology (narration) or comparison, and so forth. For illustration purposes, interrogation of the outcomes of the fast track land reform programme

from a TSP approach were based on evidence from questionnaires, indepth interviews, FGDs, key informant interviews and participant observation, informal interaction and questioning. If all these methods and techniques of gathering data converged on a particular aspect (for example, that conflict in the study sites declined after formalisation), the validity of such evidence is high. Validating the data was important. Despite diversity in qualitative validation, checking for qualitative validity meant assessing whether the information obtained from qualitative data collection is accurate. I used more than one procedure to validate qualitative data including member checking, triangulation of the data, reporting disconfirming evidence, and submitting qualitative evidence to others who are familiar with qualitative research as well as the content of the research area for review. My supervisor and members of the land reform cohort at the SARChI chair were very useful in this regard. I present detailed explanation and justification for the various validation strategies I applied in section 2.9.

2.9 Satisfying Critical Criteria

(i) Quantitative component: Reliability and Validity

Reliability and validity concerns are important, considering that, questionnaires were applied in initiating primary data collection. Rather than relying solely on secondary sources of quantitative data (AIAS' database, household survey results, working papers, policy briefs, monographs and so forth), I had to collect quantitative data from the land beneficiaries, Agritex and lands officers on the fast track land reform and its outcomes. The questionnaires were mainly meant for aspects of the study that need quantification. For example, from the land beneficiaries, I collected data on year of settling on the farm and commencing production, size of plot, area under specific crops, agricultural produce per season, number of markets for crop produce and livestock, prices per crop, quantity sold, number and

categorisation of various livestock, number sold, income realised and so forth. How then did I seek to attain reliability and validity?

Designing, reviewing, pretesting, refining, finalising, application on a 'wider scale', and standardisation/consistency in applying questionnaires were important. I designed the questionnaires primarily on the basis of the social policy dimensions of the fast track land reform by focusing on TSP functions (production, redistribution, social protection, social reproduction and social cohesion). Most questions sought quantifiable data, and I minimised the number of open-ended questions. However, unlike 'pure' quantitative studies, I also included open-ended questions to give respondents an opportunity to explore themes. I submitted the questionnaires for review by experts (my supervisor and seasoned researchers at the AIAS). Comments received were essential in improving the questionnaires (refining, eliminating and adding questions). Pretesting was done in fast track farms in Mazowe district (Mashonaland Central Province). I administered questionnaires on 15 A1 land beneficiaries; 3 Agritex officers (1 at district level, and 2 at ward level), and 1 lands officer. This stage provided relevant insights on improving; and finalising the questionnaires in preparation for application in Zvimba district.

An attempt to apply the questionnaires uniformly/in a standard manner to randomly selected respondents in Zvimba was made. However, challenges were experienced in this regard. There is one land officer stationed at Murombedzi Growth Point, who covers the whole district. Random selection could therefore, not be done because there were no other prospective respondents in this category. I distributed a self-administered questionnaire to the land officer. Random selection was done on land beneficiaries. Out of 200+ A1 land beneficiaries at 3 farms, 45 were randomly selected (15 from each farm). Questionnaires for land beneficiaries were researcher- administered to improve the respondents' comprehension of technical words in social policy and land reform; and ensuring that, responses included on

questionnaires were theirs. In trying to avoid biases caused by third parties completing questionnaires on their behalf; or failure to comprehend questions, my approach created two problems. My presence may have had effect on the respondents, and translating the questions from English and to Shona had potential to cause information and meaning loss. However, I have experience in administering questionnaires of this type therefore, I managed well. I created rapport, emphasised the ethical base of the study, and the importance of providing true responses because these were to be used to influence policy; and that, the primary beneficiaries of the study were the land beneficiaries.

Informed by the understanding that, a test may be reliable but not valid, I pursued validity by solely including questions pertaining to the objectives of the study – interrogation of the transformative role of the FTLRP. I focused on the five tasks of social policy (production, redistribution, social reproduction, social protection and social cohesion). I clarified concepts and redirected questions, especially open-ended questions. Where necessary, I paraphrased their responses to establish that, I understood and captured their responses appropriately. Throughout the administering phase, data management, analysis and drawing conclusions, I prioritised the TSP functions. To ensure validity, throughout the application of the researcher-administered questionnaire for land beneficiaries, an attempt was made to ensure that, I captured reality from their point of view. Questionnaires were followed up with qualitative data collection methods (indepth interviews for the land officer, Agritex officers and land beneficiaries; and additional data collection methods and techniques for the land beneficiaries (FGDs and participant observation, informal interaction and questioning), to add the major component of the approach - qualitative data. These are largely missing in AIAS data because the institute mainly carries out surveys.

(ii) Qualitative component: Credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability

The qualitative-dominant approach adopted in ethnography requires clarification of how credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability were pursued and ensured. Several scholars focus on these themes in qualitative research methods literature (Mohajan 2018; Creswell 2005, 2012; Tashakkori 2010; Johnson *et al.*, 2007; Punch 2005, p. 97; Johnson and Onwuegbuzie 2004). The quality criteria for all qualitative research are credibility, transferability, dependability, confirmability and reflexivity. Accordingly, qualitative research should achieve credibility/believability/trustworthiness (that is, internal validity in quantitative research); transferability (called external validity in quantitative research). However, qualitative researchers do not use instruments with established metrics about validity and reliability, but have ways of meeting these criteria (Creswell and Creswell 2018).

What did these concepts mean in the context of my study? How did I go about satisfying such quality criteria? Trustworthiness answers how qualitative researchers establish reflexivity in conducting research; and achieving credible, transferable, confirmable and dependable findings (Flick 2006). Trustworthiness pertains to establishing these four crucial aspects of qualitative research, and is what would be referred to as validity and reliability in quantitative research. Accordingly, credibility is the confidence that can be placed in the truth of the research findings. It establishes whether the research findings represent plausible information drawn from the participants' original data; and is a correct interpretation of the participants' original views (evidence that is free from error and distortion) (Korstjens and Moser 2018). Credibility is the most important criterion or aspect for establishing trustworthiness because it demands that the researcher links study findings with 'reality' in order to demonstrate the truth of the research study's findings (Lincoln and Denzin 2000). The importance of credibility touches on the essence of why research is carried out (Shenton 2018).

What strategies did I apply in pursuing true and accurate? I applied a diversity of strategies for achieving credibility throughout the 8 months-long fieldwork. These included adoption of well-established methods, early familiarity with the culture of participants, prolonged engagement, persistent observation, tactics to ensure honesty in informants, iterative questioning, triangulation, negative case analysis, frequent debriefing, reflexivity, thick/detailed description, interrogation of previous research findings, researcher's background, qualifications and experience, and member checking.

The process of designing, reviewing and finalising qualitative data collection guides was central to pursuing credibility. I adopted indepth interviews, key informant interviews, FGDs and participant observation, informal interaction and questioning in the ethnography because these are well-established data collection and techniques and techniques in qualitative research. Designing of qualitative guides was an essential consideration. I prepared the guides in a design that allowed for flexibility and exploration. All questions addressed the thrust of the study - interrogating the transformative role of the FTLRP from TSP lenses. I also put the questions under review by expert qualitative researchers (my supervisor), and peer reviewers (members of the Zimbabwe land reform cohort working in other study sites), before finalising the guides for ethnography in Zvimba district.

I ensured that both formal and informal interaction with all participants captured the transformative role of the FTLRP from the point of view of the participants (land beneficiaries, lands officers, Agritex officers, youth and so forth). Marking the thrust of the ethnography was the need to capture the lived experiences and situated meanings of the fast track land reform as these relate to TSP functions. Data pertaining to these functions was informed by participants' own views, experiences, evaluations, projections and so forth in the

quest to ensure error and distortion-free evidence. I clarified questions that were not appropriately misunderstood; sought clarification where responses were unclear; and deliberately repeated questions during interviews to get real views from those experiencing the fast track. I did not impose my assumptions and ‘reality’ on them. For example, how they defined transformation through fast track land reform was more important than my view of transformation. These strategies were essential in ensuring appropriate and comprehensive understanding of the social policy dimensions of the FTLRP as these related to the various participants. Approaching the FTLRP this way ensured that, the recommendations for improving the transformative role of the fast track land reform emerged from the data, therefore, are relevant to the study sites.

I did not set out for fieldwork on fast track and social policy as *tabula rasa*; and I had values pertaining to the research problem and general life. However, knowledge of fast track and how the programme played out in relation to social policy was sought from the various categories of participants. I allowed individuals and groups to explain ‘reality’ from their position, not that of others. For example, I had indepth interviews and informal interactions with youth on their own to gather their views and experiences, not those of their parents and guardians. This allowed for differential representation of reality as it relates to the diversity of groups, understanding of the problem and experiences.

While acknowledging that, I carried a ‘baggage’ of values, norms and orientations into the field (as every researcher does); that totally excluding values may not be practical; and that all interactions were value-laden, I managed my values and those of others for effective fieldwork. For example, during FGDs, some vocal participants sought to universalize their values, perceptions and evaluations of the FTLRP. How land is being utilised and the benefits derived in terms of social protection, social reproduction and social cohesion varied within

and between farms. Assessment of for example, production constraints varied between neighbours. Had I considered dominant views only, the results would have been biased. I acknowledged such diversity in how participants understood and experienced production constraints. Yet in other contexts, participants' evaluations diverged from mine but I gave primacy to evaluations of the participants because the study was anchored on the participants. Value bias had to be avoided for grounded and undistorted (original) data to be gathered from the participants' (core groups); and reality-based recommendations to be achieved.

Adopting ethnography ensured prolonged engagement; and was an essential approach towards achievement of credibility. Efforts to appropriately and comprehensively understand the lived experiences and situated meanings of the fast track land reform; and its diverse social policy outcomes demanded prolonged engagement. Appropriate and comprehensive understanding of the outcomes are often realised in the long-term. Ethnography addressed this component of seeking credibility. However, when utilising prolonged engagement, I had to guard against 'going native' because doing so would have reduced analytical capability and credibility. As a management strategy, I applied reflexivity and 'balanced' the insider and outsider roles/thrust.

Equally important were triangulation of data sources, disconfirming evidence, member checking, and submitting qualitative data to others for review. The application of indepth interviews, FGDs, key informant interviews and participant observation on gathering data for interrogating the social policy dimensions of the fast track enhanced credibility of the results. I also applied disconfirming evidence by presenting a contrary perspective to that indicated by established evidence. For example, I presented the neopatrimonial analytical approach, particularly its emphasis on the FTLRP having grossly failed to improve wellbeing to those who wholesomely supported the land reform. Disconfirming evidence confirmed accuracy of

data analysis because in real life, evidence diverges and include more than just the positive side. Furthermore, I submitted the qualitative data to my supervisor for review.

Transferability is the degree to which the results of qualitative research can be transferred to other contexts or settings with other participants. It specifies how the qualitative researcher demonstrates that the research findings are applicable to other contexts (Lincoln and Guba 2005). For a long time, this has been a concern in qualitative research and remains as such. If it was a quantitative study, transferability would be referred to as reliability and generalisability. Transferability was important in my study because I could not research on all fast track farms in Zvimba district (or Zimbabwe) due to budget and time, and other constraints. I ensured transferability through ensuring credibility/trustworthiness. Detailed (also called thick) description of the research problem, the study sites and social policy outcomes of the FTLRP was essential in showing that the findings in the three study sites could be applied or transferred to other contexts, circumstances and situations. However, transferability only works in similar contexts. What may be referred to as similar contexts may be same situations, populations and phenomena. My argument is that, in practicing qualitative research, transferability may be problematic in some cases because the natural conditions, economic, and socio-cultural content may vary even within the same community. However, having ensured credibility and conducted necessary checks, results of my study can be applied to other A1 fast track farms in Zimbabwe.

Dependability, another critical factor of trustworthiness, is the stability of findings over time. It involves participants' evaluation of the findings, interpretation and recommendations of the study such that all are supported by the data as received from the participants of the study (Tracy 2016). This was an equally important factor and consideration in the qualitative components of my study. First, research that is dependable is important in that, its results and

how they are interpreted can be validated by the participants of the study and scholars focusing in the same or other study sites, signifying their level of truthfulness. As shown in chapters 5 to 9, the results of my study were corroborated by other scholars working in other A1 study sites. Second, confirmed interpretations and results feed into the relevance of the recommendations of the study to the participants and similar fast track contexts (A1 scheme). However, I make two arguments. First, in social science research, total dependability may be difficult due to diversity and dynamism of contexts. Second, results (and recommendations) may be dependable; and therefore, trustworthy, but may not be implemented in improving the wellbeing of the participants. This has been a major trend in Zimbabwe where research results and recommendations are produced in various study sectors and areas yet, implementation is critically low due to absence of or low funding, lack of political will, and so forth.

I also considered confirmability in search for and attempts to guarantee trustworthiness. Confirmability is the level to which findings of qualitative research could be confirmed by other researchers. It is confirmed with establishing that, data and interpretations of the findings are not figments of the researcher's imagination but clearly derived from the data gathered from the participants (Mauthner and Doucet 2013). In this regard, confirmability therefore, reduces and/or eliminates researcher biases, improves truthfulness of results and, relevance and functionality of recommendations from the qualitative research. Furthermore, within the thrust for trustworthiness is the emphasis for reflexivity. The whole process of qualitative research is expected to be reflexive, hence, its prioritisation throughout the study. I reflected on myself as a researcher (critical self-reflection) in terms of own biases, preferences, and preconceptions; and the research relationship (relationship to participants, and how the relationship affects participants' answers to questions). In my case, guaranteeing confirmability meant that reflexivity had to be prioritised to ensure that, the research process

had to be appropriately done; own biases effectively managed; and valid results that are a true reflection of the transformative role of the FTLRP from TSP lenses generated. I applied several strategies. For example, I did not voluntarily compromise my role as a researcher by falling in love with women or engaging in community political wrangles. I discarded my preconceptions that may have led to biased understanding while at the same time maintaining analytical rigour. I thrived for the methods, process of data gathering, analysis and interpretation to cumulate to credible, dependable, transferable, and confirmable results. Recommendations thereof are a reflection of the participants' suggestions.

2.10 Entry, Field Dynamics and Exit

In this section, I focus on entry, dynamics in the field, opportunities, challenges, management and exit. However, some of the aspects were highlighted in section 2.7. The Letter of Introduction from the South African Research Chair Initiative (SARChI) - Chair in Social Policy, at UNISA, was instrumental in linking me to the AIAS (now SMAIS), and to the relevant government ministries (Ministry of Lands and Rural Resettlement; Ministry of Agriculture, Mechanisation and Irrigation Development; Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare, and Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education). The ministries provided approval letters on the basis that, research in land reform improves policy and development in Zimbabwe, and that, I would submit a copy of the thesis to them for use by their research units. Getting approval involved a lot of negotiation with the Permanent Secretaries given the political nature of the fast track land reform. Approval letters from these ministries enhanced reception and acceptance in the district. The SARChI Chair in Social Policy also provided the financial requirements for the 8 months-long fieldwork.

The AIAS was central in three ways. First, the AIAS team orientated me on land reform in Zimbabwe and specifics of Zvimba district. Second, the team provided access to core

literature on land reform in Zimbabwe (published or unpublished). Third, the institute linked me to their contact persons in Zvimba district (AGRITEX and Lands officers). The officers were essential due to their knowledge of the dynamics of the district; specifics of land reform in the district and the chosen farms; and linking me to traditional leaders and the land beneficiaries in specific study sites. They work closely with the land beneficiaries, and have established rapport and are experienced in research (the AIAS survey type of research). Having been introduced by the AIAS, these key informants expected higher financial rewards commensurate with those they get from the institute. In addition, they are experienced in surveys not ethnography. The introductory letter from UNISA helped me to convince these key informants that I am a (doctoral) student, and that the remuneration expected for assistance cannot reach the AIAS level or that of other research organisations. I also had to orient them on ethnography.

After refining remuneration and other logistics with these officers, the district Agritex officer introduced me to the ward Agritex officer, traditional leaders (village heads), and core WADCO and VIDCO members. Being introduced to the ward Agritex officers facilitated ward support for the study. Acceptance by the ward officers was easy because I was referred by a senior officer (in terms of hierarchy in the organogram). They expressed that, they were secure because their senior would not refer an untrustworthy person. The ward Agritex officers facilitated meetings with the local traditional leaders and the land beneficiaries. Accessing the farm households would not have been possible without the approval of the gate keepers (traditional leaders). I gained wide coverage of the farms and key insights by travelling with the ward Agritex officers during their daily or occasional visits to the farms. I had to travel within and between study sites. For long distances, we used community vehicles and farm community transport (ox-drawn carts). When these were not available, I used a bicycle (bought specifically for fieldwork).

Research in land reform is political. During and prior to 2015, the fast track land reform had high political connotations therefore, I had to ‘tread carefully’. The FTLRP was linked, and is still linked to the ZANU PF political party. I had to deal with possible rejection by the war veterans and local ZANU PF activists and youths. I had anticipated easy acceptance by virtue of being a Zimbabwean but this was proved wrong. These groups were not ready to accept me. This was compounded by being a (doctoral) candidate at a foreign university. The assumption was that, the doctoral research was part of the covert ways of the UK, USA and other countries who lost out due to the land reform to gather information to be used in undermining the programme. This view was also shared by some land beneficiaries, while some assumed that, I was an undercover agent sent to the farms to gather information that would be used by the government to dispossess them of the land. However, proof of linkage to the AIAS whom they interacted with for a long time, and approval letters by the government ministries helped me to address suspicion and misinformation. Later, some youth revealed that, they were set to spy on me to understand my ‘real identity’. These are normal challenges experienced when a new person enters a community. With time, from being strangers and interacting on the basis of suspicion, we became colleagues whose interests converged on improving the outcomes of the FTLRP.

Carrying out an ethnography meant living with the people, being part of the community and being immersed in its activities. This may sound easy considering that, I am Zimbabwean by birth and residence. However, there are several areas of culture that were not consonant. Religious practice is an example. Which church would I attend? Those I initially established links with expected me to attend their churches, and to do so regularly. ‘Naturally’, I am not a religious extremist therefore, I attended all the churches; and religious ceremonies (where I

was permitted). This helped me to be viewed as ‘being for everyone’ not for ‘divisions’. I had to get along with everyone to have a holistic picture of the farm communities.

Suspicious husbands and fathers posed a problem, and gender issues were at play in the field. Due to patriarchy, most husbands have grip over their wives and daughters. Being an outsider and a researcher at a South African university, I was assumed to be better off and therefore, a potential ‘threat’ who may fall in love with their daughters and wives. However, I maintained integrity and my researcher role; and lived a ‘normal farm life’ throughout fieldwork. I sought permission from husbands or fathers or guardians in all activities that involved women and girls. I accorded them the necessary respect, and my interaction with the girls and women was guided by the objectives of the study. Interacting with groups of various sexes provided a gender perspective to land reform and TSP functions.

During fieldwork, I had to go back to AIAS, and to be in contact with other doctoral fellows of the Zimbabwe land reform cohort. Connectivity in terms mobile network was good and so is availability of public transport. Banket is located along the Harare-Chirundu highway, and public transport is abundant. Communication and meeting with the other cohort members, and the AIAS team was essential in sharing field experiences and reflection. Internet and electricity were also readily available at AIAS.

From 20 to 28 December 2015, I moved around the three study sites, meeting traditional leaders and land beneficiaries to give them preliminary feedback on findings (creating an opportunity for appropriate reporting), thanking them for their contributions and hospitality, and to bid them goodbye. I also arranged meetings with the lands and Agritex officers for the same purpose. On 30 December 2015, I exited the field in terms of work for the thesis. However, I go back to Zvimba district for research and publication outside the thesis.

2.11 Conclusion

The chapter focused on the methods and approach I adopted in gathering data. However, before providing details on these, I highlighted the reasons for choosing Zvimba district for fieldwork. There are various justifications for making that choice but the main one is the limited academic focus on the outcomes of the FTLRP in the district and absence of earlier studies grounded in the TSP conceptual framework. This thesis marks the first interrogation of the fast track land reform in Zvimba district from a social policy perspective. I also provided background information on the selected farms (Whyndhill, Dalkeith and St Lucia). In addition, I justified the choice of ethnography based on qualitative-dominant mixed methods.

I utilised both primary and secondary sources of data. Under key documents and secondary sources, I gave primacy to AIAS Household Baseline Survey reports because they specifically focus on outcomes of the FTLRP in Zvimba and other districts. However, I utilised a diversity of these as explained in the data sources section. Primary data collection was based on questionnaires, indepth interviews, key informant interviews, FGDs and participant observation, informal interaction and questioning. The interrogation of the FTLRP as a social policy instrument demanded the use of both primary and secondary sources in the context of ethnography.

I argued that notwithstanding even though the thesis is based on 150 households of Dalkeith, Whyndhill and St Lucia farms, the findings are credible and dependable to other parts of Zvimba district. The combination of secondary and primary sources, quantitative and qualitative data collection methods improved the quality of data used for the thesis and ultimately, the validity and credibility of the findings. Other districts may also have a lot to gain from the fieldwork I conducted in Zvimba district. In addition, I hope that the thesis complements studies already taken in Zvimba and other parts of the country thereby

addressing two gaps - the social policy deficit in Zimbabwe's land and agrarian reform literature; and non-acknowledgement of land reforms as social policy instruments in hegemonic social policy literature. In December 2015, I exited the district, marking the end of fieldwork. However, I re-entered Zvimba district several times for research and publication outside the ambit of this thesis. The next chapter explores Zimbabwe's land question, and prioritises land dispossession and repossession.

Chapter 3: Literature Review - The Land Question in Zimbabwe: From Dispossession to Repossession

Severe land dispossession and accumulation by the British colonialists from 1890 to 1980, and slow pace of the post-independence government to address the land issue shaped the land question in Zimbabwe (Sachikonye 2005b)

3.1 Introduction

This chapter prioritises the land question in Zimbabwe by focusing on land dispossession and repossession. I focus on three phases of land acquisition and resettlement (First phase, 1980-1998; Second phase, 1998 with a two years' inception plan, and the FTLRP that started informally as war veterans-led occupation of white-owned LSCFs in 1999 and later formalised by GoZ in 2000. Important to note is that the spontaneous land occupations started within the two years planned for the second phase. I argue that, the essence of these phases cannot be fully understood without an exploration of colonialism and its impact on land tenure in Zimbabwe. Accordingly, I incorporated colonial accumulation by dispossession in this chapter because it is the crux of the post-colonial land and agrarian question, and responses to it. Many scholars on Zimbabwe's land reform focus on colonial accumulation by dispossession (Jakaza 2019; Matondi and Chikulo 2018; Thebe 2018; Gwekwerere, Mutasa and Chitofori 2018; Chipenda 2018; Murisa 2018, 2009; Chibwana 2016; James 2015; Mkodzongi 2013; Moyo and Chambati 2011, 2013, 2017; Moyo 1995, 2005, 2011,2013; Chiweshe 2011; Ruswa 2007; Moyo and Yeros 2005a, 2005b). These scholars bring out the motivations, processes, trends, tendencies and outcomes of the land reforms. I also argue that, the existence of a land and agrarian question implies the existence of a social question, because developing and delivering welfare is problematic in a context where the majority is deliberately excluded from prime agricultural land and other key factors of production; and wellbeing generation.

Six parts constitute this chapter. In the first part, I highlight the land question in Zimbabwe, and at a broader level, the importance of land in any country. This section paves way for an explanation of the importance of land as an instrument for social, economic and political wellbeing; and justifies the substantive chapters on the social policy outcomes of the FTLRP. My central argument is that, access to, and use of land, especially prime agricultural land, has wide potential for improving wellbeing.

The second part dwells on colonial accumulation by dispossession as the root of the land question in Zimbabwe. I attach particular focus on supportive social and economic policies intended to push the black majority off their land, while elevating the position of the British colonialists. Diverse oppressive economic regulations, laws (and taxes) were applied (Rudd Concession, Native Reserve Order in Council, Native Reserve Areas, Land Apportionment Act, Maize Control Act, Land Acquisition Scheme, Land Husbandry Act and Land Tenure Act). I argue that through these draconian interventions, the colonialists sought to create a labour reserve economy while simultaneously not establishing full proletarianisation. Broad land dispossession led to the emergence of a bimodal agrarian structure and racially-skewed land tenure that primarily serviced the white farmers' interests while peripheralising the black majority.

In the third part, I outline the first phase of land acquisition and redistribution (1980-1998), as the post-colonial government's initial attempt to solve the land question. I argue that, despite constraints (the Lancaster House Agreement on willing seller-willing buyer principle, and low government, and donor financial provisions for land acquisition and resettlement), the government managed to acquire 3 498 444 hectares and resettled 71 000 families (Utete 2003).

The fourth part is devoted to the second phase of land acquisition and redistribution that was initiated in October 1998, with a two-year inception phase (Utete 2003). In this phase, 168 263,808 hectares of land were acquired, and 4 697 families resettled. However, broader land acquisition and resettlement were hampered by various challenges (willing seller-willing buyer principle, donors' failure to honour the promise of financing land acquisition and resettlement, and government's limited financial resource base to acquire and redistribute land (Moyo 1995); underperformance of the economy, legal contestations by white farmers against compulsory land acquisition). These challenges reduced the pace and breadth of land reform. I argue that, all these constraints were experienced in a context of increasing socioeconomic suffering and frustration among the peasants.

I explore the FTLRP as the third phase of land acquisition and redistribution in the fifth part. The FTLRP is given greater primacy in this chapter due to its centrality in the thesis (it is the basis for interrogating land reform as a transformative social policy instrument). Against a background of increasing frustration among the peasantry and deepening socioeconomic hardships ushered by the IMF and WB-led structural adjustment; and weakening 'legitimacy' of the ZANU PF (due to 'failure' to address the land question), spontaneous occupations of LSCF were recorded as early as 1998. The government applied punitive measures against such unsanctioned land occupations. However, the land movements could not be contained, leading ultimately to formalisation of land occupations in 2000. Upon formalisation, this phase assumed the name Fast Track Land Reform Programme (Musemwa and Mushunje 2011; Utete 2003). The programme emerged "as the most revolutionary in changing the agrarian structure from bimodal to trimodal" (Sadomba 2013, p. 84; Moyo 2013), and approximately 13 million hectares of land were repossessed, and 180 000 families resettled. I draw attention to how the processes and outcomes of this phase are debated from various ideological and epistemological standpoints (neopatrimonial, livelihoods and political

economy approaches). However, in this thesis, I interrogate the fast track land reform from a social policy approach. In doing so, the thesis contributes to both conceptual lenses and literature on Zimbabwe's FTLRP and social policy. The sixth part concludes the chapter and introduces the next chapter.

3.2 The Land Question in Zimbabwe

There is consensus among scholars on land and agrarian reforms that land is a key socioeconomic resource whose appropriate utilisation leads to sustainable socioeconomic transformation of any country. Accordingly, the social, economic and political development of any country cannot be de-linked from land ownership, control and use. Land is a scarce but vital resource, a corner stone for reconstruction and development (Jill 2005). Other scholars also emphasise the role of land in development (Moyo 2005, 2011, 2013; Moyo and Yeros 2005a; Moyo and Chambati 2013).

Land has social, economic and political value to those who own, control and use it. The lives of all the people worldwide mostly depend on land availability and use. Ownership and use of land create and guarantee sources of wellbeing, freedom, power, security, income, livelihoods and so on (Kariuki 2009; Cousins 2005). Accordingly, those who depend on the land but do not own it; own unproductive land or fail to productively use land are vulnerable to poverty and other socioeconomic shocks unless they utilise alternative resources. As a key resource, land is essential in creating, transforming and sustaining human capability functioning and wellbeing, although views may diverge on how land can be used to achieve such goals.

The crosscutting value of land places it on national and international agendas (Moyo and Chambati 2013). Given the importance of land to individuals and groups, land is at the core of conflicts and contestations (Moyo 2011; Sadomba 2013). Such understanding is noted in

Musemwa and Mushunje (2011) who argue that, land is an important and sensitive issue amongst all Zimbabweans. Given the exclusion of the black majority in land ownership, and the value of land economically, socially and politically, it is not surprising that the land question pervades Zimbabwe, and many other former colonies. Accordingly, the history of Zimbabwe in part, is a struggle over key resources such as land (Moyo 2011).

Unequal agrarian structures are contrary to broad-based productive capacity and human capability functioning, and nation building. In Zimbabwe, where agrarian systems were racially-skewed and controlled by a few in favour of the whites, a land question emerged (Moyo 1995, 2000, 2001, 2011, 2013; Moyo and Yeros 2005a; Moyo and Chambati 2013; Sachikonye 2005a). Such a question signifies a quest for inclusive development. Reforms on land as a valuable resource, and related agrarian structures, often attract diverse views and scholarship yet despite such diversity, land remains a key resource in any country. Overall, the land will forever have immense value to Zimbabwe and all other countries.

The key literature on Zimbabwe's land reform reiterates the existence of a land question. My point of departure is that, the existence of a land question implies the existence of a social question. Severe land dispossession and accumulation by the British colonialists from 1890 to 1980 shaped the land question in Zimbabwe (Moyo 2011, 2012; Sachikonye 2005a). Zimbabwe was integrated subordinately into the world capitalist system since colonisation in the late 19th Century (Moyo 2011). Such integration was achieved "mainly through the settler colonial mode of political rule and social production, based largely on unequal and repressive agrarian relations that defined the character of the state" (Moyo and Chambati 2013, p.3).

The land question in Zimbabwe therefore lies in colonial accumulation by dispossession, and failure by post-colonial government to address the alienative agrarian structure. The British

colonialists used various overt and covert strategies of alienating the black majority from their prime land, supported by social and economic policies of racial exclusion and alienation. Accumulation from below was deliberately relegated while spearheading accumulation by the few whites. This argument confirms the explanation by Arrighi *et al* (2010) that, Zimbabwe's historical processes of accumulation by dispossession of land and labour decimated accumulation from below, and undermined social reproduction; thereby relegating the majority of the blacks to a cycle of poverty. Accordingly, land was among the key demands of the black masses during the three liberation struggles (Moyo 2011).

The demands for land and structural change were not adequately realised particularly in the first two decades after independence. The post-independence policies failed to resolve the national questions of broad-based development, social inclusion and national integration (Moyo and Chambati 2011; Moyo and Yeros 2009). Part of the failure is “due to the constraints of the Lancaster House Agreement of 1979” (Mlambo 2010, p. 59). This Constitution side-lined land redistribution while maintaining the colonial land tenure structure. The Agreement emphasised the supremacy of market-based land reform. There had to be a willing seller for the government to purchase land for resettlement (Moyo 1995). In addition, the adoption of the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) in the 1990s further moved the majority of the blacks from key resources, and led to increased poverty (Moyo and Yeros 2005a). Ownership of land by the whites became more entrenched. The result was a reinforcement of historical alienation of land and other key resources from the majority, especially the blacks. Both the neo-liberal agenda of ESAP and constraints of the Lancaster House Agreement stood against broader ownership of land by the black majority. Subsequently, land movements increased as the black masses sought to restore ownership and control of their land (Moyo 2000).

Zimbabwe's land question is therefore, concerned with the transformation of the dominant settler-colonial agrarian relations towards a racially and socially-equitable structure of access to economic and natural resources by the majority of the people towards building a diversified economy (Moyo and Yeros 2009). Equity in the ownership and use of key resources such as land is an essential value of inclusive development. These views are supported by Sadomba (2013), who summarises the land question in Zimbabwe as relating to the cross-cutting importance of land to social, economic and political development for all groups; colonial accumulation by dispossession of the black; the centrality of land in the anti-colonial armed struggles; the post-colonial ideological and constitutional constraints on attempts to reverse the colonial land ownership structure, and the subsequent land movements.

3.3 Colonial Accumulation by Dispossession

In the previous section, I explored the importance of land, and conceptualised the land question based on the contribution of key scholars in the land reform area. I also emphasised that at the crux of the land question is colonial accumulation by dispossession. In this section, I answer the question, 'How did the British colonialists dispossess the black masses of their prime land?' In 1890, the British colonialists extended their frontiers from the Second Rand (now South Africa), into Zimbabwe, hoping to extend their prospects for minerals. Such prospects were however not fulfilled (Zimbabwe did not turn out to be a Second Rand). The only alternative viable option was to turn to the native population's land (for agricultural purposes); and massive herds of cattle.

Important to note is that British colonial-led land dispossessions and alienations were facilitated by supportive social and economic policies (economic regulations and taxes), for the benefit of the colonialists. Exclusionary and oppressive laws to force the black

Zimbabweans off prime land were vehemently implemented (Martin and Johnson 1981). Selected laws include the Rudd Concession, Native Reserve Order in Council of 1898, Native Reserve Areas of 1915, Land Apportionment Act of 1930, Maize Control Act of 1931, Cattle Levy Act, Land Acquisition Scheme, Land Husbandry Act of 1951 (Utete 2003); and the Land Tenure Act of 1969 (Utete 2003; Mukanya 1991; Gundani 2002). These led to state-supported unequal and repressive agrarian relations between the blacks and whites (Moyo 2011; Moyo and Chambati 2013; Weiner 1988; Bush and Cliffe 1984; Amin 1972; Yeros 2002; Moyana 2002). Land dispossession coupled with extra economic regulations and taxes turned Zimbabwe into a labour reserve economy, while repressing the peasantry and small-scale rural industry and commerce without creating full-scale proletarianisation (Bush and Cliffe 1984; Yeros 2002; Weiner 1988; Amin 1972). These measures were intended to suppress the wellbeing of the black majority.

The Rudd Concession that gave mineral rights to the settlers, was fraudulently obtained from the Ndebele King, Lobengula, in 1898 (Mukanya 1991). On the basis of the Concession, the first group of settlers was granted 3 000 acres of prime land (Martin and Johnson 1981). In addition, each member of the police force of the British South Africa Company (BSAC) was granted 4 500 acres of the best agricultural land in Mashonaland (Martin and Johnson 1981). In all these cases, compensation of the black population was never considered.

The Native Reserve Order in Council, established in 1898, created areas where blacks would live away from the whites (Gundani 2002). The Native Reserves (areas designated for indigenous people), were deliberately created to systematically expropriate prime land. About one sixth of the total farming land in the country was expropriated using this Order (Martin and Johnson 1981). Through this order, the native population was removed from high potential agro-ecological regions I, II and III, and were forcibly crowded into poor regions IV

and V (Musemwa and Mushunje 2011). The historical records of the period 1896 to 1897 reveal a sorry picture; a systematic violation of the rights and dignity of the indigenous people under white domination (Gundani 2003), as shown by massive expropriation of land, labour, livestock and dignity (Moyo 2011; Utete 2003; Sachikonye 2005a). Such colonial practices led to the war of liberation (struggle to recover lost land, dignity and wellbeing) known as *Chimurenga/Imfazwe* by the indigenous people during this period (Gundani 2003).

By 1914, seven hundred and fifty-two thousand (752 000) Africans occupied 24 million acres, while 23 730 settlers owned 19 million acres of the best farming land (Utete 2003). Along with the increase of the settler population to about 28 000 in 1914, space had to be created to accommodate the additional settler population. The BSAC further expropriated some high potential land adjacent to the Native Reserves, and created the Reserve Purchase areas in 1915 (Martin and Johnson 1981). An African had to hold a master farmer's certificate to purchase land in such areas (Utete 2003). Paradoxically, the settlers who engaged in agricultural activities within the large-scale farms did not need a master farmer's certificate; neither did they need any document to own and farm on the land. Merely being white sufficed for one to own and manage farms (Utete 2003). The Government of Responsible Authority rose to power in 1923 when the rule of the BSAC ended. Accordingly, Southern Rhodesia became a self-governing colony subject to the British government with regard to a few constitutional provisions (Utete 2003). Despite such change, addressing or redressing the alienation of blacks from land and livestock were not priorities of the elected Responsible Authority.

In 1930, the Land Apportionment Act came into effect, and was utilised to achieve race-based division of the country (Mukanya 1991). The Land Apportionment Act led to 51 per cent of land being reserved for white settlers (who numbered about 50000), 30 per cent for

African reserve areas (for about 1 million blacks), and the remaining land was for commercial companies and the colonial government (Palmer 1977). The whites reserved for themselves the most fertile land in areas with high rainfall; and Africans, through force, were removed from some previously demarcated native reserves, whose conditions were considered good for settler use, and crowded in some reserves whose rainfall and soil were poorer (Utete 2003). These measures were consciously established to delink the black majority from their source of wellbeing and prosperity (the land).

The triple tragedy of arid soils, sparse rainfall and overcrowding eliminated guarantee for producing adequate food among the ever-growing African population (Utete 2003). The agricultural system was restrictive in terms of land. Musemwa and Mushunje (2011) note that, the black farmers abandoned farming, and opted to work for wages in mines and commercial farms. This was a latently forced alternative. Vulnerability to food shortages, malnutrition, disease and death increased due to alienation from prime land and overcrowding (Mukanya 1991). In another dimension, overcrowding led to severe land degradation of the native areas (Musemwa and Mushunje 2011).

Through latent and manifest strategies, the indigenous people's income base based on agriculture was further eroded. The British colonialists implemented various restrictive Acts (and the Cattle Levy Act) (Gundani 2002). Through the application of the Maize Control Act, black population's marketing opportunities severely dwindled, while the number of cattle owned by a black farmer declined (Musemwa and Mushunje 2011), due to the Cattle Levy Act. A larger herd attracted a higher tax amount (Moyana and Sibanda 1989).

In essence, blacks lost more land with increases in number of whites in the country. At the end of the Second World War (WWII), approximately 150 000 post-war *émigrés* from Britain

were received in Zimbabwe (then Southern Rhodesia) (Gundani 2003). This era marked a neo dispensation in land contestations in the country. Musemwa and Mushunje (2011) report that the Land Acquisition Scheme of 1945 was instituted to facilitate the handing out of farms to the WWII veterans as payment or grant. Accordingly, the colonial administration forcibly removed about 10 000 Africans from the land. Such land was meant for the settlers (according to the Land Apportionment Act of 1930) to create room for the WWII war veterans (Mukanya 1991).

The continuous amendment of the Land Apportionment Act of 1930 was meant to enhance its effectiveness in dispossessing the black masses of their land and had nothing to do with protecting the environment per se (Makanyisa, Chemhuru and Masitera 2012). One such amendment is the Land Husbandry Act of 1951. Mukanya (1991) reports that, through the Act, settler farmers were accorded power to use forced labour (*Chibharo in Shona*). In addition, the Land Husbandry Act ushered in compulsory destocking of the African herd (Mukanya 1991). The African families were required to have merely five herds of cattle and eight acres of land (Musemwa and Mushunje 2011). These provisions were mandatory to all African families, and failure to comply led to confiscation of the total herd (Mukanya 1991). Taxes were introduced as a strategy of further fine-tuning dispossession and alienation. Various taxes and fees (hut, pole, dog, cattle, grazing and dipping), had to be paid in cash. These punitive measures were implemented in a context of eroded land ownership, productivity and market opportunities. On close scrutiny, such taxes were meant to force black farmers off the farms to provide wage labour in white-owned farms, factories and mines (Gundani 2003; Mukanya 1991).

Yet another amendment of the Land Apportionment Act of 1930 came into force in 1961 (Musemwa and Mushunje 2011). This final amendment was aimed at increasing the breadth

and depth of alienation of blacks from their land through wide allocation of prime land to the settlers. Statistics provided by Gundani (2002) show that European Areas stood at 49 149 000 acres, Native Areas remained static at 21 600 000 acres and Native Purchase Area was 7 465 000 acres. A Native Purchase Area was land that could be bought by some natives who had the money to do so. Unassigned Land was 17 193 000 acres. Such land was not allocated to any particular group of people; and Forest Land was 591 000 acres. This land could remain as forest. Undetermined land stood at 88 000 acres (Gundani 2002).

The position of the indigenous people in relation to the land remained inferior. Despite high birth rate and appalling conditions in the Native Reserves, the Responsible Authority (under Winston Field, 1923 to 1963) did not address the land question. In 1964, Ian Smith ascended to power after a vote of no confidence passed against Winston Field. Further impoverishing the blacks, the Ian Smith-led government removed 88 000 blacks from the so-called European lands (Mukanya 1991).

The Land Tenure Act was introduced in 1969, resulting in more blacks being removed from land to create space for the increasing white immigrants (Mukanya 1991). Progressive eviction of the black population led to the poorer and drier half of the country belonging to the majority black population (about 5.5 million), and the other prime half being occupied by whites (constituting about a quarter of a million) (Mukanya 1991). All these direct and indirect efforts had one composite aim - that of dispossessing the native population of its land, livestock and labour so that they could be transformed into wage labour.

Table 3.1 shows land holding pattern between the white settlers and natives after the implementation of the Land Tenure Act of 1969.

Table 3.1: Land holding and designation after the Land Tenure Act (1969)

Type	Size (acres)
European areas	49 149 000
Native areas	21 600 000
Unassigned land	7 465 000
Forest land	591 000
Undetermined land	88 000

Source: Gundani (2000)

Colonial alienative and decimating practices increased the possibilities of a black uprising. An uprising (referred to as the Second *Chimurenga*), emerged between 1964 and 1979. Lost land, livestock and dignity were the leading causes of the first and second uprisings (Utete 2003). Universal suffrage was born out of these uprisings, and their subsequent settlement. Throughout the struggle for independence, freedom fighters made promises to the masses, chief among these being the reclamation and redistribution of land to the native population) as soon as the war came to an end (Sachikonye 2005a). Accordingly, the black masses vigorously supported the war.

The Second *Chimurenga* ended with declaration of Zimbabwe independent from British colonial rule on 18 April 1980 (Utete 2003). At independence, 6 000 white farmers owned 15.5 million hectares; 8 500 black farmers operating on a small-scale held about 1.4 million hectares; and approximately 4.5 million communal farmers held 16.4 million hectares (Gundani 2003). In addition, most of the communal land was located in the periphery and margins of the country where the soil fertility was very poor and rainfall was very low therefore, were prone to droughts (Utete 2003).

Table 3.2 captures the land holding pattern between the colonialists and natives at independence respectively.

Table 3.2: Land holding by race at independence in 1980

Group	Population size	Size of land held (hectares)
White farmers	6 000	15.5 million
Black small-scale farmers	8 500	1.4 million
Communal farmers	4.5 million	16.4 million

Source: Gundani (2003)

Overall, colonial practices of severe dispossession of land and livestock from the black majority; and broad alienation from all the socioeconomic and political activities influenced the motivations for land reforms in Zimbabwe.

3.4 The Land Question after Independence in 1980: Responses

Negotiations between blacks and whites led to an independence agreement and the Lancaster House Constitution emerged due to negotiations between the whites and blacks. Out of such negotiations, “a majority government emerged” (Ruswa 2007, p. 3). According to Musemwa and Mushunje (2011), Zimbabwe inherited a thriving agro-based economy upon independence in 1980. Such an economy was characterised by duality and a racially-skewed land ownership pattern (Moyo and Chambati 2013), yet, the inherited economy had been riddled by oppressive and discriminatory legislations on land ownership and market systems. Such a legislations had created and maintained serious obstacles to post-independence land redistribution (Moyo and Chambati 2013; Moyo 2011; Moyo and Yeros 2005).

The highly racially-skewed character of land ownership meant that “45 percent of the agricultural land was owned by large commercial farmers who constituted 1 percent of the population” (Sadomba 2013, p. 84). Other scholars noted racial inequalities in land tenure, its implications to the black, majority (McCandless 2012; Moyo and Yeros 2005, p. 187). Such land was mostly located “in the high rainfall agro-ecological regions where the potential for agricultural output is greatest, while the drier, and highly marginal agro-ecological areas with poor soils and inadequate rainfall were reserved for the majority of the black population” (Ruswa, 2007, p. 3). This land constituted “16.4 million hectares of leased and congested communal lands that represent less than 50 percent of the total agricultural land” (UNDP 2002, p. 3). Application of Sen (1999) human capability analysis show that, such a racially-skewed land ownership structure impedes broad-based development, human capability and functioning among the excluded black majority.

The government of Zimbabwe adopted three post-colonial land reform and resettlement programmes to correct the colonial imbalances in access to and use of prime land (Musemwa and Mushunje 2011). Core principles of such reforms included equity and empowerment through land acquisition and redistribution, and agrarian support (Sachikonye 2005b; Moyo 2002; Utete 2003; Mukanya 1991). Important to note is that, reforms transcended land issues and were extended to other areas of social policy (education, health, housing and employment). I now explore the three phases of land reform that were meant to address the land question.

3.5 The First Phase of Land Reform and Resettlement

The initial notch of land reform and resettlement initiated by the government in September 1980, stretched to 1998. The first phase of land reform was intended to: reduce civil conflict by transferring land from Whites to Blacks; provide opportunities for war victims and the

landless; relieve population pressure in the Communal Lands; expand production and raise welfare nationwide; and achieve all of the above without impairing agricultural productivity (Utete 2003; Kinsey 1991). These objectives are consonant with the aim of developing and delivering welfare to the hitherto excluded groups.

The constitutional provisions of the Lancaster House Agreement signed in 1979 hampered the government's commitment to land reform (Moyo 1995). Section 52 (3) (b) (i) of the Lancaster House Constitution, in conjunction with sub-section (4), stipulated that, "provisions concerning fundamental rights, including property rights, could not be amended for ten years without an affirmative vote of the National Assembly" (UNDP 2002, p. 25). Analysis of the constitutional provisions shows that; they were meant to legally protect the interests of white farmers. There would not be any meaningful land reform for "at least the first 10 years of independence unless land was available on the market" (UNDP 2002, p.25; Moyo and Yeros 2005, p. 176), due to these provisions. These legal provisions were "constitutional safeguards for market-based land transfers; and were highly contrary to the welfare of the majority" (Moyo and Yeros 2005, p. 176).

Limitations to compulsory acquisition emanated from the 'willing seller-willing buyer' principle in the first ten years of independence, with full compensation (Zikhali 2008), in foreign exchange provisions. Following these provisions, meant that, resettlement would be expensive and slow (Moyo 2000; Mukanya 1991). In cases where land was offered, it was expensive, marginal and occurred in pockets around the country, making it difficult to implement a systematic and managed land reform (Ruswa 2007). Supply did not match demand and international support was broadly vacuous (Moyo 2005; Ruswa 2007).

The expectation of the “government to promptly and adequately pay for offered land denied the state the leeway to fix compensation at any rate other than the market price” (Tshuma 1997, p. 43). Broadly, market-based interventions to improve welfare of the majority have dismally failed to deliver in Africa (Adesina 2009; Mkandawire 2011). Within that context, I argue that, the so-called open or liberal market is a social institution controlled by powerful actors. The ‘free’ hands of the market are ‘engineered’ by dominant groups, especially owners of mainstream capital. The impediments created by the Lancaster House Agreement were in sharp contradiction to rural people’s expectation of repossessing land and dignity (Utete 2003).

I bring out four major fissures in the Lancaster House Agreement’s market transfer system. Its provisions were not feasible; the agreement did not address the racial structural bases of inequality therefore, did not resolve colonial imbalances on land ownership; the agreement opposed the core objective of liberation struggle; and the constitution constrained the capacity of the dispossessed black majority to re-claim their land. In essence, the Constitution did not address the national question (Moyo 2011).

Against this background of limited government’s “ability to determine the pace of acquisition and the quality of land acquired, the government sought legal remedies to acquire land for redistribution” (Moyo 1995, p. 113). Notable remedies include the Land Acquisition Acts of 1985 and 1992 that were intended to facilitate land acquisition and redistribution between 1980 and 1990. The Land Acquisition Act (LAA) of 1985 (a bold position by the GoZ to control market-driven land reform processes and a contradiction to the ‘willing seller willing buyer’ requirement of the Land Acquisition Act of 1979), gave the government “the right of first refusal on all commercial farms for sale” (Chitsike 2003, p. 7). Government intervention was assumed to aid transfer of land to the landless. In the new legal context, adequate compensation meant that which is ‘fair and reasonable’, and was not the same as market value required under the willing-seller

willing-buyer approach (Moyo 1995). Such legal reform however, did not increase supply to meet rising demand for land.

In 1990, the alienative Section 52 of the Lancaster House Constitution ceased. The government amended Section 16, and in 1992, the Land Acquisition Act was passed “with the aim of accelerating land acquisition and resettlement” (Moyo 1995, p. 3). The Act gave power to the government as the acquiring authority “to give ‘reasonable notice’ of an acquisition and pay fair *compensation within a reasonable time*” (Ruswa 2007, p.4). Masiwa (2004, p.133) characterises this Act as a fundamental shift from previous provisions that had obliged the government to give ‘prompt and adequate’ compensation. Capturing such changes, Moyo (1997, p.3) argues that, the period 1992 to 1997 resembles a shift towards a more radical land reform. However, some scholars view the LAA of 1992 as “clearly a liberal, market-oriented approach to land reform because it rejected land occupations and land claims by the dispossessed rural masses” (Moyo 1995, p. 12). Moreover, the Act tampered only marginally with the freehold land market.

The anticipation by government was that amendment 16 would effectively deal with the bottlenecks posed by reliance on the market approach to land (Mudenge 2001 in Mpunga 2001, p. 149); in a context where the demand for land increased due to rationalisation in the government and private sector, leading to high unemployment and widespread introduction of user fees and cost recovery measures “under the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP)” (Moyo 2011, p.5). Utete (2003) reports that, the Act had minimal effect (the government designated 1471 farms for compulsory acquisition in December 1997 but a total of 1393 objections were received, of which 510 were upheld). White farmers were reluctant to offer prime land at reasonable prices on the market, resulting in the supply of land still not matching demand (UNDP 2002, p. 25).

Two major hurdles of the LAA of 1992 are topical. First, is the maintenance of the principles of legal expedience for landowners and compensation, resulting in failure to renounce the willing seller-willing buyer method (Moyo and Yeros 2005, p. 176). The Act led to co-existence of state and market methods of acquiring land, but market-based methods dominated. Second, the British government, under Tony Blair, failed to honour its promise to fund land reform, as had been promised by the British Conservative Government under John Major in 1996. Musemwa and Mushunje (2011) note that such lack of goodwill by the Labour Government initiated the beginning of worsening relations between the two countries. Important to understand is that these constraints were being experienced in a context of increasing pressure for land by the black masses.

3.5.1 Selected Themes in the First Phase of Land Acquisition and Resettlement

In ‘capping’ the first notch of land acquisition and resettlement, worth highlighting are selected core themes, including land acquisition, profiles of land beneficiaries, financing, governance, post resettlement development (beneficiary and farm), outcomes and lessons learnt.

(a) Land acquisition during the first phase of land reform

Despite efforts for greater land acquisition, the Government of Zimbabwe merely acquired 3 498 444 hectares of land and resettled 71000 families (Ruswa 2007; Utete 2003). Table 3.3 captures land acquisition with settler emplacement in the first phase. However, 44 percent of such land was in marginal Natural Regions 4 and 5, while another 37 percent as located in NR 3. Thus, prime land accounted for only 19 percent of the land available for resettlement (Moyo 1995, p. 121).

Table 3.3: Phase 1 Land acquisition with settler emplacement

Year	Area (Ha)	Number of settlers
1979/1980	176 671	1 971
1980/81	326 972	8 848
1981/82	819 155	14 179
1982/83	807 573	7 959
1983/84	173 848	3 659
1984/85	74 848	4 719
1985/86	86 187	1 250
1986/87	133 516	6 142
1987/88	80 554	2 687
1988/89	69 361	2 574
1989/90	52 739	2 530
1990/91	35 091	2 167
1991/92	26 418	2 320
1992/93	43 106	575
1993/94	24 027	1 260
1994/95	42 449	3 160
1995/96	192 885	4 000
1996/97	186 525	550*
1997/98	146 519	450*
TOTAL	3 498 444	71 000

Source: Utete (2003)

Permits issued under the Rural Land Act addressed land tenure issues. The permits covered arable, grazing and residential land. Moreover, the programme provided crop packs and ‘tillage services for half a hectare to each family in the first year of settlement’ (Utete 2003). Substantial progress was achieved in the provision of infrastructure for the settlers in the early stages of resettlement (Ruswa 2007); and the majority of settler families experienced

real increases in incomes, which exceeded those of their counterparts in communal areas (Utete 2003).

(b) Profile of the land reform beneficiaries

Several scholars focus on profiles of the land reform beneficiaries in the first phase of land acquisition and resettlement (Ruswa 2007; Kinsey 2004; Sender and Johnston 2004; Masiwa 2004; Tshuma 1997). Despite differences, these scholars converge on view that the ‘poor’ were not given priority. It was imperative for the Zimbabwe government to “offer land to the landless poor as a resource that they could use to fight poverty, and base their livelihoods” (Ruswa 2007, p. 6). Official government selection criteria for Model A (the dominant resettlement programme) emphasised need, and gave priority to refugees and displaced people, and those with no or inadequate land for subsistence (Musemwa and Mushunje 2011). However, in practice, the poor were not given priority (Ruswa 2007). Assessment of “those selected for resettlement over the first two decades of independence suggests that, there is reason to believe that these beneficiaries were not selected from amongst the poorest rural households living in highly differentiated communal areas” (Sanders and Johnston 2004, 45); while Kinsey (2004, p. 1676) argues that, since the colonial era, the poor had borne the brunt of a discriminatory land reform process.

Post-independence land reform programme perpetuated “patriarchal land policies that favoured men over deserving women” (Palmer 2009 in Mutopo, Manjengwa and Chiweshe 2014, p. 49). According to government policy in the early years of resettlement, a would-be settler “had to be either married or widowed” (Mutopo, Manjengwa and Chiweshe 2014, p.49). For “married women, permits were issued in the name of their husbands; Tenant Farmer scheme was initiated by government in 1994 and a number of government officials acquired land ahead of the landless poor” (Masiwa 2004, p. 6). The Tenant Farmer scheme was part of systematic efforts by top government officials to acquire multiple farms ahead of

the landless. This claim was substantiated by Masiwa (2004, pp. 3-4), who reports that “the Comptroller and Auditor-General’s Report (1993) indicated that, some ‘chiefs’ in government and among the ruling elite allocated themselves fertile and abundant land ahead of the landless peasants under the indigenisation rhetoric”. Furthermore, the Land Resettlement Board had to consider the qualifications and capital base of the beneficiaries in the exercise of its functions in terms of section 13 of Chapter 37 of the Land Acquisition and Resettlement Act (Tshuma 1997, p. 77). Despite these issues, this phase initiated the much-sought redistribution of land.

(c) Financing

Government’s own budget allocations, support from the UK and donors, including the British Government, European Community, African Bank and Kuwaiti Government (Muchemwa and Mushunje 2011), were the main source of funds for resettlement. However, only the British funded land acquisition (Ruswa 2007). The UK gave Zimbabwe 44 million pounds for land purchase through the “willing buyer-willing seller arrangement during the 1980s and 1990s”, (the Deputy High Commissioner to Zimbabwe, Ms Corner 2001 quoted in Mpunga, 2001, p. 59). GoZ (1988/89, p.2) reports that “by 1988, the government had reduced its land acquisition budget by over 50% from Z\$11 million in 1987 to Z\$4 million”. In the 1990s, national budget support for land acquisition went on a further downward trend to below 50 percent (Tshuma 1997, p. 58). Most of the donors did not have interest in land reform (de Villiers 2003, p. 11). From 1997, the new Labour Administration under Tony Blair (then Prime Minister), discarded the promise to financially support Zimbabwe’s land reform. Due to lack of financial support, the GoZ failed to sustain land acquisition and resettlement. These problems created a fertile ground for radicalising land reform (Moyo and Chambati 2013).

(d) Governance context

Ruswa (2007) characterises the first phase of land reform as gradual, peaceful, orderly and largely transparent in terms of selection of candidates for resettlement. Governance was ‘good’ but the major question is whether the gradual and orderly process was the most appropriate in the context of post-colonial Zimbabwe. However, land governance was affected by constraints of the Lancaster House Constitution, and some top government officials who acquired more land for personal gain (Ruswa 2007).

(e) Beneficiary and farm development in post land transfer phase

The first phase of resettlement was based on three models (A, B and C) (Mudege 2007); and settlements were administered by Resettlement Officers. Model A was meant for family farms. Model B catered for state production co-operatives in line with the socialist policy paradigm of that era. Model C consisted of a core estate, run either as a state farm or co-operative with individual holdings attached. The model was designed in response to ‘accelerated resettlement’. Overall, post land reform farm and beneficiary development was the responsibility of the government through its various Ministries (Ruswa 2007, p. 12). The government tried to provide the necessary post settlement support to beneficiaries, but subsequent droughts and fiscal constraints reversed its initial gains. In Model A (the most common in that phase), a family was allocated 12 acres to cultivate and build a homestead. The family also had access to varying amounts of communal grazing land. Wider lack of supporting infrastructure (shops, clinics, schools, market and transport networks) characterised this model (Jacobs 1989, p. 129).

Due to the scattered distribution of the settlements emanating from the willing seller-willing buyer approach, post land transfer development (road network construction to service beneficiaries in particular), was difficult. Of the planned roads, only 10 percent were constructed in the schemes. Merely 34 percent of the planned Blair toilets were constructed.

In addition, many of the schools constructed were not within walking distance for young children (UNDP 2002, p. 6).

Agricultural support, a crucial component for successful agriculture, was largely lower than anticipated. The ratio of extension worker to households was approximately 1: 850. On inception, merely 10 percent got credit while in “1991 less than 5 000 households received short term loans for inputs” (Moyo 1994, p.10). In terms of marketing, collection points were below the level of access found in communal areas (Ruswa 2007). Successive droughts from 1982 to 1984 reduced production levels. The number of grain collection points declined from 135 in 1985 to 9 in 1991 (Masiwa 2004, pp. 94-95). A Resettlement Loan Scheme was set up under the Agricultural Finance Corporation (AFC) in 1981; and in 1983 and 1984, 60% of settlers accessed loans. However, successive droughts from 1982 to 1984 were adverse on loan repayments. In addition to government support, some settler families invested in meaningful investments (land improvements, production and transport equipment, such as tractors and ox-drawn carts and permanent housing) (Zimbizi 2001). Diversification into specialised crops (tobacco, cotton, paprika and so forth), characterised production patterns of some families as they attempted to enhance income generation for household needs and farm investments (Zimbizi 2001; Ruswa 2007).

Conservation of natural resources was also remarkable in the first phase. Through the administration of the Forestry Commission (FC), which provided extension services in schemes, natural woodland management was enhanced (Musemwa and Mushunje 2011); and afforestation programmes were implemented in most of the schemes. Conservation strategies to prevent soil erosion and water loss were employed on arable land. Furthermore, Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE) programmes were implemented in appropriate agro-ecological regions. These were aimed to

achieve sustainable wildlife utilisation (Ruswa 2007). Major successes were attained. Phase 1 of the Resettlement Programme achieved an ex-post economic internal rate of return (EIRR) of 21 %, well above the 14 % at its planning stage (Zimbizi 2001).

(f) Outcomes of land reform in the First Phase

Debate is rife among scholars pertaining to the outcomes of land reform in the First Phase. Kinsey (2004) conducted various studies on land reform process and indicates that, resettlement enabled substantial numbers of farmers to achieve greater productivity especially in the early years. The resettlement programme made impressive strides towards meeting its objectives (Hunter 2004, p. 70). The first phase of land reform met its objectives (Cusworth and Walker 1988; Deininger *et al.*, 2004; Gunning *et al.*, 2000; Chikondo 1996; Chiremba 2002). Of the resettled households, 69 percent realised more than the minimum wage if one uses the ‘total gross value of production of crops and livestock achieved by resettled farmers’ (Chikondo 1996). In the same context of debating the outcomes, Deininger, Hoogeveen and Kinsey (2000) argue that, since 1983, resettled households in three differing environmental zones had greatly increased their crop incomes, productivity and household income. Furthermore, some authorities (The British ODA 1989; Durevall 1991; Herbst 1991), applied global standards in assessing land resettlement in Zimbabwe, and claim that, the land reform was relatively successful. They view land redistribution to 56 000 households within ten years a success.

Another group however, variedly queries claims for successful land acquisition and redistribution. Although this phase scored some successes, it was only ‘golden’ to those who had land to sell. Ruswa (2007) notes that, for the majority of the landless black Zimbabweans, it did not offer an overthrow of colonially-structured ownership relations, and failed to meet their needs - both in terms of the amount of land made available and the contribution of process to poverty reduction.

Due to the skewed legal and political mechanisms of the Lancaster House Agreement, land reform in the first phase can be described as a ‘balancing act’ through which the government sought to “satisfy both black capitalists and poor peasant households, while minimising the fears of the white farmers who still owned the large scale commercial farms” (Moyo 1995, p. 20). The government had planned to “redistribute 8.3 million hectares to 162 000 families” (Raftopolous and Savage 2004, p. 156). By 1997, the government managed to purchase or acquire only 3.5 million hectares and resettled only 71 000 families (UNDP 2002, p. 5). The fact that the government failed to reach its target gave credence to the argument that, the land reform was a failure among some scholars. According to Kinsey (2004), that resettled households do well in terms of agricultural productivity does not translate into improved poverty outcomes. From a purely agricultural production perspective, there appear to be substantial gains in some cases. However, from a welfare perspective, at the level of the average individual (Kinsey 2004); there does not appear to be a significant improvement. Results from an Income, Consumption and Expenditure Survey of 1998 show that, resettled households were almost as poor as communal households (Kinsey 2004).

Ruswa (2007) sums up the impediments to the first phase of the land reform: the colonial and post-colonial (first phase) policies have tended to benefit an already well-off segment of the population, and marginalised the rural landless poor; and most of the prime land was underutilised in the colonial era and the first phase of land reform. Market-driven land reform has proven inappropriate in delivering Zimbabwe’s land question; and the first “phase of the land reform was too slow, delivered land of low agro-ecological value and imposed onerous fiscal demands” (Moyo and Yeros 2005, p.184). Furthermore, the ideological confusion of the post-colonial government resulted in a land reform programme that was fraught with

contradictions, that sought to appease big capital at the same time attempting to live up to its socialist rhetoric of giving land to the suffering landless black population.

(g) Lessons learnt

The first phase provided the Government of Zimbabwe with crucial lessons. Land redistribution can have better and higher financial and economic returns; environmental losses can be mitigated through afforestation projects, and following good farming methods; the pace of land acquisition needs to be enhanced for the sake of social stability, poverty alleviation, peace and justice; and, there is need to support fully, the resettled families in order to optimise agricultural production (Utete 2003).

3.6 The Second Phase of Land Reform and Resettlement

Utete (2003) reports that, the Government of Zimbabwe and all the land reform stakeholders (farmers' organisations including CFU, industrial and financial organisations, the Land Task Force of the National Economic Consultative Forum - NECF; and civic organisations), based on the lessons of the First Phase, launched the Second Phase of the Land Reform and Resettlement Programme in September 1998. In addition, Utete (2003) reports that, the launch was based on the lessons of the first phase. The main objective was to redress the inequities in land resource allocations, and providing a more efficient and rational structure for land through several sub-objectives. These included ensuring greater security of tenure to land users; promotion of investment in land through capital outlays and infrastructure; promotion of environmentally sustainable utilisation of land; retention of a core efficient large-scale commercial agricultural producers; and transfer of not less than 60 % of land from the commercial farming sector to the rest of the population.

Ruswa (2007) reports that, Phase II of the Land Reform and Resettlement Programme commenced in October 1998 with a two-year inception phase; where farms covering 2.1 million hectares were to be acquired for resettlement. Infrastructure and farmer support services were to be provided using resources from the Government of Zimbabwe and the donor community (Utete, 2003). Three major impediments can be isolated. The white commercial farmers resisted acquisition of most of the identified farms, and the government of Zimbabwe had meagre financial resources to implement the second phase of land reform and resettlement (Utete 2003). Such constraints are attributable to declining economic performance, and neoliberal economics which were ushered in by the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP). The donors who had pledged to financially support the programme failed to deliver on their promises (Musemwa and Mushunje 2011). Accordingly, the Government of Zimbabwe was only able to acquire 168 263 808 hectares and to resettle 4 697 families between October 1998 and June 2000 using limited resources (Utete 2003). Breakdown of acquired land by province is shown in Table 3.4.

Table 3.4: Farms acquired at the Inception Phase

Province	Number of Farms	Extent (ha)
Masvingo	5	5 487.7433
Manicaland	20	16 449.9434
Midlands	7	14 449.3840
Matabeleland North	2	33 749.1669
Matabeleland South	9	27 655.4582
Mashonaland East	14	18 480.7100
Mashonaland West	21	52 216.3934
Mashonaland Central	7	9 980 445
TOTAL	85	168 263.808

Source: Government of Zimbabwe (2004)

A notable gap is that, the noble objectives of the Second Phase of land reform and resettlement were not achieved primarily because of resistance by white commercial farmers to the government's efforts to acquire land (Moyo 2013; Utete 2003). The constraints to broad-based land and agrarian structure were being experienced in a context of increasing demands for land by the landless black majority. The "failure by the government to solve the land question through government-led land acquisition and redistribution resulted in spontaneous occupation of large scale commercial farmers. Such occupations are also locally termed the *Jambanja* or *Third Chimurenga* (Sadomba 2013). A cross-cutting theme in all the three phases of land reform is the need for broad-based and equitable land redistribution in pursuit of national development (Musemwa and Mushunje 2011). Redistributive land reform would enhance wellbeing through transformation of the land and agrarian structure.

3.7 The Fast Track Land Reform Programme in Zimbabwe

Despite differential interpretation of the FTLRP's causes, processes and outcomes, there is consensus among scholars that the programme cannot be divorced from colonial processes of accumulation by dispossession, and slow pace of the post-colonial government to address the longstanding land question (James 2015; Mkodzongi 2013, 2016, 2018; Moyo and Chambati 2013; Moyo 2000, 2001, 2002, 2005, 2011, 2013; Moyo and Yeros 2005a, 2005b, 2007a, 2007b; Sadomba 2013). Furthermore, these scholars point to the need to understand that, the FTLRP poses both opportunities and challenges for agrarian transformation, democratic politics and national development.

The slow pace of the land and agrarian reforms, and mounting poverty due to reasons explained in the previous sections triggered the emergence of widespread spontaneous and unprecedented nationwide occupation of white-owned farms led by war veterans and land-hungry peasants (Sadomba 2013, p.84), a characterisation that led to such land occupation to be termed *Jambanja* or *Third Chimurenga*. For Sachikonye (2005a), the so-called grassroots

peasants' movements for land were manipulations by ZANU PF to regain lost power in a context of increasing opposition and imminent outright loss of legitimacy. On formalisation, such land occupations became FTLRP. A primary concern was getting the land; and provision of pre-settlement and agrarian support became issues later.

The fast track land reform is divided into two categories. The first phase (1998 to 2000) was characterised by occupation of predominantly white-owned LSCFs by war veterans following the non-realisation of their negotiations with the ZANU PF-led government for seizure and redistribution of white commercial farms, 20% of the land being designated for the war veterans" (Moyo 2001). In this regard, the government of Zimbabwe responded by designating 1 471 farms for compulsory acquisition (Murisa 2009).

Legal contestations by the white owners of the designated commercial farms stood as a major drawback in achieving the much sought land redistribution to the black majority. Accordingly, the war veterans reacted in isolated group initiatives, by mobilising traditional leaders across the country, leading to more than 30 war veterans-led farm occupations in 1998 (Moyo 1999). The peasantry resorted to land occupations and protests as ways of showing their impatience, and putting pressure on the government to address the land question. Core examples include the occupation of Igava Farm by villagers of Svosve communal area in 1998 (Sadomba 2004; Marongwe 2003; Moyo 2001), Nemanwa in Masvingo, Nyamandhlovu in Matabeleland and Nyamaguru in Manicaland.

The occupants raised genuine reasons for spontaneous land occupations (poor soils and overcrowding), leading to critical challenges on productive capacity, social reproduction and general wellbeing. In response, the state attempted to suppress land occupations by deploying state security forces - Zimbabwe National Army (ZNA) and Zimbabwe Republic Police

(ZRP); and instituting judicial punishments (Sadomba 2008). The second phase of the process of fast track land reform spanned from 2000 and after (AIAS Baseline Survey 2005-2006; 2013-2014). Faced with overwhelming demands for land and increasing occupation of LSCFs owned by whites, the GoZ formalised an accelerated programme of resettlement on 15 July 2000. The aim was to speed up land acquisition and resettlement.

The climax of the land occupations was experienced between 2000 and 2002. The initial life span of the FTLRP was expected to be from July 2000 to December 2001 (Utete 2003). The objectives of the FTLRP were: “immediate identification for compulsory acquisition of not less than 5 million hectares for Phase II of the Resettlement Programme, for the benefit of the landless peasant households; the planning, demarcation and settler emplacement on all acquired farms; and provision of limited basic infrastructure (such as boreholes, dip tanks and schemes roads) and farmer support services (such as tillage and crop packs)” (GoZ 2001 in Gonese *et al.*, 2005, p 18).

After its formalisation, the FTLRP was divided into two models. Model A1 was intended to decongest communal areas (Utete 2003). A communal organisation (villagised organisation), based on subsistence farming, is served by Model A1 while Model A2 is a commercial settlement scheme (Moyo and Chambati, 2013). Utete (2003) reports that, small, medium and large-scale black commercial farmers are served by this model. Full cost recovery and proof of farming experience and/or resource availability by Zimbabweans, are prioritised for an applicant to get land in this model (Sachikonye 2005a; Utete 2003; People First 2001).

The initial target was to acquire 1 million hectares for the resettlement of 30 000 households (Murisa 2009). An additional 4 million hectares would be acquired for the resettlement of approximately 120 000 households within three years (Sachikonye 2005a). However, the

target of the FTLRP soared to 9 million hectares and later to 11 million hectares by 2002. Due to this exponential growth, the government predicted that it would resettle 300 000 households under A1, and 51 000 black commercial farmers in A2 (Sachikonye 2005b). The expectation was that, clinics, schools, staff houses, rural service centres and other secondary infrastructure would be provided as soon as resources became available. This expectation is yet to be realised on a broader scale (Sachikonye 2005b). Land allocation pattern and allocation rates are shown in Table 3.5 below.

Table 3.5: Allocation pattern and take-up rates

Province	Number of farms		Land area (ha)		Number of households		Take up rate (%)	
	A1	A2	A1	A2	A1	A2	A1	A2
Masvingo	306	106	513672	181966	16169	229	90	48
Manicaland	211	170	686612	753300	22670	773	95	79
Midlands	246	138	195644	77533	11019	463	92	42
Matabeleland North	226	65	683140	191697	8923	271	100	100
Matabeleland South	258	65	543793	142519	9901	191	120	94
Mashonaland East	382	319	302511	250930	16702	1646	93	45
Mashonaland West	670	568	792513	369995	27052	2003	97	50
Mashonaland Central	353	241	513195	230874	14756	1684	89	73
TOTAL	2652	1673	4231080	2198814	127192	7260	97	66

Source: Sachikonye (2005b)

Table 3.5 show that, by mid-2003, nearly 127 000 households and 7 200 commercial farmers had been allocated land, but compared to any other country in the region, the transfer of 11 million hectares within three years was the largest property transfer ever in post-colonial

Africa (Utete 2003). The FTLRP was extended to 2005 as opposed to the 2002 deadline (Utete 2003).

Some scholars raised issues pertaining to access to land including, conflicts between the black commercial farmers and small-scale settlers; some black elites grabbing more than one farm contrary to the one person-one farm provision, raising critical social policy concerns – on equity) (Sachikonye 2005a). Regardless of these issues, the land reform that unfolded in Zimbabwe since 2000 has resulted in a major reconfiguration of land use and the economy. Over 7 million hectares has been transferred to both A1 model A2 models (Moyo 2010). Land ownership patterns as at July 2003 are shown in Table 3.6.

Table 3.6: Land Ownership patterns after the Fast Track (as at 31 July 2003)

Category	Area (million hectares) as at 31 July 2003	% of Total land Area
A1	4.2	11
A2	2.2	6
Old Resettlement Area	3.7	9
Communal	16.4	41
Large Scale Commercial	2.6	6
Small Scale Commercial	1.4	4
National Parks and Urban	6.0	15
State land	0.3	1
*Other	2.8	7
Total Land Area	39.6	100

NB: Data on land ownership patterns after the Fast Track as at 2011 was not available hence, the latest available data of 2003 was used. The “Other” category refers to land that has been acquired for resettlement under Model A1 and A2 but has not yet been taken up by those allocated to the plots.

Source: Moyo (2011)

3.8 Motivations, Impact and Outcomes of the FTLRP: Selected Highlights

Owning land is the overarching motivation for occupying LSCF. The FTLRP has had varied impacts and outcomes that defy a simple linear conclusion (Moyo, 2011; Moyo and Chambati, 2013). Several issues have emerged in Zimbabwe's post-land reforms era. These revolve around transformation of agrarian structure, security of land tenure, land utilisation, productivity of the new farmers, natural resources utilisation, the contribution of the new farmers to poverty reduction and national development; and, nature and security of employment for farm workers.

Contestation around these issues is rife, and vast field-grounded data are available on various areas of the fast track land reform (Jakaza 2019; Thebe 2018; Schafer 2017; Chambati 2017; Bhatasara and Helliker 2016; Laurie 2016; Chibwana 2016; James 2015; Mkodzongi 2013; Moyo 2011, 2012, 2013; Moyo *et al.*, 2009; Matondi 2012; Mushongah 2012; Mutopo 2011; Chiweshe 2011; Dekker and Kinsey 2011; Sadomba 2008, 2011; Zamchiya 2013; Scoones *et al.*, 2010, 2011, 2018, 2019; Scoones 2009, 2012, 2015, 2017, 2019; Hanlon *et al.*, 2012; Cousins, 2005, 2010 and others).

(i) Transformation of the agrarian structure

Zimbabwe's fast track land reform transformed the agrarian structure from a bi-modal to a tri-modal structure (Chibwana 2016; Moyo 2011). The bi-modal structure was composed of 4 500 farmers, mostly focusing on export commercial farming, who held over 11 million hectares; compared to the 1 million communal area households on 16.4 million hectares (Moyo 2009, 2011). The communal farmers were mostly situated in drier and peripheral regions.

Of the acquired LSCF, 80 percent were redistributed to a wider base of beneficiaries who are mostly peasants (Moyo *et al.*, 2009). Extensive redistribution radically changed the highly unequal bimodal agrarian structure, and created relatively more broad-based tri-modal agrarian structure comprising small, medium and large farms with an estimated 170 000 family farms created by the FTLRP (Moyo *et al.*, 2009). By 2015, the number of land beneficiaries stood at 180 000 with 170 000 in A1 and 10 000 in A2 (Scoones *et al.*, 2015). The beneficiaries are of diverse profiles – across the political divide, include peasants, ‘generality’ of civil servants, senior government officials, politicians, private sector officials, farm workers, employed and unemployed urbanites (Chibwana 2016). This broad land redistribution defies the pessimists’ view that only ZANU (PF) elites and their supporters accessed land through under the FTLRP (Chambati 2017; Chibwana 2016; James 2015; Mkodzongi 2013; Moyo *et al.*, 2009).

(ii) Land acquisition, allocation and distribution

The acquisition of LSCF and redistribution were not uniform across the provinces and districts; and were phased over time due to a variety of legal, political, technical and social circumstances (AIAS Household 2005-2006, 2013-2014). The circumstances pertaining to the FTLRP were differentiated, and should be acknowledged as such. However, some scholars bring out the flip side - lack of pro-poor focus in redistributing land and elite bias (Schafer 2017; Zamchiya 2011, 2013; Sachikonye 2005a); lack of evidence of decongestion of the communal areas therefore; and low distributional effects (Sachikonye 2005a). This differentiation is not acknowledged by pessimists who often base their arguments on mass media reports. Such scholars seem to miss social differentiation, new processes of accumulation, and social reproduction among the various categories of the land beneficiaries (Chibwana 2016; James 2015; Mkodzongi 2013; Moyo *et al.*, 2009).

(iii) Land tenure issues

Contestations pertaining to property rights violations in fast track land reform processes are central in contributions of some scholars (Zamchiya 2011; Richardson 2005). They reiterate non-recognition of the human rights of the white farmers and farm workers; lack of agricultural property rights; and absence of a defined land tenure system because agricultural land has been 'nationalised' (Murisa 2009). Furthermore, insecurity of the land beneficiaries in terms of land tenure due to alleged evictions by elites, absence of title deeds, and unwillingness of the government of Zimbabwe to provide titles and permits were also topical in early years. The leases and concessions derived by the state are considered inferior to freehold title; and insecure (Richardson 2005). However, scholars should not disregard the emergence of a new land tenure regime in terms of forms of access to land and broad inclusion, and attempts by the government to support the land beneficiaries (Moyo *et al.*, 2009).

(iv) Land utilisation issues

The GoZ acknowledged underutilisation of land on some farms since occupation of former LSCF, and calls for considerable improvement (AIAS 2005/2006). Decline in aggregate agricultural input and output levels have been acknowledged by several scholars and institutions (Moyo 2003, 2011; Utete 2003; World Bank 2006). Varied causes of low land use and production have been presented over the years. The GoZ mainly point to economic sanctions imposed on Zimbabwe, sabotage by alliances of former large-scale commercial farmers, lag time between adapting to new contexts and commencing production; and continuous droughts. However, these causes are discarded by some scholars as lame excuses for failing to plan land reform and support the land beneficiaries. Poor farming competence, lack of capital, failure to recognise farming as business and low government support services are the main constraints to effective land use and production (Sachikonye 2005a). Land

under-utilisation is a contested concept in the context of the FTLRP; and its causes are diverse therefore should not be overgeneralised (Moyo *et al.*, 2009; 2011). Diversity in causes of land under-utilisation is acknowledged by several other scholars (Hanlon *et al.*, 2012; Scoones *et al.*, 2010).

(v) Agricultural production since the FTLRP

Distinctive declines in agricultural output of major crops and livestock with few exceptions have been widely acknowledged (Sachikonye 2005a; Moyo 2004; Central Statistics Office, CSO 2004; FAO 2007). Musemwa and Mushunje (2011) reports that maize production declined from an average annual output of about 1.7 million tonnes in the mid-1990s to between 0.9 million and 1 million tonnes in the 2000-2004 period. Zimbabwe has become a food importer since 2000, and from being a regional breadbasket, between 2001 and 2002, the country needed to import maize to meet its population's food requirements (Moyo 2004). Maize yields halved from approximately 1.3 tonnes per hectare in 1986, to approximately 0.8 tonnes per hectare in 2004 in communal areas (FAO 2007).

The decline was not only restricted to maize. Dekker and Kinsey (2011) report that, wheat production fell by about 20 percent from the average annual output in the mid-1990s. Production of tobacco, soya beans and groundnuts also declined by large margins (Dekker and Kinsey 2011). In addition, both large and small-scale cotton production dropped by 10% during the 2003 to 2004 farming season (CSO 2004). Tobacco production fell from an average annual output of about 200 million kilogrammes to 65 million kilogrammes in the 2003/2004 agricultural season (Sachikonye 2005a). The decline in agricultural production represented a huge blow to the Zimbabwean economy, given that tobacco is a major foreign currency earner.

The production of sugar, tea and coffee has generally remained steady since the beginning of land reform in 2000 (CSO 2004). Some of the resettled farmers particularly those growing commercial crops like paprika and cotton (Utete 2003); and tobacco have managed, for the first time, to purchase key assets such as farm equipment, livestock, stocks of agricultural inputs and key household property (Moyo *et al.*, 2009; AIAS Household Survey 2013-2014). According to Sachikonye (2005a), small increases in floriculture, vegetables, paprika and citrus production were reported between 2000 and 2004. In addition, several scholars and institutions report that, even though production levels plunged in the short-term, they are gradually increasing (Zikhali 2012; European Union 2012; Hanlon *et al.*, 2012; Fox *et al.*, 2007; Zimbabwe Ministry of Finance 2011; Binswanger-Mkhize and Moyo 2012). There appears to be mixed outcomes on production. Overall, the production levels of both small and large-scale black farmers are far too low when compared with that of large-scale white commercial farmers (Sachikonye 2005a); yet, there are indications for increase; and in just a decade, the smallholder farmers have caught up to the white farmers' production (Hanlon *et al.*, 2012). Table 3.7 shows productivity per hectare on resettled and large-scale commercial farms. From the Table, in 2001, the production level of smallholder farmers is by far lower than that of large-scale famers.

Table 3.7: Productivity per hectare on resettled and large-scale commercial farms

Crop	Small resettled farmers in 2003 (kg per hectare)	Large-scale farmers in 2001 (kg per hectare)
Maize	596	4809
Wheat	1032	5741
Flue-cured tobacco	888	2811
Cotton	507	2232
Soya beans	421	2505
Maize	596	4809

NB: Data on the productivity of large-scale farms for 2003 was not available hence, the latest available data of 2001 was used

Source: Central Statistics Office (2004)

(vi) Utilisation of natural resources

Some literature utilisation of natural resources utilisation in redistributed land presents a picture of ubiquitous, rampant and total destruction of natural resources (including rampant gold panning, tree felling, hunting of wildlife, grass burning and soil degradation) (Marongwe 2008; Masiwa 2004; Maguwu 2008). Instead of farming, the land beneficiaries are unsustainably extracting or using resources for commercial gains, in the process destroying the environment (Maguwu 2008). Local systems of natural resource management for sustainability are considered non-existent (Zamchiya 2012; Marongwe 2004). Such practices seem to be motivated by having accessed the land ‘for free’ and absence of freehold titles for the beneficiaries (Masiwa, 2004). However, a nuanced approach is essential to avoid over-generalisations, and to acknowledge livelihood diversification through natural resources extraction and trade (Mkodzongi 2013, 2018; Chipenda 2018, p. 22).

(vii) Farm labour

Scholarly focus has also been levelled at the impact on and outcomes of the FTLRP in relation to farm labour. A general picture of total displacement and suffering of former farm workers has been painted by some scholars. Farm labour as a source of employment has seriously declined (Sachikonye 2003; GoZ/IOM 2004). There is general insecurity of employment in newly settled areas (Sachikonye 2005b). The farm workers who are jobless, landless and without homes in communal areas have tried various coping strategies; including piecework jobs on the farms where they live. These piece work jobs are often temporary, insecure and badly paid (Sachikonye 2005b). Most former farm workers preferred to engage in gold panning in Mashonaland Central and other provinces. They considered gold panning to be more lucrative (Utete 2003). Furthermore, some earn income from informal trading in agricultural produce, second hand clothes and craft materials in local markets (Sachikonye 2005b).

There is no single and simple explanation of the situation of farm workers during and after the FTLRP (Chambati 2009, 2017; Chambati and Magaramombe 2008; Chambati and Moyo 2003). Some remained on the farms as workers; others (few though) got land and some migrated to communal or urban areas. Overall, very few farm workers are considered to have been formally allocated land (Musemwa and Mushunje 2011); their informal ways of accessing land are not acknowledged; and in cases where acknowledgement is done, they are presented as not gainfully employed (Moyo *et al.*, 2009). The diverse situations of farm labour, and the emergence of a different and dynamic labour regime since 2000 should be captured (Chambati 2017, p. 2).

(viii) Social differentiation and agrarian restructuring

Social differentiation and agrarian restructuring are variedly presented in literature on agrarian studies. Diversity and contestation are therefore, not surprising when these are analysed in the context of fast track land reform. In that context, Moyo and Yeros (2005) argue that, social differentiation and agrarian restructuring; and other themes (linkages with communal areas, farm and off-farm activities and accumulation strategies) in the aftermath of the should be critically analysed to capture diversity, complexity and dynamism. Critical approaches should also be applied to notions that, agrarian restructuring, land redistribution and access to agricultural support and infrastructure favoured political cronies and economic elites (Mkodzongi 2018; James 2015).

3.6 Conclusion

I explored Zimbabwe's land question. Thematic areas prioritised include the importance of land to social, economic and political wellbeing of any nation; colonial accumulation by dispossession and post-colonial attempts to address the land issue in Zimbabwe. Colonial accumulation by dispossession was facilitated by economic regulations and taxes, specifically engineered by the British colonialists for that purpose. I focused on several oppressive and alienative policies, strategies, legal provisions and taxes that were implemented to push the indigenous population off the land; and to create a labour reserve (Rudd Concession, Native Reserve Order in Council, Land Acquisition Scheme, Native Reserve Areas, Cattle Levy Act, Maize Control Act, Land Apportionment Act, Land Husbandry Act and Land Tenure Act). Full proletarianisation was however, not created. Extensive land dispossession created a bimodal agrarian structure that served the needs of the whites while relegating the black majority.

I recognised that the post-independence government of Zimbabwe engaged in three phases of land reform – the First and Second Phases of land acquisition and resettlement, and the FTLRP, to address the land question. The first phase was stalled by the Lancaster House Agreement, particularly the willing seller-willing buyer principle and low government financial capacity to acquire land and resettle the majority of the black population. However, 3 498 444 hectares were acquired and 71 000 families resettled. The second phase had a 2 years inception period. In this phase, 168 263 808 hectares of land were acquired, and 4 697 families resettled. However, the constraints of the Lancaster House Agreement, failure by donors to fulfil the promise of financing land reform, low economic performance, legal barriers to compulsory land acquisition, and the decapacitating effects of structural adjustment programmes militated against the set targets. I argued that these constraints were obstacles to broader ownership of land therefore, retarded broader wellbeing among the black population. The constraints were experienced in a context of socioeconomic hardships amongst the peasants and workers.

Land movements leading to spontaneous occupation of LSCFs started as early as 1998, with government quelling such unsanctioned occupations through both ideological and ideological state apparatus. However, the land movements could not be contained mainly due to land poverty and economic hardships amongst the black majority. On 15 July 2000, the fast track was formalised. The FTLRP emerged as the most revolutionary phase, with approximately 13 million hectares of land being acquired and 180 000 families being resettled (150 000 in A1 scheme and 30 000 in A2 scheme). Major contestations pertaining to the processes and outcomes of the FTLRP emerged. These are informed by diverse ideological and epistemological standpoints. However, as I emphasised from Chapter 1, I used the existing approaches as a foundation, and applied TSP in interrogating the FTLRP. The next chapter explores and justifies the application of TSP.

Chapter Four: Conceptual Framework - Transformative Social Policy

Transformative social policy calls for the need to move away from the neoliberal approach and a return to the wider vision of social policies with their multiple productive, redistributive, social protection, social reproduction, social cohesion and nation building functions (Adesina 2009)

4.1 Introduction

The chapter focuses on Transformative Social Policy (TSP) conceptual framework and justifies its suitability in interrogating Zimbabwe's land reform. I organised the chapter into three parts. The initial part explores the social policy as a field, and highlights the nexus between social policy and development, bearing on the understanding that, social policy outcomes are evaluated in terms of social development indicators.

The second part delves into TSP, its relevance and application in the study. I justify the need to return to the wider vision of social policy that is enshrined in the TSP. As the analytical conceptual framework, the TSP is the basis for analysing primary gathered in Zvimba district; and secondary data. Accordingly, detailed discussion of the conceptual framework is essential. In this section, I explore the five functions of social policy (production, redistribution, reproduction, protection and social cohesion), emanating from UNRISD flagship research, and as these are presented in core literature by renowned scholars in social policy (Adesina 2009, 2011, 2014, 2020; Mkandawire 2004, 2005, 2015; Yi and Kim 2015). In addition, I provide contextual meaning of these tasks of social policy in relation to the thesis, because some of the original aspects addressed in these functions do not wholesomely apply to the FTLRP. In the final part, I take a position on the appropriateness of the TSP; and conclude.

4.2 The Field of Social Policy

Social policy is a diverse field with a long history, marked by various conceptual, theoretical and practical approaches. This variety emanates from the increasing number of contributors to this fascinating field, ideological and epistemological standpoints, diversity of contexts and so forth. The breadth of the contributors is immense, as evidenced by the contributors (Fabian Society 1884; Bismarck 1883; John Maynard Keynes 1936; Beveridge 1942; Polanyi 1964; Marshall 1950; Titmuss 1958, 1974; Korpi 1980; Myrdal 1984; Esping-Andersen 1990; Folbre 1994; Kymlicka and Norman 1994; Bonoli 1997; Korpi and Palme 1998; Elson and Catagay 2000; Chang 2001; Devereux and Sabates-Wheeler 2004, 2008; Townsend 2004; UNRISD 2006; Garba 2007; Udegbe 2007; Adesina 2007a, 2007b, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2020); Mkandawire 2002b, 2004, 2005, 2011, 2015; Fine 2009; Alcock 2012). This is just but a mere selection of the contributors in an attempt to map out social policy, its roles and the actors involved, and so on.

Despite the definitional contestations surrounding social policy, Adesina (2009, p. 38) draws readers, against a long backdrop of emphasising only the role of the state, to the view that, social policy is, “the collective public efforts aimed at affecting and protecting the social wellbeing of people within a given territory.” One would discern two vital components of social policy in this definition. First, is the view of collective public effort. The implication of this view is that, social policy is much broader than what the state does. Second, and in response to the ‘old order view’, social policy is far more than just guaranteeing minimum levels of social wellbeing. On the bases of these two views, Adesina (2009) refines and focuses social policy on publicly considered and guaranteed access to social goods and services. These may include access to arable land, agricultural support services, old-age pension, health care and housing. Social policy can be residual, palliative or transformative (Adesina 2009, 2010).

In addition to explaining what social policy is or is not, one should also consider who does social policy. Both the state and voluntary agencies are essential in social policy. However, conventional wisdom is aptly narrow and only emphasises the role of the state in social provisioning. In addition, conventional wisdom tends to be more often concerned with *ex post* vulnerability (Adesina 2011). This practice is under increasing attack by social policy scholars and practitioners who are pushing for new directions in social policy.

An attempt to understand social policy can also be extended to Alcock (2012), whose view is that, social policy refers to the activities of policymaking, and the inter-disciplinary academic study of such actions. Social policy is a practice of welfare; and involves “both formal and informal conception, and implementation of measures that ensure that, citizens have safe, fulfilling and healthy lives. It involves institutional mechanisms for deliberate provisioning such as the state, market, family, community and voluntary organisations. The study of social policy therefore, becomes “a study of how to deliver wellbeing to people in a given society” (Baldock *et al.*, 2007, p. 11).

Mkandawire (2011, p.1) notes that, “social policy is concerned with the redistributive effects of economic policy; the protection of people from the vagaries of the market and changing circumstances of age; the enhancement of the productive potential of members of society; and the reconciliation of the burden of reproduction with that of other tasks”. Furthermore, Mkandawire (2011, p.2) draws readers to the biases that are impeding dialogue ‘between social policy and development’ (OECD bias in social policy literature; static comparative approach; linear view - focus on end point and similar pattern of progression for all countries; and developmentalist bias - there is scant attention in the Global South to the welfare literature, and the conception of social policy as something done only by the developed).

These aspects of social policy are yet to be studied comprehensively in relation to land reforms in Zimbabwe.

Two vital concerns of social policy emerge in the work of Titmuss (1974). The first component is the meaning of social policy, and the second is the purpose of social policy. These could be summarised in two questions: What is social policy? Whose social policy? Social policies are the means and ends that lead to change. Such change could be on practices, behaviour, ownership and systems. There are many definitions of social policy, just as there are several authorities on social policy. However, despite the definitional plurality, three areas of overlap can be discerned. Firstly, social policies have a beneficent objective. Secondly, social policies are based on the public belief that they can effect change. Thirdly, all social policies are problem oriented (Titmuss 1974).

The what, how and by whom questions raised by these authorities can be linked to social policy models. Examples include the Residual, Palliative, Transformative, Bismarckian, Beveridgean, Nordic and Nationalist models. Each model is linked to political economy, and depicts value commitment. In essence, these models represent different ways of choice making (Spicker 2014; Filgueria 2005). Overall, social policy has several key concerns (transecting the state-centred discourse of welfare state paradigm; addressing the multiple focus of collective provisioning and financing including, the so called informal social provisioning; *ex ante* and *ex post* protection from vulnerability; multi-tasking and diversity of investment; reconnecting with the transformative grounding of social policy, and the valuable lessons that ‘late comers’ can learn) (Adesina 2009).

The drive for “ensuring the quality of life for all citizens in a given territory” (Adesina 2007a, 2007b), occupies social policy. In earlier works on social policy, this goal is evident.

Marshall (1950), focusing on citizenship rights, reiterated that, citizenship is about ensuring that everyone is treated as a full and equal member of society. The way to ensure this sense of membership is through according people an increasing number of social rights. Such rights are categorised as civil, political and social; which according to Kymlicka and Norman (1994), include “public education, health care, unemployment insurance and old age pension”. Esping-Andersen (1990, p. 21) argues that, “if social rights are given the legal and practical status of property rights, if they are granted on the basis of citizenship rather than performance, they will entail decommodification of the status of individual versus the market”. This is an extension of Marshall’s (1950) emphasis on rights.

The need to ensure wellbeing and quality of life as the key thrust of social policy is also entrenched in the contributions by Titmuss (1974). Social policy should “be beneficent, redistributive, and concerned with the economic as well as non-economic objectives” (Titmuss 1974, p. 31). What can be drawn from Titmuss’ explanation is the inter-connection of social policy and economic policy. This understanding forms the basis of views by scholars such as Polanyi (1946) and Chang (2001). The economic is inseparably linked to the social (Chang 2001 in support of Polanyi 1946). However, alternative views have been developed in social policy. Neoliberals, for example, Udegbe (2007), argue that, economic growth is the precursor to social development. In such a context, economic growth is viewed as subsequently leading to social development. Nuanced evidence however, contradicts this neoliberal view, because significant economic growth did not translate to reduction in poverty, inequality and unemployment (Mkandawire and Soludo 1999). A lot of debate has emerged, and continue to rise on the influence of neoliberalism on development.

Despite their persistence, approaches grounded in the residual approach are contested by a diversity of contributors (Adesina 2011b; Mkandawire 2006, 2011; Sen 1999; UNRISD

2006; Fine, 2006; Myrdal 1984; Titmuss 1974). These scholars spearhead the view that, social policy and economic policies are intertwined. They emphasise the pursuit of human development as a pathway for anchoring economic development. Several studies that have been done at micro and macro levels confirm the need for this inextricable link.

As opposed to the ‘general consensus’ on social development indicators, classifying social policy systems is marked by contestations. A plurality of scholars grappled with categorisation of welfare states, to provide an overview of how social policies of countries are structured. Countries established social policy informed by diverse schools of thought. Important to note is that, all social policy regimes reflect normative commitments of what constitutes a ‘good society’. They reflect the dominant cultural and political characteristics of societies, and specific historical periods (Spicker 2014). All social policy regimes reflect normative commitments of what constitutes a ‘good society’. They reflect the dominant cultural and political characteristics of societies, and specific historical periods (Spicker 2014).

The Fabian Society that was established in 1884 had significant influence on social policy of the UK. Alcock (2012, p. 23) notes that, informed by Booth and Rowntree’s (1899-1901) research, the Society developed the UK social policy paradigm. Chibwana (2016) notes that, “the research indicated that, poverty was widespread and serious in Britain at the end of the 19th Century regardless of the existence of Poor Laws”. Such a finding challenges the view that the welfare needs of all can be met through the market. Based on such findings, the Fabian Society sought to convince those on the contrary, who emphasised commodification of welfare services. The Society argued for policy intervention through the state to support and protect those who could not benefit through the market (Chibwana 2016).

John M. Keynes and others who followed later were influenced by this view. For example, Townsend (2004) notes that, Keynes was pivotal in helping Europe to recover from World War II that spanned from 1939 to 1945, establishing the Bretton Woods institutions, and the welfare state (Chibwana 2016). Alcock (2012, p. 24) notes that, Keynes - a liberal, contributed to social policy by arguing that, “the state is the ultimate protector of the public good, and has a duty to supplement and regulate market forces”.

Beveridge, coming later in 1942, developed a report that sought to address ‘five giants on the road to reconstruction’. Beveridge gave the state a central role in driving the processes of nations. The Report proposed a system of national insurance for Britain in order to address want, disease, ignorance, squalor and idleness (the five giants) (Bonoli 2007). Want - which later dominated European social policy, was Beveridge’s main concern. Bonoli (2007) reports of key legislations, including the National Insurance Act (1946) which implemented the recommendation on social security; National Health Service Act (1946), and National Assistance Act (1948), which abolished Poor Laws, and provided for welfare services implemented by the Labour Government. These were informed by the Beveridgian Report. Overall, the Report influenced the welfare state, building on macro-economic analyses done by Keynes in 1936, which emphasised the regulatory state.

During Otto von Bismarck’s reign of Germany, he introduced essential social policies, including Sickness Insurance (1883), Accident Insurance (1884), and Old Age and Disability Social Insurance (1889). Bismarck leveraged his political position by giving advantage to the workers (Baldwin, 1990). The social policies were based on social insurance and provision of insurance-related earnings to the workers that were conditional upon a satisfactory contribution record. These were financed through employee-employer contributions. His policy had a concern for the sector of the population which was in the labour market and

crucial for the country's economic development (Bonoli 2007). Other countries, for example, Sweden combined ways of achieving enhanced quality of life for all through borrowing from various earlier approaches in Europe (Esping-Andersen 1990, p. 2).

Historically, social policy has not sufficiently grappled with, for example, “reproductive and nurturing roles of women and their centrality in understanding the wellbeing of individuals, households, communities and nations” (Adesina 2007a, p.45). This view is shared by other scholars (Elson and Catagay 2000; Mkandawire 2005, Folbre 1994; Bonoli 1997). Adesina (2007a, p.45) argues:

“The gendered dimensions of labour market participation and sustained employment record – and therefore retirement annuity or provident fund contributions – distinctly disadvantage women whose labour market participation is often interrupted by marriages, childbearing, or who bear the burden of the unpaid care economy”.

In addition, Adesina (2007b, p. 45) suggests that, “rethinking social policy requires a strongly pro-natal approach, but also social provisioning that treats women as people in their own right rather than in their procreation and nurturing role”. This approach seems to have influenced social policies of several countries (Bonoli 1997), as evidenced by for example, social specific measures such as free child care services, maternity leave and credits for years spent rearing children.

Social policy in an African context should also be understood particularly against a longstanding history of colonialism, and domination of Eurocentric approaches. Colonialism, which pervaded Africa in the 1800s and 1900s, meant superimposition of the colonialists' social policy ideology, agenda and practice, which, in the case of for example, Zimbabwe, was meant to alienate the black majority from mainstream development. Post-colonial African governments have sought to adopt a nationalist and populist ideology, and policy practice deliberately meant to reverse colonial imbalances. Expansionist social policy was

introduced in vocational and technical training, health, education, housing, employment, infrastructural development and so forth, to enhance social and economic capacities of its people while establishing cohesive polities (Chibwana 2016). Important to note, on the contrary, is that, in the process, such policies also consolidated the power of post-colonial black politicians. An essential remark is that, most African post-colonial countries are grappling with the legacy of colonialism, neo-colonial tendencies, and social policy approaches that are not consonant with their contexts.

4.3 Transformative Social Policy (TSP) and the Return to the Wider Vision of Social Policy

I situated the interrogation of the FTLRP in Zvimba district within the TSP, a framework that views social policy “as the collective public efforts” (Adesina 2009, p. 38); or “collective interventions in the economy to influence access to, and the incidence of adequate and secure livelihood” (Mkandawire 2004, p.1). Accordingly, the premise of this conceptual framework is the need to return to the wider vision of social policy (Adesina 2009; Yi and Kim 2015). The essence of TSP is a prophylactic approach to social policy to prevent, as much as is possible, rather than respond to vulnerability. Adesina (2007, p. 15) heralds the potential of transformative social policy to the challenge of inclusive development beyond structural adjustment in Sub-Saharan Africa.

TSP emphasises the fulfilment of multiple tasks of social policy and “touches on issues of redistribution, production, reproduction and protection, and works in tandem with economic policy in pursuit of national social and economic goals” (Mkandawire 2006, p. 1). These functions of social policy are complementary (Adesina 2011). Against a background of reduction of social policy to social assistance in dominant social policy literature (by the OECD); and mono tasking of social policy (primarily social protection) under neoliberalism (as evidenced by structural adjustment programmes introduced by the IMF and WB in

Africa), TSP seeks to revive the multiple tasks of social policy, (an acknowledgement that, social policy has many functions as was the view of the pioneers). In this way, TSP emphasises the “importance of a holistic approach to deal with the economic, social and political relations, policy linkages and the comprehensiveness of social policy interventions to transform the existing unequal and unjust social, economic and political relationships to enhance the wellbeing of the people” (Mkandawire 2004, p.1). Other scholars emphasise comprehensiveness of social policy (Adesina 2020; Yi 2015; Shields 2008; Tekwa and Adesina 2018).

As early as the 1980s, “policy attention has focused on social protection instruments to mitigate the impact of adjustment (the so-called ‘social dimensions of adjustment’ issues)” (Adesina 2010, p. 3). For Adesina (2010), such measures are narrow, and do not address the real causes of poverty, inequality and marginalisation. The WB (2001a, 2001b, 2009, p.11) persistently conceptualised poverty mainly in terms of lack of income; and on the basis of that narrow understanding, the WB pushes fiscal instruments (affordability, cash transfers and so on) to the apex of ensuring wellbeing. Emphasis on social protection resulted in “a retreat into a narrow, diminutive vision of social policy” (Adesina 2010, p.3). TSP is occupied with the need to address the weaknesses of social policies guided by neoliberalism; and lead to the achievement of holistic development (Mkandawire 2007, p. 4). Such an approach calls for moving away from the neoliberal approach, and returning to the wider vision of social policy (Adesina 2011). Accordingly, unlike the current safety nets and social protection programming which do not challenge the underlying structural risks and their longer-term implications for vulnerability, poverty and inequalities (such as those by Sabates-Wheeler and Devereux 2008), the attraction of social policies within a TSP framework lies in their potential to transform gendered, racialised, ethnicised and related forms of inequality

and poverty; which are manifestations emanating from the intersections of these social identities and categories (Shields 2008).

Contrary to the narrow vision of social policy, multiple tasks of social policy have been emphasised under TSP (production, redistribution, reproduction, social protection and social cohesion) (Mkandawire 2006, p.1; Adesina 2011). Understanding social policy in this way is consonant with the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development's view of social policy as an integral part of a process of developmental transformation (Fine 2009, p. 2). Related to the process of developmental transformation is Amartya Sen's conceptualisation of development. Development requires the removal of major sources of 'unfreedom': poverty as well tyranny; poor economic opportunities as well as systematic social deprivation; neglect of public facilities as well as intolerance or over activity of repressive states" (Sen 1999, p.3). I approached the FTLRP through the lenses of the five tasks of social policy; and treated land reform as a social policy instrument that has capacity to bring about developmental transformation.

Social policy that has a transformative agenda "works in tandem with economic policy in the pursuit of national economic goals" (Adesina 2007 cited in Fine 2009, p.10). TSP emphasises the inseparability of the social from the economic, maintaining that the economy is embedded in society where various social, economic and political relations and structures interact with each other through processes of exclusion and adverse incorporation; preventing the poor from benefiting from development policies and market changes (Hulmes, Moore and Shepherd 2001). In addition, transformative social policy enhances innovation through its effects on human capital and skill formation, and its capacity to alleviate risk and uncertainty; and the vagaries of the market (Mkandawire 2007). Situated in the context of land reform, the

ownership and use of agricultural land may be a guarantor against economic downturns and widens options for socioeconomic wellbeing, and contributes to the development process.

Contributions on the TSP (Adesina 2009, 2010; Mkandawire 2004; UNRISD 2006; Yi and Kim 2015), broadens social policy, and pushes for an agenda beyond social assistance, social protection; and innovations of social assistance in the name of transformative social protection, for example, that by Devereux and Sabates-Wheeler (2004). These scholars advance the argument that transformative social protection is composed of protective, preventive, promotive and transformative measures. However, such an approach is confined to social protection, and fails to challenge the root causes of poverty.

The wider vision of social policy embraces the idea, in Richard Titmus phrase, of a *good society* or *better life for all*. These are contested phrases, yet they are underpinned by noble ideas of broad-based development, equity and solidarity (Adesina 2010). The TSP is composed of transformative social policy norms, functions, instruments and outcomes. The approach uses broader and diverse instruments, as well as funding and delivery mechanisms to positively and expansively change people's lives. Social institutions and social relations, economic development and building democratic societies and polities are examples of the multiple levels (or areas) of transformation (Adesina 2011). Also emphasised in the TSP, are the interconnectedness of social and economic policies, and the potential transformative impacts of social policy on the economy, human capability functioning, social relations and social institutions (Phiri, Molotja, Makelane, Kupamupindu and Ndinda 2015). Accordingly, an economic question becomes a sub-set of the social question. In Figure 4.1, I present the TSP conceptual framework in diagrammatic form.

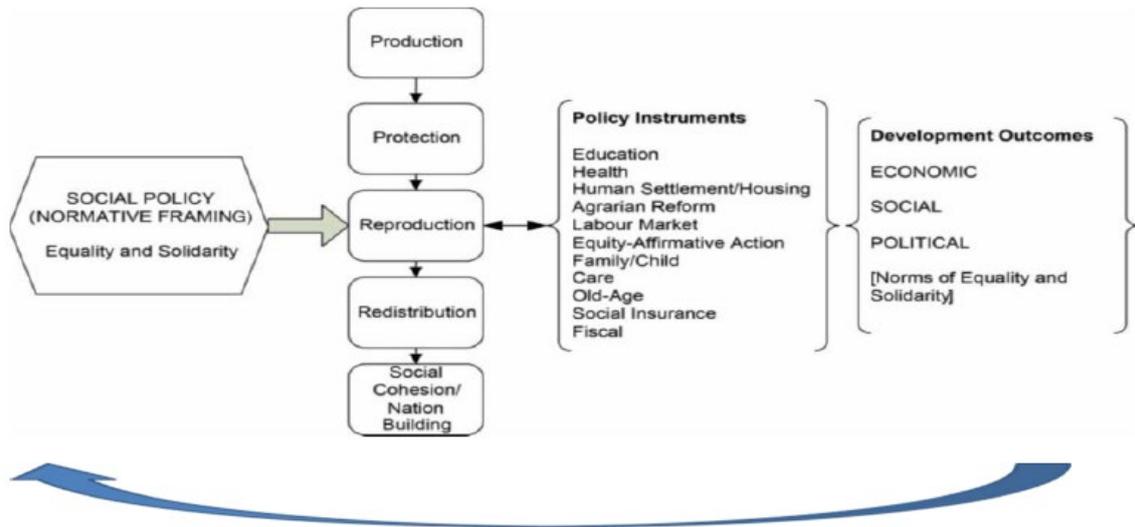


Figure 4.1: Transformative Social Policy Conceptual Framework

Source: Adesina (2011, p. 463)

4.4 The Five Functions of TSP in the Context of the FTLRP

Some aspects of the TSP functions as they are presented by key scholars (Adesina 2011; Mkandawire 2004, 2006; Yi and Kim 2015), do not apply wholesomely to interrogation of the FTLRP. I therefore, present the functions as they appear in literature, and how I contextualised the functions in the study. Chapter 1 (Introduction), highlights how the five tasks of social policy were applied, and in this section, I broaden the scope of application.

4.4.1 Production

Social policies with a production focus among other outcomes, enhance the productive potential of the various societal members. Increasing productive potential improves both the subsistence and commercial requirements of society. In cases where the subsistence and commercial needs of society are met, socioeconomic development is achieved. Development transformation at national and international levels is enhanced.

I prioritised how the FTLRP played out on land use patterns, production and the productive potential of the land beneficiaries; changes in land use, production trends of main crops and livestock; agricultural inputs and support services; agricultural labour, agricultural markets; and how productive capacity of the land beneficiaries can be enhanced.

4.4.2 Redistribution

Social policies with a redistribution agenda “aim to share the gains of development and equalise individuals’ opportunities and/or outcomes” (Mkandawire 2006, p. 1). This is an essential function of social policy. For example, the UNRISD (2006) argue that, transformative social policy is part of the wider process of developmental transformation. Redistribution becomes a function of development, and all the processes of development are evaluated against the extent to which they have redistributed human development.

I focused on how the FTLRP transformed access to prime agricultural land; diverse profiles of the land beneficiaries; new agrarian structure (from bimodal to trimodal); redistribution of redistributed land (the *tseu/tsewu* and portions children and other dependents), and the resultant forms of social organisation among the diverse land beneficiaries; and how the FTLRP redistributed natural resources appended to the land (fauna and flora).

4.4.3 Reproduction

Social policies with a reproduction function “aim to reconcile the burden of family and child care with other social tasks, and sharing this burden of responsibility. Specific measures can include gender equality and women empowerment, public child care services and parental benefits” (Mkandawire 2006, p.1).

In Zvimba district, I delved into gender division of labour in reproducing households, physical reproduction, health care institutions offering reproductive and child care services;

sources of income and labour for household reproduction; capital formation; institutions and associations for mutual benefit in the farms, and how they are reproducing the social and agrarian structure created by the FTLRP; generational issues (reproduction of farming by the children of the new land owners and youth in general); and agency to maintain or improve agricultural production and social organisation.

4.4.4 Protection

Social policies with a protection agenda are meant to protect people from risks of life cycles and economic problems. Such policies focus on protecting the various groups of people against the “vagaries of the market, perverse effects of economic policy and life-cycle risks such as sickness and old age” (Mkandawire 2006, p. 1). Some of the specific protective measures include pension provisions, schemes to promote savings, sickness benefits, work injury benefits, unemployment insurance and social assistance (Mkandawire 2006, p. 1).

I focused on land as an *ex ante* social protection tool; ownership and use of prime agricultural land as an alternative to mainstream social protection (that is based on social assistance provided by the government, NGOs, private well-wishers) and informal assistance within the community; a place one owns, shelter and *musha*; food consumption, security and sovereignty; alternatives to social assistance (on and off-farm activities in the aftermath of the FTLRP), and how these are playing out versus mainstream social assistance.

4.4.5 Social cohesion/Nation building

Social policies that emphasise this component aim to create, enhance and sustain social cohesion within and across communities. An expanded view of social cohesion benefits the whole country or world (Adesina 2011). I interrogated social organisation after the FTLRP; cooperation among land beneficiary households; transformation from strangers to neighbours,

friends and relatives; farmers' network groups; threats to cohesion and actors/players in conflict, and how conflicts are managed in pursuit of cohesive households and farm communities; horizontal and vertical cohesion, and norms of solidarity.

I applied these social policy tasks as complementary, and all as linked to the social, economic and political spheres in seeking to achieve holistic development. However, TSP has shortcomings. The conceptual approach is too broad, may not apply uniformly and wholesome in all social policy issues, and is currently an aspiration yet to be widely accepted and supported. Yi (2015) explores the weaknesses of TSP but concludes that, the approach has greater benefits than weaknesses in planning, designing, implementing and evaluating social policy and development.

4.5 Conclusion

The chapter was specifically aimed at bringing out and justifying the conceptual framework that informed the interrogation of the transformative role of the FTLRP. To fulfil this thrust, I focused on the TSP. To set a stage for understanding the conceptual framework, I focused on historical aspects of social policy. I also explored the diverse contributions to social policy literature. Given the breadth of social policy, I settled for Adesina's (2009) conceptualisation that, social policy is the collective public efforts aimed at affecting and protecting the social wellbeing of people within a given territory. I noted that two crucial aspects emerge from this view (collective efforts showing that social policy is more than what the state does; and that, social policy is more than guaranteeing minimum levels of social wellbeing). The presented history shows that, dominant ideas and practices in social policy are dominated by the OECD and neoliberal approaches, with limited contributions from the Global South.

I also concentrated on the five tasks of social policy that constitute the TSP namely, production, redistribution, reproduction, protection and social cohesion. In line with Adesina (2011), my central argument is that transformative social policy seeks to return to the wider vision of social policy, and is far more comprehensive than emphasis on social assistance by the OECD or mainly social protection under neoliberalism. Social policy with a transformative agenda has multiple tasks and works in tandem with economic policy in the pursuit of national social and economic goals; and works within the process of developmental transformation. I emphasised that the wider vision of social policy is that of a good society or better life for all; and argued that despite these phrases being contested, they depict a commitment to equity and solidarity, and underpin inclusive development.

In addition to outlining the five functions of social policy as they are discussed in literature, I briefly contextualised these in approaching the fast track land reform in Zvimba district. How I applied TSP functions to interrogate the FTLRP is the preoccupation of the ensuing chapters. The first phase of the thesis – that of establishing the gap, and setting the context and literature base of the study has been completed. The next chapter focuses on the redistributive social policy outcomes of the fast track land reform; and marks the beginning of the second phase - data presentation, analysis and interpretation.

Chapter Five: Redistributive Social Policy Outcomes

Lost treasure regained. It is our land, and will always be our land, but we are yet to fully utilise and benefit from this core resource (DLB21 – Land beneficiary, Dalkeith Farm)

5.1 Introduction

The chapter focuses on the fast track land reform's extent of redistribution in the quest to interrogate its transformative role. To provide nuanced understanding of the redistributive outcomes, I interrogate two core themes: the extent of land and natural resources redistribution; and who got land under FTLRP. These themes have led to heated debates and polarisation among scholars on Zimbabwe's land reform. However, I used the debates as a foundation and advance a social policy perspective to the redistributive outcomes. The Chapter shows that land redistribution is the major outcome of the FTLRP.

I argue that, the main motive for accessing the LSCFs by the black majority was to get land against a background of hitherto having been dispossessed of land under British colonialism. I explored colonial accumulation by dispossession in Chapter 3. Contrary to 'sweeping' explanations of elite bias (political, bureaucratic and business), and claims of widespread state-led violence in accessing land, the profiles of the land beneficiaries in Zvimba district show that, a broad array of people of diverse backgrounds accessed prime agricultural land. These include, 'ordinary' citizens from various parts of Zimbabwe, war veterans, senior government officials, prominent politicians, business persons and so forth. Defining 'ordinary' beneficiaries is problematic. However, this category is constituted by former farm workers, the generality of civil servants, mine and factory workers, people from communal and old resettlements and so forth.

The chapter confirms the central argument by key scholars on Zimbabwe's land reform that, the FTLRP widely redistributed prime agricultural land and transformed the agrarian

structure from bi-modal to tri-modal (Chambati 2017; Moyo 2011). In addition, the FTLRP led to wider redistribution of natural resources appended to the land (Chipenda 2018; Chibwana 2016; James 2015; Mkodzongi 2013; Moyo 2013; Murisa 2009; Moyo *et al.*, 2009). I argue that, although elite bias in selecting land beneficiaries and widespread land grabbing by elites cannot be refuted outright, voices from Zvimba district supported by the AIAS 2005/2006 and 2013-2014 Household Baseline Surveys at national level; and other scholars show that, such claims are not informed by evidence grounded in the field, and are generally and widely exaggerated. At the core of this chapter, are accounts of land occupation by those who participated or witnessed the occupations, motivations for occupying land and detailed profiles of those who got the land.

Overall, my line of argument points to the fast track land reforms' redistributive outcomes are important considerations in analysing the transformative role of land reforms. The influence of the FTLRP on redistribution of land and appended natural resources are essential functions of TSP. Furthermore, I argue that, the effort to initiate and enhance socioeconomic wellbeing through social policy should be informed by substantial empirical evidence; particularly where the evidence generated is contextually grounded and informed by the lived experiences and situated meanings. A crucial acknowledgement in this chapter is that, the redistributive dimensions of the FTLRP are diverse and in some cases, complex and evolving. Given the diversity of the redistributive outcomes and implications to socioeconomic transformation, I focus on selected ones. I conclude the chapter by highlighting the key findings and the focus of the next chapter – land use and production outcomes.

5.2 Driving Forces Behind Land Occupations

The literature on land dispossession and repossession in Zimbabwe reviewed in Chapter 3 set the context for understanding the motivations for land occupations. This section engages the

forces behind land occupations by prioritising the views of those who were involved and those who witnessed the occupations in Zvimba district. In addition, supporting or refuting views drawn from reputable scholars are incorporated. I draw on forces behind the land occupations merely to set a context for exploring redistribution outcomes of the FTLRP.

The findings are consonant with arguments of several scholars (James 2015; Musemwa and Mushunje 2011; Dekker and Kinsey 2011; Ruswa 2007; Moyana 2002; Gundani 2002; Moyo 1995; Moyo *et al.*, 2009; Mukanya 1991), that, the general black population was alienated from prime land. The land left for them was inadequate and mostly peripheral. The dominant explanation for occupying white-owned commercial farms in Zvimba district was to get the land. Through fieldwork, I understood that, getting land is the overall motivation yet, this motivation should not be generalised. The land beneficiaries further divided this motivation into three, namely, getting land one would call his or hers, getting prime land (defined by the respective participants as fertile, better or productive land), and getting more land. Despite these variations in explaining the motivations for occupying predominantly white commercial farms, land scarcity dominated.

I explored land scarcity to understand its varied meaning and influence in occupying white commercial farms in Zvimba district. Scarcity of land was explained in two contexts, depending on where the land beneficiary came from - the communal or old resettlement areas. As earlier noted by James (2015), in the communal areas where the majority of the land beneficiaries came from, over-exploited land ('tired' land), and overcrowding were topical driving forces. Ncube (2018) also emphasises the centrality of inadequate or low quality land in intense demands for land by the black majority.

The traditional arrangement in the communal areas of Zvimba and other parts of Zimbabwe is such that, on marriage, sons may continue to live with parents. Alternatively, they get an allocation for residence while in other cases, the land allocation is for both residence and farming. Yet in other cases, they move to other communal areas. Either way, this implies increasing pressure on the available land, which in most cases has been degraded due over-utilisation and overcrowding. Due to family growth (which is a natural process of social reproduction), co-utilisation or further sub-division of the land becomes unsustainable. Ultimately, the affected groups had to look for land elsewhere, and in Zvimba, they looked for land in white-owned commercial farms.

Some land beneficiaries had moved to other communal areas to get land or engaged in rural to urban migration to search for formal employment or alternative livelihoods. Some of those who searched for formal employment in urban areas lamented high unemployment, low paying jobs and dwindling survival strategies (for example, vending), due to economic underperformance or stringent government policy. These challenges further pushed them to occupy the land owned by large-scale commercial farmers. Informal interaction with some land beneficiaries revealed these push factors.

My area of origin is Chirau communal area in this district. I lost employment due to downsizing carried out at Unilever Zimbabwe in 1992. I looked for formal employment since then but failed to get it. I turned to carpentry in Kuwadzana high-density suburb, and my wife was a vendor. We were using undesignated places. It worked out for years but Harare Municipality moved in and evicted us. We lost our wares and source of income. We did not own a house, and savings could not sustain us..... Neither could we get another job. We had to find an alternative. When I heard that people in my village were planning to move into the farms I went back to the communal area and joined others. We moved into Dalkeith farm in 2001 (Informal interaction with DLB23, an A1 land beneficiary at Dalkeith farm, 12/08/15).

Participants at Whynhill, Dalkeith and St Lucia farms also explained land scarcity in the context of old resettlement areas where the children and grandchildren of the land beneficiaries have, and continue to experience land shortages. The concern is that, the government did not put in place a deliberate policy for accommodating children and grandchildren to access land. Neither, did the government create conditions for accumulation of formal industries to absorb labour outside agriculture. These gaps have created land scarcity justifying occupation of white-owned commercial farms or migration to urban or other rural areas. James (2015, pp. 73-74) also noted these facets of land scarcity in study sites in Mashonaland Central Province. However, some children of the original land beneficiaries, especially sons, inherited land after the death or retirement of parents and guardians due to old age; or have migrated to urban areas, mines or Diaspora. Accordingly, land scarcity should not be over-generalised to all children and grandchildren of original land beneficiaries in the old resettlements.

Other motivations for occupying and were raised, mainly pointing to historical injustices created by British colonialism, and the subsequent failure by post-colonial GoZ to address the land question, and less paying formal or informal employment. Below is an extract from an interview with a war veteran land beneficiary. The extract support claims for land on the basis of colonial injustice and failure by the GoZ to solve the colonial predatory land tenure.

We fought for the land The land was among the core issues to be addressed in post-colonial Zimbabwe yet Mugabe's government failed to deliver. We had to do it ourselves...We pushed the whites off the land We reclaimed our land, our heritage, our future forever and no one should reverse such gains. The young generation should protect the repossessed land (Indepth interview with WLB05 - a war veteran at Whynhill farm, 30/09/15).

The motivations for occupying land and justifications for enhancing security of tenure in Zvimba are varied. This argument is corroborated by studies in other sites (James 2015, p.73;

Dekker and Kinsey 2011; Dekker 2004; Chibwana 2016; Moyo *et al.*, 2009). Some groups used traditional explanations to occupy the land. The explanation is that, spirits of deceased relatives claimed ownership of the land (the Manjinjiwa lineage of Zvimba who claimed ownership of Dalkeith farm well before the FTLRP). Spiritual explanations were expressed in indepth interviews.

We the Manjinjiwas own this place. We claimed this land because it belongs to our ancestors and spirits that protect us. My father told me that in 1919, the Manjinjiwa lineage under the headmanship of chief Matibiri-Magaramombe were evicted from this area to pave way for the establishment of Dalkeith and Noordt Gate farms. Most of our people were moved to Kasanze communal area in this district while others moved to Hurungwe. Few of the Manjinjiwas remained here to be abused as farm labourers in their own territory. As you may know, spirits reside in shrines and sacred places. Eviction meant that the spirits were decentred and we had to return to our home (Dalkeith and Noordt Gate farms) at all costs. Over the years, the Chirorodzi (elders and spirit medium - *svikiro*) of the Manjinjiwas sought to return to this area but to no avail. In 2000, we occupied the farm and we are happy to be back home (indepth interview with the current Manjinjiwa headman, 11/05/15).

Based on those who participated and/or witnessed the land occupations in Zvimba district, this section points to three crucial aspects. First, land occupations emerged from widespread frustration among the landless, formally unemployed and poor. Second, the land beneficiaries deployed old and new narratives to legitimise claims to the land, and to enhance tenure security. Third, some land beneficiaries claimed land for residency, and their interest is not on agricultural activities therefore, these should not be presented as farmers. This heightens my argument that use of the term land beneficiaries is better, than viewing everyone as a farmer.

5.3 From Bimodal to Trimodal Arrangement: A New Agrarian Structure

Broadly, the FTLRP, formalised in 2000, resulted in a reduction in the total land area that was in the hands of the large-scale commercial farmers (Manjengwa *et al.*, 2014; Hanlon *et*

al., 2012; AIAS 2005/06, 2013/14 Baseline Surveys; Moyo *et al.*, 2009). Prime land in Zvimba district and other parts of Zimbabwe was hitherto predominantly white owned, and it was reallocated to black indigenous Zimbabweans as I explained in Chapter 3. At national level, 180 000 families were resettled on 13 million hectares in just over a decade (Scoones *et al.*, 2011, 2015; Hanlon, Manjengwa and Smart 2014). Earlier, Moyo *et al.* (2009) had reported that, over 170 000 families were resettled on 4 500 former large-scale commercial farms comprising of 7.6 million hectares of land, which is approximately 20% of the total land area of the country. Such reconfiguration of the agrarian structure makes land redistribution the major outcome of the FTLRP.

The FTLRP restructured agrarian arrangements and relations, primarily expanding the number of small and middle-scale agricultural producers, and reconfiguring labour relations (Binswanger-Mkhize and Moyo 2012; Moyo 2011; Moyo *et al.*, 2009). This argument has been made by other various scholars. Within the same context of explaining the major shift from bimodal to trimodal, Scoones (2015) reports that, the FTLRP increased the peasantry and the middle farmers, while Moyo (2011) reports that, the programme reduced the area of large-scale capitalist farmers as well as of agro-industrial estates. Furthermore, fast tracking land reform “warded off private ownership towards state ownership of the land, 90 percent of the farmers are small-scale holders working on 80 percent of land; and 30 percent of the A1 farmers are made up of urban workers and a few farm workers” (Moyo 2011, p.2).

The transformation of the agrarian structure is constituted by a variegated peasantry consisting of A1 and communal area farmers, small and medium capitalist farmers, as well as conservancies, private and public agro-industrial estates (Moyo 2011a). In Tables 5.1 and 5.2, I present the agrarian structure from 1980 to 2010; and the new tri-modal agrarian structure

after the FTLRP to facilitate clarity of my argument that, the previous agrarian structure was indeed, transformed.

Table 5.1: Transitions in the agrarian structure at national level (1980-2010)

Farm category	Farms/Households (000's)						Area held (000 ha)						Average		
	1980		2000		2010		1980		2000		2010		1980	2000	2010
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	Ha	%	Ha	%	Ha	%			
Peasantry	700	98	1,125	99	1,321	98	16,400	49	20,067	61	25,826	79	23	18	20
Small/ middle commercial farm	8.5	1	8.5	1	30.9	2	1.400	4	1.400	13	4.400	13	165	165	142
Large farms	5.4	1	0.4	1.371	1.371	0.1	13.00	39	1156.9	4	1156.9	4	2.407	1.754	844
Agro estates	0.296	0.1	0.02	0.247	0.247	0.02	2.567	8	1,494. 6	8	1,494. 6	5	8.672	8.672	6.051
Total	714	100	1,139	100	1,353	100	32.72	100	32,878	100	32,878	100	46.7	28.7	24.3

Source: Moyo (2011a)

I present the current trimodal agrarian structure that emerged after the FTLRP in Table 5.2. The purpose of presenting the Tables one after the other in one section is for comparison to be made, particularly focusing on change that occurred to the agrarian structure (from bimodal to trimodal).

Table 5.2: Trimodal agrarian structure

Farm type	Hired labour	Sources of income	Sources of capital	Marketing
Differentiated peasantry	Few permanent plus casual labour; family labour	Family income; some wages and remittances	Own equity; some formal source (contracts)	Self-marketing; contracts; farmers' associations
Small to medium capitalist farmers	Over 2 permanent and many casual workers; manager/supervisor	Farm income; business and employment	Formal finance; equity; contracts	Self-marketing (urban); contract; export
Private and public plantations	More permanent and casual; managers	Family income; agro-industry	Share capital; profits; loans	Vertically integrated urban and export market

Source: Binswanger-Mkhize and Moyo (2012)

Variety exists in the peasantry category (Shanin 1997; Bryceson 2000; Moyo and Yeros, 2005). Various differentiating factors are at play, including the labour they utilise, sources of income and access to markets (Moyo and Yeros 2005). Broadly, the peasantry is characterised by main reliance on family labour (Moyo 2014; Yeros 2002). Poor peasants often sell their labour to supplement their income for social reproduction. Such labour sales are done to better-off peasants or middle capitalist farmers (Moyo 2014); and within the same peasantry, are the better-off, who are capable of hiring wage labour on casual or permanent basis (Bryceson 2000; Moyo 2011). This group has enhanced access to credit and markets, and are on better negotiating position for contracts with capital (especially in agro-ecological regions where agriculture flourishes). However, generally, the peasantry is defined mainly “by use of family labour in the production of food for consumption and selling surplus that may be realised. They rely on diverse non-farm work and short-term wage labour with major labour sales to the middle and large-scale farmers” (Moyo 2011, p.7).

In relation to these diversities in the peasantry, I noted that, the A1 land beneficiaries fall within the category of peasants, who largely rely on family labour; and produce food crops

and livestock mainly for household consumption. Surplus is sold to the GMB (in the case of grains), and locally among other peasants in Dalkeith, Whynhill and St Lucia farms; and to the communal area. In Chapters 7 and 8, I explore the off-farm activities that the peasants engage in to complement crop and animal production. They may sell labour to other better-off peasants or to A2 land beneficiaries for cash or payment in kind. I explore this dimension in Chapter 8 under sources of food, labour and income for household reproduction.

In addition to the peasantry and small and medium capitalists, are the large agro-industrial estates. Despite the radicalism of the FTLRP, some agro-industrial estates remained functional (for example, Tongaat Hulett's and Hippo Valley). There are also tea estates owned by domestic capital, 40 other large-scale estates owned by state and 16 private forestry plantations that are owned by international companies (Moyo 2011).

In relation to Zvimba, prior to the FTLRP, the district had 718 LSCFs, approximately 20 500 farm workers (who serviced medium and large-scale farms), and 150 000 households. The farm workers provided labour to the medium or large-scale farmers on temporary or permanent bases (Chambati 2009, p. 33). These figures were confirmed by the District Administrator, and are shown in Table 5.3. Banket ward (where the study sites are located), had 41 LSCFs. Of these, 16 farms were converted into A1 units, and 25 into A2 units. Whynhill was sub-divided into 45 A1 units and 1 A2 farm; while Dalkeith was subdivided into 79 A1 units. These statistics show that, the FTLRP resulted in redistribution of land to more people (the black majority), compared to the previous status quo where these two farms were owned by two white farmers. This was a characteristic of the bimodal agrarian structure.

Table 5.3: Composition of Zvimba before FTLRP

Category	Number
Large scale commercial farms	718
Farm workers	20 500
Communal households	150 000

Source: Own fieldwork (2015)

The transformation of the agrarian structure in Zvimba, and other districts deserves further exploration in relation to colonial accumulation by dispossession, economic structural adjustment programmes and other economic problems. As noted in Chapter 3, the settler colonial regime's accumulation by dispossession sought to proletarianise Africa through creating a labour reserve economy (Amin 1972), that was dependent on cheap domestic and foreign migrant labour (Arrighi 1973). A bimodal agrarian structure composed of 6 000 white farmers and few capitalist agro-industrial estates operating alongside 700 000 peasant families and 8 000 small-scale black commercial farmers was formed (Moyo 2011). However, full proletarianisation in the strict Marxist sense, deliberately or otherwise, failed (Yeros 2002; Bush and Cliffe 1984). In such a context, coupled with extra economic regulations, taxes and discriminatory subsidies that favoured white commercial farmers; opportunities for peasants to broaden and sustain their wellbeing base dwindled (Moyo 2002).

The bimodal agrarian structure, as was its aim from formation, limited the prospects of the black majority to achieve minimum living standards; and excluded them from accessing economic opportunities (Musemwa and Mushunje 2011). Inclusive development and benefit for are essential in the normative framing of social policy as exhibited in the contributions by Adesina (2007a), Mkandawire (2007) and UNRISD (2006). The agrarian structure led to monopolisation of access to state subsidies, capital and credit by the minority 4 500 white

farmers against the peasants. Through the use of prime agricultural land coupled with various socioeconomic and political advantages, the whites achieved enhanced socioeconomic wellbeing against the black majority who had to rely on selling their labour in farms, mines and factories (owned by the whites), to fulfil social reproduction. In the context of white hegemony, the black labourers were not well catered for by the state, neither did they have the power to negotiate for better wages that could at least, cushion them against market failures and external shocks (Moyo and Yeros 2005). Mkandawire (2007) conceptualises market instabilities and shocks as vagaries of the market.

Economic Structural Adjustment Programmes further pushed the labourers and peasantry to the ‘deep end’. The ‘ills’ of these programmes in agriculture, manufacturing and other sectors further eroded the socioeconomic capabilities of the majority of the labourers. With ‘state roll back’; and withdrawal of subsidies and introduction of user fees (Zhou and Zvoushe 2012); this already disadvantaged group was further impoverished. Multi-pronged vulnerability befell the peasantry. This understanding consolidates my argument that, acquiring land was an appropriate move – a move with both short and long-term benefits in reducing and/or preventing vulnerability. Various other scholars (Moyo 2011b; Jiririra and Haliman 2008), support this view, and argue that, the effects of structural adjustment programmes made acquisition of land a strategic move that would cushion beneficiaries against vulnerability; while ensuring dignity, belonging and protection.

5.4 Redistribution of Bigger and Fertile Land

One of my central arguments is that, redistribution of prime agricultural land of significant size is in essence, broader redistribution of wellbeing. To set a stage for analysis, I highlight the importance of the redistribution function before delving into the broadly heralded access to ‘bigger and fertile land’ in Zvimba district. Broader convergence can be noted in literature

on the argument that, redistribution of assets is an indispensable dimension of achieving broader growth and addressing poverty (Ghatak and Roy 2007; Kinsey 2004; Jeon and Kim 2000; Deninger and Squire 1998; Birdsall and Londono 1997).

Kinsey (2004) argues that, a redistributive path is always likely to be superior to a distribution-neutral path (the discredited notion of trickle-down), for reducing poverty. Redistributive land reform can improve growth and address poverty. In Korean, land reform increased agricultural production through enhancing economic incentives and growth (Jeon and Kim 2000). India is yet another example where Ghatak and Roy (2007) reports decline in agricultural production after land reform although heterogeneity was noted in other states. While analysing the World Bank's development programmes, Birdsall and Londono (1997) reveal lack of prioritisation of redistribution, while solely pushing for growth.

There is wider consensus in Zimbabwe that redistribution of fertile land to the black majority was remarkably high, and such land was bigger than that in communal areas where the majority came from. Before the FTLRP, there were 150 000 households falling under customary tenure in Zimbabwe district. On average, each household owned 2 hectares. The FTLRP did not only create an opportunity for owning land, but also utilising bigger prime agricultural land to enhance wellbeing. Table 5.4 shows land-holding sizes for A1 beneficiaries in six districts.

Table 5.4 Land holdings for A1 beneficiaries

Plot size (ha)	Chipinge		Chiredzi		Goromonzi		Kwekwe		Mangwe		Zvimba		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%										
1-5	70	36.8	20	16.3	58	11.3	1	0.3	-	-	-	-	149	10.3
5.1-10	47	24.7	28	22.8	436	84.7	67	21.1	-	-	-	-	578	40.0
10.1-20	64	33.7	3	2.4	12	2.3	27	8.5	-	-	189	95.5	295	20.4
20.1+	9	4.7	72	58.5	9	1.8	222	70	101	100	9	4.5	422	29.2
Total	190	100.0	123	100.0	515	100.0	317	100.0	101	100.0	198	100.0	1444	100.0

Source: AIAS Household Baseline questionnaire, N=2089

Table 5.4 shows that, in Zvimba district, landholding in the A1 scheme ranges from 10.1 to 20 hectares. Such land holding sizes are higher compared to those in the district's communal areas (where each household own an average of 2 hectares). However, having access to bigger land cannot be presented as a blanket conclusion within and across farms in Zvimba district (some former farm workers at Dalkeith farm were allocated 0.3 hectares, a portion far below the minimum prescribed, and the lowest compared to the other land beneficiaries). Moreover, as confirmed by Murisa (2009), 3 households settled at Dalkeith farm have no access to arable land, and they refused to be resettled to neighbouring farms including Fennermere, St Lucia and Noordt Gate. I captured views pertaining to this dimension during interviews and FGDs.

I came from Kasanze communal area in this district...there are seven sons in our family and I got a quarter hectare when my father subdivided his area to all sons. The piece of land was for both residency and agricultural production. It was too small considering that I have a family. My sons were also expecting me to accommodate them at my place that meant further subdivision of the already inadequate portion. The 5 hectares I was allocated here at Whynhill farm are far bigger and fertile than what I had, and I am grateful to the government (In-depth interview with VaBheu, Whynhill farm, 20/06/2015).

I was a farm worker at this farm (Dalkeith). I was born here; my parents were born on this farm. We were all ordinary farm workers and never anticipated to have land of our own for residency and production. We got small portions of land but at least we have productive land of our own (In-depth interview with Mr. Muza, former farm worker at Dalkeith farm, 27/06/2015).

The land we were allocated is bigger and fertile than that owned by most of us when we were in the communal areas. That land (in communal areas) was over utilised; and without fertilizer, you would not harvest anything significant. We were also overcrowded making further divisions impossible. However, other families had sufficient portions in the communal areas (A participant during FGDs at St Lucia, 21/08/15).

In Table 5.5, I present the prescribed national guidelines for land size allocations. The guidelines vary according to agro-ecological regions. The stated planning guidelines for farm size categories had to be adhered to in land demarcation and allocation at national level.

Table 5.5 Officially Prescribed Farm Sizes under Fast Track Resettlement

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

Source: Department of Lands (2001)/Sukume, Moyo and Matondi (2003, p. 1)

Important to understand is that, these guidelines partly determined farm divisions in Zvimba district. There are notable differences between the official prescriptions and the farm sizes in the district. In some areas, generally, the farm sizes are below the officially prescribed farm sizes. Most A1 farms are of sizes ranging from 5 to 10 hectares, while most A2 farms are within the 60 to 120 hectares prescribed land size. These variations were also noted by

scholars working in other districts (Chibwana 2016; Scoones 2015; James 2015, Mkodzongi 2013; Dekker and Kinsey 2011; Moyo *et al.*, 2009). Below, I capture the acknowledgement and justification for the deviations in Zvimba district, from the land officers' perspective.

In this district, more people wanted land therefore, with the approval of government we had to depart from officially prescribed land size. Strictly allocating land according to the prescribed farm division sizes for this agro-ecological region (5-10 hectares for A1, and 30-330 hectares depending on whether it is small-scale, medium-scale or large-scale would have meant accommodation of few people. Despite variations, most A1 land beneficiaries have fallen within the prescribed range. Moreover, even though some plots are less than that prescribed, they are still bigger than arable land in communal areas (In-depth interview with a lands officer, 23/05/15).

There are contestations over farm size and the concept of viability considerations. AIAS in the 2005/06 Baseline Survey reports that, generally, viable farm size was considered to be a land size that can be utilised competently by a person and his or her household, to derive a livelihood and income that ensures a reasonable standard of living for a household. However, a 'reasonable standard of living' is not uniform for all households. In Table 5.5, I presented the official land sizes per agro-ecological region. Zvimba falls in natural agro-ecological 2A. Officially prescribed farm sizes were as follows: A1 land beneficiaries -15 hectares (5 hectares of arable land, and additional 10 hectares for grazing); A2 land allocations were to be differentiated by sub-categories (A2 small - 20 hectares, A2 medium -200 hectares, A2 large-scale - 330 hectares and peri-urban - 2 to 30 hectares). Moreover, restricting the conceptualisation of viable farm size to household income is an anomaly. Viability of the allocated land in terms of income generation should be linked to how much it contributes to national income because transforming Zimbabwe socioeconomically is one of the objectives of the fast track land reform.

Despite variations in farm size, most of the land beneficiaries; and the land officer argued that, the farm sizes are adequate to ensure food security. In addition, participants reported

that, the farm sizes were sufficient for household income generation. Against this view, are food insecurity and income generation challenges amongst some households in the district. An excerpt of indepth interviews reveals these issues.

In terms of an arable portion, I have enough land. However, I do not have seed and fertilizer commensurate to the size of land. How then can my family be food secure or be expected to generate income from selling produce? The government is letting us down. Some households are sourcing food from other farmers in this farm or even from the communal areas after failing to get inputs. This signals failure (Indepth interview with Mrs Chihuri, St Lucia farm, 17/09/15).

We are already in summer but far from being ready for farming. I managed to buy two bags of fertilizer. I received two bags of Compound D fertilizer and 10kg of seed through the Presidential Inputs Scheme. All my children are unemployed. I live with my children here. They offer casual labour to farmers in this farm and neighbouring farms. The financial reward is meaningless. Sometimes, they are given grain or old clothes as payment for labour offered. We cannot buy agricultural inputs. Last year I experienced the same problem (inputs shortage) and I did not produce enough for the family (Indepth interview with Mr. Chisvo, Whyhill farm, 2/11/15).

These challenges are indications that, mere land redistribution is inadequate in transforming the lives of the individual land beneficiaries and their households. Pre and post land transfer development efforts, particularly focusing on provision of inputs, are essential in transformative land reform. I interrogate issues pertaining to agricultural inputs and other production constraints in Chapter 6 (Land Use and Production Outcomes); and issues in household reproduction through labour in Chapter 8 (Social Reproduction Outcomes).

5.5 Profiles of Those Who Got Land under the FTLRP

Who got the land, where they came from, gender composition, educational background and so on are important in considering the redistributive potential, and outcomes of the FTLRP. Accordingly, I sought and analysed the profiles of the land beneficiaries. However, this is a contested area. Divergent can be noted (Richardson 2010; Marongwe 2009; Hammar *et al.*,

2005; Davvies 2004; Raftopolous 2004) bringing out the elite bias dimension; and others (Chibwana 2016; James, 2015; Mkodzongi 2013; Moyo 2005, 2011a, 2011b; Scoones *et al.*, 2010) rejecting a generalised claim of elite bias. Accordingly, they argue that, while there may have been elite beneficiaries, these constitute a small percentage; and that scholars should therefore, transcend generalised claims, and conduct nuanced analysis to attain better understanding. Table 5.6 below is a summary of redistribution patterns in selected provinces of Zimbabwe

Table 5.6: Redistribution patterns in selected provinces of Zimbabwe

Category	Number	Percentage
Business people	7	1.6
Civil Servants (Agriculture and Lands Ministries)	18	4.8
Civil Servants (Education)	24	6.4
Civil Servants (Other)	15	4
Ex-Security	20	5.3
Ex-Combatants	3	0.8
Ex- Farm workers	4	1.1
Informal sector	24	6.4
Gold panners	5	1.3
Local councils	3	0.8
Pensioners	3	0.8
Parastatals	2	0.6
Private sector (finance)	3	0.8
Private sector (other)	14	3.7
Security ministries	13	3.5
Unemployed	119	53.1
Others	12	3.2
Total	375	100

Source: Zimbabwe Independent Institute (2007)

Based on 375 A1 farmers in five provinces (Manicaland, Mashonaland East, Masvingo, Matabeleland South and Mashonaland West), the Zimbabwe Independent Institute (2007) concludes that, 53.1 percent of the land beneficiaries were previously unemployed. Table 5.6 is consonant with the diversity of scholars who argue that, the majority of the land beneficiaries are 'ordinary', despite ambiguities of defining such a category.

The 2013-2014 household survey by the AIAS indicates that, 85.8 percent of the A1 land beneficiaries did not have any other employment except tending to the land. Of all the A2 land beneficiaries included in that study, 68.7 percent were also previously unemployed. Variation in numbers between the two schemes is partly explained by the fact that, more A2 than A1 farmers are still employed in urban areas, mines and agro-industrial estates. The A2 scheme in the areas covered by the AIAS is dominated by those in the civil service. The civil service is also second highest of the A1 beneficiaries. This finding may justify why some scholars (Marongwe 2009; Scoones *et al.*, 2010) argue that, access to A2 needed political connections that most senior civil servants have.

The study revealed diversity of the land beneficiaries. The 'ordinary' people, war veterans, civil service, farm workers, unspecified groups and so on got land. In these categories, women also got land. Two key aspects that should be understood when using social categories is that, they are not mutually exclusive. In addition, the categories may have been conceptualised and used differently in other studies. In such cases, comparison may be difficult. In such studies, the region (area) and specifics of A1 and A2 schemes, sampling methods, application of the categories, and so forth may be different. However, differences and similarities should be identified to allow for comparisons.

The 'ordinary people' are the highest in getting land. At Whynhill farm, of the 46 land beneficiaries, 45 can be considered ordinary peasants who came from neighbouring communal areas. One (1) former ZANU PF councillor was allocated an A2 farm. At Dalkeith farm, 56 farm workers were allocated land and 79 others who are variedly composed. The 'ordinary' land beneficiaries dominated. However, from the onset, it is important to acknowledge the complexity of conceptualising the 'ordinary' beneficiaries. Accordingly, an understanding of this group had to be established. The ordinary people are those who were farming small plots in the communal areas before coming to the resettlement areas (James, 2015); those with low paying jobs and those on piecemeal jobs including casual labour and gold panning to supplement income (Moyo *et al.*, 2009; James 2015). In Zvimba, in addition to farmers from the communal areas, ordinary people include factory workers, mine workers, domestic workers, mechanics, drivers and so on. Table 5.7 is a broad representation of places of origin drawn from the AIAS Baseline Survey 2005/06 to support the argument that 'ordinary' people dominated in getting land.

Table 5.7: Land beneficiaries' place of origin in 6 districts

Place of origin	Chipinge		Chiredzi		Goromonzi		Kwekwe		Mangwe		Zvimba		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%										
CA this district	125	37.4	82	34.9	132	22.2	122	32.8	71	49.0	116	39.3	684	32.8
CA this province	15	4.5	68	28.9	116	19.5	75	20.2	29	20.0	41	13.9	344	17.4
CA other provinces	4	1.2	15	6.4	109	18.3	60	16.1	5	3.4	42	14.2	235	11.9
LSCF in this district	53	15.9	2	0.9	23	3.9	17	4.6	16	11.0	14	4.7	125	6.3
LSCF this province	6	1.8	-	-	8	1.3	5	1.3	2	1.4	2	0.7	23	1.2
LSCF other provinces	1	0.3	-	-	4	0.7	3	0.8	-	-	3	1.0	11	0.6
Diaspora	1	21.9	1	0.4	4	30.6	1	0.3	-	-	-	-	7	0.4
Urban area	73	13.5	48	20.4	182	2.4	68	18.3	22	15.2	59	20.0	452	22.9
Employment in another area	45	2.4	17	7.2	14	-	11	3.0	-	-	10	3.4	97	4.9
SSCF this district	8	0.6	2	0.9	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	2.7	18	0.9
Growth point	2	0.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	0.1
Old resettlement area	1	0.6	-	-	-	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.1
Mining area	-	-	-	-	3	0.5	10	2.7	-	-	-	-	13	0.7
Total	334	100.0	235	100.0	595	100.0	372	100.0	145	100.0	295	100.0	1976	100.0

Source: AIAS Household Baseline Survey, 2005/06, Household Questionnaire

However, as I argued earlier in this section, social categories are problematic. A farmer who is presented as 'ordinary' but as strong political connections that he or she used to get land may exemplify the non-exclusivity of social categories. Accordingly, Zamchiya (2011) argues that, 'ordinary' people may be very rich in political capital. Farmers also have the agency to manoeuvre within the system to get or maximise their gains. Mkodzongi (2013, p. 941) acknowledges such agency in mineral extraction in Mashonaland West Province of

Zimbabwe where beneficiaries ‘had to be ZANU PF’ to access land for agriculture and artisanal mining opportunities.

The dominance of the ordinary in getting land, despite conceptual differences and complexities, is acknowledged in various studies across Zimbabwe. Moyo *et al* (2009, p. 170) found that, the ordinary group accounted for two-thirds of the land beneficiaries. This figure represents the highest number of people who got land. In that context, Moyo *et al* (2009, p. 173) define the “ordinary group as those having ‘really nothing peculiar’ about them”. In another study, Scoones *et al* (2010, p.53) found that, “70% (constituting the majority), of the land beneficiaries in the A1 scheme, are ordinary”. Ordinary people, in such a context, are those who are not members of other categories, and are largely asset and income poor (James 2015).

5.5.1 Place of origin

Where did the land beneficiaries come from? Place of origin is another dimension of the profile of land beneficiaries upon which the redistributive function of the FTLRP can be interrogated. A character of the fast track land reform is its broader redistribution in terms of place of origin of the land beneficiaries (communal, old resettlements, urban, agro-industrial, and mining areas within and beyond the district or province; and diaspora). I presented the places of origin in Table 5.7 covering all districts. I present statistics for Zvimba district only in Table 5.8. Several scholars cast scholarly scrutiny in the place of origin dimension (Chibwana 2016; Moyo 2004, 2011; Moyo *et al.*, 2009; Matondi 2012; Scoones 2010; 2015; Dekker and Kinsey 1999). The resettlement areas are broadly similar in many respects in relation to social background and areas of origin.

The majority of the ‘settlers’ came from the villages in the former Tribal Trust Lands (TTLs) (Dekker and Kinsey 2011, p. 999). Scoones *et al* (2010, p.53) explain that, “59.9 percent of the beneficiaries in the A1 came from rural areas, and exclusively those from nearby communal areas”. In another context, Moyo *et al* (2009) found that, 65.9 of the A1 beneficiaries came from communal areas. A notable finding is that, most of the land beneficiaries came from the communal areas within the district (Moyo *et al.*, 2009; 2011); Table 5.8 confirms findings by these scholars. Debate rages on the extent to which the FTLRP facilitated decongestion of the communal areas.

Table 5.8 Place of origin of the land beneficiaries in Zvimba district

Place of origin	Zvimba	
	N	%
CA this district	116	39.3
CA this province	41	13.9
CA other provinces	42	14.2
LSCF in this district	14	4.7
LSCF this province	2	0.7
LSCF other provinces	3	1.0
Diaspora	-	-
Urban area	59	20.0
Employment in another area	10	3.4
SSCF this district	8	2.7
Growth point	-	-
Old resettlement area	-	-
Mining area	-	-
Total	295	100.0

Source: AIAS Household Baseline Survey, 2005/06

In Zvimba district, 69 percent (based on my fieldwork), came from the surrounding communal areas, while the other land beneficiaries came from communal areas and old resettlements, urban areas, mines and within the LSCF (the farm workers). This finding confirms the view that, indeed, the majority of those who got land under the FTLRP are the landless, and mainly those who sought to have prime land. In addition to land beneficiaries who came from communal areas such as Chirau, Kasanze and others in Zvimba, some came from other parts of Zimbabwe (Chinhoyi, Karoi, Chegutu, Masvingo, Harare, Bulawayo and so on). Furthermore, in Zvimba, the finding that, most of the land beneficiaries came from communal areas, (revealed by some scholars on Zimbabwe's land reform); and old

resettlements, is a positive indicator that, for most of the land beneficiaries, farming was not new. They were practicing agriculture in places of origin. Moreover, contact with AGRITEX officials is not new, and that, they fully knew why they were resettled – farming.

5.5.2 Farm residency

Residency at the farm was explored by various scholars (Hanlon *et al.*, 2012; Chiweshe 2011; Scoones *et al.*, 2010; Murisa, 2009). Broad statistics drawn from the AIAS 2013/14 Household Baseline Survey on farm residency by scheme facilitate broader understanding of farm residency in post-fast track farms.

Table 5.9: Farm residency by scheme

Residency of plot owner	Settlement type					
	A1		A2		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
On farm	412	87.1	179	61.1	591	77.2
Communal area	4	0.8	6	2.0	10	1.3
Urban area	49	10.4	95	32.4	144	18.8
Diaspora	4	0.8	6	2.0	10	1.3
Other	4	0.8	7	2.4	11	1.4
Total	473	100	293	100	766	100

Source: AIAS Household Survey, 2013/14

Table 5.9 shows that more A1 than A2 land beneficiaries reside on the farm. A1 accounts for 87.1 percent, while in the A2 scheme, 61.1 percent reside on the farm. A higher proportion of A2 land beneficiaries (32.4 percent), stay in urban areas compared to A1 beneficiaries (10.4%). Those staying in urban areas are mainly ‘middle class farmers’ who have a job in town or mines, and come regularly to check progress on the farm. This may be problematic because direct participation and supervision may be erratic.

In seeking to understand the social policy dimensions of the FTLRP, I also delved into farm residency. At the three study sites, I noted that, by residing at the farm, the land beneficiary can directly work on the farm or supervise farm activities at ‘close range’. In addition, the beneficiary who resides at the farm may confirm the argument that, such beneficiaries are ‘ordinary’, and that, it is justified that, they were allocated land. In addition, the same group may not have alternative places to reside. However, not residing at the farm may not mean lack of commitment to farming, although it implies low direct participation in farm activities and supervision - a dimension that may reduce effectiveness. In Zvimba, these are called ‘cellular phone farmers’. These various aspects of farm residency imply that this theme should be critically approached. In all the three farms, there are no absentee land beneficiaries.

5.5.3 Education level, employment status and professions of the land beneficiaries

In the quest to analyse the fast track land reform’s redistributive function, I explored the educational level and professions of the land beneficiaries. I sought to understand the level of education and professions of the land beneficiaries on the basis that, education is essential in comprehending and utilising agricultural research results; technical advice from AGRITEX officers in the wards; information from various sources including radio and television (for example, the *Murimi waNhasi* programme), and newspapers. Table 5.10: shows professions of the land beneficiaries in six (6) districts surveyed by the AIAS.

Table 5.10: Professions of the land beneficiaries in six (6) districts

Employment status	A1		A2		Communal area		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Not currently employed	412	85.8	204	68.7	245	78.5	861	79.1
Private sector managerial	7	1.5	26	8.8	4	1.3	37	3.4
Civil service managerial	23	4.8	32	10.8	6	1.9	61	5.6
Self-employment	7	1.5	12	4.0	19	6.1	38	3.5
Uniformed forces	3	0.6	5	1.7	5	1.6	13	1.2
Private sector skilled	11	2.3	6	2.0	13	4.2	30	2.8
Civil service skilled	10	2.1	8	2.7	8	2.6	26	2.4
Farm worker	4	0.8	2	0.7	4	1.3	10	0.9
Other	2	0.6	0	0	8	2.6	12	1.1
Total	478	100	296	100	312	100	1086	100

Source: AIAS Household survey, 2013/14

Broad data drawn from the AIAS 2013/14 Household baseline survey enhances my analysis of the land beneficiaries' educational level and professions in relation to agriculture. Table 5.10 summarises findings in terms of professions of the land beneficiaries in six (6) districts (including Zvimba). For illustration purposes and focusing specifically on the A1 scheme (in which all the selected farms for the study are located), the Table shows that, some beneficiaries' professions (and level of education) are relevant in understanding and practicing basic agriculture. Civil service managerial, private sector managerial, private sector skilled, uniformed forces and self-employed alongside the unemployed (the majority)

were part of the sample. Important to note is that, even though one is unemployed, s/he may be educated or may have ‘informal education’ that is relevant to irrelevant in agriculture. Of the land beneficiaries in at the Whyndhill, Dalkeith and St Lucia farms, 70 percent have a minimum of secondary education, while 5 percent have tertiary education (college and university); and most originated from communal and old resettlement areas where farming is the main economic activity. These levels of education are useful in comprehending small-scale agriculture in A1 schemes. In addition, prior knowledge and skills can be tapped, and developed for improved farm management. Land use, farm investment and production can improve, especially when other constraints are addressed.

5.5.4 Ages of the land beneficiaries

Age inclusivity is increasingly being used to evaluate development programmes. Focus on age is intended to maximise reproduction of development, and reducing generational inequalities. Inclusive development that has a ‘youth component’ is topical in many scholarly contributions (Kurebwa 2013; 2015, 2017; Chipenda 2018; Kwenje and Sichone 2017); and institutions (for example, UN Youth 2018). However, emphasising youth inclusion do not render elders irrelevant. Youth should ‘champion and own’ development, but they also have a lot to gain from the elders. The age distribution of the land beneficiaries in the three study sites in Zvimba district is shown in Figure 5.1.

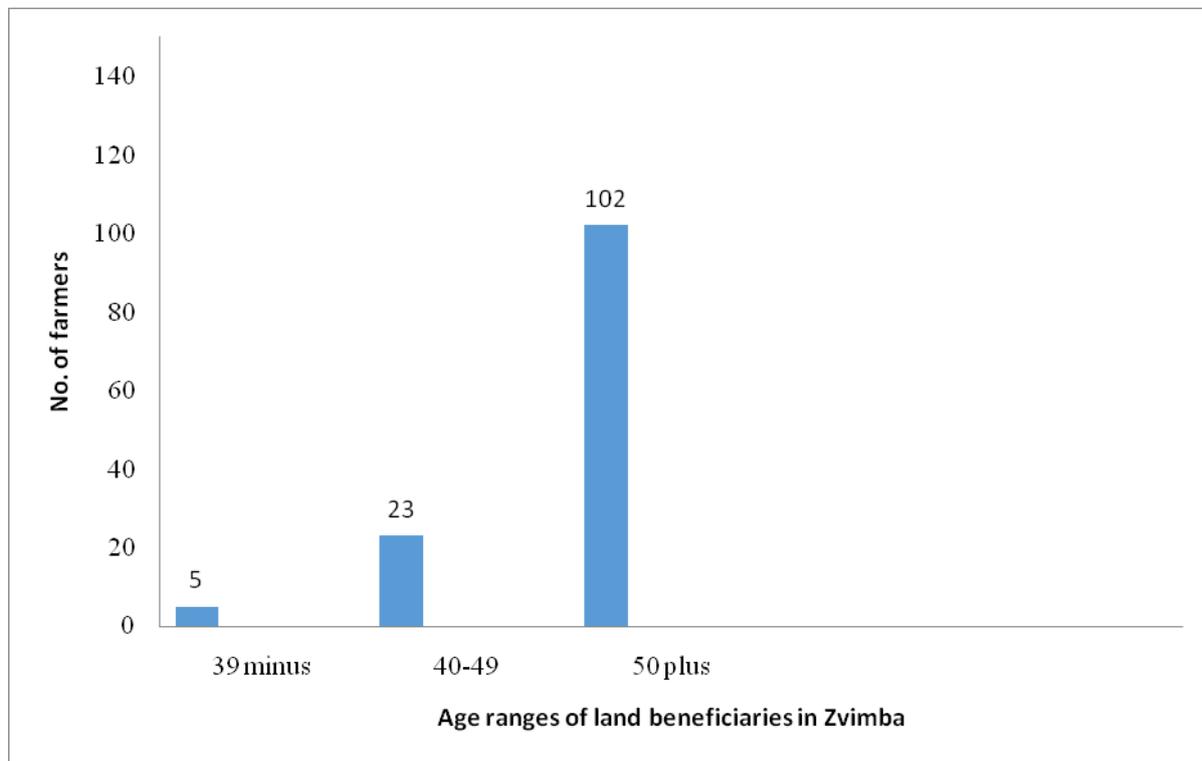


Figure 5.1 Age distribution of the land beneficiaries in the study sites in Zvimba district

Source: Own fieldwork (2015)

In the three study sites, the majority of the ‘formal’ land beneficiaries are aged 50 years or more, signifying that, land is mainly in the hands of the elders. This status quo is a traditional gap in Zimbabwe, and some other African countries where gerontocracy (rule by the elders, especially the men is enduring). Limited ownership of land by the youth in the new agrarian structure has challenges for social reproduction of the households, and the broader spectrum of agricultural activities. Such a status quo is contrary to positive youth development, and creates challenges for attempts to guarantee the future of development through farming. In Chapter 8 (Social Reproduction Outcomes of the FTLRP), I extend analysis of this issue.

Nuanced analysis of the youth gap helped me to understand the diversities of the youth situation. Formally, land may have been redistributed to the elders, mainly men. However, children of the initial land beneficiaries may own the land informally. On retirement of

parents and guardians due to old age and illness; or death of parents, children and youth inherit the land. Youth and children provide for the main labour requirements, especially in the A1 scheme. In another context, parents informally transfer 'land ownership'. Examples include subdivision of the main plot for individual ownership by children, especially sons. I consider subdivision to be 'redistribution of redistributed land'. However, as highlighted by some parent at St Lucia farm, allowing some youth to own land and control production may not be a sound decision because some youth are not interested in farming. Such land may remain idle or rented to other households.

In another context, some households are fully aware of official prescription on land ownership – that, the person stated on the offer letter owns the plot. However, they view land ownership by an individual as inappropriate. For these households, land is owned collectively - men, women, children and the community. This understanding is consonant with Mafeje's (2003) argument that, individual ownership of land is alien to the African context. My central argument, based on field evidence is that, land is held mainly by the elders, with most youth owning land informally or through parents.

5.5.5 Gender and land redistribution

Broadly, gender patterns in the A1 villagised scheme are similar in terms of gender inequality despite their diversity. Across the districts, women also got land, but on unequal footing compared to men. Across all farms included in the study, few women got land formally (in their own right). Some only owned land after the death of the husband or parents. Table 5.11 shows the gender disaggregation in land ownership at Dalkeith and Whynhill farms.

Table 5.11: Gender disaggregation of land ownership at Dalkeith and Whynhill farms

Name of farm	Number of land beneficiaries	Number of female beneficiaries
Whynhill	46	9
Dalkeith	135*	8
Total	181	17

*There are 79 A1 plots at Dalkeith. However, 56 farm workers were allocated 0.3 hectares making the number of land beneficiaries 135.

Source: Own fieldwork (2015)

At a broader level, the marital status of land beneficiaries in Zvimba district show similar tendencies of gender inequality. Table 5.12 summarises the marital status of the land beneficiaries in two districts (Zvimba and Goromonzi) according to the AIAS Baseline Survey in 2005/06.

Table 5.12: Marital status of the land beneficiaries in Zvimba and Goromonzi districts

Plot owner	Marital status	Goromonzi						Zvimba						Grand total	
		A1		A2		Total		A1		A2		Total		No.	%
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%		
Male	Married	399	94.5	63	92.6	462	94.3	140	87.0	64	87.7	204	87.2	666	92.0
	Single	13	3.1	3	4.4	16	3.3	13	8.1	7	9.6	20	8.5	36	5.0
	Divorced	5	1.2	1	1.5	6	1.2	5	3.1	-	-	5	2.1	11	1.5
	Widowed	5	1.2	1	1.5	6	1.2	3	1.9	2	2.7	5	2.1	11	1.5
	Total	422		68		490		161		73		234		724	
Female	Married	69	59.5	4	57.1	73	59.3	29	59.2	15	65.2	44	61.1	117	60.0
	Single	8	6.9	-	-	8	6.5	3	6.1	-	-	3	4.2	11	5.6
	Divorced	7	6.0	1	14.3	8	6.5	4	8.2	3	13.0	7	9.7	15	7.7
	Widowed	32	27.6	2	28.6	34	27.6	13	26.5	5	21.7	18	25.0	52	26.6
	Total	116		7		123		49		23		72		195	

Source: AIAS Household Baseline Survey, Household questionnaire, N=1003, Goromonzi=695, Zvimba=308

*AIAS focused on both Zvimba and Goromonzi but my focus is on Zvimba district

Tables 5.11 (specifically on my study sites), and 5.12 indicate a low number of women who benefited from the FTLRP directly. The later Table shows that, in Zvimba district, few single,

divorced and widowed women got land under the A1 scheme, compared to married women in the same scheme. Murisa (2009) also noted gender inequalities in formal land allocations in the district. Overall, in all the districts, more men than women were formally allocated land. These statistics lead to gender questions in Zimbabwe's FTLRP. However, I interrogated gender inequalities beyond mere statistics by seeking the views of the land beneficiaries.

In the case of Whynhill farm where people from the communal areas of Zvimba and Banket town initially informally occupied the farm, the initial occupants were men. Women were left behind in communal areas and towns. This initial occupation was considered a war (hence, the use of the term *Jambanja*). Women and children had to be left home where they were safe. Moreover, as a result of the fast track character of the land reform, inheritance of land where beneficiaries are customarily married, or in polygamous marriages (noted at St Lucia, Dalkeith and Whynhill farm), could not be addressed in advance (for example, incorporation into permits and leases). These remain thorny issues in the study sites, and gender specialists reiterate the need to rework laws pertaining to gender laws (Chingarande, Mugabe, Kujinga and Magaisa 2012; Chingarande 2008, p. 292; Ndoro 2006, p. 4).

The chiefs played a central role in the identification of potential land beneficiaries. For example, Chief Matibiri-Magaramombe of Zvimba identified the potential beneficiaries whose names were submitted to the District Land Committee (DLC). The selection is suspect, given that, he (the chief) operates within the framework of customary law. This framework put men first in all core development, supports male dominance in all spheres of life. A critique of such biases is also done by other scholars (Chingarande 2008; Ndoro 2006). The female participants across the study sites raised their increasing need for land as a socioeconomic resource, particularly due to increasing number of female-headed households as result of HIV and AIDS; and rising unemployment and macroeconomic underperformance

that is leading to deepening poverty. Such concerns indicate the centrality of land as a productive, reproductive and social protection instrument as emphasised in TSP.

Inequalities in land ownership are experienced against a background where women, in the majority of cases, contribute more in working the land. They are marginalised not only in land but also in distribution of the benefits from the land; and most women may live in uncertainty when their husbands and parents die. Important to note is that, prior to the fast track land reform, the Women and Land Lobby Group (WLLG), “had lobbied the government to ensure that a specific quota of 20 percent of land for resettlement be reserved for women” (Chari 1999, p. 3). However, the lobbying did not translate into policy although it remains important in evaluating the gender inclusiveness of the FTLRP (Chingarande 2004, 2008; Ndoro 2006).

Rather than restricting the interrogation to how much land was allocated to women, I also focused on the qualitative characteristics of access to land, particularly variations between the land rights of women in communal areas and the new resettlement (fast track resettlement). I found out that, there are notable qualitative differences between the two. Both the permit system in A1 and lease system in A2 provide land rights to women. In cases of married couples, the permit system should bear the names of both. If the need to dispose the permit arises, written consent of the other spouse is required for the disposal to be legally valid. These are vital provisions. However, I also noted thorny areas primarily those relating to inheritance for those married under customary arrangement, and those in polygamous marriages. The provision is that; inheritance should be administered under the prevailing inheritance laws in Zimbabwe. These, however, do not sufficiently protect the rights of women married under customary law; and recognise marriages enforced by statutory law.

How land is to be inherited by women in polygamous marriage is not addressed in such legal provisions. Such gaps should be addressed through land policy.

Inequalities in accessing, and benefiting from the land pertaining to gender and other key resources exist. This area has received significant scholarly attention. A corpus of literature exists on gender composition of the land beneficiaries and gender dynamics that emerged after the FTLRP (Mutopo 2011; Gaidzanwa 1985, 1994, 2011; O’Laughlin 2009; Goebel 2005; Hellum 2004; Roth and Gonese 2003; Tsikata 2003). Broadly, opportunities for women’s in owning land are low. Skewed access also applies to other key resources. Gender inequalities, with women on the lower side, have been part of social relations in Zimbabwe in pre-colonial era yet, others were created or entrenched through colonialism. Patriarchy has emerged and re-emerged as the ‘winner’. However, globally, significant changes are occurring in relation to gender, although in some cases, change is constrained.

Several scholars report different levels of inequality, inclusion and exclusion of women (Mutopo 2011; Derman and Hellum 2004; Mazhawidza and Manjengwa 2011). Mutopo (2011) reports that, rural women face exclusion particularly from different political and traditional regimes that control land despite their major contribution to food production. Murisa (2009) notes that, women, mostly those from urban areas were discriminated against on political, social and economic grounds in land reform. Gender inequality in getting land in the FTLRP is confirmed by the Utete Report (2003, p. 40), noting that, “18 percent of the land beneficiaries under the FTLRP are women”. This is a composite figure representing women in both A1 and A2 schemes. On the same theme, Gaidzanwa (2011) notes that, 12 to 22 percent of the settlers under the FTLRP in various provinces are women.

The gender dimension is also captured by various other prime scholars on Zimbabwe's land reform. Moyo (2011b) focusing at national level reports that, 14 percent of women got land; while in Mazowe district, 14 percent of the land beneficiaries are women (Matondi 2012). Scoones *et al* (2010, p. 55) report that, "women constituted 14 percent and 8 percent of A1 and A2 respectively". In my study area, Zvimba district, A1 and A2 schemes are constituted by 25 percent and 22 percent female land beneficiaries respectively. Associated with gender inequality in land ownership, are land use and farm use decisions (control of produce and income, and many other aspects). A crucial example is redistribution of redistributed land through subdivision of the main plot to create a portion for the wife or wives for productive purposes. Such a subdivision for the wife is called a *tseu/tsewu* in Shona.

The *tseu/tsewu* is a vital dimension of interrogating gender issues in agriculture in fast track farms or communal areas. Several scholars focused on the *tseu* (Mutopo 2011; Scoones *et al.*, 2010, p. 95; Bourdillon 1982). The scholars acknowledge that, the *tseu/tsewu* allows women to have access to the land, produce own crops and contribute to household food requirements; and to sell surplus for income or exchange for goods. In Zvimba, the *tseu/tsewu* brought out several areas of concern. Women may 'own' land informally through access to the *tseu/tsewu*. The *tseu* falls within the main plot owned and controlled by men. This subdivision also implies increased burden of women in providing labour (in the *tseu/tsewu* and main plot). Utilising the *tseu*, the women produce mainly food crops for the household. Even if there is excess, the crops do not fetch better value (unlike cash crops). Empowerment through the *tseu* may be questionable. I explore the *tseu/tsewu* in Chapter 8 (Social Reproduction Outcomes of the FTLRP).

5.6 Broader Redistribution of Natural Resources Appended to the Land in Zvimba District

The fast track land reform did not only achieve major land redistribution outcomes; but also ushered a new era of broader access to natural resources appended to the land, such as minerals, water bodies, forests and wild animals (Chipenda 2018, 2019; Mkodzongi 2013). I had keen interest in understanding access to natural resource endowments other than land because these are a critical factor in interrogating redistributive outcomes of the FTLRP, and any other land reform. Moreover, how these natural resources are utilised and managed in Zvimba district is important in sustainability considerations (which is also a topical theme in social policy). Analysis of access to natural resources crosscuts the other TSP functions (social protection, reproduction and cohesion). In Chapters 7, 8 and 9 respectively, I address these outcomes of the FTLRP in relation to these functions.

In Zvimba district, the FTLRP had redistributive outcomes beyond prime land. Fauna and flora appended to the land were also redistributed in the process on a wider scale. Such natural resources include game (guinea fowls, rabbits, impala, warthog), particularly in the early phase of occupation; woodlands (for wild fruits, wild mushrooms, timber, wood); plants with medicinal attributes (for example *gavakava*); and minerals, especially gold. Some land beneficiaries in the three farms also practice alluvial gold panning, known locally as *chikorokoza*. Other scholars (Chipenda 2018; Mkodzongi 2013; James 2015; Moyo *et al.*, 2009), documented these findings based on other fast track sites.

The programme created opportunities and challenges to natural resource utilisation and management; especially as natural resources relate to social protection diversification and innovation, and social cohesion. I address social cohesion issues beyond natural resources in Chapter 9. I captured the issues and diversity in the following extracts from data gathered.

As you obviously noticed, we no longer have forests in this area. In early years of occupation, most farms had thick forests and wild animals, especially diverse birds, rabbits, impala, warthog However, the tree population is declining mainly due to tobacco farmers who do not have alternative forms of energy to cure tobacco. These are the majority and even some A2 farmers are resorting to firewood to cure tobacco. Containing over-exploitation of forests is difficult because of mobility constraints and the local traditional leadership that should helping us to enforce environmental laws are part of the farmers. They are also committing the offence therefore, cannot be strict in their conduct (Key informant interview with EMA01 - Environmental Management Agency officer, 19/10/15).

Natural resources, especially forests or water within or near a beneficiary's plot are a source of conflict. Some groups are labelled poachers especially those from the communal areas, farm workers and neighbours. Conflicts may escalate to the extent that the village head and elders have to intervene (Indepth interview with vaKamudyariwa at St Lucia farm, 1/08/15).

Natural resources are a source of living. Women harvest mushroom, grass and natural fruits for household use and for sale while mostly men engage in gold panning and forest logging for commercial purposes. However, income is seasonal, except for gold panning, which may also be problematic - dangerous due to injury, arrests by ZRP and infighting among *makorokoza*. Some, although very few, no longer prioritise farming (Focused Group Discussion at Whyhill farm, 3/07/15).

These excerpts show that, the majority can now access various natural resources. Indeed, the fast track land reform has paved way for diversification of livelihoods through broader access to natural resources. In the process of redistributing land, other natural resources were also redistributed. Options for social protection through use of natural resources have also been broadened. However, there are various problems attached to extraction of natural resources, unregulated utilisation being the main problem. This raises environmental protection concerns. In addition, some land beneficiaries (few based on the excerpt), have shifted focus from farming to natural resources extraction implying that, alternative economic activities, especially gold panning is viable than agriculture.

5.7 Conclusion

I focused on the redistributive outcomes of the FTLRP, and argued that, land redistribution is a major outcome in Zvimba district. Unlike a general focus on land redistribution (and that of land-attended natural resources), I situated such redistribution within the lenses of social policy. My central argument is that, the redistributive outcomes of the fast track land reform are diverse and defies a single conclusion. At national level, land redistribution led to the transformation of the agrarian structure from bimodal to tri-modal arrangement. The fast track land reform led to resettlement of 180 000 black families (170 000 under A1 scheme and 10 000 in A2 scheme). The land beneficiaries either accessed land informally (especially in early stages when land invasions were led by war veterans and traditional leaders), or formally (led by the government). However, in Zvimba district, the majority of the land beneficiaries were formally allocated land and have appropriate documents pertaining to the land they are occupying. Other farming modes (transnational agro estates) persist in Zimbabwe after the fast track land reform. Overall, a broad peasantry has been created.

Despite contestations and problematics associated with social categories, broader conjecture is on the conclusion that the ‘ordinary’ people dominated in accessing land. These include the generality of the civil service, former farm workers, factory and mine workers, and people from communal areas and old resettlements. In addition to these beneficiaries, are war veterans, senior government officials, prominent politicians and business persons. This refutes the claim that ‘elites’ had monopoly in owning land under fast track land reform. However, this alternative explanation should not be rejected outright, particularly if it is based on grounded evidence. Profiles of the land beneficiaries however, depict broader land redistribution, which may imply potential for broader wellbeing.

I also explored access to land in relation to gender and youth. While not discrediting broader redistribution, I noted that more men than women own land. At Whyhill farm, 9 women formally own land compared to 37 men while at Dalkeith farm, the numbers are 8 and 127. At national level 13-22 percent of the land beneficiaries are women, with the rest of the women accessing land through their husbands and fathers. I conclude that, this is a manifestation of reproduction of patriarchy and inequality. An interesting dimension of cultural reproduction discussed in the redistributive outcome is the practice of subdividing the main plot to cater for a portion for the wife or wives (*tseu/tsewu*). I argued that, the *tseu/tsewu* is false women empowerment. The women are overburdened through providing labour in the *tseu/tsewu*, the main plot and fulfilling household chores. Moreover, the produce from the *tseu/tsewu* is mainly used for household consumption. Even though surplus may be sold, the income derived is mainly used to meet household needs or to purchase household property.

In relation to the youth, I noted an age bias. Most of the formal land beneficiaries are aged 50 years and above. I argued that, despite the youth having participated in informal land occupations alongside war veterans before formalisation; and being the main source of farm labour, few got land in their own right. This bias is evident in contemporary farms, with the youth accessing land through parents and guardians or being 'informal land owners'. Low land ownership by youth also raise social reproduction challenges. However, the situation of the youth defies a simplistic approach. Nuanced interrogation is essential to understand diversity and dynamism.

I also focused on farm residency and absentee land beneficiaries. At Dalkeith, Whyhill and St Lucia farms, most land beneficiaries, especially under the villagised scheme (A1), are resident at the farm. They are carrying out various agricultural activities, although under

several production and marketing constraints. This refutes rampant claims that, most land beneficiaries are not practicing agriculture, and that they are merely holding land for speculative purposes. However, some land beneficiaries may be holding land for speculative reasons. Furthermore, I explored redistribution of natural resources appended to the land (fauna and flora); and argued that, unlike in the pre-FTLRP era, access to natural resources has increased. Both opportunities and problems were emphasised. Extraction and sale of natural resources is a major alternative livelihood source in the three fast track farms. However, uncontrolled use of forests, especially as a source of firewood for curing tobacco; and gold panning, are threats to sustainability of the same. Despite diverse challenges noted, the fast track land reform transformed the bimodal agrarian structure to a bimodal arrangement. In the process of broadly redistributing land, natural resources appended to the land were also distributed. In the next chapter, I focus on land use and production outcomes of the FTLRP.

Chapter Six: Land Use and Production Outcomes

The poor are not poor because they are poor, but because they are socially deprived, that is, they can help themselves if someone somewhere in society can help them to do so (Mafeje 2003).

6.1 Introduction

The chapter specifically focuses on interrogation of the transformative role of the FTLRP in Zvimba district in terms of land use and production. Considering that, a new agrarian structure was created after broader redistribution of land to hitherto excluded groups, how the land beneficiaries are performing pertaining to land use and production is a core social policy consideration. I prioritise both positive and negative outcomes; opportunities and challenges; prospects and suggestions for enhancing land use and production outcomes, especially those suggested by people involved in land use and agricultural production. I reveal several critical aspects of land use and production in the aftermath of the FTLRP whose understanding, and conclusions thereof require a rigorous and nuanced interrogation from a social policy perspective. The chapter is constituted by seven sections.

In the first section, I explore insights on land use and production after the fast track land reform. However, for an appropriate interrogation to be made, land use and production before the FTLRP should be established. In Chapter 2, I specifically provided detail on land use and production at the three farms (Whynhill, Dalkeith and St Lucia). In this section, I explain that, land use has not changed much after the fast track because almost the same crops and livestock are being produced. However, the scale of production of major crops has radically dwindled, although in recent years, production is picking. Horticulture and production of livestock for dairy and beef have radically declined in the aftermath of the fast track land reform. I also argue that, prior to the FTLRP, many white large-scale commercial farmers produced high value agricultural commodities, mainly to serve the export market; while the majority of the black smallholder farmers have, and continue to produce mainly food crops

for consumption Excess produce is sold to the Grain Marketing Board (GMB), other households (within A1 farms or in communal areas); and private buyers (both individual or corporate, for commercial purposes).

I also explain that, prior to the fast track land reform, the production of commercial crops was not a preserve for the white large-scale commercial farmers (although they dominated). The smallholder farmers also grew commercial crops (cotton and tobacco), but at a lower scale. In this section, I conclude that, new farmers (smallholder farmers), should not be assessed strictly from the lenses of the old order. Such an approach would be problematic. The crux of my argument is that, different resource base, agricultural infrastructure and assets, agricultural methods, technical knowledge, value chains and so forth – all influencing productive capacity and accumulation, are different for farmers in the bimodal (old), and trimodal (new) agrarian structures.

In the second section, I examine production outcomes of major crops and livestock; and bring out variations in the production levels and patterns. I focus on maize, tobacco and cotton (major crops); and cattle (major livestock). Based on the three farms, I present evidence of diversity and dynamism in production trends of major crops and livestock. A general trend of decline in agricultural production has been a key feature of the aftermath of the FTLRP, particularly in the early years of occupation. I take note of differential impact of the FTLRP on agricultural commodities since 2000. The trends in Zvimba district in the early years of occupation are confirmed at national level. Other scholars reported that, despite variations according to crop and livestock under consideration and diversity of agro-ecological region, agricultural production has soared since occupation of the LSCF. I conclude that, in recent years, agricultural production is increasing across the farms yet, diversity exist in terms of

crops, area, individual capabilities to source inputs and utilise land, and so forth. A mono conclusion should therefore, not be attached on all crops and livestock.

In the third section, I focus on gender disaggregation in crop production. Generally, crops grown include maize, tobacco, groundnuts, roundnuts, sunflowers and sorghum. Field evidence shows that, maize straddles all genders, while tobacco is mainly a male crop. Female-headed households that grow tobacco have, or hire male labour. The difference mainly stems from the labour-intensive character of tobacco production. I included interrogation of the *tseu* (a portion in the main farm subdivided for the wife or wives for crop production). I conclude that, even though the *tseu* may be considered as an empowerment initiative, working on both this subdivision and the main farm increases labour provision burden on women. In addition, the *tseu* is often used to produce food crops for the household. Even if excess is sold, the market value of food crops may be low compared to commercial crops that are dominated by men. The *tseu* is therefore contested.

I analyse livestock production and production constraints in the fourth and fifth sections. My central argument is that, both livestock and crop production are riddled with production constraints. Shortage, and in some cases exorbitant prices of agricultural inputs and equipment is the major and enduring production constraint. The land beneficiaries in Zvimba are receiving limited support from the government, NGOs and other organisations. Accordingly, much of the recorded achievements emanate from the land beneficiaries' initiatives. In the sixth section, I interrogate contract farming from the perspective of the contracting companies, and the land beneficiaries. I argue that, production constraints (particularly shortage, unavailability of inputs or high prices of these), are the main drivers for joining contract farming. Most views from the field show that, contract farming is

exploitative. The seventh section is the conclusion where I summarise the main findings and take a position.

From these introductory remarks, it is important to clarify that, assessing land use and agricultural production after the fast track land reform is not new. Several scholars and institutions contributed to grounded analysis of land use and agricultural production in the after the FTLRP (James 2015; Mkodzongi 2013; Hanlon *et al.*, 2012; Binswanger-Mkhize and Moyo 2012; Zikhali 2012; Moyo 2011a, 2011b; Chambati 2011, Scoones *et al.*, 2010; Moyo *et al.*, 2009; AIAS 2013/14; AMID 2012a, 2012b). These contributions are crucial in the pursuit of nuanced understanding and appropriately informing policy, particularly against a backdrop of intense commentaries on land use and production that are not grounded on empirical evidence (Dore 2013; Tupy 2007). In this chapter, I contribute to nuanced understanding of land use and production outcomes after the fast track land reform by incorporating TSP conceptual lenses.

6.2 Insights on Land Use Patterns and Production Prior and After the FTLRP

Before I focus on production outcomes pertaining to main crops and livestock, brief insights on land use patterns and production before and after the FTLRP are essential. Prior to the FTLRP, the production of maize and other cereals dominated land use patterns in Zvimba's communal areas, old resettlements, and large-scale and small-scale commercial farms. The fieldwork also revealed that, in addition to maize production, white large-scale commercial farmers also produced wheat, soya beans and flue-cured tobacco. Although livestock production for dairy and beef cut across the communal areas, large-scale and small-scale commercial farms, this agricultural activity was more dominant among the large-scale commercial farms. Both crop and livestock production thrive well in Zvimba, which falls in NRIIA. During Zimbabwe's economic reforms in the 1990s, a significant shift towards

horticultural crops (onions, carrots, tomatoes, cabbages, tomatoes and rape), for export business took place in Zvimba district (Interview with AGRITEX officer, May 2015). These voices from the field are consonant with findings by Murisa (2009) in Zvimba, and several scholars who focused on diverse sites in Zimbabwe (Muir 1994; Moyo *et al.*, 2009).

No significant change in land use patterns in the district were noted or reported, but major decline in all key crops were reported. Several scholars noted that, the production of all the three major crops - wheat, tobacco and maize since resettlement were widely reported (Binswanger-Mkhize and Moyo 2012; Murisa 2009). Current horticultural farmers are still producing carrots, cabbages, tomatoes, rape, potatoes, peas and onions, but unlike the large-scale commercial farmers, they are now using low technology and minimum infrastructure on low portions; and are solely targeting the local market. In addition, production and quality of produce are low. Non-penetration of the export market indicates loss of foreign currency earning. These sentiments were corroborated by several scholars (James 2015; Zikhali 2012; Moyo 2013).

As noted by Helliker (2011), the fast track land reform is a contested terrain. Land use and production are examples of such contested themes in Zimbabwe's land reform. Broadly, some scholars argue that, agricultural production and food security declined critically while others focus on progressive outcomes and successful livelihoods. Empirical evidence on production outcomes is vital in informing formulation and implementation of social policy. Several scholars and institutions provided empirical evidence on production (Hanlon *et al.*, 2012; Binswanger-Mkhize and Moyo 2012; Zikhali 2012, Moyo 2011a, 2011b; Chambati 2011; Scoones *et al.*, 2010; AMID 2012a, 2012b). Providing empirical evidence is a core goal of this thesis to avoid gross generalisation and misdirecting policy.

I interrogated land use by focusing on self-comparison of households in the A1 scheme. Households claimed to have cultivated significantly more land particularly after 2008 than they cultivated in communal areas because they were more settled on the farm, coupled with economic stability after the 2008 economic decline. I considered the claims valid considering that, communal areas have less land. Beyond claims, empirical evidence supporting high land use in other study sites is available. James (2015) conducted a comparative study of new resettlements, old resettlements and communal in Shamva district on average land utilisation; and noted that, A1 households used much more land in 2011-2012 than their counterparts in communal areas. In that case, most A1 farmers used 3 hectares in the 2011/2012 agricultural season, compared to 2 hectares in old resettlement areas, and between 0.4 and 0.8 in communal areas. However, caution is important because some land beneficiaries may exaggerate land use (and production), to portray an image of being progressive than their counterparts in communal areas. Some new farmers in Mazowe, Shamva and Mangwe study sites were simulating land use in order to avoid eviction (Matondi 2013).

Evidence suggesting the contrary (low land use) is widely documented. Just over 20 percent of the new farmers failed to even use half of their land in the 2011/2012 agricultural season (James 2015). In other study sites, Moyo *et al* (2009) and Dekker and Kinsey (2011) report low land utilisation in A1 resettlements compared to communal areas. Moreover, Matondi (2013) argues that, land use has not yet reached optimum levels. Even if claims of using more land in my three study sites are valid, differences exist between the beneficiaries within and between villages. Broad-stroke discussions of land-use patterns should therefore, be avoided. This argument is corroborated by other scholars (Mkodzongi 2013a; Scoones *et al.*, 2010 and Moyo *et al.*, 2009).

Analysis of low land utilisation and productivity created opportunities for gathering contextual meanings in the three study sites. Land underutilisation was linked to general shortage, or exorbitant prices of inputs. I explore these later in this chapter under production constraints. Moreover, some land beneficiaries brought out what researchers may assume to be low land utilisation emanating from subdivision of the plot amongst family members. Yet others land beneficiaries revealed renting out land to generate income or to get assets. I had not considered these facets in the preliminary stages of fieldwork. The land beneficiaries brought to my attention that, when reporting land use or crop production; how land is used and the resultant production in other subdivisions or rented out land is not reported. A focused group discussion at Dalkeith farm, and various other interactions elsewhere in the study sites brought out these facets.

Here at Dalkeith, some of Barret's former farm workers and other families are producing more and need more land. Some families rent out portions of their plots in return for part of the produce or an agreed amount of money at the end of every season. If you were to ask them how much they produced in a season, they may or may not include output from rented land (Focused Group Discussion at Dalkeith, 24/07/15).

There are four owners of this plot - myself and my wife, and three of our sons. I informally allocated them portions. We have a main field for maize and tobacco production and separate portions for tobacco production. All their tobacco produce is sold through my name because they do not have grower's numbers. Zimbabwe Leaf Tobacco knows me, not them (Informal interaction and questioning - SLB31 at St Lucia farm, 30/08/15).

These facets brought out interesting aspects of land use and production while simultaneously complicating the picture. I understood much clearer through these interactions the biases that may have been introduced in questionnaire responses (deliberately or not). A farmer report only his or her land utilisation and production levels, not the total, including that of internal subdivisions or of the tenants. Accounting for land use and production is not as simple as I thought.

I revealed several crucial aspects pertaining to production that are worth exploring within and beyond this thesis. Using land for agricultural production and increasing productivity are not priorities for all the land beneficiaries. Some beneficiaries sought land to establish a home (*musha*) for their children and grandchildren. Participating in land invasions or applying for formal allocation was done to secure social endowments for one's children and generations to come, as noted in some indepth interviews and FGDs:

I applied for land in 2002 to get a place to build a home which is culturally correct among the Shona and Ndebele. I did not own a place in both rural and urban areas. The reform (FTLR) helped me to get a place for establishing a *musha* for my family and property for inheritance for my children and grandchildren (Indepth interview at St Lucia farm with an A1 land beneficiary, 10/06/15).

At Whynhill farm:

I was growing older and older in my original rural area in Chinhoyi where I stayed at a small portion allocated to me by my parents. It was too small and I had to seek land to build a home. The fast track land reform provided an opportunity for this achievement (Informal interaction with a land beneficiary at Whynhill farm, 12/07/15).

I worked at Mazowe Gold Mine for many years. My parents were from Malawi and we did not have a place of ours *kumusha*. I did not manage to establish one either because of the meagre earnings. Am already in my early 50s. My family was insecure in the event of loss of loss of employment and retirement. I moved to Dalkeith farm for a place to build a home first and agricultural purposes later (indepth interview with Mr. Gora at Dalkeith farm, 22/08/15).

Yet in another case at Dalkeith farm:

I used to live with my parents in the old resettlements. Farming has always been our economic activity - a source of food, income and prosperity. I needed land for farming (Indepth interview with DLB79, an A1 farmer at Dalkeith farm, 1/08/15).

Interaction with land beneficiaries through indepth interviews, FGDs and informal conversations in the three study sites revealed that, not everyone accessed land did so for

agricultural production. Accordingly, considering everyone who got land under the FTLRP as a farmer; and expecting all to increase production and contribute to the GDP is faulty. Drawing from Mafeje (2003), for the indigenous Africans, the land is not only an economic resource for production. The land is also a social endowment that is in principle inalienable and transcends time. However, later in this chapter, I acknowledge diversity in land use and production by focusing on major crops and livestock.

Trends in production have been widely documented with scholars and institutions acknowledging major declines (mainly in the short-term); and causes of declines and improvements in the long-term (Hanlon *et al.*, 2012; Binswanger-Mkhize and Moyo 2012; Zikhali *et al.*, 2012; Moyo 2011; Fox *et al.*, 2007; Chambati, 2011; Zimbabwe Ministry of Finance 2011; European Union 2012). While production levels plunged in the short-term, they are gradually increasing (Zikhali 2012; Binswanger-Mkhize and Moyo, 2012; Fox *et al.*, 2007). In 2102, the agricultural season witnessed the decline of most crops falling by 40 percent below the averages in the 1990s. However, from 2009, the levels are gradually increasing with the agricultural sector growing by about 21 percent in 2001, 33.9 percent in 2010 and 7.4 percent in 2011 (European Union 2012; Zimbabwe Ministry of Finance 2011). Production outcomes can fully be appreciated after a generation (Zikhali *et al.*, 2012). In just a decade, the smallholder farmers have caught up to the production of the white farmers, and production can be expected to develop significantly in the next decade (Hanlon *et al.*, 2012). Improvement in production levels is commendable; and view that, production outcomes require longer time to be appreciated stands clear.

In attempting to capture the ‘situated realities’, I explored the voices from the field on the causes of declines in production. Both internal (endogenous) and external (exogenous) factors were raised. These include; lag time as the land beneficiaries settled in and adapted,

unavailability or exorbitant prices of agricultural inputs, inadequate or unavailability of farm equipment and infrastructure and drought. These topped the list. However, in this section I focus on drought, and address other production constraints later in the chapter. Figure 6.1 shows land beneficiaries' crops affected by drought by district. Zvimba district is second highest (with 77 percent) and Kwekwe district (with 84.5 percent) was the hardest hit.

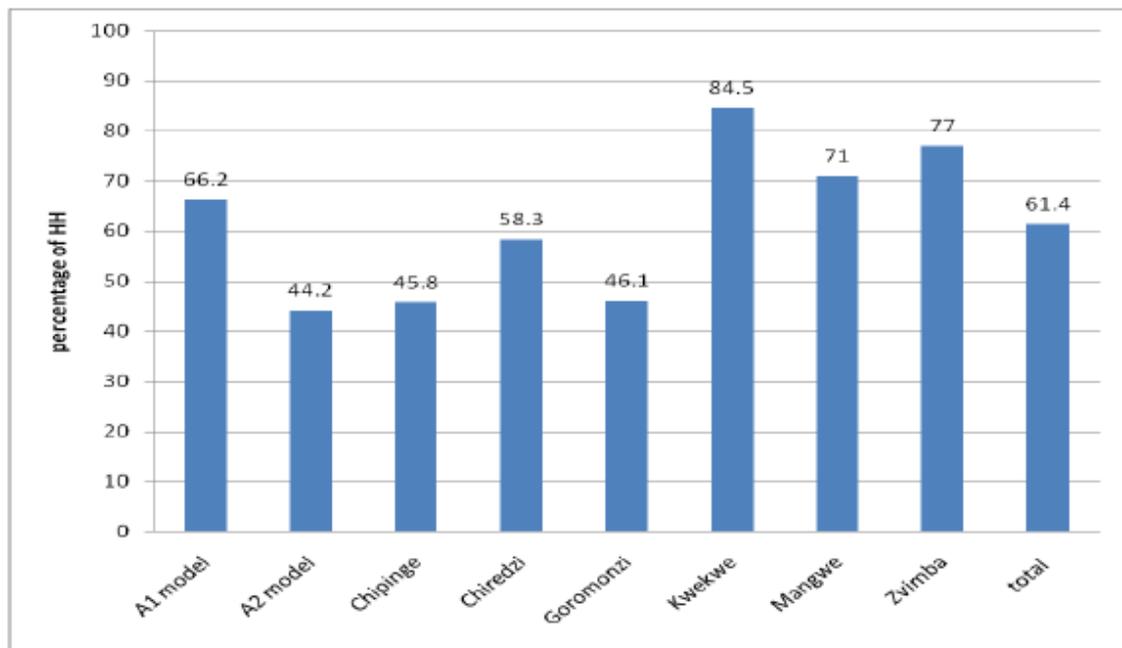


Figure 6.1: Land beneficiaries' crops affected by drought

Source: AIAS Baseline Household Survey, 2013/14

Figure 6.1 reveals a crucial dimension worth focusing on in agricultural policy. Failure to cope with drought point to unavailability and inadequacy of irrigation equipment and water management systems in Zvimba district, and other districts. Were these available, sufficient and fully utilised, production would not significantly decline in drought years. Droughts categorisation (meteorological, hydrological, agriculture and socioeconomic) (Wilthe and Glantz 1985), should also be infused in the interrogation. The first and third categories mainly affect Zimbabwe. For example, an agricultural deficit of approximately 45 percent in maize occurred in 2012 and approximately 1.4 million Zimbabweans were food insecure

(FDI Global Food and water Research Programme 2012). Earlier in the 1992/1993 agricultural season, the production of maize fell by 75 percent; and the majority had to rely on food aid, and more than 1 million cattle died. Drought seems to be a problem for now and the future. Figure 6.2 is an assessment of rainfall patterns by the Meteorological Office of Zimbabwe (2009) from 1950 to 2008. The Fig. shows volatility and general decline of rainfall amounts received in Zimbabwe, raising investment in irrigation, and effective water management for agricultural purposes to be key priorities.

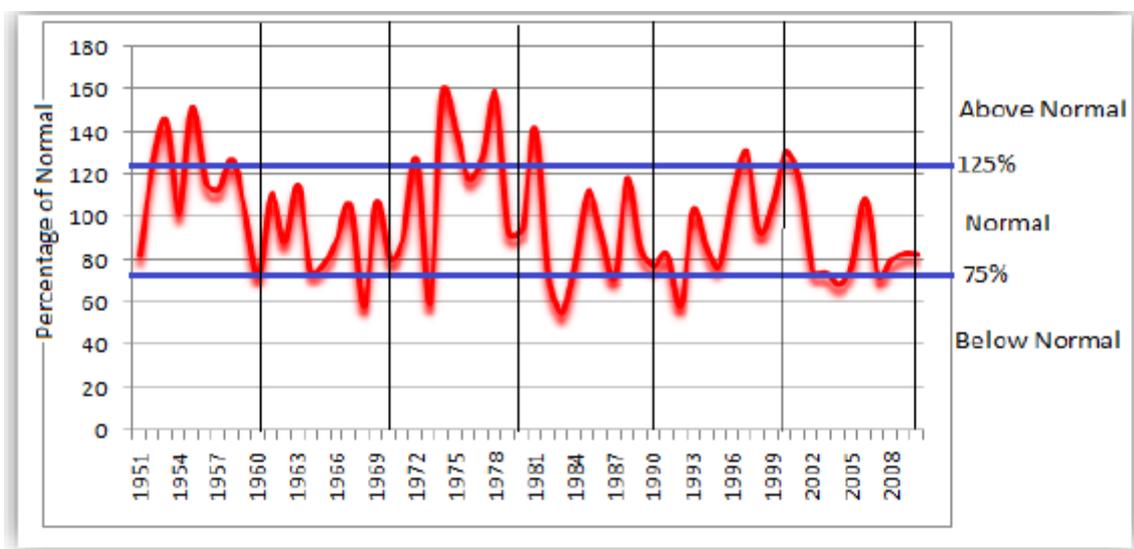


Figure 6.2: Time series showing extreme rainfall years in Zimbabwe

Source: Meteorological Office of Zimbabwe (2009)

Prospects for increasing production levels are high due to various factors (farmers have settled and adapted to the new context; they are accumulating farm equipment and income; use of irrigation is increasing though still low; and attempts to provide agro-related state support are increasing) (Hanlon *et al.*, 2012; Moyo 2011; Chambati 2011). Having highlighted some insights on land use and production, in the next section, I focus on production trends of key crops.

6.3 Production Outcomes of Major Crops

As I presented in the highlights on land use and production section, in Zimbabwe, agriculture is mainly hinged on crop production. This applies to the new resettlement areas, old resettlements and communal areas. In the early years of occupation, agricultural production declined tremendously leading to adverse ripple effects on other sectors of the economy. Such declines led some scholars to label this phase a ‘collapse’ of Zimbabwe (Richardson 2004 in James 2015). However, Moyo (2004, p. 7), argues that the FTLRP affected the major crops (wheat, tobacco, soya beans and sunflower), and livestock differently; while Hanlon *et al* (2012), Zikhali *et al* (2012), Scoones *et al* (2010) and others provide evidence of steady increases in agricultural production. However, in Zvimba district, all the major crops suffered in terms of both area cultivated, and output. At national level, these declines led to mounting food insecurity in the country. Output decline mainly resulted from inputs shortages and increasing vulnerability to variations in rainfall (Anderson 2007). How did production play out in relation to specific crops? Evidence from my fieldwork, complemented by studies in other study sites is explored in the ensuing sub-sections.

6.3.1 Maize

In Zvimba, the area allocated to maize production has increased due to the FTLRP, signalling the importance of maize as the main crop in the district (and Zimbabwe in general); and as the crop mostly grown by the smallholders. This development also reflects on the capital intensive nature of other crops (for example, wheat and horticultural crops), that are avoided by land holders in the three study sites, and generally, in all the new resettlements. Matondi (2013, p. 132) reports an overall “increase in the area planted to maize at the national level between 2000 and 2010, while also noting that, despite increase in area cultivated, national output has remained low”. In another context, Moyo *et al* (2009) report that, maize

production is the dominant farming activity in the drier natural regions V and VI. Cattle ranching, and rearing of other livestock was the main use of these agro-ecological regions.

Maize production has consistently fallen below the 1990s average since the 2000/2001 agricultural season (Moyo *et al.*, 2009, p.53); while generally, area under maize fell and A1 households cultivated an average of less than 2 hectares with maize in Mazowe, Shamva and Mangwe (Matondi 2013, p.138). Agritex figures for Shamva in Matondi (2013, pp. 137-138), set the average yield per household at 1.3, 1.1 and 2.5 tonnes per hectare for ORAs, CAs and NRAs respectively. However, Matondi (2013) reports that, A1 farmers in Shamva failed to hit this target indicating that, there is still much more room for improvement. James (2015) notes that, average total maize output per producing household in A1 villages in NRII is remarkable. In this zone, on average, a household produced plus or minus 1.4 tonnes of maize. However, most households produced only 1 tonne of maize regardless of settlement type, indicating that, caution should be taken when assessing, and concluding on production. In general, production levels continue to fall short of their potential in most areas. Some scholars attribute declining production trends to radicalism of land reform. A radical agrarian reform is likely to result in shortfalls in production at least in the short run until farmers are able to establish or re-establish operations and market linkages (James 2015). In Figure 6.3, I present maize production trends in the first decade of the FTLRP.

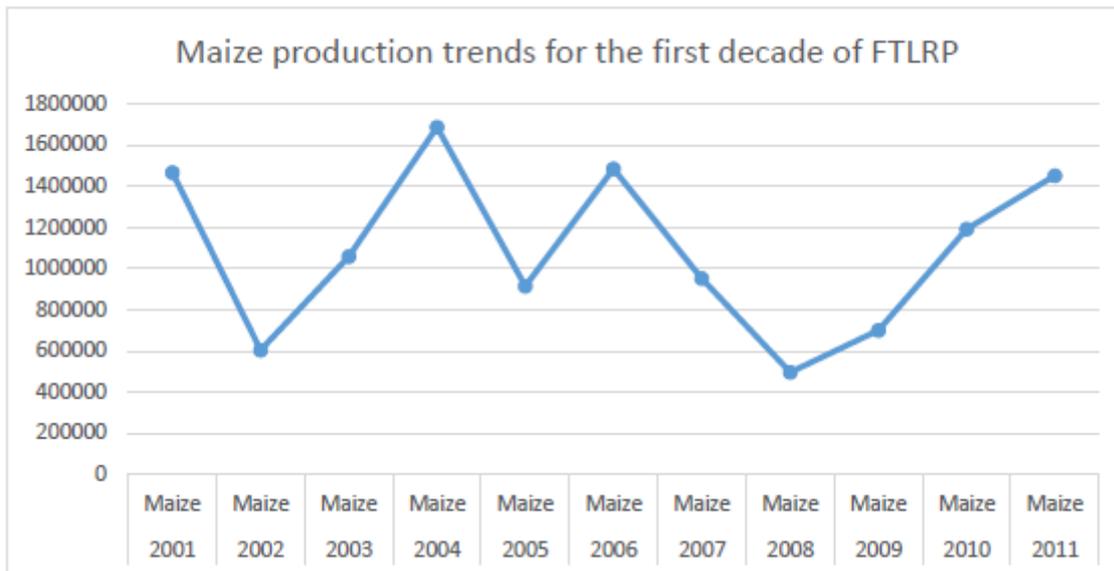


Figure 6.3 Maize production trends 2001-2011

Source: Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe Annual Figures (2011)

Figure 6.3 shows shifting trends in the annual maize production in the first decade of resettlement, with the period 2008 to 2011 showing steady increases. Increases in maize production have also been noted in the AIAS Household Baseline Survey, 2013/14. However, while aggregate data indicate remarkable maize output, variations exist within and between villages and schemes. As such, production outcomes are highly diversified (Matondi 2012; James 2015; Moyo 2011; Moyo *et al.*, 2009).

In Zvimba, I noted variations from one household to the other, within the same village, same scheme or between villages depending on farmers' agricultural assets and capabilities. However, despite such variations, scholars converge on the conclusion that, current production levels are lower than expected. Even at moderate standards of cultivation, output from one acre should have been over 1000 kilogrammes, enough to feed a family of five for a year (Dekker and Kinsey 2011, p. 1007); while Matondi (2013, p.138) put the full potential for dryland production in A1 at 3.5 at 4 tonnes per hectare. Average maize production in

Zvimba stood at 2 tonnes. I captured the responses in relation to the varied declines and increases. Explanations for decline or stagnation of production were explained as follows:

Maize seed, fertilizers and chemicals and other inputs are expensive. In some cases, the inputs are not available or may be sold in US dollars, which I do not have. I was forced to reduce area for maize production (One of the participants during FGDs at St Lucia, 29/06/15).

In the past agricultural season, inputs were very expensive. We got 10 kg of seed and 2 bags of fertilizer through the Presidential Inputs Scheme. These fall far too short of we need. We also got the inputs late. In other years, for example, 2008, the inputs problems were compounded by drought and economic downturns (Informal interview during participant observation at the Dzvimbo's homestead, Whyhill farm, 01/08/15).

Maize is not lucrative. GMB takes too long to pay and when it pays, it uses bank transfer. The Zimbabwe dollar is often eroded by inflation, and in most cases we need the US dollar to purchase inputs. This is a major issue and I hope the government will intervene. We end up choosing to increase area for tobacco production than maize to get high return; and quick money (Interview with an A2 farmer at Whyhill farm, 3/10/15).

I attempted to increase maize production through irrigation but the equipment is broken down. I bought a water pump, but it does not have capacity to irrigate a big area (Indepth interview with an A1 farmer at Dalkeith farm, 28/09/15).

Increases in maize production were explained as follows:

I am employed in Harare at a university. I relied on savings and salary to purchase adequate inputs. I increased hectareage under maize and got great output. I sell more maize to private buyers because they pay instantly and in cash; and very little to the GMB because it takes ages to pay, and when it finally pays, the money is transferred to the bank. Cash is a problem at all banks. In some cases, you are allowed to withdraw only 50 bond. Some outlets of agricultural inputs do not accept swipe or Ecocash payments (Extract from informal interaction with Mr. Chibakwe at St. Lucia villagised scheme).

Three of my children are professionals in the UK. They send money that I use to purchase inputs and equipment. I can produce more maize as long as we receive adequate rainfall. I am planning to install small irrigation infrastructure for a start to grow maize and tobacco off the rain season (Indepth interview DLB40 - a farmer at Dalkeith farm, 20/10/15).

I sold cattle to complement savings to get money for inputs (Interview with Mrs. Mushaniga at Whynhill farm, 15/10/15).

These extracts indicate that, the farmers in three study sites are operating in a context of critically low external support from the government (save for the meagre Presidential Inputs Scheme and state-led Command Agriculture). Low support is due to dwindling fiscal capacity, and absence of donor support because the donors shun the FTLRP. Broadly, in Zvimba district, farmers still produce more maize compared to other crops regardless of the surge in tobacco production (as land beneficiaries search for better financial returns). However, whatever they have managed to achieve in terms of maize output, income and assets can be attributed mainly own inputs, hard work and determination.

Decline in maize production may be beyond the farmers' control (climatic change, low production and availability of agricultural inputs, low public investment, failure by the government to import sufficient agricultural inputs, hyperinflation, capital scarcity, lack of credit and recurring drought). Several other scholars noted these constraints in other study sites (Chibwana 2016; James 2015; Hanlon *et al.*, 2012; Binswanger-Mkhize and Moyo 2012). Farmers are therefore, part of a bigger matrix contributing to decline in maize production. Caution should be taken when focusing on and addressing maize production at policy level due to its differentiated character within and across the villages, while noting that, overall, maize production is still lower than the productive potential of NR IIA where the study sites fall in.

6.3.2 Tobacco

In recognition of tobacco (the golden leaf) as Zimbabwe's main export and foreign currency earning crop; and widely documented evidence that, crops are differentiated, I sought to understand how tobacco production played out after the FTLRP. At national level, the

profiles of current tobacco growers show major reconfiguration. Some farmers in fast track farms were growing tobacco in the ORAs prior to 2000. However, white commercial farmers produced 97 percent of tobacco delivered to the sales floor prior to the FTLRP (IRIN 2011). Current trends however, show that, smallholder farmers account for 90 percent of registered tobacco farmers (Zimbabwe Independent, 3 November 2011). The number of tobacco farmers more than doubled between 2000 and 2010 (Dekker and Kinsey 2011, p. 1011). These statistics indicate major restructuring of the tobacco sector. Along with this reconfiguration, national tobacco output plunged from a peak of 237 million kilogrammes in 1990s to 48.8 million kilogrammes in 2000. Further decline was witnessed in the 2005-2006 season with total output falling to 55 000 tonnes (which represents a 28 percent negative deviation from the 1990s average).

The production of tobacco has however, increased in recent years. In 2009, production was at 103 900 tonnes, and in the 2010/2011 season production increased to 132 400 tonnes. In 2012, it reached 144 million kilogrammes and 166 million kilogrammes in 2013 and over 216 million kilogrammes in 2014 (TIMB 2014; Zimbabwe Ministry of Finance 2015). Increases are attributed to the entry of more smallholder farmers (10.3 percent increase from 78 756 in 2013 to 86 900 in 2014) and contractors (TIMB 2014). Hectarage increased by 21.2 percent from 88 626 in 2013 to 107 371 in 2014, while seasonal average price per kilogramme increased from US\$2.73 in 2011, US\$3.68 in 2013 to US\$3.17 in 2014. The mean revenue to growers of US\$527 million in 2012 to US\$684.87 in 2014 compared to US\$610.31 million in 2013 makes tobacco production an attractive venture (TIMB 2014). These are substantial amounts that farmers would not have realised in communal areas. In Table 6.1, I present figures of tobacco sales in 2013 and 2014 at national level.

Table 6.1: National tobacco sales in 2013 and 2014

Seasonal	Total auction	Contract	Total 2014	Total 2013	% change
Mass sold in kgs	50 745 154	165 253 617	215 998 771	165 846 412	30.24
Value in US\$	136 669 850	548 200 219	684 870 070	610 309 834	12
Average price US\$/kg	(2.69)	(3.32)	(3.17)	(3.68)	13.84

Source: Tobacco Industry Marketing Board (2015)

In Table 6.2, I provide disaggregated information on tobacco growers for the 2014/2015 agricultural season. The Table shows that, in preparation for the 2014/2015 agricultural season, 86 751 potential tobacco growers registered with the Tobacco Industry Marketing Board by November 2014. The disaggregation by grower sector is also shown, with tobacco growers from the communal areas topping (at 40 359), followed by the A1 farmers at 31 879.

Table 6.2: Disaggregation of tobacco growers in the 2014/2015 season

Grower sector	Registered growers	%
A1	31 879	37
A2	7 688	9
Communal area	40 359	46
Small scale commercial	6 825	8
TOTAL	86 751	100

Source: Tobacco Industry Marketing Board (2015)

Having laid out the dynamics and issues pertaining to tobacco production at national level, I briefly focus on pertinent aspects drawn from Zvimba district in terms of opportunities, benefits and challenges of growing tobacco. Selected excerpts reveal mixed dimensions.

In this ward and Zvimba district in general, smallholder tobacco production has been on the increase over the years, mainly due to the higher returns than those for maize and other crops. However, there are issues. Hectarage under maize is declining, raising fears of dwindling maize production. Cutting down of trees to cure tobacco due to inability of most smallholder farmers to afford coal. Some tobacco curing barns are dysfunctional while some are shared. Problems arise in allocating each other sufficient time for tobacco to be cured. Most farmers have built smaller individual barns and all these rely on firewood. Even some A2 farmers whom we expect to be capable of purchasing coal are depleting forests. This is a main issue triggering conflict between the farmers and the Environmental Management Agency officers (Interview with Mr. Munyanyi – District AGRITEX officer stationed at Banket, 15/10/15).

Mr. Munyanyi's views are confirmed by farmers in all the three farms. An excerpt from informal conversation with farmers who were preparing tobacco seedbeds at Whynhill farm sums the aspects:

Most farmers in this farm are prioritising tobacco because it pays better and we get the money faster. I am growing more and more of the crop (tobacco) over the years. I can reduce production of food crops knowing that, I can get more and guaranteed income (for household and farm needs), from tobacco. I am able to buy grains from those who would have grown maize and sorghum. Most contractors (Zimbabwe Leaf Tobacco, Mashonaland Tobacco Company) support tobacco production; and others favour cotton production (Sino Zimbabwe Development Company, Grafax and Cargill). Maize is not prioritised. It is cheaper to buy maize from other farmers in resettlements and communal areas than producing it ourselves. The challenge with tobacco production lies on depletion of trees and reduction of opportunities for increasing food insecurity. Current production levels in this area are low but picking up (Indepth interview with Mr. Chadehama at Whynhill farm, 20/08/15).

An interview with Ms. Kagura, another AGRITEX officer in Zvimba district confirms increased production of tobacco by both A1 and A2 farmers. In addition, emphasis was put on increasing the scale of production and enhancing the quality of produce.

Tobacco production is the ‘in thing’ in this district. Farmers do cost-benefit analysis, especially in terms of potential income before growing crops. Tobacco is the most rewarding although most demanding in terms of labour. Tobacco production has opened up new livelihood opportunities for both new land beneficiaries and those in old resettlements. However, production capacity and quality are still low. Low quality of produce explains why some farmers get low returns at auction floors, fail to pay contractors, and their capacity to reinvest is minimal (Interview with Ms. Kagura, AGRITEX officer, 25/07/15).

These excerpts acknowledge increase in tobacco production yet, also indicate that, current production is below the optimum possible. Such findings are corroborated by broad studies in Zvimba district and other study sites. Matondi (2013, p.115) reports that, A1 households in Shamva district averaged tobacco yields of up to 1000 kilogrammes per hectare; while TIMB (2014) reports a national average of 1 4000 kilogrammes per hectare for A1 farmers in 2012-2013. In Zvimba and Goromonzi districts, Moyo *et al* (2009, p. 64) report low figures (1 200 and 200 kilogrammes) per A1 household in Zvimba and Goromonzi districts respectively, despite these districts falling in moderately high potential agro-ecological regions. Both Moyo *et al* (2009) and Matondi (2013) agree that, these figures fall below the full potential for these areas.

Informed by diverse realities of Zvimba district and studies elsewhere, tobacco output is lower than optimum possible, and could be improved. However, tobacco production is recovering fast due to various reasons, including guaranteed income and proliferation of contract farming since 2009. From being a predominantly large-scale commercial farmers’ crop (especially whites before 2000), tobacco production has increasingly become an economic activity for smallholder farmers.

6.4 Gender disaggregation in crop production

How well the FTLRP changed gender relations in crop production is an important consideration for analysing the transformative role of the programme. I noted that, the

production of major and minor crops is gendered across the selected farms, with exceptions in some cases. At Dalkeith, Whynhill and St Lucia farms, the production of maize straddles both male and female-headed households, leading to its prominence across the study sites; and the two schemes under FTLRP (A1 and A2). Maize and tobacco production topped the list of crops grown by male-headed households where land is in the name of the male beneficiary. Female-headed households mainly grow maize and minor crops (groundnuts, roundnuts and sorghum). Gender inequality in general, and gender issues in land tenure and agricultural production in particular, are explored by many reputable scholars (Mazwi, Tekwa, Chambati and Mudimu 2018, pp. 5-6; Mutopo, Manjengwa and Chiweshe 2014; Mutopo 2011, 2012, 2014; Chingarande 2008; Gaidzanwa 1985, 1991, 1994, 2004; Whitehead and Tsikata 2003).

I explored the differences, and noted that, the majority of the views were crystallised around tobacco being more labour-intensive and demanding more inputs than maize. Agricultural inputs are a major problem experienced by most A1 land beneficiaries. In addition, the views from the field focused on the social construction of tobacco as a male crop. Femininities and masculinities around agricultural production are such that, cash crops are considered to be a preserve for men; and food crops for women. This has been the trend even in communal areas. I also noted that, this variance is coupled with low numbers of women who were allocated land in their names (a theme I interrogated in Chapter 5 - Redistributive Outcomes of the FTLRP). The subordination of women (and children) in ownership and use of land and farm equipment has not changed due to the FTLRP, except for women who own these in their own right. Moreover, in relation to resource capability, generally, most women are poor due to a longstanding patriarchal system that relegated most women to domestic unpaid work (the unpaid economy). However, declining income realised from maize sales is pushing various households to grow tobacco.

6.5 Livestock Production Outcomes

The impact of the FTLRP was not restricted to crop production. Major impact on beef and generally livestock production has been realised. How was livestock production before the FTLRP? In pre-independence era, the whites benefited from state subsidies and wider support for research and infrastructural development resulting in higher rates of productivity and accumulation than in other areas of agriculture (Mabhena 2014; Rukuni 2006). The beef industry was a key sector of the economy, contributing to major export of products to European markets. As was the case with the production of tobacco, wheat and other major crops, white owned cattle ranches dominated livestock production.

In the three study sites in Zvimba district, the land beneficiaries engage in livestock rearing alongside crop production. Compared to the pre-fast track land reform era, cattle herds are small. At Whynhill farm for example, prior to the FTLRP, Mr. Douglas Campbell had a beef herd of 600 cattle in addition to 200 pigs. The cattle herd of the 45 A1 land beneficiaries is less than 150. However, this change should be understood within the context of the villagised model. Due to the prescribed setup of the A1 villages, the land beneficiaries cannot have huge herds. The white farmer owned the entire farm. However, under the FTLRP, Whynhill Farm was subdivided into many plots. Such an arrangement in the A1 scheme does not allow the land beneficiaries to have huge herds of cattle (and other livestock). Furthermore, the villagised model at the three study sites, and other nearby farms (Lion Kopje and Wannock Glen); or other parts of Zvimba were meant for crop production, not ranching. Figure 6.4 shows cattle ownership patterns in the three study sites in Zvimba.

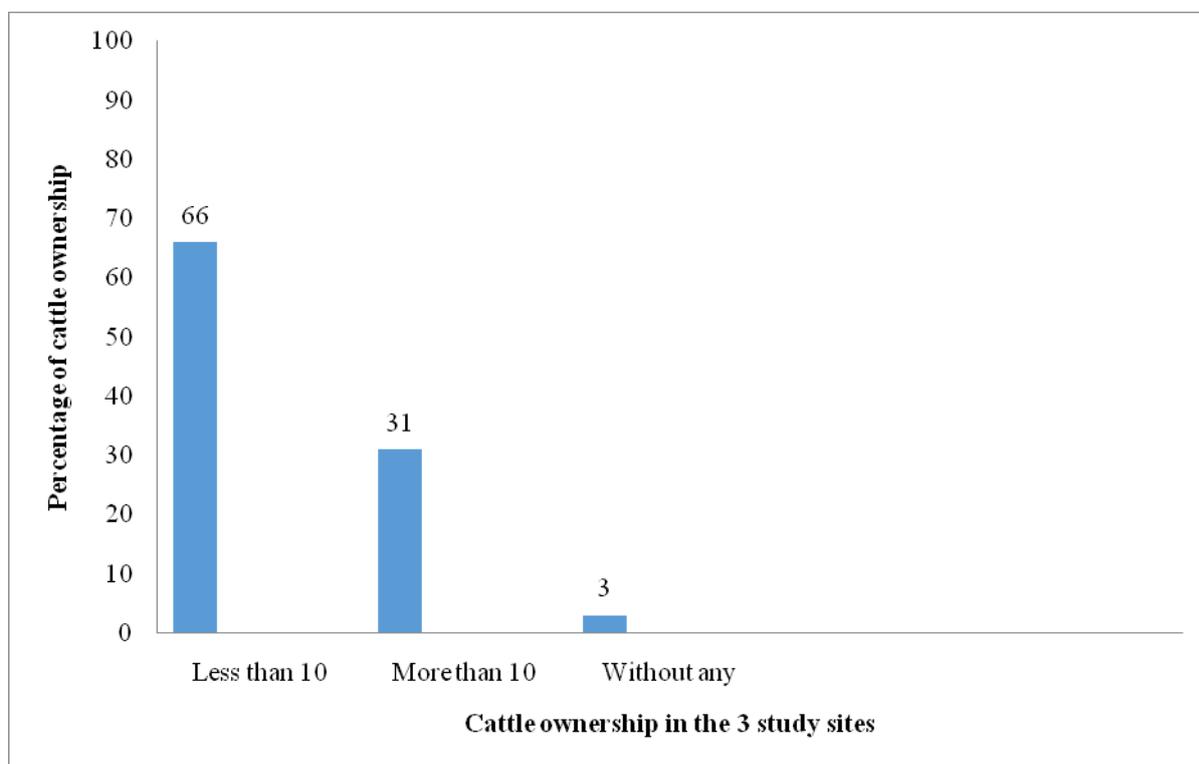


Figure 6.4: Cattle ownership patterns in the three study sites in Zvimba

Source: Own fieldwork (2015)

Cattle (the main large livestock owned across the study sites), are accorded apex value by all the land beneficiaries. Cattle assume such primacy due to their importance in agricultural production, and other activities requiring draught power. In agricultural production, cattle provide draught power for ploughing and ferrying produce from fields. Land beneficiaries also need cattle to fetch water and firewood. Large livestock such as cattle, are vital as both short-term insurance and long-term accumulation. Livestock are a source of reproduction. Households that own cattle (and other livestock), can sell live animals or slaughter and sell meat to get money for household needs and agricultural inputs (seed and fertilizer); and equipment for longer-term utilisation. The land beneficiaries also own small livestock (goats, poultry, rabbits, sheep and pigs). Numbers vary within and across villages. Small livestock are disposed first when the need to sell livestock arises. Overall, the land beneficiaries sell cattle and other livestock to cushion themselves against economic woes (for example, the

2008 economic meltdown, and protracted economic challenges in the post 2016 phase). I interrogate these aspects in respective chapters (social protection in Chapter 7, and reproduction in Chapter 8).

I also explored markets for livestock. Evidence from the field show that, the FTLRP resulted in the loss of export markets. Unlike the previous landowners, none of the land beneficiaries is producing livestock for the export market, signalling loss of foreign currency earning. However, local markets are now dominating (butcheries at Banket and other growth points in the district); other land beneficiaries within and across villages; communal areas and abattoirs within and outside the district (Koala Park between Harare and Chitungwiza). This dimension of beef marketing is consonant to the argument by Scoones (2014, p.21) that ‘real markets’ for beef are now more broadly based on a diverse group of producers linked to local traders, sellers and suppliers resulting in a wider spread of economic benefits within Zimbabwe.

Within the A1 villages, acknowledging variations, impressive livestock accumulation from the time of settlement to 2015 were reported. Reports by the land beneficiaries are that, on average, they have more cattle and small livestock than what they had in communal areas or old resettlements. This signifies accumulation. In cases where reduction of cattle herds occurred, the causes vary; with economic hardships, diseases and droughts being the most emphasised. Diseases (foot and mouth, anthrax and red water), also reduced cattle herds, but households that could afford vaccines were least affected. Due to the contagious nature of some diseases, collaborative efforts are common in sourcing vaccines. Important to note is that, livestock diseases are being experienced in a context where the government is least capable of providing livestock vaccinations and dipping services. Scoones (2014, p. 21) also brought out the diseases dimension in exploring declines in livestock herds.

6.6 Production Constraints

Interrogation of crop and livestock production in the aftermath of fast track land reform reveal various aspects. However, the overall position is that, although production is gradually increasing, current levels are far below the optimum possible. How can agricultural production be improved in a context where all farmers indicate production constraints? Across the study sites, there is consensus that, improvements in crop and livestock production are possible if constraints are addressed (expensive or unavailability of inputs; shortage of equipment or dysfunctional infrastructure – irrigation and electricity; poor market access or low prices; shortage of cattle; expensive or low availability of farm labour; drought, wild animals; and pests; and so forth). In Table 6.3, I capture production constraints; and the percentage of land beneficiaries affected by each in the selected study sites.

Table 6.3: Production constraints in Zvimba district

No.	Production constraint	% affected
1.	Shortage of or exorbitant inputs	92
2.	Lack of equipment or dysfunctional infrastructure	88
3.	Market access challenges or low prices	72
4.	Shortage of draught power	23
5.	Shortage of or expensive labour	17
6.	Drought	2
7.	Wild animals/pests	1
8.	Other	2

Source: Own fieldwork (2015)

In Zvimba district, shortage or exorbitant prices of agricultural inputs was reported as the major production constraint; followed by lack of equipment or dysfunctional infrastructure. Equipment and infrastructure problems were explained in the context of irrigation and electricity, most of which was vandalised during land invasions (for example, at Dalkeith

farm); or has become obsolete, due to poor or non-maintenance or non-replacement. Market access challenges, low prices and shortage of draught power, were also widely emphasised as drawbacks to increasing agricultural production. A senior civil servant in the Ministry of Agriculture, Mechanisation and Irrigation Development focused on national inputs production constraints as follows:

Agricultural inputs are a major impediment to production. Farmers have great interest in maximising production but they are constrained. Local seed producing companies (Seedco, Pannar and Agriseeds), are producing at low capacity due to economic challenges. The same applies to fertilizer producing companies (Zimbabwe Fertilizer Company, and Windmill) and companies that produce agro-chemicals. The economic hardships are seriously affecting their production capacity. All these challenges are occurring in a context where the farmers are expected to produce more, and when the government has the lowest capacity to support local production or to import adequate agricultural inputs (Informal interaction with a senior civil servant in the Ministry of Agriculture, Mechanisation and Irrigation Development, Harare, 9/11/15).

Constraints to production are not restricted to Zvimba district. Studies in other sites corroborate my findings, and also unearth other constraints. Chibwana (2016, p. 146) focusing on Kwekwe district, reports access to agricultural inputs as the major production challenge (reported by 68.1 percent of the sampled farmers). Other production constraints (HIV and AIDS, land tenure insecurity and small land size), were also reported. In another context, James (2015, p. 115) reports that, expensive or unavailable inputs affected most farmers, followed by shortage of cattle, assets and labour. Dekker and Kinsey (2011, p.1006) reveals the same constraints among farmers in old resettlement areas and communal areas in the 2009-2010 season, although for these farmers, unreliable rainfall was the biggest constraint.

On how production constraints can be addressed, responses were mainly crystallised around the role of the Government of Zimbabwe; and complementary support from other

governments, donors and private sector. A multi-stakeholder approach was suggested yet, the government has to play a leading role in supporting farmers in various aspects (inputs, credit, equipment and irrigation infrastructure, and markets). However, most farmers acknowledged the low capacity of the government to support the farmers hence, the calls for multi-stakeholder approach.

I also explored the government's declining capacity to support the agricultural sector through budget allocations. Figure 6.5 shows agricultural allocations from the Zimbabwe national budget from 1980s to post dollarisation phase.

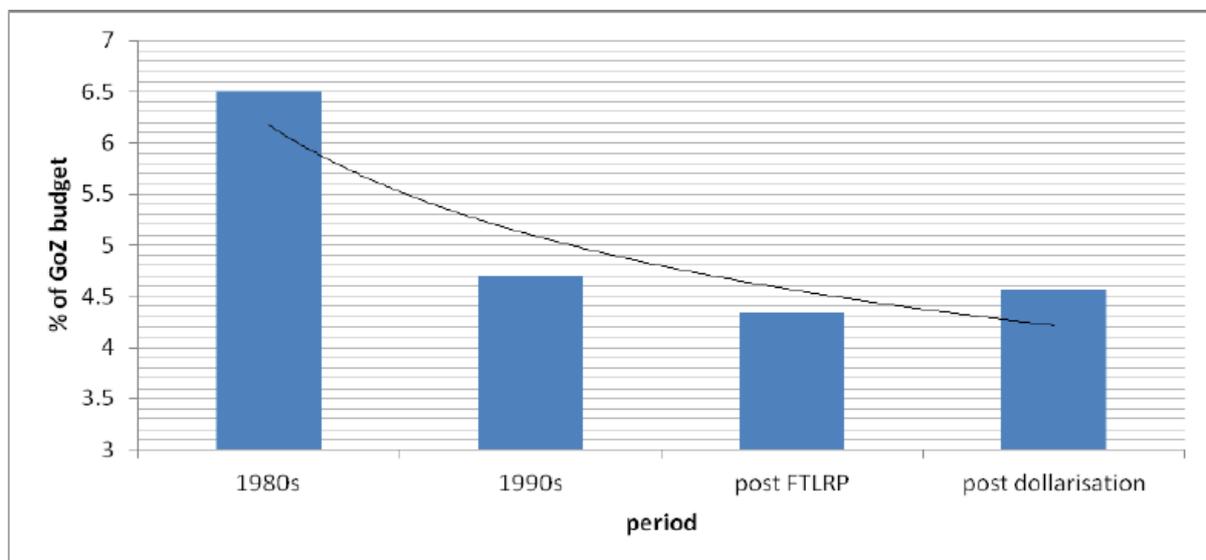


Figure 6.5: Agricultural allocations from the Zimbabwe national budget

Source: AIAS Household Survey, 2013/14

Budget allocations to the agricultural sector are important in securing success of the FTLRP, mainly at a stage when farmers are unable to finance agricultural development. Figure 6.5 shows that allocations to the agricultural sector were high in the 1980s (through government and donor funding). On average, national budget allocation to agriculture stood at 6.5 percent in the 1980s, 4.7 percent in 1990 and 4.3 percent in 2008 and rose slightly in 2009 to 4.6

percent. The funds were channelled to the Ministry of Agriculture, Mechanisation and Irrigation Development (MAMID) (now Ministry of Agriculture, Lands and Rural Resettlement); GMB; Cold Storage Commission (CSC) (was functional then); Agriculture and Rural Development Authority (ARDA); and AgriBank. In the early 1980, the government embarked in major socioeconomic reconstruction, including revamping the agricultural sector (Sichone 2003). High budget allocations by the government were meant to correct the century-old imbalances created by settler colonialism (Moyo 2009). Figure 6.6 shows agriculture’s percentage share in the national budget in post FTLRP era.

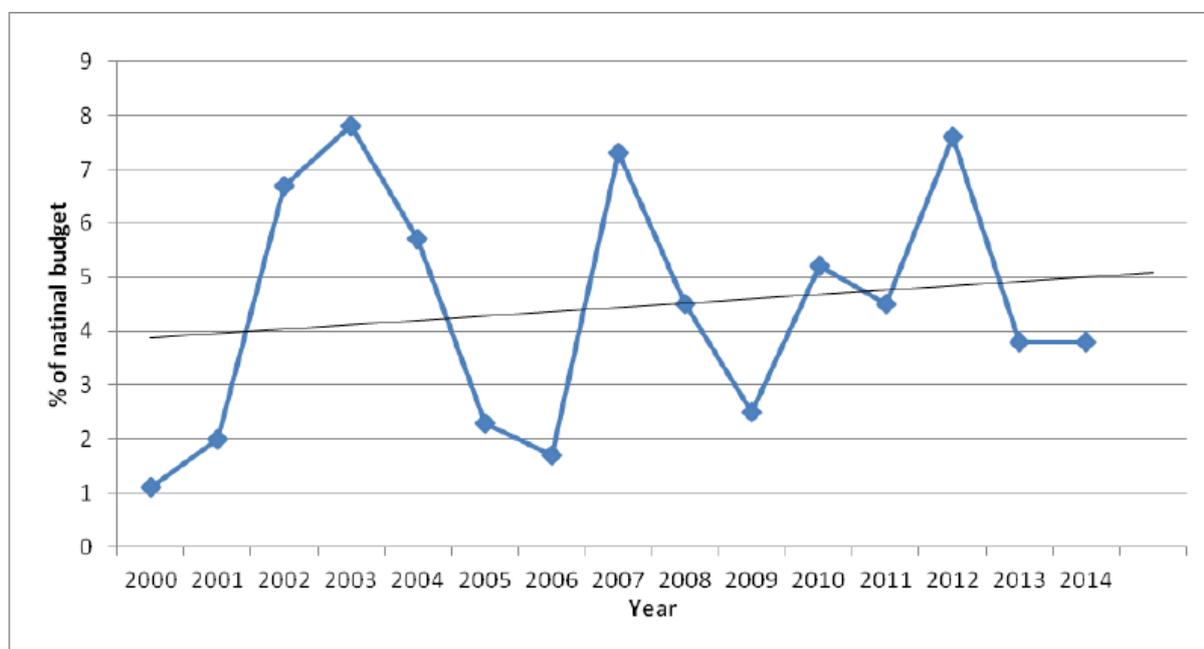


Figure 6.6: Share of agriculture (percentage) in national budget post-FTLRP, 2000-2014

Source: AIAS Household Survey, Household questionnaire, 2013/14

Figure 6.6 shows that, from volatility in the 2009 and after phase; marked increases (2.5 percent in 2009 to 3.8 percent in 2013 and 2014), were noted. However, the inflationary environment in Zimbabwe means that, increases are mere; figures with low value in terms of purchasing power. The two Figures show declines in budget allocations to the agricultural sector in a context of absence of core donor support to the fast track land beneficiaries; and

deepening economic under-performance. High inflationary trends and lack of a stable and acceptable currency are militating against government-provided agricultural support. In 2018, the Government of Zimbabwe allocated \$401 million to agriculture yet, by August 2018, expenditure reached \$1.1 billion (Republic of Zimbabwe National Budget 2019, p. 79). For the year 2019, the GoZ allocated \$989.3 million to agriculture (Republic of Zimbabwe National Budget 2019). This figure indicates a major increase in budget allocations to agriculture over time. However, as long as inflation is not contained, and wide rejection of the bond and RTGS exist, national budget allocations to agriculture will remain of limited real value. How then are the farmers coping? In addition to use of income from on-farm and off-farm activities, savings, sale of livestock and crop produce, remittances, salaries, pensions and micro finance, some farmers are engaging in contract farming to source inputs.

6.7. Contract farming in Zvimba district

I did not set out for fieldwork to interrogate contract farming as a source of agricultural inputs. However, this mode of farming was raised in individual and group interaction with the land beneficiaries. I then explored why farmers in Zvimba district are engaging in contract farming, opportunities and challenges posed by this mode of farming, and how farmer-contractor relationship can be enhanced for continued and improved agricultural production. In the district, there are broadly two types of contractors (state-led and private-led). State-led contract farming is provided through the Command Agriculture Inputs Scheme. This scheme was initiated in 2016 as a government initiative to support farmers. However, I give primacy to private-led contracting because it was the most topical during fieldwork.

In setting a context for interrogation, I argue that, despite enhancing redistribution of prime land and other natural resources; and acting as a better alternative to mainstream social assistance, the fast track land reform affected the economy negatively, including collapse of

parastatals that previously supported and serviced agriculture. This led to major impediments to the development of the sector. After 2000, both small and large-scale farmers are largely struggling to access inputs, credit and markets. These problems are compounded by longstanding phases of macroeconomic woes that have deepened fiscal incapacity of the government; leading to dwindling public investment in agriculture (and other sectors). The introduction of the US dollar and reliberalisation of the economy in 2009 signified higher chances for a stable economy, thereby increasing the opportunity and necessity for contract farming.

In general, scholarly interrogation of contract farming is not new, and continues to expand as shown by increasing contributions (Chambati, Mazwi and Mberi 2019; Sakata 2017; James 2015). Currently, contract farmers are increasing (Mazwi 2017, p. 3; Perez 2016; James 2015); and enthusiasm is high in government, and the FAO of the UN, that contractors will improve investment in agriculture and food systems. However, under the FTLRP, contract farming is largely unexplored. James (2015, p.120) reports that, reviews have been undertaken of the experiences of contract farming from the perspectives of the companies involved (SNV 2007), but very little has been heard from the smallholders themselves. To this, I add that, contract farming in Zvimba district and other parts of Zimbabwe has not been interrogated from a social policy perspective.

6.7.1 Contract farming: Views from literature

Contract farming is a diverse concept; and interpretations vary depending on methodological and ideological standpoints (Oya 2012 in James 2015, p.121). Three (3) basic types of contracts have been documented – “market specification, resource providing and production management contracts” (Mighell and Jones 1963 in James 2015, p. 121). The consideration given to these types of contracts varies according to crop, contractor and context in question

(Glover 1984, p.145 in James 2015, p.121). James and Kinsey (2013, p.3) conceptualise contract farming as being characterised by one or more of the following:

(a) the commitment within written or oral, in advance by a buyer or processor to purchase from a grower a given crop area or volume, of a stipulated quality, at a stipulated time, and often at a predetermined price.

(b) the linkage of factor and product markets based on specific production, practices and provision of inputs and aid or services by buyer-processors; and

(c) a contractual distinction in the apportionment of production and market risk.

Five models of contract farming can be discerned in literature. The models depend on the actors and institutions involved, the way production is organised and location in relation to processing (Eaton and Shepherd 2001 in James 2015, p.122). These are; centralised, nucleus estate, multipartite, informal and intermediary. The rationale for contract farming is broad, but lies in transaction costs. Such a rationale includes overcoming market failures; facilitation of flow of production, and marketing information between producers and buyers; bringing supply and demand closer together; opening new markets for smallholder farmers and helping agro-processors to maintain a steady supply of raw materials (James 2015, p. 122).

Overall, contract farming aims to overcome imperfections in input supply, facilitate transfer of knowledge and technical assistance, relieve financial constraints and enabling smallholders to diversify into producing high value commodities, and so on. A win-win arrangement is portrayed yet, evidence from study sites point to the contrary. Having understood this context, the key question in Zvimba district was, ‘How is contract farming playing out beyond theory and popularity?’ This led to sub-questions: Why do some farmers enter into or choose not to engage in contract farming? What assistance do they get? What are the problems; and how can these be addressed?

6.7.2 Joining or not joining contract farming

At the time of fieldwork, contract farmers in Zvimba district were categorised according to crops: Tobacco (Zimbabwe Leaf Tobacco, Mashonaland Tobacco Company and Chidziva Tobacco Processors); and Cotton (Cargill, Sino Zimbabwe Development Company and Grafax). Why were some land beneficiaries in the district joining contract farming? The fieldwork revealed that, farmers got into contract farming for various reasons; but exorbitant prices of inputs or their unavailability were the major driving force. Voices from the field were crystallised on following reasons: obtaining inputs on credit; earning extra income; contract farming worked for us in the past; potential to free up cash for other things; having the knowledge and skills required; boosting production; accessing inputs in good time; and accumulation of trust over contractors. What are the land beneficiaries in contract farming receiving from contractors? Responses revolved around seed, fertilizer, chemicals, packaging material, training, land preparation (least provided), extension services, cash in advance and other benefits.

I also had to answer the question, ‘Why are some farmers not joining contract farming? Several reasons were provided in the Zvimba sites; and these include but are not limited to: contract farming not being profitable; inputs too few; interest rates charged are too high; unable to repay; afraid of defaulting on loans; shortage of labour, assets and cattle and so on to utilise contracted inputs; personal circumstances for example, too old or too young to work, disabled or widowed; applied late or was unsuccessful; support withdrawn; have own inputs or can buy; no one offered or was away from home when offered; not growing cash crops, or switched to another crop; shortage of land or poor soil; fear of drought; and contract companies cannot be trusted. In Mashonaland Central study sites, James (2015) reports most of these justifications and others (signatory died or moved to another area; lack of knowledge or never thought about it; and not interested or having no reason). However,

across the fast track farms, unavailability or exorbitant prices of agricultural inputs heightens land beneficiaries' reasons for joining contract farming (Chambati *et al.*, 2019).

I also answered two questions: What are the contract farming situated issues in Zvimba district? How can the issues be interpreted from a social policy perspective? Scarcity and expensive inputs contribute immensely in the decision to join contract farming. Most farmers joined contract farming due to poverty; and they do not have an alternative, leading them to be entangled in a cycle of poverty and contract farming. However, some farmers opt in and out of contract farming as need arises. The contractual arrangement was reported as highly exploitative and rigid with the contractors getting high surplus value. Focusing specifically on Zvimba and Goromonzi, Mazwi (2018, p. 4) report that “tobacco farmers have exited the partnership, citing low productivity, failure to meet production targets, higher input price (due to interest charged on inputs), low output price, and loan repayment failure”.

Issues highlighted in Zvimba district show the unfavourable nature of contract farming to small-scale farmers. Some farmers openly reported that, they deliberately default in the context of increasing exploitation. I considered deliberate defaulting as a ‘weapon for the weak’. Yet another demanding policy consideration is priority given to cash crops (tobacco and cotton) over food crops (maize and other grains). Private contractors are not supporting the production of food crops. From the contractors' perspective, cash crops have higher market value, and chances that farmers the contracted farmers will repay are high. However, few households concentrating on tobacco and cotton production reported food poverty; while others emphasised that, they are able to purchase grains from other households, or other sources using income from tobacco or cotton, therefore, food insecurity is not an issue.

6.7 Conclusion

In this chapter, I explored land use and production outcomes of the FTLRP from the lenses of TSP. Informed by field evidence, I argued that The FTLRP completely transformed land use and agricultural production in Zvimba district. Production of major crops (maize, tobacco and cotton); and livestock (cattle), declined after the fast track land reform, particularly in the early years of resettlement. However, in the study sites, production is gradually increasing. Evidence of such increases in other study sites is widely documented. The productive outcomes of the land reform are militated by several production constraints. Despite diversity, unavailability or exorbitant prices of agricultural inputs are the major production constraints.

Support from the government through command agriculture and Presidential Inputs scheme is highly inadequate. In addition to minimum government support, the land beneficiaries are not receiving support from foreign donors because the FTLRP frustrated the interests of the funders. Due to these constraints, land use and agricultural production are yet to reach optimum levels. Production constraints, especially unavailability of agricultural inputs or high prices of the same (that cannot be afforded by the majority of smallholder farmers); are the main push factors in deciding to join contract farming. In Zvimba district, A1 farmers are lamenting increasing marginalisation, exploitation, poverty, and dependence on contracts. Moreover, contractors are supporting the production cash crops while relegating food crops. This differential support may be a threat to food security. However, context specific empirical studies are essential to show how contract farming plays out in other sites. Despite production challenges, fast track farmers are gradually thriving. However, achievements are mainly due to their effort and determination. Overall, a more cautious approach is needed when analysing and concluding production outcomes due to diversity and complexity within and between the chosen A1 villages.

Chapter 7: Social Protection Outcomes - Prime Agricultural Land as an *Ex Ante* Social Protection ‘Tool’

I now own a place for diverse productive activities, a place for use to conquer dependence, a place for *musha*, a portion of land with immense socioeconomic benefits (WLB29 – Land beneficiary, Whyhill Farm)

7.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I focus on the use of prime agricultural land; and on and off-farm activities as alternatives to mainstream social assistance provided by the Government of Zimbabwe (GoZ), NGOs, the community and other institutions. I justify, based on field evidence, that, ownership and use of prime agricultural land, (and complemented by on and off-farm activities in some cases), has better social protection outcomes than narrow social assistance. In essence, I argue that, land reforms are *ex ante* social protection tools. The crux of this chapter is not to denounce social assistance provided by the various actors. However, in a context of wider constraints on mainstream social assistance; and voices from the field on social protection benefits that participants claim to have derived from the FTLRP, I argue that, ownership and use of prime agricultural land, coupled with on and off-farm activities are better alternatives.

Five parts constitute this chapter. In the initial part, I explore social protection in literature. In this section, I argue that, social protection is the dominant social policy provision in the OECD literature, particularly due to the Beveridgian approach in the UK and the Bismarckian in Germany. The proliferation of neoliberalism has also led to concentration of social protection on safety nets and focus on the ultra-poor. However, such approaches are too narrow and there is need to shift away from these to a wider vision of social policy focusing on production, redistribution, reproduction, protection and social cohesion.

In the second part, I highlight the key aspects of social assistance as the main facet of social protection in Zimbabwe. I provide an overview of pre and post-colonial social assistance. Based on relevant secondary sources, I highlight that, in pre-colonial Zimbabwe, people assisted each other in cases of need through family, clan, lineage and community networks (for example, *Zunde raMambo*). *Zunde raMambo* is a food security initiative in some parts of rural Zimbabwe where a community, led by a chief, produces grains for distribution to vulnerable groups during times of need. Grains produced are kept at the chief's homestead. British colonialism led to social provisioning through the state in relation to housing, health, education, employment, and other areas of social policy. However, as explored in Chapter 3, state-led social provisioning was highly skewed against the black population, thereby heightening social insecurity. In addition to state-led social assistance, NGOs, informal community institutions and networks, churches and corporates also provide goods and services to assist groups considered as vulnerable. However, formally, the state remains the dominant institution in the provision of social assistance.

In the third part, I interrogate the FTLRP as an *ex ante* social protection tool by focusing on food availability, consumption, sovereignty and *dura*; own place, shelter and *musha*; and livestock as insurance and accumulation. I focus on innovations in social services by land beneficiaries as sound, but largely unsupported efforts to protect themselves from shortage of key social services (schools, health facilities and potable water). In the fourth section, I focus on farm and off-farm activities as alternatives to social assistance. Overall, I advance the importance of transformative social policy in relation to social protection. The fifth part is the conclusion, which also introduces the next chapter.

7.2 Social Protection in Literature

Social protection is among the essential functions of social policy; and has attracted diverse scholarly attention. Among several scholars who critique mainstream social protection is Adesina (2009), who notes that, social protection has been the most dominant component of social policy in OECD literature. This can be attributed to earlier approaches to social policy such as the Bismarckian in Germany, and the Beveridgian in UK (explored in Chapter 4). For example, Beveridge's Report emphasised addressing want as the primary goal of social policy. These approaches later shaped mono tasking of social policy. With increasing dominance of neoliberalism, social protection was reduced "to social assistance or safety nets as the main components of social protection, and indeed, to a mono tasking of social policy (Mkandawire 2005, p.6; Holzman and Kozel 2007). Accordingly, Adesina (2011) observes that, literature on social policy is dominated by *ex post* interventions with much neglect of *ex ante* interventions. Greater focus is on responding, rather than avoiding vulnerability.

Various approaches have been used to assess and provide social protection, including the Social Risk Management (SRM), Asset Vulnerability and Transformative Protection Framework (TSF). The SRM is mainly used by the World Bank (WB), and focuses on the 'critically poor' to reduce vulnerability to poverty in 'countries with an incomplete space of instruments to manage risks'. The argument is that, the poor are mostly exposed to diverse risks – natural, man-made, health and political. They have the fewest instruments to deal with these risks (such as government-provided income support and market-based instruments, such as insurance). These risks increase incidences of vulnerability to poverty (Holzman *et al.*, 2007). However, the framework is weak, particularly its failure to question class inequalities and power relations at play in poverty. It does not question why the situation is as it is, and how to change it. Instead, the approach takes a survivalist stance to poverty. The 'poor' are considered to be a static group. Emphasis is on targeting of the 'ultra-poor', with

beneficiaries being categorised as ‘deserving poor’ and ‘undeserving poor’ (Holzman *et al.*, 2007).

Various scholars (Sharif 2009; Castaneda *et al.*, 2003; Besley *et al.*, 1990; Sen 1990; Johannsen 2006), interrogate the targeting issue. The framework only addresses short-term emergency and humanitarian concerns. It does not have a strategic view of addressing vulnerability to poverty hence, the view that it is *ex post* (Sharif 2009). In addition, the SRM does not build on strategies that strengthen people’s own initiative solutions to vulnerabilities (Moser, 1998 criticising the SRM from her Asset Vulnerability Framework). For example, Moser (1998) argues that, even the poorest of all the people are not ‘helpless victims’, but have many resources which can be leveraged to build resilience against vulnerability (Andersen and Woodrow 1989, p.12). In essence, the approach is deficient of the actors in dealing with politics of hope and despair as espoused by Sen (1985).

Against this backdrop, Sabates-Wheeler and Devereux (2004, 2008), came up with the Transformative Social Protection framework. They argue that, Transformative Social Protection encompasses:

All initiatives that transfer income or assets to the poor, protect the vulnerable against livelihood risks, and enhance the social status and rights of the marginalised; with the overall objectives of extending the benefits of economic growth and reducing the economic or social vulnerability of the poor, vulnerable and marginalised groups (Sabates-Wheeler and Devereux, 2004, p. iii).

Emphasised by Sabates-Wheeler and Devereux (2004, p. iii), is reduction of socioeconomic vulnerability among groups categorised as poor; and marginalised due to redistribution of income and or assets. This approach is grounded in rights and entitlements (for example, Marshall 1950 on civil, social, economic and political rights; and Sen, 1990 on entitlements). Transformative Social Protection is long-term oriented, and proposes policies that integrate individuals equally into society, allowing everyone to take advantage of benefits of growth

and enabling excluded or marginalised groups to claim their rights (Sabates-Wheeler and Devereux 2004). According to these scholars, transformative interventions are those that are aimed at addressing power imbalances that create or sustain power inequality, and social exclusion; and include legal and judicial reform, budgetary analysis and reform, legislative processes, policy review; and monetary, social and attitudinal change.

I argue, however, that, despite the so called ‘innovations’ in the approach by Sabates-Wheeler and Devereux (2004); in practice, they largely did not exit a narrow social policy approach that is informed by safety nets and social policy programming. They failed to challenge the underlying structural inequalities their influence on vulnerability, inequality and poverty. This view is corroborated by other scholars (Adesina 2009, 2020; Tekwa and Adesina 2018) support this view.

7.3 Social Assistance as Mainstream Social Protection in Zimbabwe: A Brief Overview

Despite variety, as part of the African tradition, people provide for each other through family, clan, lineage and wider community networks. Families and households have, and continue to be essential in providing for the wellbeing of members. However, various factors contribute to the drawbacks in the effectiveness of families and households (colonialism, urbanisation, changing values, economic problems and so forth). At community level, *Zunde raMambo* practiced in most parts of Zimbabwe before and after colonialism; is an example of assisting community members who are in need of food, including the aged, orphans and widowed. Other forms of providing for the socioeconomic needs of community members are available depending on area. Overall, Zimbabwe had, and continues to have informal ways of providing social security. These exist side by side with formal provisions led by the government. Essential to note, is the centrality of social assistance in Zimbabwe’s social

security system despite dwindling capacity of the government to provide for its citizens due to economic and political crises; including those emanating from the controversial FTLRP.

Kaseke (2012) draws readers to the view that social security is a right, and is enshrined in regional and international instruments (Universal Declaration of Human Rights 1948 and International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights Article 9 of 1966). Zimbabwe is a signatory to the SADC Charter on Fundamental Social Rights. The Charter recognises the right to social protection as a fundamental right (Kaseke 2012). In addition, the ILO perspective of social security includes social assistance. Members of ILO are bound by minimum standards on conditions under which benefits are paid, regular review of pensions and collective financing through taxation (Kulke 2007).

The GoZ has a long history of providing social assistance as the main dimension of social security, and such, provision dates back to the colonial era (Kaseke 2012). Introduction of social assistance reflected developments that had occurred in England (the reforms of the Poor Laws), which reinforced the notion that, the state had some responsibility in providing to the poor. Social assistance in Zimbabwe was implemented in response to poverty among the white settler community, and the need to attract and retain white settlers. In the 1960s, social assistance was extended to the indigenous African population in recognition of the impact of urbanisation and industrialisation on all groups. However, even if they were included, social assistance was racially-skewed against the indigenous African population. Differentiation by race was maintained in covert and overt ways. In 1936, the Old Age Pension Act was introduced, with the aim of alleviating poverty among older white settlers. However, the Act did not cater for older black persons (Kaseke 2012, p. 1).

Zimbabwe's social assistance is based on a categorical approach in that, it targets specific population groups deemed vulnerable therefore, deserving state support (Kaseke 2012). Some groups considered vulnerable, according to the Social Welfare Act of 1988, include persons over the age of 60 years; people with disabilities; the chronically ill; dependents of indigent persons. Zimbabwe Department of Social Services (2010, p.1) reports that, "social assistance interventions include assistance to destitute households; children in difficult circumstances (mainly orphans); support to persons with disabilities; support to the elderly; Assisted Medical Treatment Orders (AMTO) and Basic Education Assistance Module (BEAM)". Of these, assistance to destitute families, children in difficult circumstances and the elderly is in the form of cash transfers, whilst support to persons with disabilities is in the form of cash transfers, assistive devices and project loans. BEAM caters for school fees for children living in difficult circumstances; and the AMTO allow the poor to access free medical treatment at public clinics and hospitals. In the current context, BEAM is the biggest social protection intervention and consumes 60 percent of the Department's social services budget for social protection (Zimbabwe Department of Social Services 2010).

Social assistance, in some cases, is provided as drought relief, whereby the Department of Social Services distributes food to rural households that are experiencing food deficits. The elderly and persons with disabilities receive food free and the rest of the population should work in return for food. These programmes are referred to as 'public works' or 'food for work' (Kaseke 2012).

Social security in Zimbabwe is means tested, and is informed by the residual concept of social welfare. Residualism suggests that, the state can only provide assistance to individuals if it can be established that, they are unemployed; and are unable to receive support from their families. The residual concept rests on the understanding that, individuals are

responsible for welfare, and that, needs should be met through the family and market (Patel 2005). Accordingly, state intervention is only justified where the intervention is meant to protect human life. From such a perspective, state intervention is temporary, and provision of social security as normal and legitimate is viewed as creating dependency syndrome, thereby discouraging individuals from becoming self-sufficient. As such, the state takes a minimalist approach to social welfare, which, after the introduction of structural adjustment programmes (SAPs), was further reinforced. SAPs led to deteriorating economic performance. The programmes called for state roll back in the provision of social services. In addition, major reductions in social spending also meant reduction in social assistance (Mkandawire 2015). This led to increased selectivity in providing social assistance to the extent that, only the extremely poor were accommodated.

Later in 1994, Zimbabwe moved from a single-tier (social assistance) to three-tier social security system. The Social Insurance Scheme – Pensions and Other Benefits Scheme; and the Workers Compensation Scheme are both administered by the National Social Security Authority (NSSA). This Authority is a semi-public organisation (Kaseke 2003). The schemes provide against three risks – old age, invalidity and death. Voluntary arrangements consist of private insurance and occupational pension schemes. Both “social insurance and voluntary arrangements are funded by the workers’ contributions therefore only those in formal employment can contribute” (Kaseke 2003, p.3).

Problems emerge when considerations of unemployment are done. Zimbabwe has unemployment levels of more than 80 percent therefore, the majority of the people are not able to participate in social insurance, and are dependent on social assistance to cushion them from poverty (Kaseke 2011). Yet, the resource base of the social assistance programme is low, and the number of unemployed people who can ever benefit from social assistance is

low. The limited coverage of social insurance indicates the importance of social assistance in providing basic social protection to the majority of the population. Referring to social assistance as social welfare from the colonial past has led negative connotations. In addition, even though Zimbabwe has a three-tier social security system, the proportion of those covered by social insurance is low, making social assistance the only source of social protection for the majority.

A key consideration is whether social security is being realised through social assistance. There are several obstacles to the right to social security, including association of social assistance to charity (leading to negative attitudes towards social assistance). This partly explains low budget allocations to social security (Kaseke 2011). Religious and voluntary organisations were the first to provide social relief to destitute members, and the recipients were viewed as objects of pity. As such, social assistance was viewed as a privilege extended to the poor. This understanding can also be noted when the colonial government came on board in providing social assistance. The state viewed provision of social relief as a privilege not right; and applied a residual approach that gives it leeway to intervene only at its own discretion.

Several additional issues can be noted in the provision of social assistance. The Constitution of Zimbabwe (and any other country), is a core source of the right to social security (Kaseke, 2012, p. 5; Olwer 2004, p. 21). Legal backing for the provision of social welfare is essential. Kaseke (2012) reports that, the provision of social assistance in Zimbabwe is informed by the Act of Parliament (the Social Welfare Assistance Act of 1988). However, this Act considers social assistance provision as a privilege (those wishing to access social assistance are called applicants not claimants, and the Act focuses on specific categories). There are no mechanisms for external adjudication. The Act merely provides that, all disputes relating to

applications for social assistance be referred to the Minister, and there are no provisions for further appeal. Access to social security is only activated when the intended beneficiary lodges an application. It is therefore, a passive social safety net.

Means testing associated with social assistance may result in exclusion of deserving beneficiaries (Kaseke 2011, p. 6). Historically, widows and divorced women were excluded, bringing out gender biases. Social assistance was informed by the ‘male breadwinner view’ (ILO 2000). However, due to increasing recognition of women as equal citizens, they can apply in their own right. Broadly, social assistance has urban bias, because poverty was viewed as an urban phenomenon. The urban poor were encouraged to relocate to rural areas to be self-reliant. Social assistance is elusive to most rural residents (Kaseke 2003). The state has, over the years, dismally failed to attain sufficient budget allocation to social assistance, and allocations are exhausted well before the end of the financial year or applications are stopped or deferred because of limited financial capacity. In some years (2002, 2008, 2009) social assistance was stopped due to fiscal challenges.

Coverage of social assistance is low (falls below the minimum 20% provided for under the ILO). Although, the government attempts to cover all areas, social assistance is more common in communal areas (CAs). The new farmers do not qualify because they are considered ‘better off’ by virtue of owning and utilising ‘better’ land. The government also allows the provision of assistance through approved local and international NGOs, multilateral and bilateral institutions. Churches and corporates also provide social assistance, as long as they are not doing so for political interests (for example, in support of opposition political parties), there are no squabbles with government.

Regarding NGOs, with increased worsening state-civil society relations stretching back to around 2000 when the FTLRP was embarked, few international NGOs remained functional in Zimbabwe. Most have ‘closed shop’ or reduced operations (including World Vision and Plan International). These mostly cater for approved beneficiaries in communal areas, especially those prone to drought, providing either food aid or cash transfers. However, resettlement areas are not a priority on the basis that, people in these areas are empowered to provide for their socioeconomic wellbeing through land utilisation. Moreover, resettlement areas are considered ‘political minefields’ by the NGOs, considering the history of their formation and the earlier hegemony of ZANU PF. Most international NGOs are reluctant to provide social assistance because the redistributed land is considered contested; and assisting the new farmers would be viewed as legitimising the FTLRP. Private players, on the other end, such as mines, provide charity through corporate social responsibility (CRS). However, CRS is optional; its coverage is low and with widening constraints on performance of corporates due to macro-economic challenges, the provision of CRS increasingly becomes an ‘unnecessary luxury’.

Social assistance benefits are not reviewed regularly; even when they are reviewed, they are kept low; and the assistance is not reliable mainly due to inadequate resources. Limited resources force officials to limit the number of beneficiaries to levels that can be sustained. Take-up rates are low due to various reasons including ignorance. Some people are not aware of social assistance programmes or lack knowledge that they are eligible (Kaseke 2012, p. 8). The Department cannot engage in awareness campaigns because doing so increases demand that cannot be met. In other cases, some would-be beneficiaries see no justification for using meagre financial resources they have to get less. Political will is generally low, partly explaining failure to allocate reasonable resources to social assistance. Social protection is politicised, especially in preparation for or during elections (Kaseke 2012, p. 5). I argue that

these constraints to social assistance and charity seem to point to increasing vulnerability to poverty; and that owning and utilising prime agricultural land has potential for reducing such vulnerabilities.

7.4 FTLRP and Social Protection

In this section, I consider the fast track land reform as an *ex ante* tool for social protection. The reform addressed the root causes of economic inequality and power imbalances created by the bimodal agrarian structure. The FTLRP and land reforms in general are tools for social protection, mainly as an alternative to social assistance. Several scholars focused on the FTLRP as a source of livelihood (James, 2015; Mkodzongi 2013; Zikhali 2012; Scoones *et al.*, 2010, Mutopo *et al.*, 2012). The centrality of land as a key asset has also been emphasised by many scholars (Yeros 2001, p. 87; King and Murray 2002, p. 585; Mbwadzwo-Siangombe *et al.*, 2014; Sacco 2008, p. 368; Bardhan 1996). As argued by Chibwana (2016), land as an asset increases household resilience or responsiveness in exploiting opportunities; and in resisting or recovering from negative effects of a changing socioeconomic environment. This argument is substantiated by applying the Moser's Asset Vulnerability Framework to land reform. Land is an asset with several entitlements that people (in this case, the land beneficiaries in Zvimba), can utilise against hardships and poverty. In this section, I address five components of land as a social protection tool. These are food availability and consumption; food sovereignty; own place, shelter, *musha*; production and ownership of livestock as short-term insurance and long-term accumulation; and innovations on social services and infrastructure.

7.4.1 Food availability, consumption and *dura*

Despite contestations in understanding what constitutes human rights, food is an essential right without which an individual, household, community and nation can be termed extremely

poor. Food availability and nutrition are topical aspects in national policies, regional and international protocols and declarations. At international level food is a fundamental human right in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) (UN 1948). The importance of having own food, and not relying on food aid from government and NGOs was emphasised by all participants in the three study sites.

Despite the existence of problems in accessing agricultural inputs (addressed in Chapter 6), the land beneficiaries' ability to produce own food and meet food requirements is being achieved by the majority. In addition, they can sell surplus to the GMB, other households within the farm community, communal areas, and to private buyers. In addition, they also share food with other households that may have failed to produce enough food. Compared to their life in the communal areas, their reliance on 'food aid and food for work schemes' is now very low, although there are some households still in need of such assistance. On source of food for the household, evidence shows that, the percentage of farmers who produce own food is highest compared to those who source food through purchasing from others and shops; and other initiatives including the 'food aid, food for work, employer-provided food rations and the Grain Loan Scheme (GLS)'. In Zvimba, 97 percent of the participating A1 farmers produce own food, and complement own food production with food purchases (mostly those foodstuffs that they cannot produce). Table 7.1 captures this finding.

Table 7.1 Source of Food among A1 farmers in Zvimba

Source of food	Settlement type
	A1
	%
Farmers who produce own food	97
Farmers who purchase food*	96
Farmers who rely on food aid	3
Farmers who rely on food for work	2
Farmers who rely on food rations	0.7
Farmers who rely on the grain loan scheme	10

**Food purchase pertains to that which the land beneficiaries cannot produce*

**Those who rely on the grain loan scheme only do so when they have failed to produce own food due to drought*

Source: Own fieldwork (2015)

The Table shows that, the proportion of farmers who produce own food are highest at 97%. Households purchasing food that they cannot produce (cooking oil, salt, sugar, margarine and so forth), stood at 96 percent. No farmer can produce all foodstuffs needed for household consumption. Farmers who get the grain loan scheme constitute 10 percent. However, the farmers indicate that, they benefit from the grain loan scheme due to drought (a factor beyond their control). The grain loan scheme is a government initiative to provide food for the farmers who would have been hit by drought. The farmers are expected to return the grain via the GMB when they have a good harvest (Moyo *et al.*, 2009). Consistency of ability to provide for own food requirements in a sound trajectory of land as a social protection tool.

On number of meals per day, the participants at Dalkeith, Whynhill and St Lucia are doing well compared to earlier food consumption status in the communal areas. Ninety-five percent (95%) reported that, they are having three meals per day or even more because the food is available, compared to five percent (5%) who are having two meals. None of the participants

reported having one meal per day. The high number of farmers who have three meals per day is confirmed by AIAS 2013/14 Household Baseline Survey.

Household and community food security has significantly improved according to the land beneficiaries' reports. Every land beneficiary has a *dura*, a traditional symbol that one is a farmer, and indeed a sign of social protection. However, a land beneficiary can have an empty *dura*. I argue that the significance the *dura* does not lie in its physical presence but its contents (grain). This explains why the few land beneficiaries have a *dura* but rely on food rations or aid. An excerpt of an indepth interview with a female land beneficiary focuses on food availability and related issues:

Generally, food availability and security has improved for most households. Most households are producing more than what they can consume. In my case, food production in early phases of occupying this land was a challenge. After adapting to a changed context and securing inputs, I am producing more than what is enough for my family. In Kasanze where I originated, I perennially exchanged labour for food, but now, my *dura* is always full. I am able to send excess produce to the market, and relatives in communal areas (Indepth interview with WLB42 – a female land beneficiary at Whynhill farm, 30/06/15).

The issue is not only about whether one has food stores or not, or how many meals you have per day, but also about the quality of food you eat.....diversity.....nutritional value and so forth (Indepth interview with DLB60 – a female land beneficiary at Dalkeith farm, 6/9/15)

On nutrition, mixed views were raised. Participants reported that nutrition status is often high during the summer season when diverse food is available in the fields. Those with perennially productive gardens or alternative sources of food; those who have money to buy additional food stuffs that improve nutrition; or those who receive remittances, are also better-off even after the summer season. Nutrition is a vital area of human health as shown by Zimbabwe's FNSP, and various other provisions at national and international levels. However, interaction with the land beneficiaries shows that, some people may be food secure but also nutrition

poor. Concerns by most A1 farmers on low nutrition status in the off-summer season phase exhibit temporary nutrition poverty. The excerpt of an indepth interview with DLB60 sums up the nutrition issues. However, such poverty cannot be generalised across the A1 farmers because of diversity in sources of food.

7.4.2 Food sovereignty

Broadly defined, food sovereignty is the right to healthy and culturally appropriate food that is produced through ecologically sound and sustainable methods; and people's right to define their own food and agricultural systems (Via Campesina 2007). From this broad definition, a household, community or nation should define appropriate food; and develop, and maintain capacity to produce its basic food respecting cultural and productive diversity. Food sovereignty addresses food autonomy (Food and Agriculture Organisation of the UN, FAO 2003). Enhanced ability of the households, community or nation to produce own food, and not for food to be imposed on them is important in food sovereignty. In essence, food sovereignty questions power relations in food production and consumption, especially global power dynamics compared to food security - merely viewed as when people at all times have physical and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food to meet their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life (UN-FAO 2003).

Land beneficiaries in Zvimba are variedly achieving food sovereignty because they are able to produce own and preferred food compared to those who consume food provided by international NGOs (mostly 'deserving' households in the communal areas). Chances of consuming genetically modified organisms (GMOs) are high in such cases. According to the participants, few households in some communal areas of Zvimba are receiving food aid but generally, international NGOs are reluctant to provide social assistance to the new farmers. The redistributed land is considered contested, and assisting the land beneficiaries is viewed

an act of legitimising the FTLRP (Moyo, 2011a). However, AIAS, in its 2013/14 Household Baseline Survey, shows that, some households in fast track farms of Zvimba and other districts are receiving food aid from NGOs. Chibwana (2016) corroborates these findings in the Kwekwe case study.

7.4.3 Own place, shelter and *musha*

Transformative social policy seeks as much as possible to reduce rather than respond to vulnerability. Lack of a place one calls his or her own, and shelter has the capacity to plunge people into great vulnerability and poverty shocks. Mbwadzwo-Siangombe *et al* (2014) emphasises the satisfaction of shelter requirements. Marshal (1950) included shelter under social rights. Own place and shelter are important in land as a social protection tool. Important aspects can be noted in relation to own place and shelter. Everyone who got land managed to have a place he or she calls his or hers. This aspect is more pronounced among former farm workers, and some land beneficiaries who originated from urban areas or mines. Some did not own a house in the urban areas. Neither did they have a place of their own in communal areas or old resettlements. These people did not have a *musha* for their benefit, and that of their children. Productive farming aside, getting land was a major achievement; and transformation of their lives. The FTLRP gave them dignity. Such people now have a place they call theirs; and those not owning a house in urban areas now have a place where they can, or have managed to build a family home compared to the city or town where some were renting one or two rooms for the family. They now have a place where they do not need to pay rentals and rates (for water, electricity and sewerage). They have been socially protected from vulnerability through the FTLRP, which in essence, is one of the key goals of transformative social policy. For some of these groups, agriculture is secondary, hence my argument that, everyone who got land through fast track is a land beneficiary, but not all are farmers.

In relation to quality of shelter, significant changes have been reported compared to the time of occupation. Unlike in early phases where land beneficiaries built temporary shelter made of pole and grass thatch, they have progressively built better houses using bricks, asbestos or roofing iron sheets or tiles. Homesteads have significantly improved and continue to do so. They are moulding bricks; and timber is sourced from the forests, while others are purchasing from hardware outlets (at Banket, Chinhoyi and Harare). Accordingly, no fast track land reform beneficiary does not have shelter. This positive development indicates the importance of security of tenure; and increasing income generated from agricultural activities. For example, promulgation of the Statutory Instrument (SI) 53 by the government of Zimbabwe in 2014 replaced offer letters given to A1 farmers. Security of tenure enhanced stability of the land beneficiaries on the farms; and engagement into agricultural activities. In the process, the land beneficiaries improved, and continue to improve housing. These are positive developments given the centrality of shelter.

7.4.4 Livestock as short-term insurance and long-term accumulation

Voices from the field show that, livestock is both a short-term insurance and long-term mode of accumulation. The farmers reported that, they sell small livestock to meet minor expenses, and big livestock to address major expenses such as agricultural inputs when they cannot do so through money raised through sale of produce. In a context of declining formal sector and insurance thereof, and given that the majority of the participants are not formally employed, insurance through livestock is important. Even if they wanted to be formally employed, Zimbabwe is experiencing unemployment levels in excess of 80 percent (ZCTU 2019). However, the OECD scholars do not acknowledge these social protection mechanisms (livestock ownership and sale) as components of social policy.

Cattle, goats, sheep and chickens are the most sold livestock; with small livestock being deposited first when land beneficiaries are experiencing economic hardships. I explain this trend in three ways within the context of the three farms. First, cattle are more important as a form of wealth accumulation. Second, cattle are central in agricultural production (where most farmers use ox-drawn ploughs and carts). Third, some land beneficiaries did not have cattle therefore; they are in the process of building a herd (through those they managed to purchase after the fast track land reform or the few they brought from communal areas). They may opt to sell their labour in exchange for money, food and other goods during hard agricultural years than to sell livestock. Better-off farmers, for example, those with formal jobs can utilise salaries to cushion against hardships; and to purchase livestock, especially in the context of economic woes where the local currency is losing value. However, in all cases, livestock are important. Livestock could be a short-term fallback resource/insurance and long-term source of accumulation.

7.4.5 Agency in innovating social services and infrastructure to reduce vulnerability

The FTLRP ushered an opportunity for the majority of the blacks to access land in the former large-scale commercial farms (Chipenda 2019; Mkodzongi and Spiegel 2018; Mkodzongi 2016; Mkodzongi 2013a, 2013b). An increased number of farm residents also implied an increased demand for social services (clinics and hospitals, schools, electricity, transport, water and sanitation services). The state of social services of the large-scale commercial farms could not cater for the masses, neither were the social services adequate for the farm workers under the whites-dominated bimodal regime. For instance, most farm workers had to access health services through mobile clinics, or had to travel long distances to get health services at clinics and hospitals in the communal areas. Few schools were built in the large-scale farms before and after independence. Only after independence did the large scale commercial farmers begin to build schools. Until their eviction, school infrastructure was

low. Ncube (2019, pp. 153-156) explores various challenges pertaining to social services in A1 farms (education, health, police service, business centres and access to potable water).

There existed no administrative directive from government for the white farmers to set up social services infrastructure (Moyo *et al.*, 2009). The whites residing in farms accessed health and school services mainly outside the farms; and had the financial resources to do so. This context created a situation where social services are critically low in most farms later occupied by the black majority. The farm workers of large-scale commercial farmers were excluded from accessing key social services, raising questions on social protection. In addition, farm workers did not have effective union representation, pensions, injury benefits and other social protection options. Overall, investment in social protection is critically low, and in some farms non-existent due to the non-prioritisation of the services under white land regime; and non-provision before implementing the FTLRP. In relation to social services and social protection, the study revealed persistence of the old order that existed prior to the FTLRP. Overall, social services such as school, health facilities and sources of potable water are low in the new farm communities due to the legacy of the formation of LSCF.

I also answered the question, 'How are the land beneficiaries innovating to improve social services?' The farmers are cushioning themselves from such shortages through converting farm houses, offices and sheds into primary schools (at Dalkeith farm); and engaging with local clinics (Banket clinic) for mobile clinics, health education and promotion (all farms); and provincial hospitals (Chinhoyi Provincial hospital), for mobile antiretroviral treatment. Sinking wells is a major strategy adopted by households to address potable water challenges. Water wells may be owned individually or collectively, thereby exhibiting a form of social cohesion.

Interaction with the land beneficiaries, VIDCOs and WADCOs brought out the following issues pertaining to the state of social services and agency of the land beneficiaries to improve their wellbeing.

This place did not have a primary school and our children had to walk about 12 kilometres to Banket. The conversion of the farmhouse and offices owned by Barrett into a primary school was an essential innovation. However, most teachers prefer better schools than makeshift ones like those in most farms. These schools are under-resourced. We are appealing to the government to support our community initiatives in education, health and safe water (Indepth interview with Mai Chipanga at Dalkeith farm, 27/11/15).

Our capacity to improve education, health and water facilities is low. We are utilising meagre resources from the community. We hear of government support through constituency development programmes but we are yet to benefit from these. We are not receiving donations. Improvement of some social services such as roads and health facilities requires substantial resources beyond those we can mobilise within this community. The District Development Fund (DDF) is dysfunctional. When we approach them to drill boreholes, they ask us to source materials. The government is struggling to provide basic funding to various sectors. We cannot even expect the government to construct roads or build clinics. However, they can source funding from other countries (Key informant interview with VID01 – a VIDCO member, Whynhill farm, 17/10/15).

7.5 Additional Alternatives to Social Assistance and Charity

Land beneficiaries at Whynhill, Dalkeith and St Lucia are engaging in various additional activities to secure wellbeing. Several scholarly contributions confirm land beneficiaries' engagement in additional off-farm activities as is occurring in Zvimba district. Whereas some view participation of the land beneficiaries in such activities as proof of having failed to use the land; while acknowledging associated problems, I argue that, these essential activities, when combined with agriculture, have benefits that outweigh those of social assistance and charity. They reduce vulnerability to poverty. The FTLRP brought with it, access to land and many other benefits beyond farming (Mkodzongi, 2013, p.107). Reliance on agricultural production (crop or livestock for food or cash) increases vulnerability due to unpredictable market conditions or collapse in production. Generally, diversification of livelihoods is an

innovative way of preparing for uncertainties. Scoones *et al.* (2010, p. 166) report that, “livelihoods in Africa are highly diversified and Zimbabwe is not an exception”.

The land beneficiaries are diversifying sources of wellbeing and accumulation. Pursuing an undiversified way of life strategy matters less if the source of income is secure and stable than if it is subject to uncertainty or inter temporal fluctuation (Devereux 2001). Moreover, Scoones (2009) argues that, diversity is the watchword, and livelihoods approaches have changed fundamentally from single-sector approaches to solving complex development problems. However, distinction between ‘diversification as a survival strategy’, and ‘diversification that feeds into processes of accumulation’ is essential (Razavi 2006). In addition, James (2015) draws to debates on whether the increasing participation of resettled farmers in off-farm activities signifies deagrarianisation or agrarian diversification.

Despite variety in conceptualisations, the new farmers are engaging in various additional on and off-farm activities that are largely alternatives to social assistance and charity. My argument is that, alternative strategies of getting income and food are important in securing wellbeing. In the selected study sites, the extra economic activities are better alternatives to handouts from government and well-wishers. However, depending on context, and how the alternative strategies are being utilised, they may have negative consequences to land use and production; and the environment.

I noted, though in fewer cases, that, engaging in other income generating activities such as natural resources extraction and trade, cross border trade and vending emanates from struggling to utilise the land as a result of production constraints. I answered two critical questions: What are the off-farm activities in Zvimba district? How are they influencing socioeconomic wellbeing beyond mere social assistance? Overall, I argue that off-farm

activities contribute significantly to food and income sources that sustain a large number of land beneficiaries, and members of their households. However, in some cases, some farmers prioritise off-farm activities compared to farm activities, raising concerns for commitment to agriculture. This is partly consonant to James' (2013) concerns for deagrarianisation. However, I did not dwell on deagrarianisation.

7.5.1 Extraction and trade of natural resources

The extraction and sale of fauna and flora is a central off-farm activity in Zvimba district. However, the availability of some natural resources is declining while some are seasonal. This off-farm activity complements household food and income sources while in some cases, such an activity may be the main source of income. Consonant to my findings, Mkodzongi (2013) reports that, a variety of fauna and flora became accessible to the new farmers after the white farmers left. Newly resettled farmers were able to harvest wildlife and other natural resources that were abundant mostly in the early stages of occupation in 2000. In other contexts, for example, Mhondoro-Ngezi, trade in game meat became a lucrative business. Such natural resources were formerly a preserve for white commercial farmers, and foreign tourists. After the FTLRP, impala and warthog were snared or hunted with dogs (Mkodzongi 2013). Close scrutiny of this activity shows gender dimensions - hunting was, and remains a male job. Those practicing hunting in the Zvimba study sites, sell meat to other farmers within the resettlement, nearby communal areas including Chirau and Kasanze, and mining areas in the Great Dyke. Sale of wild animals' meat was a vital source of income for the farmers. However, this activity will not last long due to depletion of wild animals.

In Zvimba district, natural resource extraction and sale are not restricted to fauna. Woodlands provide timber for construction and firewood for sale to communal areas, and towns as alternative source of energy, or main source of energy in unelectrified areas. Forests are also

being widely logged for firewood to cure tobacco. Some plants with medicinal attributes are also found in the woodlands. An example is *gavakava*. Plants with medicinal qualities are an important component of alternative health to that provided by local clinics and hospitals. The importance of conserving such plants was emphasised. Other studies revealed extension of off-farm activities to the diverse aspects of woodlands. In the Mhondoro-Ngezi case study, Mkodzongi (2013) notes that, woodlands across former white owned farms provided wild fruits and mushrooms harvested for domestic consumption, and for sale by roadsides and in neighbouring towns especially by women.

Opening up the formerly white owned farms expanded access to both land and other natural resources. However, such expanded access led to widespread extraction of fauna and flora raising concerns for an environmental catastrophe. In Zimbabwe, local authorities such as chiefs, heads and councillors are entrusted with the responsibility to 'police' the natural resources. However, effectiveness is a problem due to various reasons. They are part of the community. They also want to exploit the resources; and they understand the challenges experienced by local people, and why the locals are overexploiting the natural resources. There are no affordable alternatives available to 'ordinary' people. For example, coal for curing tobacco cannot be afforded by the majority. Some justify exploitation of fauna and flora in the name of reclaiming their ancestral resources. Colonial enclosure of natural resources had stolen their right to the resources. Land beneficiaries at St Lucia farm revealed other justifications for exploiting natural resources, especially wild animals. These were problematic, particularly in early stages of occupation for example, warthogs and baboons. They destroyed crops hence, had to be eliminated. In addition, forests had to be cleared to grow crops and for firewood to cure tobacco. However, I argue that, the dynamics of natural resources extraction and trade, and their role as an alternative social protection measure after the FTLRP requires indepth analysis in relation to various sites.

7.5.2 Mining (gold panning -*chikorokoza*)

The FTLRP created opportunities for accessing mining opportunities for example, alluvial gold panning within Zvimba; and in nearby areas such as Mazowe, Kadoma, Chinhoyi and Mhondoro-Ngezi. Illegal gold panning (*chikorokoza*) provides important sources of income for many farmers, and is largely a male activity. Panning is mainly done during the dry season. However, some women also contribute by assisting in grinding alluvial stones or sieving for gold in rivers. The new farmers may be gold panners, petty commodity brokers or wage labourers in the mines. This signifies the importance of mining as an off-farm livelihood diversification activity. Income from gold panning is variedly used therefore, no simple conclusion can be reached. However, the main uses include kick-starting farming; hiring additional farm labour; procurement of household necessities and assets; paying school fees for children; purchasing farm equipment and so on. Important to note is that, the benefits of mineral resource extraction are inextricably linked to agricultural investment and household economic wellbeing.

In Zvimba, rewards for gold panning are high but so are the risks. Death and injury due to landslides, raids by the police (ZRP) and criminal gangs, and fatal clashes among miners are among the most mentioned risks. In addition, state violence was noted. In the Mhondoro-Ngezi case, Mkodzongi (2013, p.112) reports of state violence in the context of “Operation *Chikorokoza Chapera* (Operation Gold Panning is Over)”. As is the case in Zvimba and at national level, policy shifts in relation to gold panning have been realised as the government sought to maximise its space in buying gold and other precious minerals. Based on the Mhondoro-Ngezi research site, Mkodzongi (2013) acknowledges these changes and notes that, the government was changing attitudes towards gold panners in the context of the Indigenisation policy and the need to maximise gold collections at Fidelity Printers. This has

led to the rebranding of their name to ‘artisanal miners’ (Mkodzongi 2013, p.113). Policy shifts such as Community Share Ownership Trusts (CSOT) give people residing in an area legal ownership of minerals found in their land, and that, they should be the primary beneficiaries of such natural resources. However, security and safety of the gold panners require legal reforms; and engagement in *chikorokoza* may displace some land beneficiaries’ commitment from farming to mining thereby defeating the objective of the FTLRP.

7.5.3 Petty commodity production for sale and vending

Large-scale mines for example, ZIMPLATS in nearby Ngezi area, small-scale mines and *makorokoza* areas in the Great Dyke offer markets for petty commodities produced by the farmers. These include green mealies, pumpkins, tomatoes, onions, fruits and so on. However, green mealies, pumpkins and fruits are seasonal; and are mostly grown in summer when Zvimba district receives rainfall. In winter and drought years, production dwindles because most of the land beneficiaries are not practicing irrigation agriculture. Moreover, some areas where artisanal miners operate may be difficult to access therefore, some land beneficiaries may not be able to tap on such markets. The sale of imported used clothes (known locally as *mabhero*), is also a major activity by some land beneficiaries. They sell *mabhero* within the study sites, other resettlements, nearby communal areas and towns (such as Banket and Murombedzi). This is a lucrative business for those who have access to *mabhero*, and those who do not have mobility challenges. However, moving around neighbouring areas to sell *mabhero* may reduce time that should be allocated to agriculture. Despite these problems, money generated through selling both petty commodity produce and *mabhero* may be used to meet household needs and purchasing agricultural inputs. Both are livelihood diversification strategies. Sale of *mabhero* straddles seasons unlike seasonal crops, therefore, guarantees income security during off summer seasons. Accordingly, these activities have potential to complement income generated through production and sale of

main crops and livestock. However, not everyone is engaging in these extra economic activities, and profits may not always be good therefore, blanket conclusions should be avoided.

7.5.4 Formal and informal employment: Skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled labour

Some farmers also sale labour to mines within Zvimba or in neighbouring districts, and industries in urban areas to complement income realised through agriculture, or to finance agricultural activities. Based on the profiles of the land beneficiaries explained in Chapter 5, some beneficiaries are working in the public or private sector, while others are unemployed. Mines in nearby districts such as ZIMPLATS, Ngezi, Mazowe Metallon Gold, and small-scale mines owned by indigenous business elites may draw labour from neighbouring farms and communal areas. The land beneficiaries provide mainly unskilled/casual labour although some get into, or are already occupying skilled and semi-skilled jobs. A large number of casual labour for these mines comes from the communal areas, and new farms. Some people accessed land in fast track farms while working on mines (or in factories). This group of land beneficiaries maintained employment. Land beneficiaries who are in full time employment or employed on casual basis are straddling between farming and employment off the farm. This arrangement creates both opportunities and challenges for maximising land use and production. Land beneficiaries who are paid ‘meaningful’ salaries and wages are able to hire farm labour, and purchase agricultural inputs and equipment therefore, their absence may not affect land use and production. However, some land beneficiaries are getting paltry wages, especially those who are working at small-scale indigenous mines. Low wages in the absence of alternative sources of income imply poor social protection. In addition, their capacity to invest in farm production is low leading to poor land utilisation or non-utilisation. This diversity demands nuanced interrogation in relation to social protection.

7.5.5 Migration and remittances

Some farmers or their children have migrated to towns and cities within Mashonaland West Province (Norton, Chinhoyi and Kadoma), other provinces in Zimbabwe or the Diaspora. In the absence of some household members or farm workers remaining on the plot for agriculture, or remitting for agricultural purposes, land use and production may decline or cease. Some land beneficiaries are remitting money, agricultural equipment and other inputs; and goods that are variedly important. Agricultural equipment and inputs are ready for use in agriculture, while money can be used to meet household needs, purchasing agricultural inputs and equipment, and hiring farm labour. Goods (groceries, clothes and various wares) are increasingly being used to hire labour in the three study sites. However, caution should be taken when addressing migration and remittances because households are not similar. Some households do not have members in formal or informal employment in towns and cities, or in the Diaspora. Some land beneficiaries who migrated are not remitting due to various reasons. Regardless of such diversity and challenges, remittances are a source of social protection with or without being channelled to agricultural purposes. However, much more important is use of remittances in land use and production because this dimension is directly linked to the social policy outcomes of the fast track land reform.

7.5.6 Cross border trade

Cross border trade is engaged mostly by women as a way of supplementing family income. Various wares are sold including clothes, solar panels, mobile phones, and television and radio sets. Solar products are increasingly being sold because most areas are not electrified. South Africa, Botswana, Zambia and Mozambique are the main countries where the wares are coming from. Some of the wares are being sold within the resettlements, and at formal and informal mining sites. The *makorokoza* areas are a lucrative market. Some women have

become actively engaged in income generation activities; and some are mobile (for example, cross border traders). They are going beyond reproducing labour for farm activities.

Some women have been able to acquire assets and income of their own; and such income is variedly being used. Uses include supplementing household income for purchasing household assets and necessities; purchasing farm equipment (such as ploughs), livestock, animal drawn carts; and so on. Generation of income and ownership of assets has reduced the vulnerability of these women and their families to poverty. In addition, in the process of engaging in off-farm activities and extra income generation, some women have been empowered; and have enhanced their voice in various activities including decisions on farm activities and use of proceeds. However, this is a thorny area because empowerment goes beyond mere contribution to household income or decision-making. Moreover, my findings on how cross border trade is playing out in the selected households may not be the same across the villages or in other study sites because the facets and dynamics of gender inequality are diverse and complex.

7.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, I departed from those who focused on the FTLRP merely as having given land to the black majority and engagement in off-farm activities narrowly as a sign of failure to use the land or as livelihood diversification. I situated land ownership and use of prime agricultural land as an *ex ante* social protection tool. The capability of the FTLRP to initiate and sustain social protection beyond social assistance and charity can be revealed by various achievements of the land reform (food availability, consumption, sovereignty and *dura*; own place, shelter and *musha*; and livestock as insurance and accumulation). These are social protection outcomes not acknowledged by dominant social policy literature (for instance that by the OECD). Due to access to and utilisation of prime agricultural land, the land

beneficiaries are better off than they could be with mainstream social assistance programmes, which, by virtue of being in resettlements, they are not entitled.

I also broadened the understanding of off-farm activities as alternatives to social assistance provided by the government and NGOs, and charity from churches, well-wishers and so on. These are the main ways in which social protection was provided in colonial Zimbabwe and in the post-colonial era. I argued that, the FTLRP facilitated land beneficiaries to access natural resources in their diversity and on wider scale. Due to the bimodal agrarian structure dominated by the whites, natural resources were previously inaccessible. The extraction, consumption or sale of natural resources have provided alternative sources of food and income necessary for reducing food and income vulnerability, while creating opportunities for accumulation. I also acknowledged problems emerging from utilisation of natural resources and engagement in other income generating activities. However, the social protection benefits of utilising prime agricultural land, and additional off-farm activities outweigh the costs. In the next chapter, I explore the fast track land reform as a transformative social policy instrument by focusing on reproduction outcomes.

Chapter Eight: Social Reproduction Outcomes

Horizons for reproducing households and the farm community have been broadened through access to land, and land use for both agricultural production, and other socioeconomic activities (SLB12 – Land beneficiary, St Lucia Farm)

8.1 Introduction

Transformative social policy goes beyond protection, destitution and short-term vulnerability analysis (Adesina 2011). This argument calls for scholars to decipher among other dimensions – for example, social reproduction among the land beneficiaries in a quest to understand land as a social policy tool. Central to this chapter is the argument that positive social organisation, agency and functioning of the fast track farms should be reproduced while eliminating the associated problems. Beyond merely maintaining the new farm communities that were formed through the fast track land reform, the farm community system should be improved.

I argue that, social reproduction is broad (as has been witnessed after orthodox Marxism), and that, the concept is highly contested. Despite variety, the concept is essential in providing useful lenses for interrogating the outcomes of the FTLRP. These include, participation by youth and women who were previously marginalised in the rural labour economy and production; biological and social reproduction; and how the FTLRP facilitated new labour regime. Furthermore, I also consider social reproduction in terms of socioeconomic and political implications of the emergence of the trimodal agrarian structure; productive and reproductive capacities of the land beneficiaries, and the surrounding community; acquisition of training, and skills development opportunities; and acquisition of productive and non-productive assets after the FTLRP.

Having understood broader aspects of social reproduction after the fast track land reform, I limited my focus to five key areas of social reproduction. These are sources of income and labour for household reproduction; the generational issues (prospects for continuing and improving agriculture by children and youth); biological reproduction (family or household size under the FTLRP); gender issues (by interrogating women's participation); and social institutions that are maintaining the functioning of the new post-FTLRP community. Of prime importance is the centrality of social organisation and agency in the quest to reproduce, and enhance households and the farm community.

8.2 Social Reproduction in Literature

In this chapter, I interrogate the FTLRP from social reproduction lenses by extracting aspects of the TSP that are applicable to the reform programme; and where necessary, provide contextual meaning. It is imperative therefore, that, first, I outline social reproduction based on literature. From the onset, I acknowledge that, the reproduction concept is highly contested. Several early and later sociologists developed the concept of social reproduction. However, I use Marx's conceptualisation as an example. The roots of social reproduction can be traced to Karl Marx, one of the main contributors to classical sociology. Marx focused on how the "capitalist mode of production reproduces itself in a relationship that involves on one side capital; and on the other labour. Although full proletarianisation did not occur, Marx (1986, pp. 717-718) presents labour as surviving on wages. In Orthodox Marxism, the wages are "means of subsistence which have to be consumed to reproduce the muscles, nerves, bones and brains of existing workers; and to bring forth new workers in existence, the maintenance and reproduction of the working class remaining a necessary condition for the reproduction of capital".

This orthodox Marxist conceptualisation of has been variedly criticised; in the process, neo-Marxists (Gramsci, Bourdieu, Habermas, Braverman, Burawoy, Bowles and Gintis and so on); and anti-Marxism emerging. Along the way, modifications of Marx's original ideas on social reproduction has led to the inclusion of labour and production under imperial, colonial and post-colonial regimes; and gendered power relations in understanding social reproduction (for example, by Marxist feminists). However, Karl Marx initiated a debate that shaped social reproduction.

This background to social reproduction is essential in a context where the FTLRP was implemented to address class differentiation and capitalist relations in the agrarian economy. In relation to agrarian structures, the contributions of several scholars are worth acknowledgement. For countries in the global south, access to and control of land and other natural resources in conjunction with labour emerge as key in the social reproduction sphere. Labour is essential for gathering and production (Naidu and Ossome 2016). Land and land-based livelihoods are of major importance to the rural poor who access support and cash through the land by virtue of membership or claims based on citizenship, ethnicity and indigeneity (Rao 2014; Mafeje 2003).

In essence, land and appended natural resources are essential in social reproduction; with the structural and institutional landscape being central in access and control. Biological reproduction, training and education which enable one to participate in a capitalist economy as well as acquisition of basic needs including food, shelter, clothing and healthcare are important factors of social reproduction (Naidu and Ossome 2016; Katz 2001). Moyo *et al.*, (2009) report that, how communities reproduce themselves may include sources of household food, income and labour; capital accumulation, and relations. The various ways of

understanding social reproduction are essential in interrogating the FTLRP as a social policy instrument. I highlighted this aspect in the earlier paragraph.

8.3 Sources of Food, Income and Labour for Household Reproduction

The fieldwork revealed that, the land beneficiaries are reproducing themselves through various sources of food, income and labour. My sample, which was predominantly composed of A1 farmers showed both diversity and convergence. Own food production topped the list of food sources followed by food purchases (see Chapter 7 Social Protection Outcomes). Income for household reproduction is generated through agricultural and non-agricultural activities. Agricultural sources of income are important in household reproduction, and pertain to sale of crop produce (maize; small grains such as sorghum; sunflowers, and tobacco). Other crops sold are groundnuts and round nuts, and garden crops (vegetables and tomatoes). However, these are mainly for household consumption and are sold locally.

Livestock sales are also essential sources of household income especially small livestock (poultry and goats). However, when income needs deepen, the land beneficiaries in Zvimba district can also dispose of cattle. In chapter 7 (Social Protection Outcomes), I explored livestock as a mode of insurance and accumulation. In that chapter, I also provided justifications for disposing small livestock first, and cattle last. I present patterns of livestock sales in Table 8.1 using St Lucia farm as an example.

Table 8.1: Livestock sales at St Lucia farm

Type of livestock	Number sold in the last three months (July to September)
Cattle	2
Goats	44
Poultry	101

**Poultry included both roadrunners and broilers*

Source: Own fieldwork (2015)

The Table indicates that, livestock sales are important in household reproduction through income generation. As I explained earlier, more small livestock (poultry and goats) are sold compared to large livestock (cattle). Exploration on the high number of small livestock sold revealed that, most are sold beyond the farm. Formal and informal food outlets were proliferating in Harare, Chinhoyi, Norton, Kadoma, Murombedzi and Banket. These need roadrunners and goats; and offer better prices than selling locally. The local customers would part with between \$1 and \$3 (or would want barter trade), while external customers would be charged \$8 to \$12 per roadrunner chicken.

The centrality of food and income generated from agricultural activities cannot be over-emphasised. Furthermore, in Chapter 6, I interrogated production constraints that have a bearing on output levels (and quality, particularly in cases of tobacco); and ultimately how these influence income realised through sale of agricultural produce. Concerns for low incomes realised from maize, especially by those who sell to the GMB; and higher incomes realised from selling tobacco (in good seasons, and when farmers manage to surpass the debt from contracting), are also critical issues relating to income sources for household reproduction. These militate against the ability of some households to reproduce themselves

and to recapitalise agriculture. I highlight these in Chapter 6 (Land Use and Production Outcomes), based on various interactions with the land beneficiaries.

The AIAS 2013/14 Baseline Survey provides crucial broader data that facilitate understanding household income in Zvimba district (and other districts). Average total gross agricultural income from crop and livestock sales by settlement for the six districts covered by AIAS (Zvimba, Goromonzi, Chipinge, Chiredzi, Kwekwe and Mangwe) are presented in Table 8.2.

Table 8.2: Average total gross agricultural income from crop and livestock sales by settlement

Year	Income range	A1		A2		CA		Total	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
2011	0	147	30.8	80	26.9	170	53.8	397	36.4
	\$1-500	142	29.8	24	8.1	118	37.3	284	26.1
	\$501-1000	70	14.7	21	7.1	15	4.7	106	9.7
	\$1001-2000	52	10.9	28	9.4	11	3.5	91	8.3
	\$2001-3000	21	4.4	30	10.1	1	0.3	52	4.8
	>\$3000	45	9.4	114	38.4	1	0.3	160	14.7
2012	0	119	24.9	74	24.9	172	54.4	365	33.5
	\$1-500	142	29.8	21	7.1	113	35.8	276	25.3
	\$501-1000	66	13.8	22	7.4	18	5.7	106	9.7
	\$1001-2000	71	14.9	32	10.8	7	2.2	110	10.1
	\$2001-3000	32	6.7	28	9.4	3	0.9	63	5.8
	>\$3000	47	9.9	120	40.4	3	0.9	170	15.6
2013	0	136	28.5	79	26.6	172	54.4	387	35.5
	\$1-500	138	28.9	22	7.4	113	35.8	273	25
	\$501-1000	71	14.9	19	6.4	18	5.7	108	9.9
	\$1001-2000	51	10.7	27	9.1	6	1.9	84	7.7
	\$2001-3000	24	5	19	6.4	2	0.6	45	4.1
	>3000	57	11.9	131	44.1	5	1.6	193	17.7

Source: AIAS Household 2013/14 Survey

Using Table 8.2, and taking 2013 as an example, the highest income realised from agricultural activities ranged from US\$1 to 500 (25 percent); US\$501 to 1000 (9.9 percent); US\$1001-2000 (7.7 percent); US\$2001-3000 (4.1 percent); and >US\$3000 (17.7 percent). These income figures indicate that, the farmers are able to meet most household needs, and to reproduce agriculture through recapitalisation. Recapitalising agriculture facilitates reproduction beyond the household to the farm level.

I noted that there are various other sources of income for household reproduction reported at Dalkeith, Whynhill and St Lucia farms. Household reproduction is also being achieved through non-agricultural activities, and alternative sources of income. I dwelt on these activities and the related issues in Chapter 7 (Social Protection Outcomes). In other study sites, non-agricultural activities were viewed as livelihood diversification strategies (Moyo *et al.*, 2009; Mkodzongi 2013; James 2015). However, I considered such activities and income derived as ‘tools’ for household and farm community reproduction. In Table 8.3, I present AIAS 2013-2014 broad data on household income by settlement, including income from non-agricultural activities. The Table includes other sources of household income that I did not address in Chapter 7 (hiring out permanent labour, hiring out casual labour, asset selling, and NGO grant).

Table 8.3 Sources of Household Income by Settlement Type

Source of Income	A1		A2		CA		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Remittances from diaspora	78	16.4	49	16.7	74	23.5	201	18.5
Local remittances	103	21.7	57	19.6	103	32.6	263	24.3
Pension	78	16.5	83	28.6	22	7.0	183	16.9
Formal employment	61	12.9	91	31.3	41	13.0	193	17.9
Sale of forest products	22	4.6	2	0.7	9	2.9	33	3.1
Gold panning	23	4.9	5	1.7	3	1.0	31	2.9
Hiring out permanent farm labour	7	1.5	0	0.0	4	1.3	11	1.0
Hiring out casual labour	41	8.6	3	1.0	60	19.0	104	9.6
Petty trading	47	9.9	23	7.9	29	9.2	99	9.2
Commercial loan	6	1.3	8	2.8	2	0.6	16	1.5
Asset selling	7	1.5	4	1.4	5	1.6	16	1.5
NGO grant	9	1.9	0	0.0	13	4.1	22	2.0

Source: AIAS Household 2013/14 Survey

The AIAS survey show that farmers are reproducing themselves using alternative income sources (including non-agricultural activities): local remittances (24.3 percent); remittances from diaspora (18.5 percent); gold panning (2.9 percent); hiring out labour (9.6 percent); sale of forest products (3.1 percent); pensions (16.9 percent); and formal employment (17.9 percent).

In relation to household reproduction through labour, diversity also exists. The Zvimba case revealed that, the majority of A1 household reproduce themselves through household labour. Agricultural activities (preparing land, planting, weeding, harvesting and preparation for sale or storage, and household chores are mainly done by household members). However, this

cannot be generalised to all A1 land beneficiaries. Some households including farm workers are reproducing themselves through selling labour for money or goods (a practice known locally as *maricho*).

I had keen interest in understanding how three (3) households resettled at Dalkeith farm but do not have arable land for agricultural production; and fifty-six (56) former farm workers who were allocated smaller pieces of land (0.3 hectares), are reproducing themselves. The three (3) households are engaging in agricultural production at the farm (utilising portions allocated to them by other land beneficiaries, and farming in the nearby communal area). The farm workers are utilising their portions for agricultural production. In addition, they are selling labour to land beneficiaries in both A1 or A2 schemes. This group, and communal area residents, are the main source of hired labour in the three farms. In the study sites, no A2 land beneficiary is selling labour to each other or to the A1 land beneficiaries. Those selling labour are paid in different ways (in cash or kind). Yet another dimension is that of farm workers who are reproducing themselves as permanent farm labourers, mostly in A2 farms and very low in the A1 scheme. However, permanent farm workers have declined since 2000. Even part-time labour fluctuates, and is on a downward trend. I support these findings with AIAS 2013/14 findings in Figure 8.1.

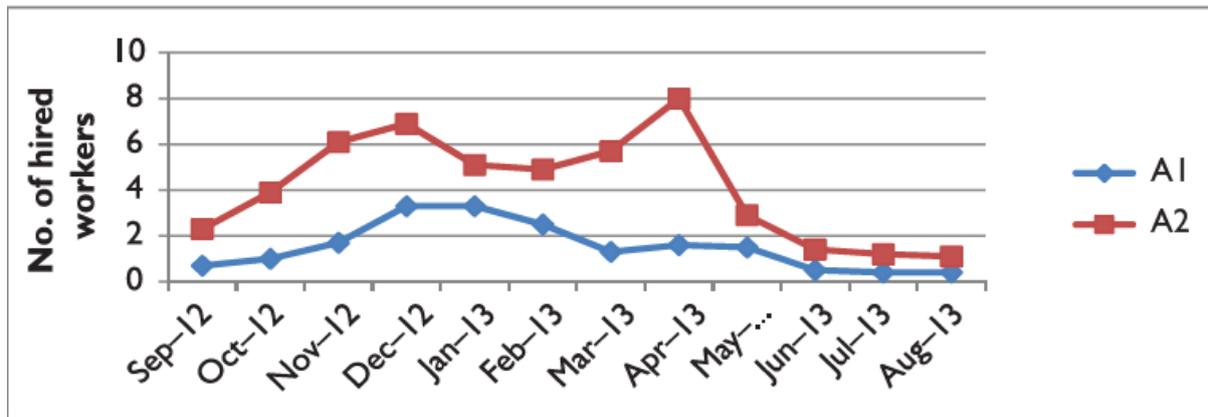


Figure 8.1: Recruitment patterns of part-time farm labourers by A1 and A2 farm units

Source: AIAS 2013/14 Household Survey

Participants reported that, financial payments for farm labour in both A1 and A2 farms were critically low. Farm workers erratically received payments, with most farm workers being in arrears dating to early 2014. Farm workers from the villagised scheme and communal areas were unanimous on this issue.

The whites were better in terms of everything, including production, and recognising the importance of farm workers in successful farming. We would get better wages at a known payday. In addition, we were allocated generous food rations, and given off-days. These relatives of ours (new black farmers), are cruel. They are exploiting us. We get meagre wages or may not receive anything at all after toiling the whole monthor two....or three. Imagine receiving \$5 after working for two months. Can you buy food for the family with \$5? Can you send your children to school with \$5? We are paid in arrears and I have a backlog stretching to February 2014. I work for (name supplied). His children are in the diaspora and they send used clothes. That is what we may get, but in most cases this payment is not commensurate with what we agreed on (wage) but what can I do? He is a war veteran and openly tells us to report anywhere in Zimbabwe, and no one would dare him. I do not have an alternative I continue to be exploited because I am poor (Informal interaction with farm worker from Kasanze communal area, 13/12/15).

Surely, I yearn the old days when I worked for Mr Campbell. We are working for nothing here (Indepth interview WFW7 - a farm worker Whyhill farm, 11/12/15).

These problems and innovations in remunerating farm workers were captured by Chambati (2017, p. 1) as follows:

“The new agrarian structure dominated by the peasantry not only employs an expanded base of unpaid labour whose character and conditions of employment are qualitatively different from the full and part time labour of the past. Yet there is continuation of super-exploitation of agrarian wage labourers that is reflected in the payment of poor wages and differing degrees of institutions of the residual labour tenancy in both the old and new farm compounds”.

The labour payment problems raised by the various farm labourers (casual and permanent), imply that, for the farm workers who are solely relying on wages or payment in kind, reproducing their households through selling labour is highly problematic. However, some farm workers complement labour sales with off-farm activities (moulding bricks, grass harvesting and gold panning). Brick moulding is a survival strategy for some farm workers and land beneficiaries at St Lucia, Dalkeith and Whyhill. They are servicing construction needs of people who are purchasing stands at Banket and Chinhoyi towns.

8.4 Capital formation

In Zvimba, I considered capital formation as an essential component in the reproduction of households and agricultural activities of the farm communities. I interrogated capital formation in terms of investment in productive assets that are essential for reproduction (including, but not limited to: infrastructure, power-driven assets, animal-driven assets, and hand tools). In Table 8.4, I present composite capital accumulation in three study sites, based on minimum selection of capital. What is considered capital may vary depending on the assessor's perspective.

Table 8.4: Composite capital accumulation in Zvimba district

Tool/Infrastructure	No. of land holders owning the tool/infrastructure
Tractors	3
Disc harrows	3
Planter	0
Animal-driven ploughs	81
Wheelbarrows	71
Cattle	90
Hand tools	123
Private tobacco bans	87
Storage facilities	104
Generators	113
Water pumps	30

**For storage facility participants referred to the dura*

**Water pumps are for small-scale irrigation*

Source: Own fieldwork (2015)

With reference to Table 8.4, I argue that, the accumulation of capital such as hand tools, ploughs, generators and storage facilities can be rated as good given a context where the land beneficiaries are relying on own effort and investment in pursuing production and accumulation. However, much of the accumulated capital in the A1 farms (hand tools, generators, wheelbarrows), have low contribution to large-scale and improved agricultural production. Cattle are important for ox-drawn farm activities, and the majority have some cattle. However, on average, the herds are small. However, this should be approached with caution given that, some land beneficiaries keep bigger herds in the communal areas, and keep few that they want to use at the plot. Productive capital such as tractors and disc harrows are owned by the least number of land beneficiaries. Water pumps owned are solely for small-scale irrigation, particularly watering gardens and small portion of the plot. This raises concerns on land use. These issues were also raised for A2 farmers who do not have key

farm equipment yet, were allocated large pieces of land. Effectively utilising such bigger portions using ox-drawn ploughs is impossible.

Broad quantitative data on capital accumulation in the new resettlement areas are important for an overall picture. Table 8.5 summarises AIAS findings on capital accumulation in the 2013/14 Baseline Survey of six districts, including Zvimba.

Table 8.5 Investment into productive assets by settlement type 2013

Investment type	A1		A2		CA		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Hand tools	172	36.1	160	53.9	68	21.5	400	36.7
Infrastructure								
Housing	87	18.2	48	16.2	43	13.6	178	16.3
Deep wells	9	1.9	5	1.7	2	0.6	16	1.5
Boreholes	3	0.6	11	3.7	0	0	14	1.3
Storage facilities	8	1.7	13	4.4	2	0.6	23	2.1
Private tobacco barns	10	2.1	23	7.7	2	0.6	35	3.2
Irrigation	1	0.2	10	3.4	0	0	11	1
Green houses	0	0	1	0.3	0	0	1	0.1
Animal drawn								
Livestock	164	34.4	98	33	76	24.1	338	31
Livestock facilities	28	5.9	20	6.7	23	7.3	71	6.5
Farm implements	32	6.7	29	9.8	12	3.8	73	6.7
Power driven								
Farm implements	18	3.8	39	13.1	1	0.3	58	5.3
Generators	14	2.9	16	5.4	6	1.9	36	3.3
Truck > 1 tonne	6	1.3	16	5.4	0	0	22	2

Cars	7	1.5	15	5.1	1	0.3	23	2.1
Double cab trucks	2	0.4	11	3.7	0	0	13	1.2
Single cab trucks	6	1.3	4	1.3	0	0	10	0.9

Source: AIAS Household 2013/14 Survey

The Baseline Survey shows that significant investments were made across the settlement models, mainly on hand tools (36.7 percent), followed by livestock (31 percent), and housing (16.3 percent). In addition, significant investment in other areas was achieved: farm implements (6.7 percent); livestock facilities (6.5 percent); power driven farm implements (5.3 percent); and private tobacco barns (3.2 percent). However, A2 farmers dominated in investment, followed by A1, and lastly, communal areas. Important to note is the convergence of my findings and those of the AIAS on higher investments/accumulation of hand tools and livestock in the A1 scheme.

8.5 The Generational Question: Prospects for Reproducing Agriculture through Children and Youth

Children and youth are important in the reproduction of society. They are often presented as the future of society. In the area of prospects for reproducing and improving agriculture, I sought the views of children of the landholders (aged 18 years or more); and youth in the three farms. The eighteen years or more age group was chosen because, according to Zimbabwe's law, this group has reached legal age of majority; and they can represent themselves. These groups were chosen on the basis that, they have potential to carry on with, and improve agricultural activities on retirement or death of parents and guardians. They can reproduce farming at household and scheme levels. Despite variety of views, the majority consider themselves not only as future farmers, but also as better farmers in terms of farm investment, production, market share and contribution to national food security, and development.

8.5.1 Access to and ownership of agricultural land

Land is a key resource because of its economic, cultural and political significance. The youth at the three farms, reiterated the significance of owning land. Those who were at youth age during farm invasions partly attribute their participation to the importance of the land, especially prime land. The indelible importance of the land is supported by many renowned scholars including (Mkodzongi 2013, 2018; Chiweshe 2011; Murisa 2009, 2018; Moyo *et al.* 2009) in studies of various post-FTLRP sites. Youth (alongside war veterans and traditional leaders), contributed to the ‘war’ of dispossessing the whites of prime land. This ‘war’ is locally commonly referred to as the *Jambanja or Third Chimurenga*. Youth participated within a context shaped by war veterans, government and traditional leadership. The role of the war veterans is widely articulated by Sadomba (2008). However, the participation of the youth in land invasions cannot be trivialised.

Paradox, however, lies in their direct access to and ownership of prime land on formalisation of land invasions. Several issues arise in relation to the youth. Evidence from the two districts shows that, a marginal number of youth own land in their own right. Land ownership inequalities contradict the often-emphasised view that youth are the future of society. This imbalance contradicts their participation in the land invasions, role in farm activities and contribution to the livelihood of households. Land ownership in the context of this chapter is possession of an offer letter in one’s name. A land beneficiary formally owns land if he or she was issued an offer letter. However, important to understand is that, some youth own land after the death of the parents or guardians. In other cases, some parents and guardians are ‘ceremonial owners’ of the farms. They own the farm on the basis of the offer letter but they informally transfer ownership to their children. Such transfer is done on grounds of inheritance. Across all the study sites, and in communal areas, land is one of the assets at the centre of inheritance. In addition, youth are physically capacitated to utilise the land

therefore, some parents and guardians reported that, it is rational to ‘transfer ownership’ to the youth. Interesting is that, youth who do not own land in their own right indicated that they have user rights to their parents’ and guardians’ pieces of land.

Access to the A2 scheme, unlike A1, required one to have proof of financial capacity and assets to show that the land would be used productively and profitably. A2 farms are bigger than A1 farms. In some cases, these are 3000 to 10 000 hectares. The A1 scheme is often presented as ‘villagisation’ of the formerly white-owned commercial farms. Collateral requirement was, and remains a stumbling block in accessing and functionally operating in the A2 scheme. This challenge is not experienced by the youth alone. Some beneficiaries who managed to get into the A2 scheme on the basis of political connections but did not have the requisite financial capacity and assets are not using the farms productively as was the set aim. In relation to youth participation in agriculture, Damar (2008) and the Food and Agriculture Organisation in collaboration with the Technical Centre for Agricultural and Rural Cooperation (CTA), and the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) (2014) raised financial capacity and assets as major challenges inhibiting youth participation in agriculture.

In Zvimba, yet another issue is that, some youth do not want to own land in their right nor do they want to participate in agriculture because farming is not attractive. For some youth, the reasons are that, they do not have the financial backbone and essential support to use land productively. These findings are corroborated by Chipenda (2018) who focused on Dunstan, Glen Avon and Xanadu farms in Goromonzi district, and communal areas in Rusike and Seke. Although these are different study sites to those used for this chapter, there are several similarities on youth’s perceptions on ownership of land for farming. Similar sentiments on perceptions of the youth on land ownership for agricultural purposes were raised by other

scholars (Scoones 2017a; Rwodzi 2017). Field evidence from three study sites, namely, Chikombedzi (Manicaland Province), Mvurwi (Mashonaland Central), and Wondedzo Extension (Masvingo Province), show that, some children resident in the farm communities do not imagine themselves taking over from their parents. Below are extracts of my interactions with the youth to support.

Owning land? What for? Farming is not an economic activity for the young generation (Informal interaction and questioning; SLY14 – Youth at St Lucia farm, 20/11/15).

I grew up farming. Rather, I would look for formal employment in the nearby cities or go to the Diaspora (Indepth interview with DY7 - Youth at Dalkeith farm, 10/10/15).

Some youth want to own land in their own right (in their own names), and effectively utilise land to enhance livelihoods. A simplistic approach to youth perceptions on owning prime land, and participating in agriculture should therefore, be avoided. However, the youth bemoan lack of support from the government and other stakeholders, exploitative contract farming arrangements, and under-utilisation of prime agricultural land by some beneficiaries including some youth. Land audit, repossession of under-utilised land and reallocation to youth was topical during both formal and informal interaction with youth.

Farming is the core economic activity.... I would like to own a piece of land in my name....and to be fully supported by government. I hope the government will audit land ownership and allocate late to youth (Indepth interview with WY9 – Youth at Whyhill farm, 16/10/15).

Agricultural land in this area is not being used productively....and that demotivates me from pursuing agriculture. If ever, the government is going to consider land audit, land underutilisation, repossession and reallocation to the youth must be prioritised (Indepth interview with DY14 – Youth at Dalkeith farm, 8/9/15).

Despite challenges, most people in this area who are taking farming as business are accumulating household assets, livestock and a stable income....I will get into farming if the opportunity arises, and if necessary support is provided (Informal interaction with SL11 – Youth at St Lucia farm, 27/9/15).

8.5.2 Farm activities

The reproduction of farm activities is undoubtedly anchored on the participation of the youth and children. An early anthropological study by Schildkrout (1978) showed that children and youth participate in critical roles and activities – what he termed a “young people’s economy”. Farm activities such as land clearing, land preparation, seeding, weeding, harvesting, selling of farm produce, general farm maintenance and so on, are mainly done by the youth and children. These are the core activities in any farming community and FTLRP communities are not an exception. Youth participation is pivotal for the success of these activities. Youth and children perform these activities in their households. They may also sell their labour outside their households for money (locally known as *maricho*), or in exchange for goods. In the case of Goromonzi district, Chipenda (2018) found a similar trend. Overall, the chances of reproducing farm activities in the absence of the elders may be guaranteed although lack of commitment by some youth, and other challenges are drawbacks.

Sharing income generated through farming is however, problematic in most cases mainly due to the nature of transactional relations; and gerontocracy. The farm communities, as is the general traditional practice, are gerontocratic. The elders, especially the men, have an ‘upper hand’, and control children, youth and women. This control may spill into sharing of farm produce and income. Where banks are involved in the transactions, money is transferred into the person who formally owns the plot. These could be parents, guardians or youth. For example, in the case of tobacco sales, money is transferred into the person with a grower’s number. Even in the sale of maize to the Grain Marketing Board (GMB), one is defined as farmer through the possession of an offer letter. However, this may not always apply. Conflicts emanating from unequal sharing of income derived from sale of farm produce were widely reported across the farms.

This dimension however, should not be over-generalised. Some youth own the plot in their own right, and sell farm produce in their name. Some households share farm produce equitably to the principal contributors, youth included. In such cases, youth may choose to keep or sell their share. Furthermore, private buyers, who are referred to as ‘poachers’ by the government or contractors, buy produce without considering the formal definition of a farmer (possession of offer letters or grower’s numbers). These buyers usually have better terms and prices, and they have cash. In all the study sites, some private buyers are trading using the much-sought United States dollar. Those without formal documents for land ownership, and accordingly, direct ownership of the farm produce (some youth and land tenants), prefer private buyers. This trend is widespread even among the formally recognised farmers hence, the increasing conflicts between government parastatals such as GMB and contractors on one side; and private buyers on the other.

8.6 Biological Reproduction and Family Size after the Fast Tracked Land Reform

I also sought to understand the prospects of land beneficiaries having more or less children after owning land. I considered procreation (biological reproduction) as a major dimension of how households, and the future occupants of the farms are regenerated internally. In Zvimba district, a broad consensus is that, owning and utilising prime agricultural land, having a secure place one calls his or hers; and where one can build shelter, enhanced food security (addressed in Chapter 7-Social Protection Outcomes), stability of income, and better chances of wealth accumulation, increases chances of couples to choose to have more children.

The fast track land reform opened up opportunities for the land beneficiaries to own prime agricultural land as a core means of production. Despite challenges pertaining to sourcing agricultural inputs, limited support from government, and vagaries of the natural environment (such as drought), food security has improved. On and off-farm activities to complement

agricultural production and income are contributing to further improving the income and food base of the households. Furthermore, the government enhanced security of tenure through the SI 53 of 2014 provision. Security of tenure cumulatively improve the socioeconomic stability, and wellbeing potential of the land beneficiaries, and their capability to provide for bigger number of children and other dependents (if they choose to). The following excerpts from informal interactions, interviews and focused group discussions sum this dimension:

Due to the fast track land reform programme, I am more secure than before therefore, my capability to provide for a bigger family and have increased. As you can see, I am living with my young brothers; sisters and nephews because I can provide for them in terms of food, shelter, education and clothing. They also provide labour for household chores and farm activities (Indepth interview with VaChigombe at St Lucia farm, 9/07/15).

Overgeneralisations are misleading because the decision to have more or less children is not determined solely by ownership of prime agricultural land, and security of livelihoods attached to such ownership. Personal values, couple's decision, religion, and health considerations also influence procreation. An excerpt from FGDs with some land beneficiaries presented below brings out this argument.

Having a big family is influenced by several factors. However, owning land, and a secure source of food and income may contribute to the decision to marry; or have more siblings (One participant at a FGD at Whyhill farm, 7/8/15).

While acknowledging variations in choice of having more or less siblings, I revealed that, ownership and use of prime agricultural land has broader production, reproduction and protection outcomes. Several achievements can be attained through the land (food, shelter, *musha*, and livestock). These are essential in the short and long term; and may increase decisions for biological reproduction.

8.7 Gender Issues

Gender equality and equity are important considerations in understanding outcomes of development programmes. In relation to the FTLRP, diverse and often complex issues emerge in relation to gender division of labour and social reproduction. People who moved into the farms brought in their traditional values and practices pertaining to gender (and other areas of social life). Reproduction of patriarchy was emphasised across the farms; along with general acknowledgement of women as human beings who should enjoy human rights, like men. The acknowledgement of women as normal human beings is in tandem with national, regional and international calls and trends. Diverse scholars engaged Zimbabwe's fast track land reform from 'gender lenses' (Moyo, Chambati, Chidavarume, Munyikwa, Nyakudya and Chigumira 2015; Mutopo, Manjengwa and Chiweshe 2014; Gaidzanwa 2011; Mutopo 2011; Chingarande 2008; Ndoro 2006).

Women raised issues on higher labour contribution to household chores, *tseu/tsewu*, and the main plot. The *tseu*, a subdivision allocated to women/wife for agricultural production, is a longstanding practice in Zimbabwe. The women 'own' the piece of land, and agricultural produce from the *tseu*. However, women's burden in the provision of farm labour intensifies due to the *tseu*. Women should work on their pieces of land, and also the main/family plot. The *tseu* provides some women with an opportunity to carry out productive agriculture. In another dimension, the *tseu* facilitates women to have access to prime agricultural land; and to grow own crops including groundnuts, roundnuts, sweet potatoes and Bambara nuts (Mutopo 2011). However, scrutiny shows that, the *tseu* does not challenge the root cause of gender inequality which has led to the marginalisation and relegation of most women, that is, patriarchy.

Generally, men dominate in land ownership and control of production and income. The *tseu* is a subdivision within a plot owned, and controlled by the men. It appears therefore, that the *tseu* gives women a false sense of empowerment. In reality, they may not make crucial decisions. The crops grown on *tseu* are mainly for household consumption, and surplus is sold. The income generated is used to meet household needs, and may be controlled by the men (husbands). Moreover, the crops grown are not for crucial commercial markets. However, inequalities are not linear or simplistic therefore, nuanced analysis is vital.

I extended analysis of gendered social reproduction to female farm workers who are providing labour to the new farmers. This group should work in the plots of the land beneficiaries yet, they should also meet household division of labour, and responsibilities including preparing food and caring for the children. The household activities and responsibilities matrix is tilted against the women. In addition, across these categories (female landowner, female farm worker), both are grappling with child bearing and rearing; and restriction to the private sphere (unpaid labour/unpaid economy), sharing of income realised from agricultural activities, and property ownership. However, these inequalities and inequities, and how they are reproduced should be understood from the standpoint of household diversity.

8.8 Social Organisation: Institutions, Associations and Agency for Social Reproduction

The new farmers in Zvimba district faced a plethora of challenges during and after resettlement. Historically, the former large-scale farms, upon which the fast track farms were established, lacked basic infrastructure such as schools, clinics, shops and public transport system. Some of the challenges are enduring, and variedly affecting the farmers. These include, absence of pre-settlement support; limited involvement of the government (particularly prior to 2000, when land occupation was led by war veterans and chiefs);

absence of complementary social infrastructure (compared to the initial phases of land reform where pre and post settlement socioeconomic infrastructure was provided); and coincidence of the FTLRP and economic crises. Moreover, “lack of support by foreign funders on the basis that the land taken is contested; and that, supporting the land reform would in essence, justify land dispossession from the whites” (Mkodzongi 2013, p. 117), militated against the FTLRP. The new environment created by the FTLRP required the farm households at Dalkeith, Whynhill and St Lucia (and other fast track sites), to work together. The farmers had to organise themselves socially, and collectively beyond geographical and ethnic differences to address the diverse socioeconomic challenges associated with new land; to make farming a success; and to reproduce broader wellbeing.

Several scholars support the need for social organisation and collective effort in addressing settlement and post-settlement problems (Chibwana 2016; James 2015; Mkodzongi 2013, p. 118; Chiweshe 2011; Dekker and Kinsey 2011; Scoones *et al.*, 2010; Moyo *et al.*, 2009; Murisa 2007; 2009; Moyo 2011). However, these scholars note that, initially, social organisation was difficult due to ethno-regional backgrounds of the land beneficiaries. At Dalkeith, Whynhill and St Lucia; and other farms in Zvimba district and beyond, the farmers were resettled without prior provision of farm and social infrastructure and social services. These are essential in successful farming, and continued existence and wellbeing of the farmers and their households.

The plurality of social networks and new institutions that emerged in Zvimba district over the years is testimony of the existence of socioeconomic challenges; farmers’ agency in the context of such challenges; and the need to pursue social reproduction of the households, and the overall farm community system. The several networks and associations that emerged over the years, and are currently in operation (local farmers’ groups, micro finance schemes, burial

societies, development associations and churches), are based on spirit of cooperation and mutual understanding. I explore these in the ensuing sub-sections.

8.8.1 Farmers' cooperatives

At Dalkeith, Whyndhill and St Lucia, reproduction of farming is mainly hampered by unavailability or exorbitant prices of agricultural inputs (explored in Chapter 6). The gravity of this problem has been raised by scholars who worked in other study sites (Ncube 2018, p. 137; Chipenda 2018; James 2015; Mkodzongi 2013). The agricultural inputs challenge is aggravated by the national economic woes that have spanned decades. These have resulted in under-performance (and closure) of some agro inputs producers; and dwindling fiscal capacity of the government to provide inputs, and agricultural research and extension (AREX) services, equipment, expertise and vital information on agriculture among many other challenges. The challenges are hampering productive and social reproductive capacity of the selected farms.

At Dalkeith, Whyndhill and St Lucia farms, the farmers collectively established ways of sourcing inputs, and agricultural research and extension services. Farmers' cooperatives include Kupfuma Ishungu, and Zhizha farmers' Group. The participants raised various issues concerning the cooperatives, but the central argument was that, the desired and achieved contribution of the cooperatives to the productive capacity of the farmers; and reproduction of farming, is still low. Overall, despite the existence of such challenges, new agrarian operations for social reproduction are being implemented in the new environment, particularly in the absence of official help.

8.8.2 Development associations

The three farms are variedly affected by lack of social infrastructure (schools, clinics and potable water), and other services mainly because the LSCFs were not meant for a large number of people; and absence of provision of such critical infrastructure prior to implementing the FTLRP, or immediately after. However, such infrastructure is critical for reproduction of households and farming. Recognising the need for such infrastructure, the farmers formed development associations to mobilise resources and linkages for development, and coordinate the renewal or replacement of development infrastructure left by the whites. Various scholars (Murisa 2007, 2009; Chiweshe 2011; Mkodzongi 2013; James 2015; Ncube 2018), captured the importance of organising for development in the farm areas and the rural communities. (Murisa 2007, p. 5) reports that, “rural communities have developed innovative support systems that cushion against vulnerability, and that enhance the quality of life. These support systems include social arrangements of reciprocity, compulsory norms of generosity, communal land and work sharing”.

Through local leadership, the leaders of the associations network and collaborate with various players in development, including government departments and ministries (through the Member of Parliament, MP), local business operators (at Banket), corporates (such as mines), churches, and civil society organisations. The leaders of such associations include, but are not restricted to village heads, local ZANU PF leadership, local councillors, Village Development Committees (VIDCOs), Ward Development Committees (WADCOs), and war veterans. The community is the main source of resources given that, the government is largely unable to fund development due to fiscal underperformance. Well-resourced international NGOs shun supporting fast track communities. Moreover, local business persons and corporates provide support as, and when they can. Providing development support to the farmers is not mandatory. The following excerpt from interviews at St Lucia

and Whynhill farms indicate the development challenges being experienced, development associations' contributions to alleviating the problems, and the need for multi-stakeholder approach to complement farmers' efforts:

Main problems in this area include inadequate primary and secondary schools, low availability of potable water, and poor road infrastructure. We are pooling resources together, but these are far too low to address the problems. We are appealing to the government and other stakeholders to assist us (Indepth interview with WVID2 – a VIDCO member at Whynhill farm, 9/07/15).

Two dimensions of social organisation at St Lucia, Whynhill and Dalkeith can be noted. First is agency by the farmers to establish development associations for the reproduction of farming, and general wellbeing of the farms (through provision potable water, and improvement or improvisation of buildings as school facilities). Second is the widespread integration of formal and informal structures of authority to address development challenges at the farms.

8.8.3 Micro finance schemes

In a context of increasing need for financial resources to fund agricultural activities, other household needs and community development, micro finance schemes are essential. They facilitate the reproduction of households, farming and community. Formation of microfinance schemes (*maraunderi/kukandirana mari*), are central in gaining income for farming (purchasing farming inputs - seed, fertiliser and chemicals), and capacitating households, for example, to get income to buy property. At Dalkeith and Whynhill, such schemes are mainly an activity for women. However, the microfinance institutions are affected by meagre savings, and failure to invest the savings.

8.8.4 Churches

Churches are also central in the social reproduction of farm communities in Zvimba district. The churches emerged from the time of occupation, and most have been ‘transplanted’ from the communal, old resettlements, mines and urban areas. These include African Independent Churches (AIC) such as Johwani Masowe yeChishanu, Johwani Marange, Zion and so on; and mainstream churches including Salvation Army, Roman Catholic, Anglican and African Apostolic Faith (AFM). Despite problems, the churches are essential for social reproduction of the farm community due to the essential roles they play in the fast track resettlements. The church members support each other through providing farm equipment, agricultural inputs, financial handout without repayment, credit, and other material assistance. These are important in the reproduction of households and overall, the community.

Notable across the churches is their role in associational life, belonging and problem solving. Against a background of ethno-regional differences among the land beneficiaries (explained in Chapter 5); the congregants associate and assist each other within and between the A1 and A2 schemes. They consider themselves a single family under one God. In Zvimba district, belonging, which, before and in early stages of occupation was mainly defined according to conventional kinship, has been redefined and recontextualised. New ‘kinship’ in the form of ties with church members were reported to be strong at all the three farms. Such ties transcend geographical and ethnic boundaries. Initially, belonging was crystallised on biological ties and common place of origin yet, voices from the field indicate progressive crystallisation of belonging around the church.

Churches are also contributing to the welfare of the farm households through solving problems spiritually or materially. The churches provide material and emotional support. (Ncube 2018, p. 165) also explores the role of churches in fast track farms. I did not delve

into the validity of resolution of spiritual problems because this was not the thrust of the thesis. However, congregants hailed the role of the church in this regard, thereby contributing to peaceable households and farm communities. Interesting insights emerged in my study sites, particularly on some churches and national politics. The Johwani Masowe yeChishanu and Johwani Marange churches contribute yet another unique dimension of associational life - openly influencing their members to support the ruling party (ZANU PF). In such a context, some churches are a vital political constituency with both positive and negative consequences for their members. Regardless of the problems in the practice of churches, they are essential in associational life, belonging and social reproduction of households and the overall farm community.

8.8.5 HIV and AIDS groups

The HIV and AIDS epidemic is a socioeconomic challenge in and beyond the resettlement areas of Zvimba district; as well as being a generalised socioeconomic problem across Zimbabwe. The scourge militates against the land beneficiaries' capability to reproduce themselves. Healthy lives are crucial in productive agriculture, general community development and reproduction. Several AIDS support groups were formed, and these are responding to the epidemic in various ways. In all the three study sites, the groups are providing information, counselling, psychosocial support and home-based care to those living with HIV and AIDS. At Dalkeith farm, a herbal garden has been successfully established.

The groups have recorded substantial success in supporting AIDS patients, spreading information on positive living and how vulnerability to HIV can be reduced. To access antiretroviral treatment (ART), and health education and promotion, the support groups are working with local and district clinics and district hospitals (Banket hospital and Chinhoyi Provincial hospital). However, the effectiveness of the HIV and AIDS groups is affected by

several impediments, chief among these are; transport for mobility within and between villages, and general decline of healthcare in clinics and hospitals due to fiscal deficits and limited support from other players outside the state.

Several scholars explained increased vulnerability of the new resettlements to HIV. In early stages of occupation, increased movement and fusion of people from various areas increased vulnerability and spread of HIV. Men left communal areas to join war veterans in occupying land. Wives were left behind to secure tenure in the communal area. Separation led to engagement of extramarital relationships and polygamy. These and other issues increased vulnerability to HIV (Chibwana 2016; Mkodzongi 2013; Moyo *et al.*, 2009).

8.8.6 Burial societies

Death is a certainty, and has disintegrative impact on household and farm level organisation. However, households and farm activities should go on despite the death of members. Burial societies are key features of all the three farms included for the study. The key question is, ‘How do the burial societies feature in social reproduction?’ Burial societies are important in associational life, coping with bereavement and its associated costs.

At Dalkeith, Whyhill and St Lucia, these societies were initially dominated by land beneficiaries who were resettled from faraway places, and those without formal funeral policies (such as those held with Nyaradzo, Doves Morgan, Moonlight, and many other funeral service providers). The gap created by resettlement implies limited access to support by kinsfolk left behind in times of need. In particular, those who left kin and other social networks in Masvingo, Nyanga, Beitbridge, Plumtree and other distant places had to form new ones in preparation for death and bereavement. However, even those whose kin and other social networks are in neighbouring communal areas have joined the burial associations

mainly due to the benefits of such associations, increasing decline of extended family, and the intensifying economic challenges that are increasingly making family contributions difficult during times of need.

Communal contributions to assist the bereaved are not new. The tradition of most communal areas Zimbabwe is that, people should assist each other during bereavement. Such assistance is based on reciprocity, and is in the form of food and cash. Unlike in communal areas where such assistance is provided along kinship ties and other long-established social networks, households in the farms had to establish new ones. Overall, in Zvimba, the farm households had to cope with the environment by created by the FTLR by forming burial and other associations. The associations are going beyond geographical, ethnic, religious and other divisions. The burial associations are assisting households and the farm community to cope with bereavement and its associated financial costs thereby helping them to carry on (which is a dimension of reproduction). The capacity of the burial associations to transcend geographical and ethnic boundaries is positive contributor to social reproduction and social cohesion (explored in Chapter 9).

8.8.7 State players: Political parties and local political structures

Social organisation and reproduction of the selected farms are influenced by local state structures including councillors, VIDCOs and WADCOs, and political parties. These are critical contributors to local leadership; and mobilisation of resources for development. They are the link between the farmers, and Members of Parliament and development partners. In Zvimba district, political parties and local state structures were pivotal in how people socially organised to make claims to the land; occupy large-scale commercial farms; legitimise the occupations and fighting real and assumed threats to eviction. This tendency is observable

even in illegal land occupations in urban areas. The ‘settlers’ wear the ‘ZANU PF jacket’ to legitimise occupations.

Politics of inclusion and exclusion, and violent politics are also at play, making political parties and their local structures negative to reproduction of productive and peaceable communities in the district. Membership to ZANU PF as the ruling party determines land governance; and access to agricultural inputs, and any other government support. Known and suspected MDC supporters many be alienated. Various insights on political parties and local political and development structure have been gathered in other study sites. Mkodzongi (2013) based on the Mhondoro-Ngezi case, reports that some farmers use ZANU PF networks to negotiate access to patronage networks that are critical in accessing government inputs and subsidies. In that case, the hitherto so labelled ‘strangers’ have assumed greater power in local authority structures, such as local councillor, VIDCOs and WADCOs by utilising ZANU PF networks. Diversity and dynamics of rural politics and populism are explored by various renowned scholars (Alexander 2018; Mujere, Sagiya and Fontein 2017; James 2015; Moyo and Yeros 2015; Mutopo, Manjengwa and Chiweshe; Chiweshe 2011; Mkodzongi 2013; Scoones *et al* 2010; Murisa 2018; Sadomba 2008; Chipenda 2018).

8.9 Conclusion

I interrogated the outcomes of the fast track land reform programme from the lens of one of the TSP’s tasks - social reproduction. I showed that, social reproduction is a contested concept. However, in the context of this chapter, I constrained the concept to regeneration of social organisation and activities within households; and the broadly the farm community. My central argument is that, the FTLRP resulted in varied social reproduction outcomes. Both functional and dysfunctional reproduction were exhibited in Zvimba district.

I also explored various areas of social reproduction. On sources of household food, income and labour; field evidence showed that, all the A1 households produce own food and complement with food purchases from other households within the village or across schemes, or shops. The household is the main source of labour with varied labour hiring, especially during peak periods (planting and harvesting). However, more A2 land beneficiaries rely on hired labour than A1 households. Capital accumulation is an important facet of social reproduction. A1 households in the study sites are accumulating capital. However, much of the accumulated capital are hand tools and livestock, while core capital for maximising agricultural production (tractors, disc harrows, improved tobacco barns and trucks), are very low raising concerns on land use and production. Capital accumulation was reported to be higher in A2 schemes. I also explored generational and gender facets of social reproduction. These facets revealed major age and gender gaps in owning land, and in division of labour. However, I acknowledged diversity, complexity and dynamism, which should be considered when interrogating age and gender inequalities. Furthermore, I analysed social institutions that emerged in the aftermath of the FTLRP and their agency to carry households and the overall farm community forward. I acknowledged diversity, achievements and problems in the operation of the institutions (development cooperatives, micro finance associations, burial societies, churches, local government and party structures, and so forth). In the next chapter, I concentrate on social cohesion outcomes.

Chapter Nine: FTLRP and Social Cohesion Outcomes

A society is a web of interconnected individuals and groups that are held together by values, norms and practices of togetherness (Emile Durkheim in Ritzer 2011)

Conflict is *janus* faced – it can lead to both positive and negative consequences depending on various factors (Coser 1956)

8.1 Introduction

Social cohesion is a core social policy function upon which I analysed the fast track land reform programmes. The chapter is organised around six main parts. In the first part, I focus on social cohesion within and outside social policy literature. In that regard, I prioritise scholarly contributions by Adesina (2009, 2009) on social cohesion. Moreover, I focus on conflict in its two-pronged character (as a threat to, or prerequisite for social cohesion).

In the second part, I interrogate co-operation among households at Dalkeith, Whyhill and St Lucia farms. I argue that, exclusive social, economic and political relationships; and institutions emerged after the aftermath the fast track land reform. The fusion of people of various backgrounds, and interests created an environment open to both conflicts and cohesion. I also argue that, from the time of occupation, the farm households have transformed from being strangers to being neighbours, friends and relatives that can be relied upon. The various areas of cooperation, successes and challenges are interrogated. In the third part, I focus on farmers' cooperation as a form of social cohesion. I acknowledge the existence of threats to social cohesion in the associations. However, my central argument remains firm – that, the associations are a positive step to associational life, and that, threats to such achievements should be addressed.

I explore the existence and sources of conflict at Whyhill, Dalkeith and St Lucia farms in the fourth part. I categorised conflicts into two (land conflicts and other conflicts), while acknowledging that the ‘other’ conflicts may or may not be linked to ‘land’ conflicts. I focus on farm boundaries, farm ownership, farm infrastructure and equipment as the land conflicts while the ‘other’ conflicts category is constituted by ethno-regionalism, perception differences, and domestic conflict and violence. The fifth part addresses the fast track land reform’s potential and real impact on social cohesion, the actors in conflicts, formal and informal mechanism for conflict management, and peace building. On mechanisms for peace building, I take a unique approach of comparing their effectiveness. Field evidence supports the effectiveness of local traditional mechanisms grounded in traditional leadership and collective community wellbeing. My central argument is that, social cohesion is important for ‘peaceable’ households and agrarian communities. The sixth part is the conclusion, and linkage of this chapter to the last chapter. Overall, I argue that, in Zimbabwe, social organisation was initially influenced by competing claims of belonging to newly acquired land which, in some cases led to discord and animosity among the farmers. The resettled farmers shared a common objective of gaining access to land but they also competed against in ways that threatened social cohesion. However, the farm communities are increasingly becoming cohesive.

9.2 Social Cohesion and Conflict in Literature

The capacity of a social policy instrument to initiate and sustain social cohesion is a vital outcome. What then is social cohesion? Social cohesion involves “understanding the social infrastructure, institutions, customs and material and non-material relations that either constrain or enable the individual in whatever pursuit they are engaged” (Murisa 2007, p. 2). The specific behaviours and attitudes which are shared, and aimed at bringing about peace and consensus in the communities; and to contribute directly and indirectly towards nation

building, constitute social cohesion. Social cohesion is a quality of society that denotes individuals and groups as products of society who are bound together through the action of specific attitudes, behaviours, rules and institutions which depend on consensus, not coercive actions (Prasad, Hypher and Gerecke 2013; Green, Janmaat and Cheng 2011). Under the social cohesion task, social policies aim to create and sustain social cohesion within and across communities. An expanded view of social cohesion at national level benefits the whole country. The social cohesion/nation-building task of social policy tends to function more at the macro-level, and often involves a deliberate design of the social policy instrument to achieve this objective (Adesina 2007). However, I applied social cohesion at the micro level – the farm level.

Cohesion should be understood in relation to conflict. Both conflict and cohesion are central themes in the work of key sociologists such as Georg Simmel, Auguste Comte, Emile Durkheim, Karl Marx, Lewis Coser, Randall Collins and Ralph Dahrendorf. Regardless of their variations in conceptualising conflict and cohesion; and their impact on society, the two influence one another. Only those who interact (and possibly are bound by consensus do conflict). In addition, depending on context and issues at stake, conflict may lead to cohesion, peace and stability (Ritzer 2015). Broadly defined, “conflict is an expressed struggle between at least two interdependent parties who perceive incompatible goals, scarce resources, and interference from others in achieving their goals” (Wilmot and Hocker 2011, p. 9). Alternatively, conflict can be understood as “a communication process within which a problematic situation with certain characteristics arises” (Abigail and Cahn 2011, p. 20). Conflicts fall in various categories - relationship, data, interest, structural and value. Conflict behaviours can be changed because such behaviours are not inborn. Similar arguments have been advanced by renowned scholars in search for cohesive societies (Wilmot and Hocker 2011, p. 9).

I focus on the broader dimensions of social cohesion including consensus, existence of social conflict, the actors in social conflict, conflict management; and cohesive and peace building initiatives. Conflicts and cohesion emanating from access to land as a key resource, boundaries, farm infrastructure, farm equipment, ethno-regionalism, labour and natural resources are explored. I scrutinise the role of the landholders; traditional leadership; the judiciary; officials from the Ministry of Lands and Rural Resettlement, and Ministry of Agriculture Irrigation Development; Committee of Seven (Co7); Neighbourhood Watch Committee (NWC); and District Land Committees (DLCs). The effectiveness of the responses to conflict in the spirit of upholding the goals of the FTLRP are evaluated. Overall, the guiding argument is that social cohesion is not only an important outcome of the FTLRP; it is also an essential condition for the effective achievement of the goals of the FTLRP.

Valuable literature on diversity of backgrounds of the land beneficiaries and social cohesion after Zimbabwe's fast track land reform is available (Chiweshe 2014; Murisa 2013, 2009; Mkodzongi 2013; Moyo 2011; Scoones *et al.*, 2010). The new farmers were coming from different contexts, cultures and backgrounds but had to solve various problems of collective life together relating to natural resource management, inputs for agricultural production and the management of risk and uncertainty (Mkodzongi 2013). My point of departure is anchored on consciously infusing a social policy perspective to social cohesion in Zvimba district in post fast track era.

9.3 Cooperation among Households

I explained in Chapter 5 (Redistributive Outcomes of the FTLRP) that, the FTLRP resulted in a demographic reconfiguration of the former large-scale white commercial farms. The trimodal agrarian structure led to a mixture of people of diverse backgrounds, interests and

aspirations. In my study sites in Zvimba, the resettled families have wider diversity in terms of area of origin, reasons for occupying land, education and training, employment status, cultural, religious, ethnic, political, and economic values, and practices and so forth. There was consensus at St Lucia, Whynhill and Dalkeith farms that, in the initial phases of occupying the land, social organisation was mainly based on ethnic and geographical background of the land beneficiaries; leading to those not from one's ethnic or geographical area of origin being labelled strangers or witches. Accusations and counter accusations were reported to having been rife in early years of occupation across the three study sites. These findings are authenticated by studies elsewhere. Mkodzongi (2013) reports the same in the Mhondoro-Ngezi case study. In that case, people from Gokwe were labelled witches, and having goblins (*zvidhoma*), that steal wealth. In addition, he reports that accusations and counter accusations (of witchcraft) stemmed from harsh socioeconomic conditions and crop failure; and scarcity of farming inputs which created competition and animosity among people of diverse ethnic and geographical background.

In the Zvimba case, despite such diversity, resettled households at Whynhill, St Lucia and Whynhill farms are cooperating on various areas (reciprocal labour; joint agricultural production; and sharing tools, animal and tractor drawn implements). They have transcended ethnic and geographical boundaries with increasing familiarity, and in search of social capital. Voices from the field were crystallised on the view that gaining access to land in former white-owned commercial farms was not an end in itself. In Table 9.1, I present examples of areas of cooperation among the A1 land beneficiaries in the three study sites.

Table 9.1: Selected areas of cooperation among A1 land beneficiaries in Zvimba district

Area of cooperation	Number of land beneficiaries
Animal drawn implements	102
Reciprocal labour	76
Tools	91
Joint agricultural production	23
Tractor drawn implement	4
Tobacco barns	18
Storage facilities	3

Source: Own fieldwork (2015)

The Table shows that, household cooperation in the three study sites is highest on animal drawn implements followed by tools and reciprocal labour. High cooperation on animal drawn implements (ploughs, harrows and ox-drawn carts) signifies two main aspects. First, is shortage of these implements among the A1 land beneficiaries. Second, is their importance in agricultural production. Much of the work in the farms (land preparation, planting, weeding and harvesting), requires animal drawn implements, reciprocal labour and tools. Tractor drawn implements and storage facilities have the lowest cooperation. In Chapter 8 (Social Reproduction Outcomes), I explained that, capital accumulation is lowest on tractors because most A1 farmers cannot afford such implements. Most farmers therefore, use ox-drawn implements. Common storage facilities (for example, storehouses) that were established before the FTLRP, have been converted for other uses. At Dalkeith farm, the farmhouse, offices and storehouse were turned into a primary school.

Other vital dimensions of cooperation are work parties (*nhimbés*), and interlinkages between the study sites, and the communal areas. Land beneficiaries who come from nearby communal areas maintained linkages with the communal areas not only during 2015 (during fieldwork), and prior. This exhibits the need for bonding and stock of reciprocal networks of trust, that which I define as social capital. In relation to cooperation, the two areas provide for each other variedly (labour, draught power, grain, market and grinding mills), for example St

Lucia farm did not have a grinding mill, therefore relied on other villages and nearby communal areas. Diverse ways of bonding in the new resettlements are acknowledged by various scholars (Ncube 2018, pp. 164-169; Mazwi, Muchetu and Chibwana 2015, pp. 21-22; Scoones *et al.*, 2010; James 2015; Moyo *et al.*, 2009). However, in Zvimba district, issues were raised over household cooperation, mainly pertaining to politics of inclusion and exclusion. I capture these in the following excerpt.

We are all A1 farmers, but we are different Some are better-off while others are worse-off, and some being in the middle. People may cooperate with those they are similar to economically. In the process, some people are excluded because they do not have anything meaningful to offer in cooperative life (Focused Group Discussion at St Lucia farm, 24/07/15).

In Table 9.2, I present the results of AIAS Baseline Survey for 2013/14 on cooperation among resettled households. The AIAS focused on both A1 and A2 schemes.

Table 9.2: Cooperation among resettled households in A1 and A2 farms

Areas of cooperation	Beneficiaries					
	A1		A2		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Reciprocal labour	124	25.9	24	8.1	148	19.2
Joint agricultural production	19	4	5	1.7	24	3.1
Tools	158	33.1	48	16.2	206	26.6
Animal drawn implements	143	29.9	34	11.5	177	22.9
Tractor drawn implements	62	13	75	25.3	137	17.7

Source: AIAS Household 2013/14 Survey

Table 9.2 highlights that, the most common area of collective life in both A1 and A2 schemes is sharing tools (26.6 percent), and joint agricultural production (3.1 percent) as the least area of cooperation. Sharing of tractor drawn implements was highest in A2 given the need for such implements in that scheme and non-possession by some farmers. Broadly, cooperation among farmers is higher in the A1 scheme in all the other areas of cooperation included, with the exception of tractor drawn implements.

Application of the TSP conceptual framework shows that, cooperation among farm households is a crucial dimension of social cohesion. First, cooperation among households indicates a level of consensus that is essential for co-existence. Second, it indicates that, the households have transcended ethno-regionalism, and other differences. Third, such cooperation extends beyond mere togetherness in space and time, to social cohesion in production, reproduction and social protection outcomes of the FTLRP.

9.4 Farmers' Groups and Networks

Another crucial area upon which I interrogated social cohesion is the existence and functionality of farmers' groups. In Zvimba, some of the farmers' groups include *Chidziva* and *Tagarika* at Dalkeith; *Zhizha* and *Takashinga Nekurima* at Whynhill; and *Mari Muvhu* at St Lucia. Of all the farmers' groups in the farms, *Chidziva* at Dalkeith and *Zhizha* at Whynhill are the most active, although they are facing diverse challenges. *Chidziva* is based on common lineage – Manjinjiwa and a collective water source for irrigation. The group seeks inputs and markets; and help group members to explore alternative income generating activities. *Zhizha* at Whynhill is more inclusive due to its incorporation of members beyond lineage. Members collaborate during winter by turning their plots into a single collective farm, pool inputs and produce winter wheat. They market the wheat collectively, and share

the proceeds equally. The reported benefits realised in these groups include sharing of assets and agricultural knowledge, credit and inputs sourcing, group marketing, defending land rights and providing social support.

In my study sites, farmers' cooperation is highest on sharing of assets, particularly farm implements and sourcing inputs. This corroborates my earlier finding in Chapter 6 (Land Use and Production Outcomes), that, expensive inputs and shortage of farm equipment, are the constraints to production and capital accumulation. Moreover, collective credit sourcing was reported to be low across the farms. Exploration of such low cooperation reveals low availability of credit provided by both public and private agricultural development institutions. If credit is not available, the propensity for cooperation on the same declines.

In addition to my micro findings, I present macro results from the AIAS 2013/14 Baseline survey of six districts including Zvimba. The statistics set a broader context for convergence with and divergence from my findings. Table 9.3 shows membership to farmers' groups.

Table 9.3: Membership of farmer groups

Are you a member of a farmers' group?	A1		A2		CA		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Yes	90	18.9	92	31.8	70	22.2	252	23.3
No	385	81.1	197	68.2	246	77.8	828	76.7
Total	475	100	289	100	316	100	1080	100

Source: AIAS Household 2013/14 Survey, Household questionnaire

AIAS found out that, merely 23.3 percent of the sampled land beneficiaries were members of farmers' groups; while 76.7 percent indicated that they were not members of such groups. The A1 households are the least in terms of membership (18.9), followed by communal area farmers (22.2 percent), and A2 being highest (31.8 percent). In the AIAS 2013/14 Household Survey, inputs sourcing was the most mentioned benefit across the three settlement types (48.6 percent). Group marketing followed with 31.0 percent, and lastly credit sourcing (29.1 percent).

I argue therefore, that, despite challenges; and unlike in early phases of occupation (as reported by Ncube 2018; Mkodzongi 2013; Chiweshe 2011; Murisa 2009; Moyo *et al.*, 2009; Chipenda 2020), social cohesion is increasing. This is evidenced by the various ways upon which households and farmers are cooperating. Such significant cooperation is vital for social cohesion which also feeds into enhancing the other social policy functions (production, reproduction and protection outcomes).

9.5 Existence and Sources of Conflicts

Interrogation of social cohesion in Whyhill, Dalkeith and St Lucia farms demanded exploration of the existence and sources of conflicts. First, I sought the land beneficiaries' understanding of social cohesion and conflict so that I could understand these concepts from their perspective; and to facilitate refinement of my focus in interviews and FGDs. I established that, consensus and conflict were linked to micro and macro factors. For instance, wide consensus exists on the view that, redistributing land to the black majority reduced conflict between the ZANU PF-led government and the masses. Other scholars revealed this vital dimension (Ncube 2018, p. 145; Chipenda 2018; Chibwana 2016; Mkodzongi 2013). Some participants noted increasing conflict between Zimbabwe and other countries in the international community; especially those countries whose economic interests were frustrated

by the fast track land reform. These are macro aspects of conflict. Others concentrated on intra household and inter-household conflict within the farms. However, the overall position is that, even though the FTLRP initially increased conflict, social cohesion is increasingly being attained in various ways. The understanding that no household or community experiences conflict or consensus only was emphasised. I noted variations on the existence and sources of the conflicts. In Figure 9.1 below, I present the distribution of perceptions on the existence of land conflicts.

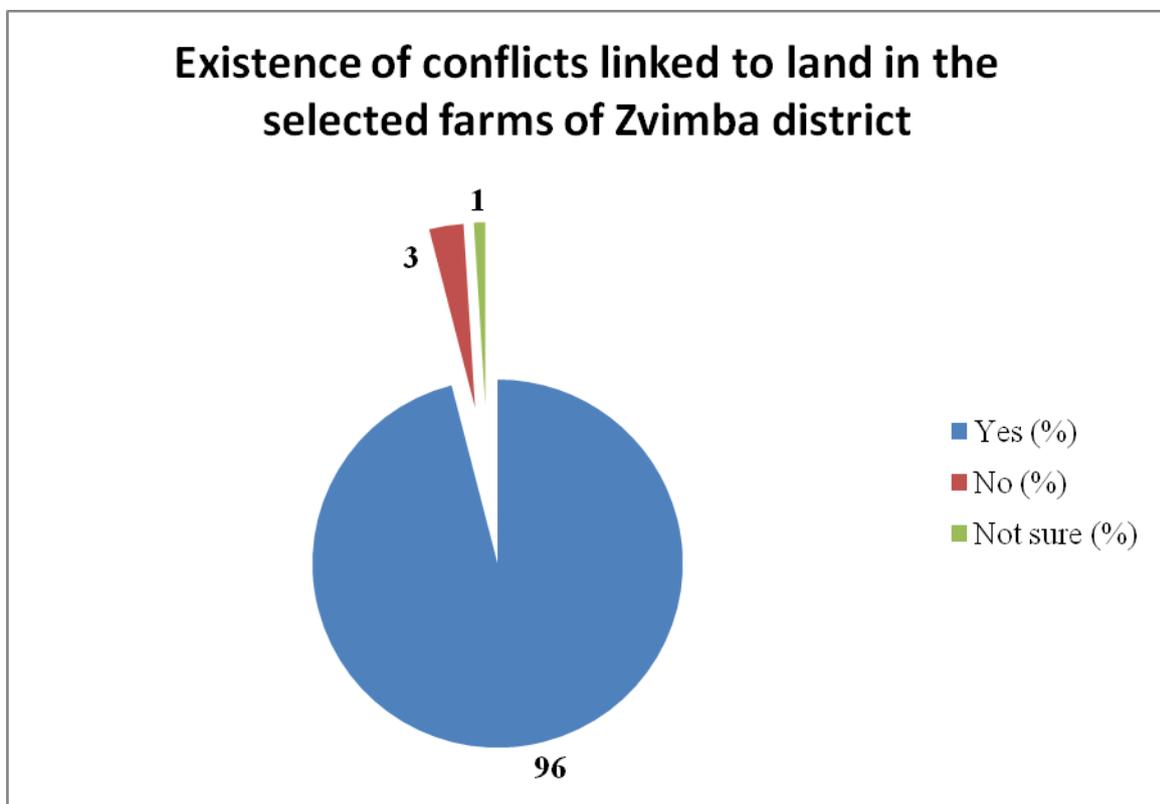


Figure 9.1: Existence of land conflict in the new farms in Zvimba district (N = 150)

Source: Own fieldwork (2015)

Figure 9.1 indicates that, 96 percent of the farmers in the study were aware of the existence of land conflicts in the farming communities of Zvimba district. However, 3 percent reported that there are no land conflicts in the farm communities, while 1 percent was not sure of the

existence of conflicts in the farms. Accordingly, the majority of land beneficiaries were aware of land conflicts in the farms. Furthermore, 85 percent reported having personally been involved in land conflicts. These statistics indicate high incidence of conflict; and that the FTLRP (indeliberately) created opportunities for conflict among beneficiaries.

I extended the exploration of the existence of conflicts by seeking the views of District Land Committees (DLCs), former farm workers, traditional leaders (village heads), EMA, lands and Agritex officers, Neighbourhood Watch Committees (NWCs), WADCOs and VIDCOs, Committee of Seven (Co7), and members of nearby communal areas. Incidences of conflict were confirmed to having been high, particularly in the early phases of occupation (before formalisation for example, at St Lucia farm). In that phase, participation of lands officers and the DLCs was non-existent therefore, conflicts over land ownership and boundaries were high. These were reported mostly at Whynhill and St Lucia farms because these were occupied the *Jambanja* style (informal occupation). Important to understand is that, given the unplanned processes of the FTLRP; and diversified texture of rural social relationships brought by the reform, high prevalence of conflict, particularly that relating to the land and other key resources, are expected prior to formalisation. However, conflicts that are linked directly to the land were reported to have declined. An important facet is the view by the various categories of participants that, at no stage can conflict be absent in any household or community. All households and the wider community experience both consensus and conflicts, depending on the situation; and that, conflict may create opportunities for social cohesion.

Conflicts were presented as stemming from various sources (access to and ownership of land, plot/farm boundaries, farm infrastructure, farm equipment, ethno-regionalism, labour, natural resources, personality, and farm labour). Sifting through the responses, I categorised the

conflicts into two (land and other). Land conflicts are linked directly to the land while in the ‘other’ category, I focused on conflicts not linked directly to the land. Under land conflicts, I included access to and ownership of land, plot/farm boundaries, farm infrastructure, farm equipment and natural resources; while in the ‘other’ category, I included ethno-regional differences, domestic conflicts and violence, and personality differences. However, I had to be careful because some of the so-called ‘other’ conflicts may be indirectly linked to the land. For example, a domestic conflict (in some cases leading to violence) may be linked to land use, and sharing of income generated through agricultural activities. The other conflicts do not fall within the ambit of social policy but, because they may be linked to land conflicts, and may affect social cohesion in the farms, they are worthy brief interrogation.

9.6 Land Conflicts in the Selected Farms

Most major conflicts worldwide have been, and continue to be over the land and other key resources (Anseew and Alden 2010; Tom 2015, p. 89). Land conflicts feature prominently in the history of Zimbabwe as evidenced by the first, second and third anti-colonial struggles (Moyo 2011; Moyo and Yeros 2007b; Sachikonye 2005b). Tom (2015, p. 89) characterises “conflict over land and other natural resources as universal issues”. In Figure 9.2, I present land conflicts and how they are distributed.

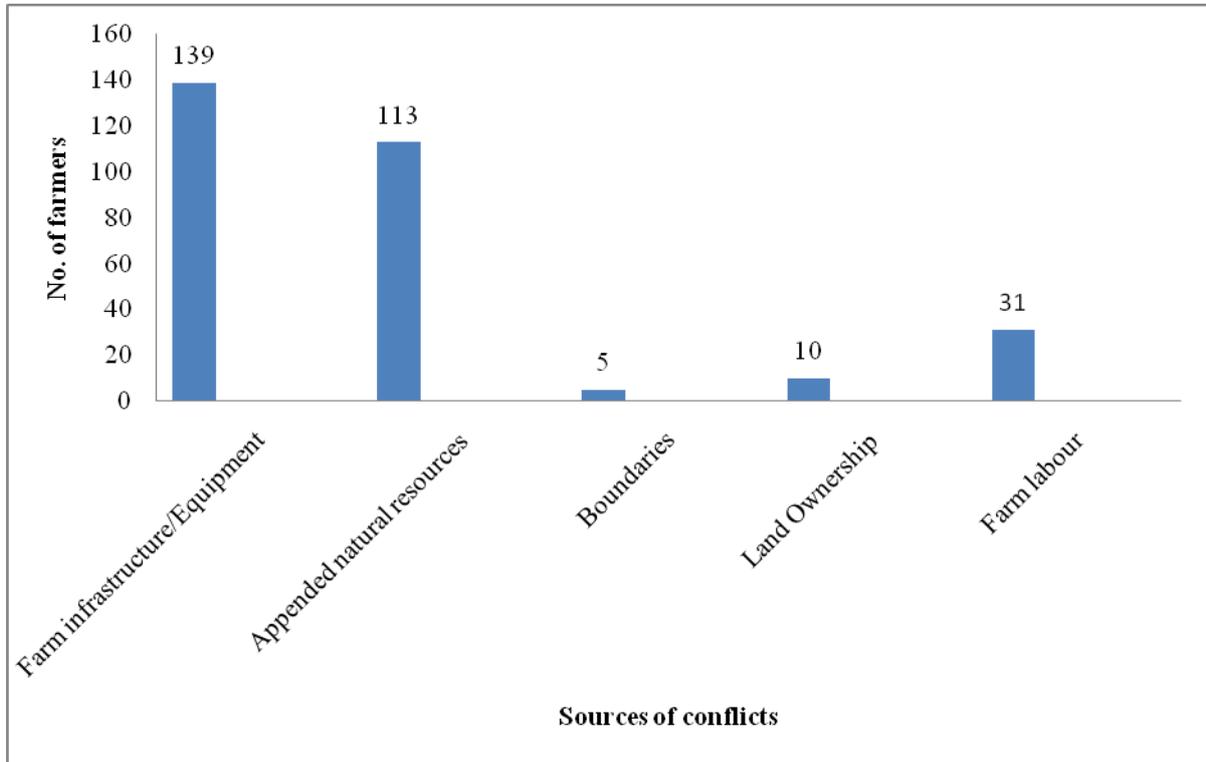


Figure 9.2: Sources of Land Conflicts (N = 150)

Source: Own fieldwork (2015)

The Figure shows that, farm infrastructure and equipment (particularly, that left by the white large-scale commercial farmers); and natural resources (flora and minerals appended to the land), are core sources of land conflict in the selected farms of Zvimba district. Farm labour, farm boundaries and land ownership (mostly within households), were identified by the lowest number of farmers (31, 10 and 5 respectively). Such context-based evidence shows significant changes in conflict trajectories. In earlier phases of the FTLRP, farm ownership and boundaries were the major sources of conflict. Such a state of affairs in the early 2000s was caused by absence of formal pegging by lands officers, unavailability of offer letters and multiple allocation (Dekker and Kinsey 2011; Scoones *et al.*, 2010; Moyo *et al.*, 2009). However, in 2015, experiences in Zvimba district showed a divergent state of affairs. Although the focus was on A1 land beneficiaries, participants also referred to developments in A2 farms where conflict emanating from farm ownership and boundaries has declined.

9.6.1 Farm infrastructure and equipment

On infrastructure and equipment as sources of land conflict, I present a general and specific picture of Zvimba district. Broadly, tractors, ridgers, planters, irrigation equipment, tobacco barns, farm houses, green houses, roads, dams, fences and recreational facilities are among the farm infrastructure and equipment at the core of conflict in the district. The FTLRP opened opportunities for the majority black population to raise claims for infrastructure and equipment. Common claim and ownership may not necessarily translate into equal or equitable use, thereby creating a viable environment for conflict. Farm infrastructure and equipment are state property. The Government of Zimbabwe through the Ministry of Lands, Agriculture and Rural Resettlement (now Ministry of Lands, Agriculture, Water, Climate and Rural Resettlement), has overall ownership especially of the major infrastructure, while the farmers should merely have user rights.

Farm infrastructure and equipment left by large-scale commercial farmers are still functional in some farms; while in others, these were vandalised, has worn out or collapsed due to use without maintenance and general lack of responsibility, mainly resulting from common ownership. Conflicts emanating from use of farm infrastructure and equipment ranked highest, signalling its significance in farm production; and in devising ways for improving social cohesion in new farms. Among the problems of common claim and ownership are monopolisation, general unwillingness to share, delays in sharing, and neglect, leading to damage of the equipment or infrastructure. These often lead to conflicts.

Use of irrigation equipment, tractors and tobacco barns are topical. However, conflicts emanating from use of barns for curing tobacco have declined in recent years. Unlike the early 2000s when tobacco farmers were sharing barns left by the large-scale white

commercial farmers, most farmers have built minor barns. However, collective use of major barns is enduring due to their effectiveness. Usually, conflicts emerge when tobacco curing is done in turns, and entails meeting electricity and maintenance costs jointly. Some farmers refuse to meet the costs while some may keep their tobacco longer than is agreed. In other cases, some farmers may not want to give other farmers a chance. Yet in other cases, relatives and friends of ‘powerful’ farmers in neighbouring farms or communal areas may bring their tobacco for curing while the immediate beneficiaries are waiting for their turn. This may be done to earn cash, vital commodities and favours from the farmers they would have helped. Latent and manifest conflicts emerge in such instances, threatening cohesive farming and general social life. Failure of cooperative farming to deliver can also lead to conflict. What has been presented so far in this section is a broad picture of agricultural infrastructure and equipment as sources of land conflict in the district.

Specific focus on St Lucia, Whynhill and Dalkeith farms makes some infrastructure and equipment irrelevant. Tractors, ridgers, planters and irrigation equipment are dysfunctional but were reported to have been at the centre of ownership wrangles in early phases. The current conflicts (in 2015) pertain to common ownership and use of tobacco barns left by the white farmers. These are more effective in curing tobacco than the private/house barns established by the households. These are small (low capacity), and do not have the appropriate components for effective curing.

Tractors, ridgers, and so on are now not a problem because they are no longer functional and some were looted by bigwigs who now own A2 farms. The village head and a war veteran fought over equipment left by Campbell. People at this farm are disputing control of a tobacco curing barn by a small group led by a war veteran, and a government official. The barn has caused sour relations (Informal interaction with WLB35 – a land beneficiary at Whynhill farm, 26/11/15).

9.6.2 Appended natural resources

Broadly, the FTLRP broadened access to a variety of fauna and flora by the new farmers after the white farmers left. The nationalisation of land tenure on redistributed LSCFs opened access to natural resources previously enclosed in freehold properties and protected trespass laws (Mkodzongi 2013). Wildlife and other natural resources were abundant in early years of occupation in 2000s. Wild animals such as impala and warthog are common although they have dwindled. Woodlands are exploited for timber and firewood (for curing tobacco and cooking). Wildlife is being exploited for household consumption, and as an income generation activity. Fauna and flora are on a major decline trend due to widespread, and in some cases unsustainable exploitation.

In my study sites, conflicts over natural resources were reported mainly in relation to woodlands within a beneficiary's plot or in 'no man's land'. Consensus was high on that, such conflicts emerge due to various factors (widening scarcity, common ownership, competition over natural resources in 'no man's land' areas, and poachers). Below, I capture a participant's view.

In this area, we use firewood to cure tobacco. We cannot afford coal. As you have seen in various farms, increasing exploitation without afforestation is causing deforestation. Conflict emerges as some land beneficiaries poach firewood in other land beneficiaries' plots or as some seek to possess areas not allocated to anyone due to their proximity to their plots (Indepth interview with SLB11 - a land beneficiary at St Lucia farm, 6/12/15).

These views bring out threats to both social cohesion, and the natural environmental, and raises need for policy intervention.

9.6.3 Competition for farm labour

My study sites are dominated by A1 beneficiaries that are categorised by various scholars as the peasants (Mkodzongi 2013, 2017; Chambati 2017). These mainly rely on household

labour. Only when household labour is in short supply or in peak periods (planting, weeding and harvesting), do these households hire additional labour. Conflict may erupt due to competition for scarce labour and disagreements over rates to be paid. At Dalkeith farm, the village head reiterated that, some farmers deviate from the agreed (low) wages and pay more as a strategy for attracting more labour. This leads to conflicts with other land beneficiaries.

Conflicts pertaining to labour were extended to A2 farmers who mainly rely on hired labour. Their plots are bigger than those in the A1 scheme. Extra farm labour is hired within and between the schemes, or from the communal areas. Competition for extra labour between households or schemes is high; and may spiral into open conflict. Chambati (2013, 2017) dwells on changing labour relations after Zimbabwe's land reform; and validates some of my findings.

9.6.4 Farm boundaries

Formal and informal contestations over farm boundaries threaten social cohesion. However, as I showed in Figure 9.2, few farmers raised this issue as source of conflict. Unlike in early phases (as reported by Dekker and Kinsey 2011; Scoones *et al.*, 2010; Moyo *et al.*, 2009), in contemporary Zvimba (in my study sites), most of the reported cases of conflict involve neighbouring households extending into another's plot; and those emanating over fertile land, or where there are vital appended resources to the piece of land.

The farms were demarcated and pegged by the officials from the then Ministry of Lands and Rural Resettlement. In principle, every farmer knows the boundaries of his or her farm. However, some farmers may extend farming operations or resource extraction into their neighbours' pieces of land. In other cases, a farmer may deliberately shift the pegs, especially in areas where the land is fertile or where the appended natural resources are vast, or even

outweigh the benefits of farming. These deliberate actions of shifting pegs or extending into a neighbour's farm stimulate both latent and manifest conflict. These are unjust actions that strain harmonious relations and cohesive farming entities.

In-depth interviews with district lands officers stationed at Murombedzi Growth Point, and traditional leaders in the farming communities showed that, boundaries are key conflicts sources where appended natural resources or fertile land is included. Below is an extract of an in-depth interview I had with the lands officer:

Farm boundary demarcation is a responsibility of the Ministry of Lands and Rural Resettlement. We are called to intervene when boundary disputes emerge but in some cases, traditional leaders handle this matter although it is not within their jurisdiction. Overall, the majority of the land conflicts in this district are initiated by disagreements over farm boundaries. Farm holders may shift the pegs deliberately as they seek to extend their territories or to control vital natural resources such as forests and gold, but in some cases these pegs may go missing due to negligence leading to boundary disputes and clashes (In-depth interview with LO1 - a district lands officer, 2/6/15).

In addition to showing threats to social cohesion, these experiences indicate that, some traditional leaders are deviating from law. They are resisting the reconfiguration of their positions in the new resettlements where they are not expected to exercise traditional authority. Unlike in the communal areas, chiefs do not have jurisdiction over the former white commercial farms. They are 'ordinary' land beneficiaries. Some chiefs are taking it upon themselves to annex the farm resettlement areas into their jurisdiction. This is unlawful. The reconfiguration of traditional leadership in the aftermath of the fast track land reform is widely explored (Ncube 2018, p. 111; Chipenda 2018; Mkodzongi 2013, 2016).

'No man's land' may also stimulate conflicts. Such land is for common exploitation, and exist outside the demarcated individual plots, yet, they are part of the overall farm. This is

consonant with Moyo *et al* (2009), who note that, in some cases, a household nearest to this common land claims ‘ownership’ of the land and its related natural resources. The use of such land is not formally prescribed. Informal ‘agreements’ and ‘social rationality’ are therefore, applied.

A common practice across the A1 and A2 farms, which however, is more pronounced in the A1 farms, is informal sub-divisions of plots for the consanguineal and social dependents. Such boundaries may create conflicts, especially where there are ‘unjustified’ real and perceived inequalities in land allocation. The situation is worse when the formal landowner dies; and the dependents may seek to reverse the informal allocations; or contest for the household leadership role in search of apex control of the land and appended natural resources. Yet in other cases, the traditional head of the household stays in the urban areas while the other members stay and work on the farm. The members staying on the farm may take over the portion allocated to the urban dweller; or may extend boundaries. Resolution of conflicts pertaining to farm boundaries is a turf for the Ministry of Lands and Rural Resettlement (now Ministry of Lands, Agriculture and Rural Resettlement). However, the police and traditional leaders may be called upon to assist in resolving these conflicts. The ZRP is drawn in when the conflict processes infringe on aspects of law; and cannot be addressed by the other stakeholders.

9.6.5 Land ownership

I present a broad view of land ownership issues, from the perspective of those who participated or witnessed the fast track land reform to set a stage for interrogating pertinent issues I noted in Zvimba district in 2015. Redistribution and equity in owning and utilising prime agricultural land and appended natural resources are key determinants in attaining justice and social cohesion. Figure 9.2 indicates that, land ownership is the least source of

conflict in current post-FTLRP farms in Zvimba district. Broadly, important to note is that, land dispossession from black majority has been at the epicentre of Zimbabwe's liberation struggles, and war veterans-led occupation of large scale white-owned commercial farms (Sadomba 2013; Masuko 2013). In such struggles, focus has been between black majority versus the white minority. However, in my study sites, contestations are among the new black land beneficiaries (also referred as farmers).

Convergence was noted on the view that, in early phases of land reform, conflicts emerged between formal owners (those with offer letters), and informal occupiers (those who invaded land from the white farmers but had no offer letters). Both considered themselves as owners. In the early phases of the FTLRP, evicted large-scale commercial farmers also claimed ownership of the land on the basis that, they had legal documents of ownership and inheritance. In addition, they were not compensated for the land and farm infrastructure taken. Also pertinent in the land conflict were the former farm workers who had found home in LSCF. This fluidity of ownership was a source of conflict, leading to strained social relations.

Conflict also arise in relation to absentee land holders versus neighbouring farmers who take advantage of land underutilisation or non-utilisation, without seeking approval from the Ministry of Lands, Agriculture and Rural Resettlement; 'squatters' among themselves, or in relation to other groups (a squatter is any person who was not formally allocated land or is not informally acknowledged by the farmers as an 'authorised' owner or user of the land); land allocation and inheritance issues within families (land is an essential resource worthy inheriting and conflicts arise in the redistribution of the estate, which obviously includes the farm); those who are nearest to unmarked land and natural resources also claim ownership of such land and appended natural resources (those who have used the land longer, claim

ownership of the land); and members of the communal areas also claim ownership of the former large-scale commercial farms). Below, I capture conflicts emanating from intra household redistribution of redistributed land.

Our parents subdivided the 8 hectares they were allocated to me and my young brothers. The subdivided portions were not equal. Two of us got smaller portions and there was no justification for the inequalities. I have more children therefore, I should have received the biggest portion. I sought the intervention of the elders but the issue is yet to be resolved (Informal interaction with children of some land beneficiaries at Dalkeith farm, 5 December 2015).

The argument by members of surrounding communal areas is that, the quest for land acquisition from the whites, and its redistribution was a black majority programme. Accordingly, its benefits should be enjoyed by all. This argument partly justifies why members of the communal areas in Zvimba district (especially from Chirau and Kasanze), do not regard unauthorised gold panning, tree cutting and hunting, brick moulding, sand and gravel extraction in St Lucia, Dalkeith and Whyhill farms as poaching. I capture some of the views of members from communal areas in the excerpt below.

We own these farms collectively. Most people in the communal areas participated in driving the whites off the farms although at the end they were not allocated land. Some of the people who got land never played a part in pushing whites off the farms. They were busy enjoying in the city (Informal interaction with CCA8 - a member of Chirau communal area in Zvimba, December 2015).

These sentiments indicate a collective black majority goal of reversing colonial imbalances. The former LSCFs are considered by some people to be common territory where every black Zimbabwean can claim rights. Such understanding poses problems; and have negative implications on social cohesion given that, the allocated land belongs to a specific owner (as specified in permits and leases).

Broadly, conflicts over land ownership were higher in the early phases of the FTLRP due to double allocations, formal and informal settlement, multiple farm grabbing by the elite, and

eviction of early black occupiers from the land. However, the Farm-Level Land Committees (FLLCs), District Land Committees (DLCs), Committee of Seven and Ministry of Lands and Rural Resettlement, have significantly worked to reduce land ownership conflicts. The issues pertaining to land ownership (although this conflict source scored the least among the causes of conflicts), is a significant area to be considered in efforts to enhance social cohesion in the selected farm communities.

In the next section, I focus on other conflicts including personality differences, domestic disputes and ethno-regionalism. Important to understand is that these conflicts do not belong to the remit of social policy. However, they may be linked (or not) to land conflicts. They are occurring in the farm communities, and may threaten social cohesion. I therefore, highlight these conflicts and how they are being addressed.

9.7 Other Conflicts: Personality, Domestic and Ethno-Regionalism

Conflicts may emerge from general personality differences. Naturally people are different, and these differences are potential sources of conflict because they determine values, likes and dislikes; and ultimately the nature of interaction among those living on the farms. Other conflicts emanate from domestic issues between spouses; or spouses and their children, or dependents. Such conflict may extend to domestic violence. Inter-household conflicts may also emerge. These may include stray livestock destroying fields and gardens of neighbours; fights among children; competition, use and payment of farm workers; marriage problems, and divorce. Production time may be lost as people engage in unproductive conflicts.

Fusion of people from various regions, tribal and ethnic backgrounds created farm communities of varying cultural beliefs and practices. For instance, people allocated land in the selected farms came from diverse areas within and outside Zvimba district. Masvingo,

Zhombe, Harare, Chinhoyi, Karoi, Chitungwiza, Guruve, Bubi, Banket, Bocha, Goromonzi, Mount Darwin, Murewa, Nyanga, Tsholotsho and Chipinge are some of the areas from which the new farmers emerged from. These areas are diverse in terms of ethno-regional attributes. Such variety may be good for cultural sharing and fusion. However, diversity may create sour relations and antagonism. Conflicts emerging from ethno-regionalism can be analysed in their own right, and can be linked to land conflicts for deeper understanding. For example, ethno-regionalism manifests in inclusion and exclusion of certain stereotyped groups, leading to differential access to farm infrastructure, equipment and agricultural inputs. The households in the farm community, Agritex officers and DLCs indicated that, conflicts emanating from ethno-regionalism are on a major declining trend as the households increasingly transformed from being ‘strangers’ to neighbours and relatives who can be relied upon.

9.8 Situating the Conflicts in Local Traditional Grassroots and Formal Mechanisms for Justice, Peacebuilding and Enhanced Social Cohesion

Conflicts are prevalent in the selected farms and such prevalence was very high in early years of occupation. Individuals and social institutions in and outside the selected farm communities are managing conflicts in various ways, and with varying levels of success. Traditional grassroots mechanisms in use are anchored on customary institutions and practices (family members; household elders; village heads; customary law; rituals and ceremonies; and non-violence or limited use of force). Overall, traditional grassroots mechanisms for attaining justice are dominating in the resolution of conflict, reconciliation and peace-building as compared to formal mechanisms through the District Administrator (DA), judiciary, officials from the Ministry of Lands and Rural Resettlement, and other institutions that have power to mediate and arbitrate.

Farm households, traditional leadership system and the farm-level committees are the most immediate local-level stakeholders that respond to conflicts in the selected farming areas. The other important social institutions handling conflict in new farming communities include the Committee of Seven, District Lands Committees and Neighbourhood Watch Committee. These were established by the farmers and government with the aim of ensuring a peaceful and productive environment. These institutions deal with different cases of conflict and in principle, they should do so by endeavouring as much as possible, to ensure the highest level of justice, transparency, fairness and integrity. The ZRP may also work with these institutions depending on the nature of conflict. The family and household, village head's traditional courts and the 'council' of elders, were reiterated by both the farmers and key informants as central, and more effective in mediation and conflict resolution, and sustainable peacebuilding.

Intra and inter-household injustices and conflicts over land ownership, boundaries, infrastructure and equipment, and natural resources appended to the land, or purely domestic disputes. These are usually handled by the family or household members concerned. The family and household are central building block of the farm community (and the communal areas). Conflicting members can discuss and reach a solution, although this may not always work out. In addition, the elders of the conflicting families or households may take a leading position in reconciling the families or households in conflict.

Family in a traditional African context, is understood in relation to the whole community. When injustices and conflicts emerge, collective existence of the whole community is threatened; therefore, restoration of sound relations is prioritised. Accordingly, when conflicts cannot be contained within or between the family or households, other elders from the community are incorporated. In most cases, conflicts are sustainably addressed at intra

and inter family or household levels. In such cases, people in the farm communities will be applying locally and traditional-based mechanisms for justice, that exist outside the formal legal machinery.

The intervention of higher traditional leaders, however, may be sought when the injustice and conflicts are not resolved at lower levels. The institution of traditional leadership, which may comprise of village heads, council of elders and chiefs is central to social organisation of the new farm communities (and that of communal areas). These may mediate or 'impose' solutions non-violently or with minimum force. Consultation of both parties, and quest to maximise continued sound relations are prioritised by traditional leadership. Fair compromise seeking, public forgiveness requests and payment for damages (*kuripa*) may be done. The traditional leadership institutions address various conflict issues from domestic to land issues. They even address pegging and farm boundary issues, a function that should, in principle and formally, be done by lands officers. In most cases they are effective because they understand the issues better; and they strive for social reproduction of the farm community. These aspects of grievance handling and conflict resolution are outside those set by the government, where injustices and conflicts are to be channelled through the formal judicial mechanisms.

In the three study sites, the traditional leaders were hailed as central stakeholders in conflict resolution, particularly on the basis of the position they hold in the farming communities, and generally the communal areas. They uphold customary law which is an essential attribute of traditional local mechanisms for justice. The traditional court (*dare/inkundla*), is a common feature of the farms (and the communal areas). Social disputes may be brought before the traditional leaders. Most social disputes are resolved at this level, especially if the traditional leaders do their work fairly, and concentrate on issues that are within their scope of work. The traditional court imposes fines and may impose compensation to be given to the winning

party. Varying levels of success are achieved. The parties involved in conflict may seek the services of a higher traditional court; or legal courts if they are not satisfied by the decision made by local traditional courts.

In Zvimba, religious institutions are also important in addressing injustices and attaining social cohesion through bringing people together, and sharing religious culture. Firstly, the shared existence encouraged and sustained by these institutions is important in the pursuit of the goals of the FTLRP. Secondly, these institutions may also mediate in conflicts that affect their members; including those relating to land, farm infrastructure, boundaries, domestic disputes, personality clashes and so on. Formally, for example, conflicts pertaining to land conflicts should be addressed by the Farm Level Land Committees and District Lands Committees. However, due to their centrality in social life, religious leaders may intervene in purely land conflicts. Their success in resolving domestic and land disputes, and restoring social cohesion were highly reiterated in the study sites.

Concerns were raised over traditional leadership. Firstly, most traditional leaders act on the basis of tradition, therefore, may not bring change to the conflict situation. Examples include resolution efforts on domestic violence; and wrangles over land ownership, and inheritance. Secondly, the traditional leaders may impose solutions on the basis of their positions. In such cases, the root cause of conflict is not addressed; and the 'solution' is not shared; therefore, is unsustainable. Thirdly, some traditional leaders may venture into conflicts that are beyond their scope of work as outlined in the Traditional Leadership Act (1998, consolidated 2001). For example, some traditional leaders are arbitrating on conflicts over land boundaries, yet, under fast track, this function falls within the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Lands and Rural Resettlement. Officials of this Ministry should work with the traditional leaders in resolving boundary conflicts. Fourthly, traditional leaders' arbitration on land conflicts is not legally

binding, because it is not supported by law. However, the traditional leaders' civil court is important in addressing civil cases that fall within the formal jurisdiction of traditional leaders. Where imposition is done or where respect for the traditional leaders is prioritised at the expense of justice, conflict is 'resolved' manifestly yet, is rife latently. Such conflicts endure and may explode later.

Farmers and credit associations, and women's groups are pivotal in social cohesion in the three study sites. They do so with the view of maintaining families, households and communities; and improving the productive capacity of members. Shared vision, common values, aims and objectives among the farmers are shaped by these institutions. These encourage co-operative existence among their members, and are playing preventive, reconciliation and mediation roles at farm level. Members may turn to these institutions in times of conflict. Generally, these institutions socialise members and non-members to be 'good' citizens - loving and helping one another. These qualities of associations and groups are necessary for social cohesion. However, they may not address the underlying structural bases of inequality and conflict, thereby leading to its perpetuation. Patriarchy and domestic violence (against both men and women) are cases in point.

The Committee of Seven also solves disputes, especially land disputes; and they may refer unresolved cases to the District Administrator or the DLC and ZRP. The Committee of Seven works on disagreements and open conflicts over farm boundaries, infrastructure, equipment and other farm resources. Ideally, a member of the Committee of Seven should be found on each farm because these are farm-level institutions. They should be responsible for running and providing leadership on particular farms (those sub-divided under the FTLRP). This committee uses farm-grown, local and traditional means, often based on custom and non-

violence in resolving conflicts. However, where conflicts are referred to the DA, who is a member of the DLC, they may end of being directed to the ZRP and formal courts.

The Committee of Seven is usually expected to be composed of a Chairperson and six members. These members should be holding various portfolios in the Committee. This committee is usually in office for a minimum of a year. The farmers elect the Chairperson and other members. The committee members are part of the farm community, and should not be imposed from outside. When conflicts arise, the Committee of Seven is usually the first port of call in resolving farm conflicts. The Committee is recognised by the government, and as such has been given significant authority to address conflicts. Having accumulated legitimacy, power and authority, the Committee is a well-respected institution, hence, its significant acceptance in conflict resolution at farm level in the study sites (and fast track sites).

The committee members are familiar with the farm boundaries and the subdivisions, therefore, they are essential in addressing the conflicts emerging from boundaries. Usually, all or some of the members of the committee actively participated in the pegging of farms or were present when the pegging was done by the responsible government departments. The implication is that, the Committee of Seven has considerable knowledge of the farm, and its boundaries (both the main with other farms, and internal boundaries for plot holders). Bearing in mind that, farm boundaries may be a major cause of conflict, the committee is essential in identifying boundary (peg) shifts, and their restoration.

The role of the Committee of Seven extends to conflicts emerging from environmental exploitation and protection. This role entails the incorporation of traditional leaders, Environmental Management Agency, ZRP, and Neighbourhood Watch Committee. Conflicts

pertaining to natural resources exploitation are high in the selected farms and their occurrence and outcomes may justify the intervention of the ZRP and NWC. These two institutions deal with criminal and security issues; such as theft and related disputes. ZRP and EMA are formal institutions established by the government. However, they work in collaboration with traditional leaders and farmers. However, some land conflicts may not be effectively addressed through traditional ways and lower level formal institutions.

The Committee of Seven may fail to resolve all conflicts due to the diverse scope of conflicts in the farms and jurisdictional limitations. Such conflicts are then referred to the District Lands Committee (DLC), which is chaired by the District Administrator (DA). This committee has greater power and usually provides a final decision at district level on farm conflicts. It is also composed of several government departments who have different but related mandates. The implication is that, issues and conflicts dealt with by the DLC are complex, and that the legal authority, technical expertise and work force at that level are higher. Rarely does the DLCs fail to solve the conflicts tabled before them. However, case evidence shows that, local traditional mechanisms; that are based on *hunhu/ubuntu* may determine how the Committee of Seven and the DLCs operate. Firstly, they only take over the case when they are fully satisfied that, the family and local traditional leaders have exhausted all their options. Secondly, they consult the family members and traditional leaders. Thirdly, they execute their duties in the spirit of preserving the community of farmers in terms of collective conscience and effervescence.

Government departments and ministries, the courts and political parties (formal machinery) are also instrumental in social cohesion at farm level. Social cohesion at micro level contributes to nation-building and development at macro level. Ideally, government departments and ministries cater for the socioeconomic needs of all the residents of the farms

while the political parties, and other membership organisations usually cater for the needs of their members only. In addition to these institutions, sporting and recreational clubs and activities are contributing variedly to social cohesion. However, these institutions can also stimulate conflicts; especially the political parties. They may be out of touch with realities of the farm community; and emphasise formal legal mechanisms which may prolong, deepen or start new conflicts. A key dimension that gives credit to the local traditional mechanisms over the formal structures and mechanisms for conflict resolution and peace-building is that, the former are 'within' the people, and enshrined in their culture; while the later are alien and often impose on the people. The local traditional mechanisms are part of their philosophy/worldview and mode of life while the formal institutions are imported and unsustainable.

Despite the incidences of conflict in the district, there is overwhelming evidence that, the new farmers co-operate and work together, which is evidence of social cohesion. Farming tasks like tillage, planting and cultivation; meeting operating expenses such as water and electricity costs for irrigation purposes; environmental maintenance, and protection to safeguard their properties, and ensure the sustainability of natural resources; collective efforts through farmer's co-operatives to acquire cheaper agricultural inputs; sharing knowledge and technical expertise to enhance agricultural activities, and farm life are all examples of areas of co-operation. This diversity of farmer co-operation is essential for social cohesion. However, social cohesion may be playing out differently in other study sites.

9.9 Conclusion

The chapter evaluated the transformative influence of the FTLRP in the selected farms of Zvimba district in terms of social cohesion. Social cohesion was defined as the specific behaviours and attitudes that are shared, and aimed at bringing about peace and consensus in

the communities; and to contribute directly and indirectly towards nation building. The crosscutting argument is that, the FTLRP created a new and diversified rural landscape. This landscape led to diverse social, economic and political relationships, and institutions that are open to both consensus and conflict. Conflict is a normal part of human existence, just as cohesion; and the absence of open conflict does not necessarily mean that communities are functioning well. Moreover, what passes as consensual arrangement may actually be an imposed order. The resettled families have broader diversity in terms of cultural, ethnic, political and economic values and practices; class, age and political and religious affiliation, thereby creating opportunities, challenges and problems for social cohesion.

Special focus was put on the broader dimensions of social cohesion, existence of social conflict, the stakeholders in social conflict and conflict management, and cohesive and peace building initiatives. Conflicts and cohesion emanating from land as a key resource, boundaries, farm infrastructure, farm equipment, ethno-regionalism, labour and natural resources were explored. Farm equipment and infrastructure emerged to be the major source of conflict in the study sites. The roles of the land holders, traditional leadership, the judiciary, officials from the Ministry of Lands and Rural resettlement and Ministry of Agriculture, Mechanisation and Irrigation Development (now singularly, Ministry of Lands, Agriculture and Rural Resettlement); Committee of Seven, Neighbourhood Watch Committee and District Land Committees in managing conflicts were analysed. The effectiveness of the responses to conflict management in the spirit of upholding the goals of the FTLRP were evaluated. An overarching conclusion is that, all these actors are important in initiating and sustaining social cohesion. However, in performing their roles, they may also create or escalate conflicts. Local traditional mechanisms for conflict resolution are more prominent than formal mechanisms involving the judicial system. Overall, cohesive

communities are essential in achieving the goals of the FTLRP, and broadly in addressing the social question. In the next chapter, I present the conclusion.

Chapter Ten: Conclusion

Land reform is a necessary but insufficient condition for national development (Moyo and Matondi 2010)

10.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I consolidate the main findings presented in the substantive chapters to establish a comprehensive standpoint. Three parts constitute chapter. The initial part comprises of a summary of the analyses. In the second part, I concentrate on the contributions of the thesis to debates and knowledge on social policy and land reforms. In the last part, I focus on the contributions of the thesis to policy, by advancing TSP conceptual thinking in informing policy formulation, design, implementation, evaluation and learning. Both categories of the contributions are crystallised around improving and sustaining the transformative outcomes of the fast track land reform.

In the preceding 5 chapters, I interrogated Zimbabwe's fast track land reform programme as a transformative social policy instrument. The interrogation was based on five tasks/functions of the Transformative Social Policy (TSP) approach (production, redistribution, social protection, social reproduction and social cohesion). I executed fieldwork through a farm-based approach therefore, the TSP tasks were situated in three fast track sites of Zvimba district (Dalkeith, Whyhill and St Lucia Farms). My central arguments are that, land reform must be understood as a transformative social policy initiative; and that, fast track is the case study to demonstrate this.

Approaching Zimbabwe's fast track land reform through transformative social policy lenses seeks to address two core lacunae in dominant social policy and land reform literature and

practice. First, hegemonic social policy literature and programmes, especially by the OECD do not acknowledge land reforms implemented in the Global South as social policy instruments. This is coupled with international institutions' increasing restriction of social protection to social assistance, resulting in mono-tasking of social policy. In that context, these institutions respond, rather than avoid inequality, marginalisation and poverty. Cash transfers, food aid and so forth are the main components of social assistance. Second, is lack of conscious engagement with social policy dimensions of the fast track land reform among scholars on Zimbabwe's land reform. Since inception, the motivations, processes and outcomes of the FTLRP were marked by major contestations amongst scholars. Debates revolved around neo-patrimonialism, livelihoods, political economy and human rights as the major analytical approaches (also called ideological and epistemological standpoints in some literature). A conscious and intact social policy perspective is missing in these analytical approaches. In attempting to address these lacunae, and improve the transformative outcomes of the FTLRP, I transcended these approaches; and consciously engaged the social policy dimensions of the programme by advancing the need to return to the wider vision of social policy

10.2 Summary of the Analyses

In Chapter 1, I introduced the thrust and objectives of the thesis. Central to that chapter is the establishment of the context of the thesis in terms of lacunae; the roadmap for addressing the lacunae; highlights of the analytical approaches on Zimbabwe's land reform, and geographical area prioritised for the study; and an outline of the chapters constituting the thesis. Three key aspects emerged in that chapter. First, and central to the lacunae is that, dominant social policy literature, especially by the OECD do not prioritise land reform implemented in the Global South as social policy instruments. Second, and also essential in establishing the lacunae, is the overall absence of engagement with social policy dimensions

of land reform in Zimbabwe's social policy literature. Third, is acknowledgement that, despite the existing analytical approaches (neo-patrimonialism, human rights, livelihoods and political economy), failing to consciously incorporate a social policy dimension to Zimbabwe's land reform, they provide essential insights on the motivations, processes and outcomes of the land reform. I therefore, argued for the need to transcend existing debates on Zimbabwe's land reform; and interrogating the FTLRP through transformative social policy lenses – the wider vision of social policy.

In Chapter 2, I explored the methods and approach adopted in gathering and managing data, thereby setting the context and content of the fieldwork. I focused on justifications for choosing Zvimba district, and the background to the specific study sites (Dalkeith, Whyhill and St Lucia Farms); use of ethnography and related data collection methods; incorporation of AIAS (now SMAIAS) quantitative data; data analysis; and credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability. Essential to understand is that, choosing Zvimba district was guided by two essential aspects. First, earlier scholarly contributions on Zimbabwe's land reform that are based on Zvimba lack a social policy perspective. Second, the district is one of the study sites where the AIAS gathered a corpus of quantitative data on the trends and tendencies of the FTLRP. The land reform cohort at the SARChI Chair in Social Policy was referred to AIAS for orientation and predominantly quantitative data on Zimbabwe's land reform. AIAS is working in six districts Zvimba, Goromonzi, Chiredzi, Chipinge, Kwekwe and Mangwe. I complemented the quantitative data through qualitative data gathered through ethnography. Studying Zvimba district through ethnography was intended to capture the lived experiences and situated meanings of the FTLRP, and their implications to social policy. These are often missed when researchers use surveys (as is done at the AIAS). Blending both qualitative and quantitative primary data gathered through ethnography; and quantitative data by AIAS was crucial, and is explored in this chapter.

Chapter 3 explores the land question in Zimbabwe by prioritising land dispossession and repossession. I bring out the colonial political and legal frameworks, and extra covert and overt socioeconomic strategies that were used to dispossess the black majority of land. I also explored the phases of post-colonial land reform in Zimbabwe, with the FTLRP being the most recent. Four critical points come to fore in exploring the land question. First, land is an essential resource for improving people's wellbeing, justifying why the British colonisers targeted land and natural resources appended to it; and why regaining lost land was a key component in anti-colonial struggles. Second, alienating people from core resources for example, land, retards wellbeing, accumulation, prosperity and solidarity among other key social policy concerns. Third, broadening access to land and other key resources; and providing necessary support broadens wellbeing. Fourth, every stage of land reform (and any other development initiative), offers opportunities for learning from both success and failure. Both are essential in designing and delivering welfare.

In Chapter 4, I explored and justified the application of transformative social policy. I argued that, the transformative social policy conceptual framework, with its multiple tasks/functions, is the best in addressing lacunae in social policy that were created and sustained by the OECD, particularly on reducing social policy to social assistance; and the vacuity of a conscious social policy approach to the FTLRP among scholars on Zimbabwe's land reform. While not presenting the conceptual framework as a panacea to all social policy dimensions of the FTLRP, I provide a contextualised application of the TSP functions (production, redistribution, social reproduction, social protection and social cohesion) in Zimbabwe's land reform. This chapter marks the end of setting a firm foundation for interrogating the fast track land reform from a social policy approach.

Chapter 5 marks the beginning of substantive chapters on social policy outcomes of the FTLRP. My central argument in this chapter is that, the fast track land reform had major redistributive outcomes in terms of both land and appended natural resources. The programme reconfigured the agrarian structure from bimodal to trimodal. I explored the dynamics of claiming for land, occupations of former white-owned LSCFs, settling in the farms, the socioeconomic background of the land beneficiaries, farm residency, and accessing other natural resources. I crystallised my focus on several aspects. In my study sites, the 3 farms that were owned by 2 white farmers were sub-divided into more than 200 A1 plots showing that, the farms were redistributed to more people. Moreover, the profile of the land beneficiaries in terms of areas of origin showed that, the three study sites are composed of people from within and beyond the district, and province. The implication is that, the programme transcended regional and ethnic boundaries. Despite complexity and dynamism of social categories, most of the land beneficiaries are 'ordinary' people (those from communal areas and old resettlements, factory and mine workers, lower-level civil servants, former farm workers, the unemployed and so forth). Senior civil servants, politicians, war veterans and business elites also benefited. At national level, several scholars and government sources acknowledged that, 180 000 families were settled on 13 million hectares under fast track. Such redistributive outcomes had not been achieved in earlier phases of post-independence land reforms. Redistribution of land also meant redistribution of its appended natural resources (fauna and flora). The chapter also reveals gender, age and elite biases in redistribution. For example, at Dalkeith farm, 8 beneficiaries are women and 127 are men; while at Whyndhill farm, 9 women and 36 men were allocated land under A1 scheme. Gender inequalities are also reported at national scale. Of the people who got land under fast track, only 13 to 22 percent are women. Despite these issues, the FTLRP had major redistributive outcomes. I concluded that, redistributing land to the black majority who were hitherto

excluded from improving and sustaining their wellbeing through land is the major social policy outcome of the programme.

In Chapter 6, I analysed land use and production outcomes of the fast track land reform. I explained that, in my study sites, land use has not significantly changed in the aftermath of the land reform. The land beneficiaries are still growing maize and tobacco as the major crops; and sorghum, beans, groundnuts and roundnuts as the minor crops. They are rearing cattle (for beef and dairy), as major livestock; and small livestock (goats, poultry and so forth). However, what has radically changed is the scale of land use and production levels (of both crops and livestock), although these are gradually improving. The chapter shows that, in my study sites, the majority failed to utilise 2 out of the allocated 5-10 or more hectares in early years of occupation. However, land use is improving with more land beneficiaries utilising more than 4 hectares in the 2015/2016 agricultural season. Maize is the dominant crop grown by all households. The production of wheat and horticultural crops has radically soared, with one cooperative at Dalkeith attempting wheat production at small-scale. The production of all crops and livestock for export is non-existent at all the 3 study sites. Land use and production are constrained by many factors, but high prices or shortage of agricultural inputs (raised by 92%); and high shortage of equipment (emphasised by 88%) being topical. These production constraints are pushing beneficiaries to join contract farming (explained as exploitative by all farmers under contract). Overall, land use and production are lower than the agro-ecological and plot size potential expected in the district. However, my central argument is that, diversity within and between villages should be acknowledged. This calls for nuanced and grounded analyses of land use and production outcomes.

Chapter 7, explored the FTLRP as a major alternative to social assistance provided by the government of Zimbabwe, NGOs (local and international); charity provided by churches;

general assistance received from relatives, neighbours and friends; and corporate social responsibility by corporates. I considered the FTLRP as an *ex ante* social protection tool with better short and long-term benefits than those of social assistance. Despite challenges, various social protection outcomes have been attained through the FTLRP. The land beneficiaries own agricultural land that is central to food production and food security, improved food consumption and nutrition; and an opportunity to grow and consume food that is culturally and locally appropriate (an element of food sovereignty), compared to reliance on food aid. For example, the 135 and 45 A1 land beneficiaries at Dalkeith and Whyhill farms respectively have productive agricultural land; and a place for other socioeconomic activities; and *musha*. Ninety-seven (97) percent of the land beneficiaries at the three study sites are now able to grow own food compared to 0.7% who rely on food rations, and 10% who rely on the government-provided grain loan scheme (after failing to produce own grain due to drought). A *musha* is more than shelter in the African sense. The *musha* component is more pronounced for the land beneficiaries who did not have one in the communal areas or old resettlement areas; and those who do not belong to communal areas yet, do not have a place of their own in urban areas. Livestock are being used as both short and long-term insurance and accumulation. I also emphasised the social protection outcomes through both on and off-farm activities that were created by the FTLRP. My standpoint therefore, is that, the fast track land reform has immense social protection potential than social assistance although how each beneficiary has realised such benefits, and challenges being experienced vary.

In Chapter 8, I interrogated the social reproduction outcomes of the FTLRP. In this regard, I prioritised five thematic areas, all crystallised on the conclusion that, the goal of the programme can only be achieved if farm households and community are reproduced and improved. I explored sources of food, income and labour for household reproduction; capital formation; generational issues; biological reproduction; and the spectrum of farm-level, and

other institutions that are central to social reproduction. For purposes of summarising, I single out two crucial dimensions of social reproduction – capital formation and generational issues. Capital formation is variedly conceptualised. However, I prioritised farm equipment due to its central influence on agriculture. Ownership of engine-driven farm equipment and irrigation infrastructure is critically low, and contributes to low land use and agricultural production. For example, in all the three study sites, only 3 A1 farmers have tractors while all have some sort of hand tools for agricultural purposes. Although agricultural hand tools are important, their contribution to large-scale land use is low. Generational issues mark land distribution, ownership and use in all the three study sites. Approximately 5% of the land beneficiaries are youth. In my study sites a person who is 18-35 years of age belongs to the youth category. However, age specifications vary within and across countries. This is common with all social categories. Of the 15 youth who participated in indepth interviews, 13 are interested in taking over land and improving agriculture upon retirement or death of their parents and guardians. Similar sentiments were also noted in informal interactions with other youth who variedly contribute to agricultural activities in the farms. Yet, some expressed lack of interest in owning land and agriculture. In the category of elders, most are in the 50+ age category. Several important insights emerge from these highlights, and detailed discussion done in the chapter. An important insight is that, the future of farming in the fast track farms lies on the youth therefore, they should be considered in owning land in their own right; and their interest in owning and utilising land for agricultural purposes should be enhanced.

I examined social cohesion outcomes of the FTLRP in Chapter 9. I argued that, if expanded, social cohesion at micro levels translates to nation building. I also acknowledged the breadth of social cohesion and conflict as outlined in literature and took a position – that of concentrating mainly on land conflicts, and how these are resolved in the study sites in pursuit of social cohesion. Land conflicts emanate from or directly influence land use and

production. I revealed that, sources of land conflicts include farm equipment and infrastructure, land ownership, sub-division and redistribution of plots, farm boundaries, “no man’s land”, natural resources appended to the land, farm labour, and co-operative and sharing of agricultural produce or income. Of these, 96% of the land beneficiaries reported having been involved or witnessed conflict pertaining to farm equipment and infrastructure. This signifies the importance of such equipment and infrastructure in agriculture, and its limited availability in my study sites. I also explored the individuals and institutions involved in resolving land conflicts (land beneficiaries, traditional leaders especially village heads, Committee of Seven, district land committees, district administrator, land officers, Neighbourhood Watch Committees, formal courts and so forth. These contribute variedly to social cohesion, although in some cases, they may trigger conflict. I merely highlighted sources of other conflicts occurring in the selected study sites because they do not fall within the ambit of social policy. I brought four major aspects to the fore. First, conflict pertaining to land ownership and boundaries have declined after formalisation. Second, land conflict and those emanating from other sources are two-pronged. Depending on how conflict is managed, it can lead to positive or negative consequences. Third, the land beneficiaries have transcended ethno-regional and ethnic differences, and have increasingly become neighbours, relatives and friends. Fourth, enhanced social cohesion improves collectivism in agricultural activities and other spheres of the farm community, thereby improving achievement of the objectives of the FTLRP. In the next section, I present the contributions of the thesis to debates and knowledge on social policy and land reform.

10.3 Contribution of the Thesis to Debates and Knowledge

In this section, I present the contribution of the thesis to debates and knowledge in land reform and social policy. Anchoring the section are eight themes that feed into the crux of the research problem – land as a social policy instrument and conscious engagement with the

social policy dimensions of the land reform (fast track land reform being the case to demonstrate this).

10.3.1 Land reform as a social policy instrument

I argued that, scholars and practitioners in social policy should view, and advance land reforms as social policy instruments. This is a novel contribution to the field of social policy given the neglect of land reforms as social policy instruments/tools in mainstream social policy literature (particularly by OECD scholars). Hegemony and ‘omnipresence’ of the OECD in the Global South have also meant its dominance in social policy literature pertaining to this part of the world. The influence of the OECD is not restricted to social policy literature, but also extend to social policy practice. As such, social policy tools of the Global South are largely biased against land reforms. Moreover, social provisioning by international organisations and governments is largely restricted to social assistance; and fails to address the core causes of inequality, marginalisation and poverty. For this unique approach of addressing the socio-structural causes of inequality and poverty (racialised, genderised, ethnicised and so forth) to be accepted and widely applied, I argue that, scholarship is essential; along with political will, wide implementation and support by African governments despite resistance that is likely to emerge from hegemonic international institutions and capitalists.

10.3.2 Conscious engagement with social policy dimensions of land reform

The corpus of seasoned and upcoming contributors to literature on Zimbabwe’s land reform; and practitioners who are advising the government on how to improve the outcomes of the fast track land reform deserve special acknowledgement. Scholars focus on several themes in exploration of the FTLRP including social aspects but do not consciously and comprehensively focus on its social policy dimensions. I therefore, bring to the fore the appropriateness of conscious engagement with the social policy dimensions of the FTLRP

and other land reforms, particularly the multiple social policy functions (production, redistribution, reproduction, protection and social cohesion). While acknowledging the usefulness of current analytical approaches to land reform (livelihoods, political economy, neopatrimonialism or various innovations these), I urge scholars to extend analytical lenses by incorporating the social policy dimensions of land reform; and influencing policy at national level through this approach.

10.3.3 New land questions in the transformed agrarian structure

In the context of acknowledging the transformation of the agrarian structure from bimodal to a trimodal arrangement due to the fast track land reform; and diversity of the land beneficiaries, I advance a reoriented interrogation of Zimbabwe's land question. The thesis shows that, the land question is yet to be resolved fully and that, most scholars restrict analysis race-based land inequalities and conflict. However, the land in Zimbabwe has shifted from being solely being between whites and blacks, to being among the blacks. Issues of multiple farm ownership, land under-utilisation, unutilised plots, and other groups having been intentionally or unintentionally excluded from land redistribution (people with disabilities, women and youth) mark the current land question. These land questions are gaining prominence. I urge the government and scholars to scrutinise the new land questions; and mainstream these into land policy.

10.3.4 Livestock as social insurance and mode of accumulation, and other benefits in fast track farms

As with land reform, mainstream social policy literature and practice by the OECD does not acknowledge livestock production as a social policy tool (both as short and long-term insurance and accumulation). Small and large livestock are vital in social protection in the post-fast track Zvimba, and so are the off-farm activities as explained in Chapter 7. A crucial dimension I advanced is the link between livestock accumulation (especially cattle), and

agricultural production. Livestock have been prioritised in Zimbabwe well before colonialism. It has been regarded as a symbol of wealth and social security yet, the social protection benefits are not emphasised by ‘social assistance-minded institutions’. When in need, households sell livestock for various uses including meeting routine needs and investment in farm infrastructure and equipment. Livestock can be slaughtered for household consumption and for sale (income generation). They can also be exchanged for goods and farm equipment meant to secure long-term accumulation. These benefits of livestock production along with other benefits of on and off-farm social protection are a major contribution of this thesis to debates and knowledge on land reforms as social policy tools. Further rigorous exploration by scholars on how these social protection qualities can be enhanced is crucial.

10.3.5 Indispensable link between social and economic policies

I advance an approach to understanding social and economic policies as symbiotic in the context of land reform and agriculture; and the FTLRP as having both social and economic dimensions. The intricate link between social and economic policies were emphasised by other scholars (Adesina 2007; Mkandawire 2006, 2011) but not in a land reform context. The achievement of social policy outcomes, in this case outcomes of land reform, is linked to the contribution of the economy in providing resources for example, agricultural inputs, finance, technical expertise. On the other end, economic policy should sustain social policy outcomes hence, my argument that, economic stability and appropriate support strategies are crucial in improving and sustaining the social policy successes in the A1 farms. The FTLRP has both social and economic dimensions and these are complementary. These should be captured in literature on Zimbabwe’s land reform.

10.3.6 Heterogeneity in aspiring to own land

Against a backdrop where the aspirations for owning land are generally presented as that of becoming a farmer, I argue that, not everyone aspired to get land for agriculture. Some people claimed land to establish a *musha* for themselves and their children. *Musha* is a source of belonging, dignity and pride among indigenous groups in Zimbabwe. For example, farm workers and some former urban and mine dwellers use the allocated land as *musha*. For these groups getting land under the FTLRP is a lifetime achievement. In both good and bad times, some people go *kumusha*. The *musha* is an essential fallback resource during economic challenges, for example, when one is laid off, or falls ill, or dies. Cost of living is low. People may escape destitution in urban areas by going *kumusha*. Some consider burial in *kumusha* to be decent and culturally-appropriate. For some groups their primary goal was to have land for *musha*, and productive agriculture is secondary. This largely unexplored dimension shows that, everyone who got land is a land beneficiary, but not all are farmers.

10.3.7 Gender, development and social policy tools

A large corpus of literature on gender and land in general, and gender inequalities and inequities in fast track land reform is available as shown in Chapters 7 and 8. Great scholarly work has been done in this area. However, I contributed to the interrogation of the complexity and dynamics of gender inequalities and inequities in relation to land reform from social policy as a field; and its multiple facets in relation to land redistribution, land use and production, social protection, social reproduction and social cohesion. By focusing on gender from a social policy perspective, I managed to add a perspective that have, for a long time been void in gender and land debates. Land and its redistribution is a social policy instrument that is essential in addressing gender inequalities and ensuring.

10.3.8 Youth and transformative social policy

Scholarly contributions on ‘development with a youth face’ is flourishing. Several practitioners are also advancing youth inclusion in development. However, in Zimbabwe, focusing on youth and land from a transformative social policy perspective is underdeveloped. Few scholars are developing this area, particularly from a TSP standpoint (Chipenda 2018, 2019); while other scholars are focusing on youth under land reform but not consciously engaging with social policy dimensions (Scoones 2018; Thebe 2018). I contributed to this vital but under-emphasised area by interrogating youth and generational questions. Reproducing and improving agriculture through the children of the land beneficiaries, and youth in general is essential in sustaining the future of fast track farms and the contribution of agriculture to national development.

10.4 Contributions to Policy

The thesis transcends contribution to analytical debates and knowledge; and provides recommendations that are relevant to policy formulation, design, implementation, evaluation and learning. I am not the first to proffer ways for improving the outcomes of Zimbabwe’s land reform through policy. However, my point of departure from others, as is the thrust of the study, is that I recommend on the basis of the TSP approach. Important to note is that, the recommendations are specific to A1 farmers, but may straddle both schemes (A1 and A2).

10.4.1 Improving affordability and availability of agricultural inputs and equipment

Agrarian support in the form of affordable agricultural inputs and equipment; and broader availability of these is a prime recommendation that should be prioritised if land use and production outcomes; and the ripple effects of this component to other social policy functions (social protection and social reproduction), are to be improved and sustained. The government of Zimbabwe should take a leading role, but complemented by its partners (local

and international institutions). In this regard, the government should be conscious of the diversity of farmers who need agricultural support in the A1 scheme. Subsidies and other agricultural support pertaining to agricultural inputs and farm equipment should be targeted and consistent with agro-ecological regions to enhance effectiveness. Family farmers (A1) should be prioritised in agricultural inputs to enhance their capacity to provide for their families, and in improving their capability for surplus production. This is an urgent and most immediate recommendation.

10.4.2 Transforming value chains – markets and innovative linkages

Agricultural value chains, particularly markets for crop produce should be transformed. Prices of agricultural produce determine reinvestment in farm equipment, capability to purchase inputs, household reproduction, social protection through agricultural income, and so on. For the A1 farmers, most of whom lack capital, income through sale of agricultural produce is central to farm and household operations. The GMB, a major market for grain must be revamped. Being a parastatal, the government should synchronise its pricing and payment system to improve effectiveness of operations and benefits for the A1 farmers. Private buyers must be formalised, and allowed to compete with the GMB. Tobacco auction floors purchase tobacco in United States dollars. The government should also pay farmers in that currency, or work out a ratio of US dollars to the bond note that allows for agricultural growth and improved farmer wellbeing. Furthermore, A1 farmers may link with or be facilitated to form mutually beneficial linkages with value-adding corporates and lucrative markets, especially as a group.

10.4.3 Strengthening agronomic and environmental management services

Research, technical and extension services are vital for appropriate farm management. These were central to the success of white farmers among other factors, and should not be trivialised

in A1 farms. The ratio of Agritex officer to A1 farmer is good. Equally important is effective management of forests and other natural resources appended to the land. The EMA officers should control use of forests, rivers and so on, and where necessary, work with law enforcement officers. However, the government of Zimbabwe should sufficiently resource these vital units, particularly rolling out motorbikes to improve mobility in the farms. State-civil society-bilateral ties are important given Zimbabwe's macro-economic challenges. Improved agriculture through Agritex services along with sustained use of natural resources appended to the land enhance the outcomes of land in all the five TSP functions

10.4.4 Land tenure security

Security of tenure enhances stability of the land beneficiaries, motivation to invest and utilise the plots productively. Benefits realised in these areas influence realisation of social protection, social reproduction and so forth. This area needs urgent consideration. Land divisions should be surveyed and associated leases issued. A2 leases can be made collateralable and transferable. Such a provision can be extended to A1 farmers who are market-oriented.

10.4.5 Land audit, land repossession and clear procedures for land redistribution

Both piecemeal and comprehensive land audits are important given evidence of land under-utilisation and land allocation more than plot sizes stipulated by government in some cases. The comprehensive audit must address several issues including multiple farm ownership, low and non-land utilisation, skills of the land beneficiaries and those of the Agritex officers to enhance farmers' capacity for commercial agriculture. In addition, farm sizes, especially where some beneficiaries are failing to utilise the large plots productively can be addressed through a comprehensive land audit. Less detailed land audits are also essential, and must be implemented in all districts to address various other minor issues including joint registration of farms and unequal access to and control of land by people with disabilities, youth and

women. Elites should not capture land audits, as this would lead to further alienation of peasants and the 'land poor' in general. Moreover, political parties, especially the ruling party, ZANU PF, should not use land audit and land reform as tools for gaining 'political mileage'.

There is need for further redistribution of under-utilised or unutilised land in A1 (and that in A2 scheme, land owned by the government and private estates). Within this context, clear procedures for such redistribution should be established. The procedures should be accompanied by enhanced capacity to administrate by the central and local governments. This will improve registration, records and archiving systems pertaining to land. Finalisation of land permits and leases is essential to support tenure security of the new land beneficiaries.

Policy changes by the 'new administration' and the need to increase the share of large-scale investors in agriculture (and mining) are essential yet, in the context of land audit and reallocation, should be adopted after intense interrogation. At the epicentre of the new administration's policy package for the agricultural sector are joint ventures between smallholder farmers and foreign capital, and allocating land to those who are financially and materially-resourced. The 'new administration' is seeking to reverse 'capital flight' and international isolation created by the FTLRP, and other radical approaches to indigenisation. Within that context of innovations by the 'new administration', while fully acknowledging the importance of such strategies, the shortfalls of foreign capital including land grabbing and alienation of peasants should be considered.

10.4.6 Post-land transfer investment - enhancing social services

All the five functions of TSP upon which the interrogation of the fast track land reform has been done link to adequacy and quality of social services in A1 fast track farms. Supporting

resources and services that are essential in post-fast track farms extend beyond those pertaining directly to agricultural activities. Healthcare, education and potable water are essential to wellbeing in and beyond the farms. These services are important in efforts to transform the wellbeing of the farm households. In the medium-term, temporary/makeshift clinics and schools should be resourced, while in the long-term, these should be transformed or replaced, paving way for permanent infrastructure. Current efforts by A1 farmers in improving potable water availability through sinking wells can be complemented through sinking boreholes. The Zvimba Rural District Council and District Development Fund are the main stakeholders who should lead this initiative. This investment should be prioritised in government budgets or interventions by private corporations, churches and NGOs. Establishing social services infrastructure is a long-term goal, and requires huge financial and material investment. Accordingly, stakeholder collaboration is essential in this area due to the extensiveness of the resources required.

10.4.7 Modalities for agricultural financing and investment in agriculture

New and effective modalities for agricultural financing in the A1 (and other schemes) should be devised. Several alternatives can be explored. The government should enhance fiscal performance and resource base for financing agriculture. In that regard, a tax for agricultural financing can be introduced as was the case for HIV and AIDS. A two-pronged access to credit can be implemented. Short term/micro finance can be provided to subsistence, part-time and co-operative farmers while long-term commercial bank credit can be extended to market-oriented small-scale (and large-scale commercial) farmers. Contract farming, which is currently mainly focusing on provision of agricultural inputs and marketing, should be extended to livestock and crop products.

Investment in small-scale agricultural infrastructure should be a priority in modalities for agricultural financing and investment. Small-scale irrigation infrastructure and services are crucial in complementing rain-fed agriculture; and in maximising land utilisation. Zimbabwe is prone to droughts making irrigation agriculture a necessity in both A1 and A2 farms. Most irrigation infrastructure was vandalised during farm occupations, and some is archaic and lacks servicing. Rehabilitation of such infrastructure and remodelling and adapting irrigation technology to meet changed context and new needs are essential. In the A1 scheme, smaller water pumps and distributors are more appropriate. At national level, prioritisation of agro-ecological regions more prone to droughts is important. Stakeholders who contribute to investment in small-scale irrigation can tap on already accumulating initiatives by the land beneficiaries.

10.5 Conclusion

Overall, land reform must be understood as a transformative social policy instrument, and the fast track is the case study for demonstrating this. The predominance of OECD scholars in mainstream social policy resulted in systematic exclusion of social policies of Zimbabwe and other countries in the Global South. Land reform is one such social policy tool that is deliberately not acknowledged in such dominant social policy literature. In addition, dominant international development institutions narrowly prioritise social assistance in attempts to address inequality, marginalisation and poverty. However, social assistance does not challenge and address the core causes of inequality and poverty. In addition to the OECD biases in social policy literature and practice, Zimbabwe's land reform literature does not consciously engage with the social policy dimensions of land reform although there are various acknowledgements of social aspects of the land reform in the diverse contributions. Against this background, I applied a TSP conceptual framework to address these lacunae. The TSP broadens the vision of social policy beyond social assistance and mono tasking

under neoliberalism by incorporating production, redistribution, reproduction, social protection and social cohesion (the five functions or tasks of social policy). I referred to these tasks as the wider vision of social policy.

Of all the social policy outcomes, redistribution of agricultural land is the major transformative outcome of the FTLRP. Never before has land reform in Zimbabwe led to acquisition of 13 million hectares and resettlement of 180 000 black families on land previously owned by 6 000 white commercial farmers. Despite challenges, the FTLRP is a prophylactic social policy instrument capable of enhancing production and reproduction, providing *ex ante* social protection and building social cohesion. Accordingly, maximisation of the transformative outcomes of the FTLRP requires consideration of the recommendations I provided, and other relevant innovations in the agricultural sector while acknowledging site-specific diversity and dynamics.

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ANNEXURES

Annexure 1: Letter of Introduction from the SARChI Chair in Social Policy



19th December, 2014.

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

FROM: Professor Jimi O. Adesina

LETTER OF INTRODUCTION

I hereby introduce Tom Tom who is a registered Doctoral Fellow in Sociology at the SARChI (South African Research Chairs Initiative) Chair in Social Policy at the University of South Africa. The work of the Chair is framed by the concept of Transformative Social Policy and sets it apart from the dominant discourse in Social Policy framed by the Welfare Regime Paradigm or the Social Protection Paradigm. In line with this, the Chair has established a research project on Land and Agrarian Reform.

Tom Tom is on fieldwork to collect data on the research project topic: "Social Policy dimensions of Land and Agrarian Reform" under the theme "*Rethinking Social Policy: in search of inclusive development*".

Kindly accord him the necessary assistance.

Should you require additional information, you are welcome to contact Ms. Bridgette Ngobeni at +27123376114 (e-mail:ngobeb1@unisa.ac.za) or Professor Jimi O. Adesina at +27123376002 (e-mail: adesij@unisa.ac.za)

Yours faithfully,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Jimi O. Adesina', is written over a horizontal line.

Jimi Adesina, PhD MASSAf

Professor & DST/NRF SARChI Chair in Social Policy

UNISA

19 DEC 2014

SARChI CHAIR IN SOCIAL POLICY
COLLEGE OF GRADUATE STUDIES
Tel: +27 12 337 6114



Appendix 2: Approval Letters from the Government of Zimbabwe Ministries

All communications should be addressed to
"The Secretary for Primary and Secondary
Education"
Telephone: 799914 and 705153
Telegraphic address : "EDUCATION"
Fax: 791923,



Reference: C/426/3 Mash West
Ministry of Primary and
Secondary Education
P.O Box CY 121
Causeway
Harare
Zimbabwe

17 July 2015

Tom Tom
No. 9627
Manyame Park
Chitungwiza
Zimbabwe

**RE: PERMISSION TO CARRY OUT RESEARCH IN MASHONALAND WEST
PROVINCE: ZVIMBA DISTRICT: ZVIMBA DISTRICT SCHOOLS**

Reference is made to your application to carry out a research in the list of schools attached and at the District Office in Mashonaland West Province on the research title:

**"THE WIDER VISION OF SOCIAL POLICY: AN ANALYSIS OF
TRANSFORMATIVE ROLE OF THE FAST TRACK LAND REFORM IN ZVIMBA
DISTRICT."**

Permission is hereby granted. However, you are required to liaise with the Provincial Education Director Mashonaland West, who is responsible for the schools which you want to involve in your research. You should ensure that your research work does not disrupt the normal operations of the school.

You are required to provide a copy of your final report to the Secretary for Primary and Secondary Education by December 2015.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'E. Chinyowa'.

E. Chinyowa

Acting Director: Policy Planning, Research and Development
For: **SECRETARY FOR PRIMARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION**
cc: PED – Mashonaland West Province

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Official communications should
Not be addressed to individuals

Telephone: Harare 790871/77
Telegraphic Address: 'SECLAB'
Fax: 794567



ZIMBABWE

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SERVICES
Compensation House
P Bag 7707 Causeway
Cnr Fourth Street/Central Avenue
Harare

SW 12/5/153

24 August, 2015

✓ Tom Tom
9627 Manyame Park
Chitungwiza

RE: PERMISSION TO INTERVIEW SOCIAL SERVICES OFFICER-ZVIMBA DISTRICT ON SOCIAL SERVICES PROVISION IN PURSUANCE OF ACADEMIC RESEARCH BY TOM TOM ENTITLED "The wider vision of social policy: An analysis of the Fast Track land Reform Programme in Zvimba District-Zimbabwe

We hereby acknowledge receipt of your letter dated 14 July, 2015.

Please be advised, that, permission is hereby granted for you to interview the Zvimba District Social Services Officer on social services provision and social policies and their impact on the Zvimba community. Please note that permission is hereby granted **STRICTLY** on condition that you restrict to matters related to pursuit of your academic studies not for **PUBLICITY** purposes and that you confine yourself to questions specified in your request. You are also expected to abide by the research ethic of maintaining anonymity of identities of the respondents.

We hereby also kindly request you to share your final research findings regarding the same upon completion.

I.T.Mukaro

A/Director of Social Services

c.c-Provincial Social Services Officer

c.c-District Social Services Officer- Zvimba District

Annexure 3: Questionnaire for Land Beneficiaries

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR LAND BENEFICIARIES

Introduction and Instructions

The questionnaire is intended to gather data pertaining to land reform as a transformative social policy instrument. You have been selected to participate in the study because you are a land beneficiary under the fast track land reform. May you answer the questions to the best of your knowledge, comprehensively and honestly. The information you provide is confidential and your identity is protected (unless you want your name to be revealed). This study is informed by ethics of social science research including informed consent, confidentiality, non-coercion, avoidance of harm in its various forms, respect for diversity and provision of feedback. Your participation contributes significantly to improving the transformative outcome of the fast track land reform. Thank you in advance for the responses.

Farm name

Respondent Number

BIODATA

Name (Optional)

Sex

Female

Male

Age range

20-30

31-40

41-50

51-60

61+

Marital status Single

Married

Divorced

Widow

LAND REDISTRIBUTION

1. In which year did you access this land?

2. How did you initially access the land? (Tick the appropriate)

Occupied	
Officially allocated	
Inherited	
Family subdivision	
Allocated by traditional leader(s)	
Other	

3. In whose name is the plot registered?.....

4. Sex of the registered person M F

5. What ownership documentation do you have?

Documentation	Selection	Year of Issuance
Offer letter		
Title deed		
99-year lease		
Use permit		
Other		
Other		

6. Before accessing this land, where did you reside?.....

7. How much agricultural land did you have in the previous area of residence?

(Specify in hectares).....

8a. Compared to the previous plot size, is this plot smaller, same size or larger? **Smaller**
Similar size **Larger**

8b. By how many hectares?

9. In terms of fertility, which land is more fertile? **Previous** **Current**

10a. Do you own, rent, borrow or share land? (Do you redistribute distributed land?) **Yes**
No

10b. To who? (Specify all).

.....
.....
.....

10c. Why?

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

11a. Did you experience or are you experiencing land redistribution challenges in this farm or other farms? **Yes** **No**

11b. Specify the redistribution challenges

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

12. How were, or are the challenges addressed?

.....

.....

.....

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.....

.....

LAND USE AND PRODUCTION

13. How much arable land do you have? (Specify in hectares).....

14. Where is the land located? This farm Other fast track farm(s)

Communal area Old resettlement

15. In which year and month did you commence production?

Year	Month

16. Of the land you have access to, how is the land being used?

Holding	Arable land (Ha)						Vegetable garden (Ha)			Fallow (Ha)			Other (Specify)		
	This village			Elsewhere (Specify)			Here	Elsewhere	Here	Elsewhere	Here	Elsewhere			
	Dryland	Irrigated		Dryland	Irrigated										
	Area	Area		Area	Crop		Area	Area	Crop	Area	Area	Crop			
Owned															
Rented															
Borrowed															
Shared (communal)															
Shared (Private)															
Other															

17. Provide details of crops you produced in the immediate previous agricultural season.

No.	Crop	Quantity (Tonnes)
1.		
2.		
3.		
4.		
5.		
6.		

18. Provide details of livestock you produced in the previous season.

No.	Livestock	Number
1.		
2.		
3.		
4.		
5.		
6.		

19. Do you get agricultural support? Yes

No

20. If Yes in Question 19, who are the providers and what they provided or are providing.

Name of provider of agricultural support	What is provided	Quantity (Kilogrammes) or Amount (\$)

21. Explain the benefits of the agricultural support provided

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.....

.....

22. What are the problems (if any) of the agricultural support provided?

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23a. Explain the land use challenges you are experiencing.

.....

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24b. How can these land use challenges be addressed?

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25. What production constraints have you experienced or are you experiencing?

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.....

.....

26a. Of the production constraints you experienced in the last agricultural season, rank them in terms of impact (starting with high impact constraints), and approximate production loss (state loss in monetary terms \$)

Crop production		
Production constraint	Ranking	Loss (\$)
Livestock production		
Production constraint	Ranking	Loss (\$)

26b. Explain production constraints experienced by other land beneficiaries in this village/farm

.....

26c. How are land beneficiaries in this village/farm addressing production constraints?

.....

26d. How useful are the land beneficiaries' responses to production constraints?

.....

26e. How can production constraints relating to both crop and livestock production be addressed?

Stakeholder	How?/Action to be taken	When?	By who and with who?

SOCIAL PROTECTION

27. How do you understand social protection?

.....

28. In what ways is land a social protection resource?.....

.....

29. Compared to the period before accessing this land, are you better-off or worse-off socioeconomically? **Better-off** **Worse-off**

30. Provide the quantitative and qualitative aspects of your response to Question 29.

Quantitative		Qualitative	
1.		1.	
2.		2.	
3.		3.	
4.		4.	
5.		5.	

31. Explain the other on-farm activities that are enhancing your lives.

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.....

.....

.....

32. How can use of land be improved to enhance your socioeconomic wellbeing?

.....

.....

.....

33. What off-farm activities are you utilising after accessing this land?

.....

.....

.....

34a. What do you get from off-farm activities?

.....

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.....

34b. In cases where the proceeds from off-farm activities can be quantified in monetary terms, how much are you getting?

Off-farm activity		Income generated (\$)
1.		
2.		
3.		
4.		
5.		

34c. How do you allocate time between on-farm and off-farm activities?

On-farm activity	Time allocated (per day)	Off-farm activity	Time allocated (per day)

34d. Comparing on-farm and off-farm activities, which one provides more financial benefits?

On-farm activities Off-farm activities

34e. Comment on the view that off-farm activities are leading to deagrarianisation

.....

.....

.....

34f. Suggest ways for improving time allocation between on-farm and off-farm activities

.....

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.....
.....

SOCIAL REPRODUCTION

35. How is your household and other households in this village/farm reproducing themselves?

Your household	Other households

36. How is reproduction of your household and other households linked to the land you accessed through the fast track land reform?

Your household	Other households

37a. Compared to how your household reproduced itself before you accessed this land, are you now better-off or worse-off? **Better-off** **Worse-off**

37b. Justify the answer you provided in Question 37a.

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.....

38a. Disregarding other factors, does ownership of land for agricultural purposes increase security to have more children or dependents? **Yes** **No**

38b. Justify the response to Question 38a.

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.....

39a. Do youth in your household own land? **Yes** **No**

39b. Do the youth engage in agricultural activities? **Yes** **No**

39c. What activities do they do?

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

40a. Are you providing youth with opportunities to take over and/or improve farming now and in the future? **Yes** **No**

40b. If your answer in Question 40a is Yes, how are you doing so?

.....

.....

.....

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.....

40c. If your answer in Question 40a is **No**, why are you doing so?

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40d. How can prospects for youth to take over and improve farming be enhanced?

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.....

41a. Provide an activity analysis of the division of labour between men and women in your household for both on-farm and off-farm activity.

On-farm activities		Off-farm activities	
Women	Men	Women	Men

41b. From the activity analysis or mapping, who is over-burdened? **Men** **Women**
Equally burdened

41c. How can a gender equitable division of labour be attained in your household?

.....

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.....

42a. Have you accumulated capital through on-farm and off-farm activities? **Yes**
No

42b. Indicate the capital you accumulated in the table below.

Capital type	Number
Hand tools	
Farm infrastructure	
Farm equipment	
<i>Power-driven</i>	
<i>Animal-driven</i>	

42c. How is the capital accumulated linked to reproduction of farming?

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

42d. Suggest ways for improving capital accumulation to improve farming in your household and this village.

Your household		This village/farm	
1.		1.	
2.		2.	
3.		3.	
4.		4.	
5.		5.	

SOCIAL COHESION

43a. How do you understand social cohesion?

.....
.....
.....

43b. How has the fast track land reform influenced social cohesion? **Improved**

Worsened

No link

43c. Provide evidence of improved or negatively affected aspects of social cohesion in the aftermath of the fast track land reform.

Improved social cohesion	Negatively affected social cohesion

44. How are the land beneficiaries improving social cohesion in this village/farm?

.....

.....

.....

.....

45. How are other land beneficiaries ensuring and improving social cohesion in this village or farm?

Stakeholder	Activity/Contribution

46. Suggest ways for improving social cohesion in the aftermath of the fast track land reform

.....

.....

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.....

OTHER PERTINENT ASPECTS

47a. Are there other aspects of the transformative role of the fast track land programme that are not included in this questionnaire? **Yes** **No**

47b. Explain the aspects in detail

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Thank You

Annexure 4: Indepth Interview Guide - Lands Officers

INDEPTH INTERVIEW WITH DISTRICT LANDS OFFICERS (MINISTRY OF LANDS AND RURAL RESETTLEMENT)

Introduction

This indepth interview is intended to interrogate the fast track land reform as a transformative social policy ‘tool’. You were chosen to participate in the study due to the central position you occupy in the Ministry of Lands and Rural Resettlement. This interview is informed by ethics of social science research including informed consent, confidentiality, non-coercion, avoidance of harm in its various forms, respect for diversity of opinion and sufficient feedback. May you answer the questions sufficiently, comprehensively and honestly. Your expert responses are essential in developing strategies for improving the outcomes of land reforms.

Questions for flexible guidance

1. How long have you been a lands officer in Zimbabwe’s Ministry of Lands and Rural Resettlement?
2. How long have you worked in this farm community?
3. What are the mandate, vision and goals/objectives of the Ministry of Lands and Rural Resettlement?
4. How are the mandate, vision and goals/objectives of the Ministry of Lands and Rural Resettlement linked to the fast track land reform?
5. What roles do you play in the fast track farms?

- 6a. Are the roles facilitating the achievement of the objectives of the fast tracked land reform?
- 6b. Provide justification (for both Yes and No responses)

- 7a. What are the land redistribution issues experienced in the selected farms in this district?
- 7b. What is the prevalence of the land redistribution issues in these fast track farms? Justify your response.

- 8a. Who are the other stakeholders you work with in the land issues after the fast track land reform programme?
- 8b. What roles do they play?
- 8c. How are the roles related to yours in the district land officer capacity?
- 9a. How are you addressing the land issues, within the Ministry of Lands and Rural Resettlement or with other stakeholders?
- 9b. What is the level of success in addressing the land issues?
- 10a. What opportunities exist in contributing to successful post-land reform?
- 10b. Are you utilising the opportunities?
- 10c. If the response is Yes, how?
- 10d. If the response is No, why?
- 11a. What problems did you experience, or are you experiencing in executing your role?
- 11b. How are the challenges being addressed? (By who, how and with what level of success?)
- 11c. Rank (in order of priority) and quantify, the resources you need to effectively execute your roles.
12. Through your role as an Agritex officer, how can the outcomes of the fast track land reform in this district?

Thank you

Annexure 5 Indepth Interview Guide - Agritex Officers

INDEPTH INTERVIEWS WITH AGRITEX OFICERS (MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE, MECHANISATION AND IRRIGATION DEVELOPMENT)

Introduction

This indepth interview is intended to explore the fast track land reform as a transformative social policy ‘tool’. You have been chosen to participate in the study due to the central position you occupy in Zimbabwe’s Ministry of Agriculture, Mechanisation and Irrigation Development. This interview is informed by ethics of social science research including informed consent, confidentiality, non-coercion, avoidance of harm in its various forms, respect for diversity of opinion and sufficient feedback. May you answer the questions sufficiently and honestly. Your expert responses are essential in developing strategies for improving the outcomes of land reforms.

Questions for general guidance

1. How long have you been an Agritex officer in Zimbabwe’s Ministry of Agriculture, Mechanisation and Irrigation Development?
2. How long have you worked in the fast track farms?
3. What are the mandate, vision and goals/objectives of the Ministry of Agriculture, Mechanisation and Irrigation Development?
4. How are the mandate, vision and goals/objectives of the Ministry of Agriculture, Mechanisation and Irrigation Development linked to the fast track land reform?
5. What roles did you play in the fast track land reform programme?
 - 5a. Did the roles facilitate the achievement of the objectives of the fast tracked land reform?
 - 5b. Provide justification (for both Yes and No responses)
- 6a. How many land beneficiaries are you responsible for?
- 6b. Is the Agritex officer to land beneficiary ratio manageable/appropriate?
- 7a. What research, technical and extension issues experienced in the selected farms in this district fall within your mandate?

- 7b. What is the prevalence of research, technical and extension issues in these fast track farms? Justify your response.
- 8a. Who are the other stakeholders you work with in the land issues after the fast track land reform programme?
- 8b. What roles do they play?
- 8c. How are the roles related to yours in the district land officer capacity?
- 9a. How are you addressing the land issues, within the Ministry or with other stakeholders?
- 9b. What is the level of success in addressing the land issues?
- 10a. What opportunities exist in contributing to successful post-land reform?
- 10b. Are you utilising the opportunities?
- 10c. If the response is Yes, how?
- 10d. If the response is No, why?
- 11a. What problems did you experience or are you experiencing in executing your role in this district?
- 11b. How are the challenges being addressed? (By whom, how and with what level of success?)
- 11c. Suggest ways of effectively addressing the challenges you are experiencing.
- 11d. Rank (in order of priority) and quantify, the resources you need to effectively execute your roles.
12. Through your role as a lands officer, how can the outcomes of the fast track land reform in this district?

Thank you

Annexure 6 Indepth Interview Guide - Land Beneficiaries

INDEPTH INTERVIEW GUIDE – LAND BENEFICIARIES

Introduction

This interview is intended to explore the fast track land reform as a transformative social policy ‘tool’. You have been chosen to participate in the study due to the central position you occupy in this community as a traditional leader. The interview is informed by ethics of social science research including informed consent, confidentiality, non-coercion, avoidance of harm in its various forms, respect for diversity of opinion and sufficient feedback. I am requesting you to answer the questions honestly and sufficiently to the best of your knowledge. Your responses are essential in developing strategies for improving the outcomes of the fast track land reform.

Questions

LAND REDISTRIBUTION

1. In which year did you access this land?
2. How did you initially access this farm/land?
3. In whose name is the plot you are using registered?
4. Sex of the registered person M/F
5. What ownership documentation do you have?
6. Before accessing this land, where did you reside?
7. How much agricultural land did you have in the previous area of residence? Specify in hectares
8. Compared to the previous plot size, is your plot smaller, same size or larger? (Smaller/Similar size/Larger). By how many hectares?
9. In terms of fertility, which land is more fertile? (Previous/Current).
10. Do you own, rent, borrow or share land? (Do you redistribute distributed land?) (Yes/No). To who? (Specify all). Why?
11. Did you experience, or are you experiencing land redistribution challenges in this farm or other farms (Yes/No). Specify the redistribution challenges.
12. How were or are the challenges addressed?

LAND USE AND PRODUCTION

13. How much arable land do you have? (Specify in hectares)
14. Where is the land located?
15. In which year and month did you commence production?
16. Of the land you have access to, how is the land being used?
17. Provide details of crops you produced in the immediate previous agricultural season.
18. Provide details of livestock you produced in the previous season.
19. Do you get agricultural support?

If Yes, who are the providers and what they provided or are providing.

20. Explain the benefits of the agricultural support provided.
21. What are the issues (if any) of the agricultural support provided?
22. Explain the land use challenges you are experiencing.

How can land use challenges be addressed?

23. What production constraints have you experienced or are you experiencing?

Of the production constraints you experienced in the last agricultural season, rank them in terms of impact (starting with the high impact constraints) and approximate production loss (state loss in monetary terms - \$).

Explain production constraints experienced by other land beneficiaries in this village/farm.

How are land beneficiaries in this village/farm addressing production constraints?

How useful are the land beneficiaries' responses to production constraints?

How can production constraints relating to both crop and livestock production be addressed?

SOCIAL PROTECTION

24. How do you understand social protection?
25. In what ways is land a social protection resource?
26. Compared to the period before accessing this land, are you better-off or worse-off socioeconomically?
27. Provide the quantitative and qualitative aspects of being better-off or worse-off.
28. Explain other on-farm activities that are enhancing your lives.
29. How can use of land be improved to enhance your socioeconomic wellbeing?
30. What off-farm activities are you utilising after accessing this land?
31. What do you get from off-farm activities?

32. In cases where the proceeds from off-farm activities can be quantified in monetary terms, how much are you getting?
33. How do you allocate time between on-farm and off-farm activities?
34. Comparing on-farm and off-farm activities, which one provides more financial benefits?
35. Comment on the view that off-farm activities are leading to deagrarianisation.
36. Suggest ways for improving time allocation between on-farm and off-farm activities.

SOCIAL REPRODUCTION

37. How is your household and other households in this village/farm reproducing themselves?
38. How is reproduction of your household, and other households linked to the land you accessed through the fast track land reform?
39. Compared to how your household reproduced itself before you accessed this land, are you now better-off or worse-off? Justify the answer you provided.
40. Disregarding other factors, does ownership of land for agricultural purposes increase security to have more children or dependents? Justify the response.
41. Do youth in your household own land?
Do the youth engage in agricultural activities?
What activities do they do?
42. Are you providing youth with opportunities to take over and/or improve farming now and in the future?
If the answer is Yes, how are you doing so?
If the answer is No, why are you doing so?
43. How can prospects for youth to take over and improve farming be enhanced?
44. Provide an activity analysis of the division of labour between men and women in your household for both on-farm and off-farm activity.
From the activity analysis or mapping, who is overburdened?
How can a gender equitable division of labour be attained in your household?
45. Have you accumulated capital through on-farm and off-farm activities?
What capital have you accumulated?
How is capital accumulated linked to reproduction of farming?
Suggest ways of improving capital accumulation to improve farming in your household and this village

SOCIAL COHESION

46. How do you understand social cohesion?

How has the fast track land reform influenced social cohesion?

Provide evidence of improved, or negatively affected social cohesion in the aftermath of the fast track land reform

47. How are the land beneficiaries improving social cohesion in this village/farm?

48. How are other land beneficiaries ensuring and improving social cohesion in this village or farm?

49. Suggest ways of improving social cohesion in the aftermath of the fast track land reform

OTHER PERTINENT ASPECTS

50. Are there other aspects of the transformative role of the fast track land programme that are not included in this questionnaire?

Explain the aspects in detail.

Thank You

Annexure 7 Focus Group Discussion Guide - Land Beneficiaries

FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS WITH LAND BENEFICIARIES

Introduction

This focused group discussion is intended to explore the fast track land reform as a transformative social policy ‘tool’. You have been chosen to participate in the study due to the central position you occupy in this community as a traditional leader. The focus group discussion is informed by ethics of social science research including informed consent, confidentiality, non-coercion, avoidance of harm in its various forms, respect for diversity of opinion and sufficient feedback. I am requesting you to answer the questions honestly and sufficiently to the best of your knowledge. Your responses are essential in developing strategies for improving the outcomes of the fast track land reform.

Questions for the FGDs

LAND REDISTRIBUTION

1. In which year did you access this land?
2. How did you initially access this farm/land?
3. In whose name is the plot you are using registered?
4. Sex of the registered person M/F
5. What ownership documentation do you have?
6. Before accessing this land, where did you reside?
7. How much agricultural land did you have in the previous area of residence? Specify in hectares
8. Compared to the previous plot size, is your plot smaller, same size or larger? (Smaller/Similar size/Larger). By how many hectares?
9. In terms of fertility, which land is more fertile? (Previous/Current).
10. Do you own, rent, borrow or share land? (Do you redistribute distributed land?) (Yes/No). To who? (Specify all). Why?
11. Did you experience or are you experiencing land redistribution challenges in this farm or other farms (Yes/No)? Specify the redistribution challenges.
12. How were or are the challenges addressed?

LAND USE AND PRODUCTION

13. How much arable land do you have? (Specify in hectares)
14. Where is the land located?
15. In which year and month did you commence production?
16. Of the land you have access to, how is the land being used?
17. Provide details of crops you produced in the immediate previous agricultural season.
18. Provide details of livestock you produced in the previous season.
19. Do you get agricultural support?

If Yes, who are the providers and what they provided or are providing.

20. Explain the benefits of the agricultural support provided.
21. What are the issues (if any) of the agricultural support provided?
22. Explain the land use challenges you are experiencing.

How can land use challenges be addressed?

23. What production constraints have you experienced or are you experiencing?

Of the production constraints you experienced in the last agricultural season, rank them in terms of impact (starting with the high impact constraints) and approximate production loss (state loss in monetary terms \$).

Explain production constraints experienced by other land beneficiaries in this village/farm.

How are land beneficiaries in this village/farm addressing production constraints?

How useful are the land beneficiaries' responses to production constraints?

How can production constraints relating to both crop and livestock production be addressed?

SOCIAL PROTECTION

24. How do you understand social protection?
25. In what ways is land a social protection resource?
26. Compared to the period before accessing this land, are you better-off or worse-off socioeconomically?
27. Provide the quantitative and qualitative aspects of being better-off or worse-off.
28. Explain other on-farm activities that are enhancing your lives.
29. How can use of land be improved to enhance your socioeconomic wellbeing?
30. What off-farm activities are you utilising after accessing this land?

31. What do you get from off-farm activities?

In cases where the proceeds from off-farm activities can be quantified in monetary terms, how much are you getting?

How do you allocate time between on-farm and off-farm activities?

Comparing on-farm and off-farm activities, which one provides more financial benefits?

Comment on the view that off-farm activities are leading to deagrarianisation.

Suggest ways of improving time allocation between on-farm and off-farm activities.

SOCIAL REPRODUCTION

32. How is your household and other households in this village/farm reproducing themselves?

33. How is reproduction of your household and other households linked to the land you accessed through the fast track land reform?

34. Compared to how your household reproduced itself before you accessed this land, are you now better-off or worse-off? Justify the answer you provided.

35. Disregarding other factors, does ownership of land for agricultural purposes increase security to have more children or dependents? Justify the response.

36. Do youth in your household own land?

Do the youth engage in agricultural activities?

What activities do they do?

37. Are you providing youth with opportunities to take over and/or improve farming now and in the future?

If the answer is Yes, how are you doing so?

If the answer is No, why are you doing so?

38. How can prospects for youth to take over and improve farming be enhanced?

39. Provide an activity analysis of the division of labour between men and women in your household for both on-farm and off-farm activity.

From the activity analysis or mapping, who is overburdened?

How can a gender equitable division of labour be attained in your household?

40. Have you accumulated capital through on-farm and off-farm activities?

What capital have you accumulated?

How is the capital accumulated linked to reproduction of farming?

Suggest ways of improving capital accumulation to improve farming in your household and this village

SOCIAL COHESION

41. How do you understand social cohesion?

How has the fast track land reform influenced social cohesion?

Provide evidence of improved or spoiled social cohesion in the aftermath of the fast track land reform

42. How are the land beneficiaries improving social cohesion in this village/farm?

43. How are other land beneficiaries ensuring and improving social cohesion in this village or farm?

44. Suggest ways of improving social cohesion in the aftermath of the fast track land reform

OTHER PERTINENT ASPECTS

45. Are there other aspects of the transformative role of the fast track land programme that are not included in this questionnaire?

Explain the aspects in detail

Thank You

Annexure 8 Key Informant Interview Guide - Traditional Leaders

KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEWS - TRADITIONAL LEADERS

Introduction

This key informant interview is intended to explore the fast track land reform as a transformative social policy 'tool'. You have been chosen to participate in the study due to the central position you occupy in this community as a traditional leader. The interview is informed by ethics of social science research including informed consent, confidentiality, non-coercion, avoidance of harm in its various forms, respect for diversity of opinion and sufficient feedback. I request you to answer the questions honestly and sufficiently to the best of your knowledge. Your expert responses are essential in developing strategies for improving the outcomes of the fast track land reform.

Questions for flexible guidance

- 1a. Are you a land beneficiary?
- b. In which village/farm is your plot located?
- c. What is your plot size?
- d. What proportion of your plot is being utilised for agricultural purposes?
- e. What agricultural activities are you engaging in?
- f. Quantify your agricultural produce for the various crops and livestock for the previous season.
2. What are the objectives of the fast track land reform programme?
3. What role did you play in executing the fast track land reform programme?
4. What aspects of the fast track farms fall solely within your jurisdiction?
5. Are there aspects of the fast track land reform that you execute in conjunction with other stakeholders? Specify.
- 6a. Comparing the communal and fast track farms, are there any similarities and differences in your roles? Specify

- b. What are the justifications for the similarities and differences?
7. How have your roles been reconfigured due to the fast track land reform programme?
- 8a. Are there land use and redistribution issues in this village and broadly in this district?
Specify the issues.
- b. Who is addressing the issues and how?
- 9a. Are you aware of land use and production challenges in this village/farm?
- b. Suggest ways of improving land use and agricultural production in this village/farm.
10. How can the social protection role of the fast track land reform in this village/farm be improved?
11. Suggest ways of improving the social reproduction outcomes of the fast track land reform in this village/farm.
- 12a. How did the fast track land reform programme influence social cohesion?
- b. Provide supporting evidence for the response.
- c. How can social cohesion outcomes of the fast track land reform in this village/farm/community be improved?
13. How can the overall outcomes of the fast track land reform be improved at national level?
(Specify the stakeholders, what and how they should contribute)
14. Are there any other aspects you consider important yet were not discussed? Explain.

Thank you

Annexure 9 Key Informant Interview Guide - Representatives of Local Development Institutions

KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEWS – REPRESENTATIVES OF LOCAL DEVELOPMENT INSTITUTIONS

Introduction

This key informant interview is intended to explore the fast track land reform as a transformative social policy ‘tool’. You have been chosen to participate in the study due to the role your institution plays in the development of the farm community. The interview is informed by ethics of social science research including informed consent, confidentiality, non-coercion, avoidance of harm in its various forms, respect for diversity of opinion and sufficient feedback. I request you to answer the questions honestly, sufficiently and to the best of your knowledge. Your expert responses are essential in developing strategies for improving the social policy outcomes of the fast track land reform.

Questions for flexible guidance

1. What is the name of the institution/organisation you are representing?
2. How long have the institution/organisation been operating in this community?
3. How long have you been operating in this area?
4. What roles does the institution/organisation perform specifically in the fast track farms?
5. What primary and secondary development opportunities and challenges are experienced by the fast track land reform beneficiaries?
6. How are you working with the land beneficiaries to solve the problems?
7. How are other stakeholders contributing to development of the fast track farms?
8. What opportunities and successes are you realising? How are you maximising the exploitation of the opportunities?
9. How are you ensuring sustainability of the development outcomes?
10. What constraints are you experiencing? How are you reducing and/or eliminating the influence of the constraints on success outcomes?
11. How can development of the fast track farms be improved? (By whom, how, with what resources and what quantities or amount, and outcomes?)
12. Suggest ways of improving the transformative role of the fast track land reform in the selected farms?

Thank you

Appendix 10 Flexible Guide for Observation and Informal Questioning

FLEXIBLE GUIDE FOR PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION AND INFORMAL QUESTIONING

Farm and household organisation

- Resettlement model (A1 or A2 or mixed)
- Old and new settlement types
- Diversity of household types
- Social services infrastructure (schools, clinics and so on)

Land redistribution

- Plot/farm sizes
- Redistribution of redistributed land (among siblings, wives and so on)

Land use

- Agricultural (crop and livestock production)
- Pastures
- Forests
- Water sources (for humans and livestock)
- “No-man’s land”/undesignated land

On and off-farm activities

- On-farm activities (main field, *tseu/tsewu* and gardens)
- Off-farm activities (gold panning, natural resources harvesting- fauna and flora, vending and so forth)
- How households are reproducing themselves through both on-farm and off-farm activities
- Social protection through both on-farm and off-farm activities

Agricultural production, consumption and marketing

- Main and minor crops produced
- Main and minor livestock produced
- *Dura*

- Consumption patterns and nutrition
- Food security and sovereignty
- Markets

Capital accumulation

- Farm equipment (hand tools, animal-drawn and engine-driven and so on)
- Farm infrastructure (irrigation, tobacco barns, storage facilities and so forth)
- Household and garden equipment
- Capital accumulation, and household and farm reproduction
- Capital accumulation and social protection

Social relations, agency and social cohesion

- Inter-household cooperation and assistance
- Farmers' organisations, cooperatives and networks
- Formal and informal conflict management structures
- Organisations for youth, women and men
- Community activities, networking and collaboration

Community development

- Housing
- Schools
- Roads
- Water
- Qualitative aspects of community development