

**THE TRANSFORMATIVE ROLE OF THE FAST TRACK
LAND REFORM PROGRAMME AS A SOCIAL POLICY
INSTRUMENT. A CASE STUDY OF GOROMONZI DISTRICT
(ZIMBABWE)**

by

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ABSTRACT

The fast track land reform programme which was implemented in Zimbabwe from 2000 has been a subject of much antagonistic and polemical debates which have polarised academia for over a decade. The FTLRP was criticised for being a politically motivated programme which destroyed agriculture in Zimbabwe contributing to economic collapse and food shortages. As scholars attempted to analyse and understand the processes, implementation and short-term impact of the FTLRP, they adopted different analytical and epistemological frameworks which further contributed to the polarity in academia on the FTLRP. In the past few years, the focus of scholars on the FTLRP has gradually shifted with focus now being on the consequences of the FTLRP, especially its impact on livelihoods of peasant households. Empirical data gathered so far on the FTLRP by different studies has shown that the outcomes of the programme are diverse and there is need for more research and nuanced analysis to fully comprehend and appreciate the impact of the programme.

This thesis contributes to the nascent body of knowledge which in recent years has presented field based pragmatic evidence on the consequences of the FTLRP. In this thesis, the social policy outcomes of the FTLRP are presented. Focusing on Goromonzi, a district which is situated in the Mashonaland East Province (Zimbabwe) as a case study, the thesis explores the degree to which the FTLRP can be said to have been a social policy tool which has had consequences which can be labelled as social policy outcomes. It acknowledges that there is a lot of contemporary literature on the FTLRP which unearths some social policy outcomes of the programme but this is not presented as such. Scholars have tended to present their findings based on their different approaches, analytical frameworks and epistemological positions and these have tended at times to be antagonistic and conflictual. This thesis transcends these approaches and positions and it proffers a unique conceptual approach to understanding the FTLRP by means of the transformative social policy framework.

The major contribution of the thesis to knowledge is that it explores and presents on the extent to which redistributive land reform has had social policy outcomes. It considers land and agrarian reform as an important social policy tool which unfortunately is not acknowledged as such in mainstream literature on the subject. This can be credited to the domination of the social policy literature by OECD scholars who have contributed immensely to the social policy discourse. The focus of these scholars has been on social policies which are applicable to the European context. Social policies, as they have been used in the global south for example in some countries in our context in Sub-Saharan Africa can be seen as being dominated by a neo-liberal dispensation which has seen them adopting a reductionist and residual approach. A consequence of this has been that social policy has not been prophylactic. It has been largely palliative and remedial in its quest to address social problems and inequality. In this context, social policy tools like land reform are largely ignored although they have been shown as having the ability to reduce vulnerability. Consequently, land reform has not featured prominently in social policy work and it has not been accepted as an alternative social policy instrument which can be used to bring about sustainable development and economic growth. It is this gap in literature which this thesis fills.

This thesis uses the transformative social policy approach as a conceptual and evaluative tool to analyse the outcomes of the FTLRP. Under this approach, land reform is considered as a social policy instrument which can be used in tandem with other policies to improve the quality of life of citizens. The transformative social policy approach recognises that social policy has five multiple functions. These are redistribution, social reproduction, social cohesion, social protection and as well as reproduction. These functions can be used to bring about

developmental outcomes. Using these multiple functions of social policy (except for social cohesion) this thesis explores the extent to which these functions have been realised. It adopts pragmatism as the research paradigm and uses a mixed-methods research approach with 150 small-scale A1 farmers in Goromonzi being the focus of attention with reference being made to farmers in the other sectors.

The thesis is able to show that the FTLRP was redistributive with 180 000 households benefitting from the programme. This was in the backdrop of the country inheriting an agrarian structure that was racially tilted with only 6 000 large-scale white farmers owning most of the prime agricultural land and water resources in the country at independence in 1980. The thesis confirms the findings by other scholars that the country due to the FTLRP now has a tri-modal agrarian structure which is different from the colonialist inspired bi-modal agrarian structure, which was a feature of Zimbabwe's agriculture, showing that the story in the aftermath of the FTLRP is complex. Through the new emergent tri-modal agrarian structure, the thesis shows that households have benefitted through accessing land which has become an important means of production. Key findings indicate that land access has opened up new livelihood trajectories and access to natural resources which have enhanced the welfare and wellbeing of beneficiaries of the FTLRP. There are many discernible social protection and social reproduction outcomes of land reform which are extensively explored and presented in thesis. These include land reform allowing beneficiaries to access shelter and the *musha/ekhaya* (rural home), food security for beneficiary households is shown as having been enhanced with poverty levels being lower in the resettlement areas compared to other areas and this has been attributed to land reform. There has been seen the accumulation of productive and non-productive assets which have transformed the lives of people. The thesis also shows that land reform has impacted on families in different ways, it has had diverse labour as well as education outcomes. From a transformative social policy perspective, the thesis provides empirical evidence showing that redistributive land reform has positively changed people's lives.

A key contribution of the thesis to knowledge is that it is able to provide empirical evidence that land reform is a social policy tool which has redistributive, productive, protective and reproductive outcomes. In the search for inclusive development by countries in the global south which have unresolved land questions, this approach is shown as deserving some consideration by policy makers and further empirical enquiry by academics. In the Zimbabwean context, the thesis has important theoretical and practical contributions on the production question and it provides insights on social protection and reproduction in the resettlement areas. Key recommendations are proffered and they centre on tenure security, the land audit, extension and finance services in agriculture, food supply improvement and enhancing the welfare and wellbeing of women and farm workers after land reform.

Key Words: *Agrarian structure, land reform, social policy, transformative social policy, production, redistribution, social protection, reproduction, Goromonzi*

DECLARATION

I CLEMENT CHIPENDA declare that “*The Transformative Role of the Fast Track Land Reform Programme As A Social Policy Instrument: A Case Study of Goromonzi District (Zimbabwe)*” is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

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

Signed

Date

DEDICATION

To my late father, Enos Wilson Chipenda (my hero); my wife, Tendai; my mother, Dorothy and my brothers and sisters. Thank you for everything.

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I am humbled and grateful to the Lord God Almighty for His unending mercy and love towards me. I know that it was only through Him that I managed to have the opportunity and the strength to complete this PhD. He is a faithful God and may His name be praised forever in the name of Jesus Christ. Amen.

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ACRONYMS

ALS	Agriculture and Livestock Survey
SMAIAS	Sam Moyo African Institute for Agrarian Studies
AMTO	Assisted Medical Treatment Order
ARDA	Agricultural and Rural Development Authority
BAZ	Banker's Association of Zimbabwe
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BEAM	Basic Education Assistance Module
BIPPA	Bilateral Investment Protection and Promotion Agreements
BSAC	British South Africa Company
CFU	Commercial Farmers Union
DA	District Administrator
DLC	District Land Committee
DLIC	District Land Identification Committee
DSSO	District Social Services Officer
DST	Department of Science and Technology (South Africa)
EMA	Environmental Management Agency
ESAP	Economic Structural Adjustment Programme
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FTLRP	Fast Track Land Reform Programme
GAPWUZ	General Agricultural and Plantation Workers Union of Zimbabwe
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GoZ	Government of Zimbabwe
GNU	Government of National Unity
GRDC	Goromonzi Rural District Council
GMB	Grain Marketing Board
HSCT	Harmonised Social Cash Transfer Scheme
ICA	Intensive Conservation Area
IMF	International Monetary Fund
LSCF	Large Scale Commercial Farm
MDC	Movement for Democratic Change
MoAMID	Ministry of Agriculture, Mechanisation and Irrigation Development
MoLRR	Ministry of Lands and Rural Resettlement
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PLRC	Presidential Land Review Committee
PLIC	Provincial Land Identification Committee (Zimbabwe)
RBZ	The Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNRISD	United Nations Research Institute for Social Development
ZIMSTAT	Zimbabwe National Statistical Agency
ZANU (PF)	Zimbabwe African National Union - Patriotic Front
ZAPU	Zimbabwe African Peoples Union
ZIMVAC	Zimbabwe Vulnerability Assessment Committee
ZNLWVA	Zimbabwe National Liberation War Veterans Association
ZRHDS	Zimbabwe Rural Households Dynamic Study

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

In 2000, the Zimbabwe government officially embarked on an unprecedented land and agrarian reform programme which became branded as the fast track land reform programme (FTLRP). The programme is seen as being comparable to "... the leading reforms of the 20th century which included those of Mexico, Russia, China, Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, Cuba and Mozambique" (Moyo and Chambati, 2013: 1). The aim of the FTLRP was to reverse a racially tilted agrarian structure which Zimbabwe had inherited at independence in 1980, which the post-independence land reform programmes had failed to resolve. At independence, 6 000 white large scale commercial farmers (LSCF) owned 15.5 million hectares of land with 700 000 African households on 16.4 million hectares of land (PLRC 2013, Moyo 1995). Over an 11-year period, the FTLRP had succeeded in resettling over 180 000 households on over 13 million hectares of land (Scoones 2015, Moyo 2013, Scoones *et al* 2011; Manjengwa, Hanlon and Smart 2014). It was "... a vast improvement when compared to the post-independence resettlement programme which between 1980 and 1999 had seen only 70 000 families being resettled on 3.4 million hectares of land. This fell far short of the 162 000 families initially targeted for resettlement" (Moyo 2013:32).

The FTLRP has been a subject of much academic study as evidenced by the work of Alexander (2003); Scoones *et al* (2010, 2015); Scoones (2017a, 2017b); Moyo *et al* (2009, 2013); Mkodzongi (2013); Hellicker *et al* (2008); Zamchiya (2011); Matondi (2012); Mutopo (2011); Sachikonye (2003, 2004, 2005); James (2015); Manjengwa *et al* (2014); Raftopolous (2003); Hanlon *et al* (2012); Sadomba (2008, 2011, 2013); Mamdani (2008); Dekker and Kinsey (2011); Marongwe (2003); Richardson (2005); Murisa (2009, 2011, 2017) among others. These scholars have used different ideological and epistemological approaches focusing on origins, processes and outcomes to try and understand the FTLRP. The most prominent approaches used by these scholars have been the neo-patrimonial, political economy, livelihoods and rights-based approaches which have explored the FTLRP in different ways. Due to the different ideological, epistemological and methodological approaches, a fierce debate has polarised discussions on the FTLRP in academia. This is in relation to its origins, processes and more recently on its outcomes. The FTLRP has been accused of causing food insecurity and there has been the destruction of a once vibrant agricultural sector. It was seen as having replaced

productive farmers with the ruling ZANU (PF) loyalists and subsistence farmers. The FTLRP was also accused of undermining property rights, causing human rights abuses, exposing natural resources to exploitation and causing unprecedented environmental degradation. It was also seen as having led to industrial decline, causing the undermining of local state institutions, benefitting only the political elite, causing Zimbabwe to lose its position as the ‘bread basket of Southern Africa to become a basket case’, and it was seen as a catalyst of political violence which had unfortunately resulted in the death of 40 people (Alexander 2003, Campbell 2008, Scarnecchia, 2006, Smith 2010, Bond 2008, Richardson 2005, Hammer *et al* 2003, Worby 2003). It was these accusations that laid the foundation of fierce contestations on the FTLRP which will be discussed later in this chapter.

This thesis is concerned with an entirely different set of issues. Land reform, globally, has an implicit objective of enhancing the welfare and well-being of its beneficiaries. That immediately raises the issue of land or agrarian reform as a social policy instrument. In discussions on the post- year 2000 land reform in Zimbabwe, there is little engagement with land/agrarian reform as a social policy tool. In conservative social policy scholarship that dominates in Europe and its Diaspora, there is little or no attention to land/agrarian reform as an instrument of social policy. In this study, I propose to look at the post-2000 FTLRP using the transformative social policy conceptual framework.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Social policy according to Marshal (1950) in *Citizenship and Social Class* can be defined as:

Not as a technical term with an exact meaning but as referring to policies by the government with regards to having a direct impact on the welfare of the citizens, by providing them with services or income. The central core consists therefore of social insurance, public (or national) assistance, the health and welfare services (Marshall 1950 quoted by Titmus 1974:30).

This definition is collaborated by Hagenbach (1958:205) cited by Titmus (1974:31) that the “... meaning of social policy may be said to be the desire to ensure every member of the community certain minimum standards and opportunities.” Basic living standards for citizens are ensured through social policy which includes “...social welfare, social security, pensions, labour market interventions, *land reform* (emphasis placed here), progressive taxation and other redistributive policies” (UNRISD 2006:1). In this context, social policy has to be understood as “... collective public efforts aimed at affecting and protecting the social well-being of people within a given territory” (Adesina, 2007:1). Social policy is aimed at ensuring

that every citizen in their lifetime, lives a life in which there is self-respect regardless of their social status, background, age and gender. It therefore encapsulates collective efforts which are put in place in welfare provisions, institutions and social relations (UNRISD 2006, Mkandawire, 2007).

While land reforms have been recognised as one of the diverse social policy tools, current literature rarely provides a self-conscious analysis of it as a social policy tool. One possible explanation is given by Mkandawire (2007) who argues that mainstream literature on social policy has over the years been dominated by scholars from the global north, particularly from the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries. This is seen as creating what he calls an OECD bias with emphasis being placed on social protection and social security provision. Mkandawire (2005, 2007, 2011) and Holzman and Kozel (2007) have argued that social policy in the neo-liberal context has a challenge. The challenge is on its focus which is on social protection, safety nets and social assistance. This is due to OECD bias highlighted above. The challenge which this presents is that the transformative role of social policy in terms of the production, redistribution and protection functions is restricted. Land/agrarian reform as a tool of social policy (just like taxation, social security and other redistributive policies) is rarely acknowledged and excessive focus is on the global north at the expense of countries in the global south.

Social policy in developing countries (in this case in our context in Sub-Saharan Africa), For Yi and Kim (2015), Yi (2015), Adesina (2014, 2015) it has been constituted by a residual version of social policy which is neo-liberal in nature. Social policy making (design and application) is residual in the sense that the aim is to address the failure of the market with the presumption that social supply is secured through the market. It is seen as separated from the economy and as a policy to combat poverty that fails to address some of the structural causes of poverty and underdevelopment (Adesina 2015). Social policy has tended to be palliative and to propose remedial measures to address the adverse impacts of economic policies which have been designed to stabilise and adapt in a market led growth environment. This has seen social policy in developing countries failing to solve social problems, problems of inequality and inequity and it has failed to initiate and strategise on effective development initiatives. There is thus limited capacity to guarantee all citizens decent living standards. The situation has continued to exist because of the preponderance of donor driven multi-lateral and bi-lateral efforts aimed at shaping the social policy landscape in the global south (Adesina 2014). This

is the reason why there is emphasis on the highly restrictive and conditional cash transfer programmes. Vulnerability is viewed *ex-post* and focus is on extreme poverty and precarity. This is a major challenge when it comes to development in sub-Saharan Africa. This thesis recognises and acknowledges these challenges and it explores the extent to which a new form of thinking in the concept of transformative social policy is an instrument for multiple transformative and developmental roles. Land reform is recognised as one of the social policy tools which can bring about development and this thesis focuses on Zimbabwe to see the extent to which it has enhanced the welfare and wellbeing of beneficiaries. Africa has development challenges and Zimbabwe is no exception. This thesis recognises the challenges posed by residual social policies and explores how the FTLRP as a social policy instrument can be used in tandem with other policies to bring about sustainable development and economic growth.

While land/agrarian reform is now becoming recognised as an instrument of social policy, not much literature is available on the nexus between social policy and land reform. Much of the literature refer to land reform and social policy in passing or as a social policy tool include work by Rao (2014), Adesina (2011, 2015), UNRISD (2006), Gumede (2016), Hughes and Vandoren (1990), Kwon and Yi (2008) and Chung (2014). Chung (2014) goes into some depth on the land reform and social policy nexus in South Korea, dedicating a chapter to the subject. There is still not much which has been written on the subject and this thesis aims to contribute to the discourse. This is important in exploring alternative development pathways for developing countries as land reform can be an effective social policy tool which can be used to reduce inequality, enhance the quality of life and to redistribute wealth and income. This is only possible if its multiple and transformative roles are active and social policy is not residual.

While there is not much which has been written on the social policy and land reform nexus, there is significant literature on the FTLRP in Zimbabwe which interrogates its outcomes and presents findings that can be classified as social policy outcomes. Although the literature does not explicitly refer to the outcomes as such, this thesis argues that these outcomes are social policy oriented. The literature in its diverse ways shows that the five social policy functions (production, social reproduction, social protection, social cohesion and redistribution) have been realised in diverse ways and to various extents. This thesis acknowledges these findings; they lay the foundation of a social policy appreciation of the FTLRP and are intertwined in the analysis of the research findings. There has been a gap in acknowledging some of the outcomes

from a transformative social policy conceptual viewpoint and this thesis seeks to bridge that gap.

Examples of available literature are the studies by Moyo *et al* (2009) and Scoones *et al* (2010, 2011) which show that from a production perspective, the altered agrarian structure has opened agricultural production opportunities. The productive capacities of the farmers have been enhanced as farm and off farm economic opportunities have been opened for beneficiaries. These studies identify new processes of accumulation and differentiation which have produced new socio-economic linkages and value chains. The rural economy has been altered and the studies showed that this change has been positive for the beneficiaries. Studies by Chiweshe (2011), Mkodzongi (2013) and Murisa (2009) have shown that from a social policy perspective, there are discernible outcomes which can be seen as enhancing social cohesion. These studies show that there are new forms of social organisation with those who benefited, setting up associational formations which they use to enhance their social cohesion, production and reproductive activities. Studies by Mutopo (2011); Manjengwa and Mazhawidza (2009); Chiweshe, Chakona and Hellicker (2015) in Mwenezi, Mazowe and Goromonzi districts, respectively, show the reproductive outcomes of the FTLRP by studying women farmers in these districts. These studies show the gender dynamics of the land reform programme, the farm and non-farm economic activities of women, how women negotiate access to land and how women balance their reproductive roles and farming duties. Some studies on the FTLRP show its redistributive nature. Although this issue is still highly contested, studies for example by Scoones *et al* (2010, 2011, 2015), Matondi (2012), Moyo (2011), Moyo *et al* (2009), Mkodzongi (2013, 2015) show that people from different classes and backgrounds benefitted from the FTLRP. Most of the beneficiaries have some form of legal documentation which grants them usufruct rights over the land. In the context of the redistributive dimensions of the FTLRP, in Masvingo Province Scoones *et al* (2010) show that 68.2 percent of the new settlers were 'ordinary' people with half of them coming from the nearby rural areas. Eighteen percent of the beneficiaries came from the towns and there were some politically and administratively well-connected people who received large tracts of land.

The examples given above are a few which demonstrate the outcomes of the FTLRP from a social policy dimension. The literature which interrogates outcomes of the FTLRP shows that the programme meets the multiple functions of social policy. It is the aim of this thesis to build on these works and use them as a point of analysis and reference. The important contribution

of this thesis is that it brings up a unique perspective to studying and understanding the outcomes of the FTLRP using the transformative social policy perspective.

1.3 Study Objectives

The main aim of this thesis is to examine the outcomes of the FTLRP from a social policy viewpoint using four of the five functions of the transformative social policy conceptual framework (this is missing in the literature). To address this objective, this thesis addresses two questions:

- To what extent has the FTLRP realised the multiple functions of the transformative social policy conceptual framework?
- How has the FTLRP enhanced the welfare and wellbeing of beneficiaries and communities in the new farming areas?

This thesis answers these questions, and, in my fieldwork, I explored the empirical evidence that allowed me to have a deep understanding of the social and economic realities of those who benefited from the FTLRP. I wanted to understand this in the context of the four functions of social policy within the new agrarian structure. This is in relation to production, livelihoods, asset accumulation, emergent marketing chains, investments, tenure security, farm and non-farming economic opportunities among other issues. I wanted to know who the beneficiaries of the FTLRP are, especially those who received A1 farms. I also explored social protection issues in the farming areas as well as social reproduction outcomes. I believed that by using multiple data collection methods, within a broader ethnographic study, I would be able to explore the FTLRP at a micro level. This would help me to identify both inherent and extrinsic value addition which the FTLRP has brought to the lives of the beneficiaries. This was an important dimension to the study of the FTLRP. Overall, the major contribution of this thesis has been to bring a deeper and empirically based understanding of the FTLRP from a social policy perspective (with focus on the welfare and wellbeing of the beneficiaries) and to contribute in its own unique way to the novel studies on the FTLRP which are increasingly focusing on outcomes.

1.4 Scope and Limitations of the Study

The research focus was on the FTLRP which officially began in 2000. Fieldwork was undertaken in the Goromonzi District (Mashonaland East Province, Zimbabwe). The study focused on A1 farms. These are "... small scale farms... which range from between 5-30

hectares of arable land and 50 hectares of common grazing land” (PLRC 2000:20-24). Reference in the study is made to A2 farms which are middle farms, much larger than the A1 and communal farmers, but these are not the focus of the study. The main objective of the study was to explore the consequences of the FTLRP from a social policy perspective using four of the five functions of social policy (namely production, redistribution, social protection and social reproduction). The aim was to explore the evidence regarding the transformative impact of the FTLRP, if any, on the livelihoods of the recipients in a major way in reference to their welfare and wellbeing.

The thesis is informed by primary data collected from the district using multiple methods which is complemented by survey data from the Sam Moyo African Institute for Agrarian Studies (SMAIAS) 2013/2014 Household Survey as well as secondary survey data from government agencies. The research is part of a project under the Social Dimensions of Land and Agrarian Reform Project under the DST/NRF SARChI (South African Research Chairs Initiative) Chair in Social Policy at UNISA. The research is one of the four studies being undertaken in different districts across Zimbabwe where from a transformative social policy perspective, the social policy dimensions of the FTLRP are investigated (in Kwekwe, Chiredzi, Zvimba, and Goromonzi).

1.5 Organisation of the Study

The first Chapter is the introductory Chapter in which I introduce the thesis highlighting the statement of the problem, the study objectives as well as limitations and scope of the study. In Chapter two I provide a historical background of land dispossession in colonial Zimbabwe. This is followed by a review of literature on the post independence land reform programme and its impact. I link the discussion on post independence land reforms with the FTLRP and I broaden the discussion to look at its origin, implementation, impact and outcomes. I do this while also providing a critical analysis of the ideological and analytical frameworks which scholars have used over the years to understand and interpret the implementation processes and outcomes of the FTLRP. I then show how this has impacted on the narratives of the FTLRP as there has been witnessed a polemical debate on the subject which has polarized academia for decades. The analytical frameworks which I interrogate include the neo-patrimonial, livelihoods, political economy and rights-based approaches. The debates and antagonistic contestations on the FTLRP are also looked at and I show how the ideological persuasions of the different scholars have shaped the narrative and discourse on the FTLRP, and this has

shaped perceptions and approaches to the subject in both academia and policy making. The last issue which I look at in this in this chapter is the concept of redistributive land reform and the arguments which are for and against it. I show that there are schools of thought which believe that redistributive land reform can benefit the rural poor. This is an important aspect which this thesis explores. The chapter is thus important for several reasons, it provides a historical foundation of the study while also presenting the obstacles faced in the post-independence land reform programme. A critical appraisal of the different ideological and analytical frameworks is provided which to a large extent is shown as being polemical and has contributed to diverse and at times antagonistic versions and opinions on the FTLRP. It is these polemical narratives which this thesis seeks to transcend by providing empirically grounded, nuanced analysis on the social policy dimensions of the FTLRP.

Chapter Three is dedicated to an in-depth exploration of the conceptual framework used in this study which is the transformative social policy framework. In order to understand the framework, I begin by providing a background of the social policy concept and how disaffection with some of the shortcomings of the concept in a developmental context resulted in a rethink, giving birth to the thinking around transformative social policy. Scholars like Mkandawire (2005), Adesina (2007) and UNRISD (2006) are shown as pioneering the thinking around the concept in a developmental context. I show that the concept is premised around the concern of the dominance of OECD scholarship on social policy development and the imposition of social policies in development contexts which have tended to be palliative and residual, therefore reducing social policy to social assistance and safety nets. The resultant mono tasking of social policy has made inclusive development to be elusive with emphasis being placed on *ex-post* rather than *ex-ante* interventions. The transformative social policy framework is presented with emphasis being made on the logic behind the concept and its interconnected multiple tasks and normative framing. Each of the multiple tasks of the framework namely the production, redistribution, reproduction, social protection, social cohesion concepts are interrogated. The last issue which is present in this Chapter is the nexus between social policy and land reform. I show that social policy ensures the rights of citizens by allowing them access to basic entitlements and social protection while transforming social relations of the most vulnerable. Land and agrarian reforms can be seen performing the same tasks and it is this line of argument, which I pursue in this section.

Chapter Four is dedicated to a discussion on the research methods employed in the study. I start by showing how I employed pragmatism as the research paradigm. Given its flexibility in allowing a researcher to have the freedom to use methods, techniques and procedures of choice, the paradigm was considered as being appropriate. The research design is presented, and I show how I adopted a mixed methods research approach (based on the pragmatic paradigm) with a heavy inclination towards the qualitative approach which informed my primary evidence. This was complemented by a quantitative approach which was largely derived from secondary data derived from the SMAIAS Baseline Survey (2013-2014). Detailed information on the study site is presented in order to bring the case study of Goromonzi into perspective. In line with this the district profile, agricultural activities undertaken as well as the local economic profile of the district are presented. I touch on the specific methods of data collection used in the study which include administration of a structured survey questionnaire, in-depth interviews, focus group discussions and systematic observations which I undertook as I used an ethnographic approach. The data analysis procedures as well as the ethical considerations which guided the study are also outlined in detail in this chapter.

Chapter Five is the first chapter in which the research results are presented. In this chapter, my focus is on the redistributive outcomes of the FTLRP from a social policy perspective. I explore how beneficiaries in the study site managed to access land and I compare this primary data with secondary data from the baseline study as well as from literature. An in-depth presentation on the profiles of those who benefitted from the FTLRP is given with specific focus being made on legal documentation, age, marital status and educational levels of the beneficiaries. I dedicate a special section to look at women and land access and I present on how patriarchy and culture influenced and still influence land access by women. Empirical evidence is presented on how the productive capacities of women who managed to access land have been enhanced. This is followed by a discussion on farm residency which I interrogate as a proxy which is used to demonstrate the extent to which the FTLRP has been redistributive, providing beneficiaries with places of residence. Staying on the farms full time is shown as indicating a commitment to fully engage in agricultural production activities, and this questions some of the narratives on the commitment of the beneficiaries to fully commit to farming. In this chapter, I demonstrate that from a social policy perspective there are discernible redistributive outcomes of the FTLRP.

In Chapter Six I look at the production outcomes of the FTLRP with focus on how the production question has seen the realization of social policy outcomes. This chapter is unique in that it provides a literature review on production patterns and challenges, and this is interwoven in the presentation on the study findings. This is aimed at presenting a concise picture on the dynamics of agricultural production against a backdrop of polemical narratives on agricultural production after the FTLRP. Thus, the chapter is written bearing in mind the that one of the fiercest criticisms of the FTLRP has been that it undercut agricultural production and compromised the country's food security. In light of this production debate I present on agricultural production trends with emphasis on maize, tobacco and livestock production. I then look at income production trends by resettled households specifically focusing on income generated exclusively from agricultural activities. Other issues which I cover in this chapter include the nature of agricultural support, which is being provided, agricultural finance, and the new emergent agricultural marketing chains. The chapter is important in showing that when it comes agricultural production activities, the story is more complex, requiring more nuanced empirical analysis to understand the hidden dynamics which have influenced agricultural production. It shows that polemical narratives on the FTLRP have influenced perceptions on agricultural production activities and the story is very complex. The chapter is clear in answering the production question and uses the transformative social policy concept to unearth the different agricultural production activities which beneficiaries of the FTLRP are undertaking and how this has contributed to a transformation of their lives.

The social protection and social reproduction concepts are closely related, and in this thesis, I look at both of them in Chapter Seven. In a context where there has been criticism that the social policy paradigm has been residual and reductionist (Yi and Kim 2015; Mkandawire 2005; Adesina 2007, 2010, 2015) and that it (social policy) should be prophylactic, serving as an *ex-ante* social protection tool (Adesina 2007, 2010; Mkandawire 2005), the chapter explores the extent to which this has been achieved through the FTLRP. Particular focus is on how the FTLRP has enhanced the welfare and wellbeing of beneficiaries, protecting them from vulnerabilities as well as short- and long-term risks. In a context where there has been the emergence of tri-modal agrarian structure which has its peculiarities, I unearth the social protection and reproduction dimensions after land reform. I particularly focus on issues of shelter, food and poverty prevalence, livelihood diversification, accumulation trends, input transfers and the linkages between the communal and resettlement areas. In addition, I explore the gender dimensions, labour and educational outcomes as well as the role of families and

their different engagements on the farms. I show that there are discernible social protection and reproduction outcomes of the FTLRP. Recipient households are shown as being able to access shelter and diversified income streams and these stem from their access to land. This is shown as significantly contributing to their food security. Diversified livelihoods can be seen as providing options for beneficiaries as they provide protection against the challenges brought about by a market economy and other exogenous factors which impact on households. Levels of household vulnerability are shown in this chapter as having prophylactically reduced through social protection and reproduction which is a direct result of land reform.

The last chapter which is in this thesis is Chapter Eight which is the conclusion. It consolidates all of the issues raised while providing new insights by presenting on the contribution to knowledge and some recommendations. The first issue which I present is on the contribution of the thesis to knowledge. The key issues which I interrogate in this section include land reform as a social policy tool, land reform and production, the tri-modal agrarian structure as well as the redistribution and protection outcomes of the FTLRP. In addition, I look at social reproduction in the resettlement areas and the theoretical implications of the research. The second part of the chapter is dedicated to presenting several recommendations which are derived from discussions in the thesis. I highlight some specific actions which I believe can inform policy, practise, theory and subsequent research. My recommendations touch on the land audit, tenure security and collateral, agricultural finance and extension services, food supply as well as improving the situation of women and farmworkers. The final section is dedicated to looking at prospects for future research stemming from issues discussed in this thesis. These discussions conclude the thesis.

1.6 Conclusion

This Chapter has been important in introducing the thesis and presenting the central questions analysed in the study, which are to explore the social policy outcomes of land reform. It has shown that while a significant body of literature has been produced on the FTLRP, most of the literature has not engaged with the social policy dimensions of the FTLRP. It is this gap in literature that this thesis seeks to fill. It also posits that there is a largely unexplored area of land reform as a social policy instrument that can enhance the productive capacity of beneficiaries and to improve their welfare and wellbeing. This dimension of social policy has not been explored. With social policy adopting a residual approach since the 1990s—and approach that has failed to address the structural causes of poverty in Sub-Saharan Africa. It is

this area that is recognized as being empirically deficient hence the thrust of this thesis to explore this area in the context of Zimbabwe's FTLRP. In the next chapter, I provide a brief historical background of the land question in Zimbabwe focusing on the history, the post independence land reform programmes, the FTLRP and the different analytical frameworks used to understand and critique it by scholars. I also look at the contestations and debates which have framed the narratives on the FTLRP as well as perspectives on the importance of redistributive land reform.

CHAPTER TWO: A BACKGROUND OF LAND REFORM IN ZIMBABWE

2.1 Introduction

The land question in Zimbabwe has a long history which can be traced from the colonial period, which saw Africans being dispossessed of their land. The post colonial period saw attempts at land reform, which unfortunately failed to achieve the expected results. The coming of the FTLRP in 2000, brought new dynamics not only in the restructuring of the country's agrarian structure but also in the application of analytical and ideological frameworks to try and understand the FTLRP. In this chapter I present a brief background of land reform in Zimbabwe which I believe will be useful as a foundation for discussions in the subsequent chapters. A background of land dispossession is given followed by a discussion on the post land reform programmes and their impact. I also look at the FTLRP and the different analytical frameworks used by scholars over the years to try and understand and interpret its outcomes. I show that the use of the different analytical frameworks and ideologies which have been largely polemical have contributed to the discourse on the FTLRP and antagonistic debates which have shaped the narrative on the programme in academia on the FTLRP. These debates are discussed at length in this chapter. The last issue which I look at is the importance of redistributive land reform. This discussion is further developed when I touch on conceptual issues social policy as I focus on the social policy and land reform nexus in the third chapter of this thesis.

2.2 Background of Land Dispossession in Zimbabwe: A Literature Review

The land question in Zimbabwe can be traced to September 1890 when European settlers comprising mainly of the British first settled in present day Zimbabwe. Initially, the settlers wanted to prospect for minerals as they believed that the country had the same mineral wealth as the Witwatersrand goldfields of the Transvaal (South Africa). Realising that their expectations for mineral wealth were not met, the settlers shifted attention to agriculture as the land and climate were well suited for this economic activity (Sullins 1991, Lebert 2003). The process of land dispossession began with the Prime Minister of the Cape, Cecil John Rhodes using the British South Africa Company (BSAC) to obtain mineral rights from the Ndebele King Lobengula in 1888. The document granting the rights was known as the Rudd Concession (PLRC, 2003). The Rudd Concession helped the BSAC to obtain a Royal Charter on 29 October 1889 from the British Crown. The Charter gave the BSAC the right of administration

over the colony for 25 years and 10-year terms afterwards. These could be revoked if the BSAC failed its administrative mandate (PLRC 2003, Tidy and Leeming 2001).

Subsequent legal enactments allowed the settlers to expropriate both land and mineral rights. These pieces of legislation included the Southern Rhodesia Order in Council (1889), the Land Apportionment Act (1930), the Land Tenure Act (1969), the Land Husbandry Act (1951), the Tribal Trust Land Act (1969) (see Rukuni, 1994, Masilela and Weiner 1996, Herbst 1987, Sachikonye 2004, Akwab I-Ameyaw 1988, Palmer, 1977, PLRC 2003, Sullins, 1991, Mbiba, 2001 and Ranger, 1985). A consequence of these legal enactments was that the indigenous people were forcibly moved from their ancestral land and forced into marginal lands known as the native reserves (now known as the communal areas) mainly in the Natural Regions IV and V (Mbiba 2001). The effects of these enactments was mixed and these included race separation on the land, forced destocking, teaching of good land husbandry (which faced resistance), training of Africans to be 'Master Farmers' on the small scale commercial farms and prohibitions to land claims by Africans (PLRC 2003, Sullins 1991). Consequently, in the native reserves there was overpopulation resulting in land degradation. The country was divided equally into two halves one for Europeans and the other for blacks. This was notwithstanding the fact that the country was constituted of five percent whites and 95 percent blacks (Parliament of the Commonwealth, 1980).

A consequence of this land dispossession was that African people had their agricultural activities curtailed. They were only able to engage in subsistence farming but those in the small scale commercial farming areas were an exception. According to the PLRC (2003), there was witnessed a decrease in the variety of crops cultivated by Africans, and Africans were not very active in trade. Demands for land became an important rallying point by nationalist leaders in the fight for liberation in the *Second Chimurenga*¹. Key grievances that had stimulated the war of liberation had included land dispossession and racist policies of segregation. These had been seen as preventing Africans from participating fully in, and benefitting from, the economy. Moyo *et al* (2009) argues that the colonial system resulted in the creation of a bi-modal agrarian structure. This structure consisted of the small scale capitalist and peasant farms and the LSCF. The bi-modal agrarian structure effectively shut out Africans from accumulation as the LSCF

¹ The *Second Chimurenga* or Rhodesian Bush War was a war which was fought from July 1964 to 1979 by the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) and Zimbabwe African Peoples Union (ZAPU) against white rule in the then Rhodesia now Zimbabwe. It drew its inspiration from the *First Chimurenga* of 1896-1897 against colonialism which was led by spirit mediums like Mbuya Nehanda, Chaminuka, Kaguvi and others.

were tied by industrial interests local white minority and foreign capital. Land dispossession and inequalities which faced Africans meant that Africans were forced to become part of the labour reserve economy. According to Amin (1972) and Arrighi (1973), repressive laws, taxes and economic regulation forced Africans to work under the capitalist system either on farms and mines. They received paltry wages but it was sufficient for them to fulfill their obligations to pay tax. Inadvertently, it created a poor, black proletariat.

It was a consequence of almost a century of land dispossession that Zimbabwe in 1980 inherited a land tenure system that was tilted racially in favour of the white minority. 6000 white LSCF owned 15.5 million hectares of land. This land was in the highly productive regions with fertile soils and high annual average annual rainfalls. On the other hand over 700 000 Africans were concentrated in the aforementioned native reserves on 16.4 million hectares of land and the remainder of the countrys land was divided into small scale commercial farms owned by 8 500 farmers and the rest was state land. There was overpopulation in some areas which had three times more people in black areas than in white areas. In the communal areas for example, the average population density was 25.7 persons per km² and in some areas it was as high as 80.5 persons per km² (Alexander 2006, Moyo 1995, Murisa 2009). Such was the skewed land tenure which Zimbabwe inherited in 1980 that it required urgent action and it was in this context that post-independence land reform was undertaken in Zimbabwe.

2.3 Post-Independence Land Reform Programmes

As has been indicated above, in 1980 when Zimbabwe gained independence, it “inherited a highly skewed land distribution structure, with about 6 000 white commercial farmers and many agro-industrial estates occupying more than a third of the country’s land area” (Weiner 1988:74). Within the confines of the Lancaster House Constitution, Zimbabwe undertook the post-independence land reform programme. In 1980, the government set a target of “...resettling 18 000 families on 1.5 million hectares of land in five years. This was later revised to 162 000 families on nine million hectares of land in 1982” (Chitsike 2003:5). From the beginning, the terms of the Lancaster House Agreement placed constitutional constraints on the resettlement process. Until 1990, conditions of the agreement were that land could only be exchanged on a willing seller, willing buyer basis. In addition, Section 16 of the Constitution stated that only land which was underutilised and required for resettlement or other determinations could be compulsorily acquired. It was to be paid for at the market price and paid for in foreign currency in the owner’s country of choice (Palmer, 1990, Moyo and Yeros

2005). Additionally, another condition was that "... property rights could not be amended for ten years without an affirmative vote of the National Assembly" (UNDP 2002:25). This was in a context where "... 20 percent of the Parliamentary seats were reserved for the white community" and Moyo and Yeros (2005:176) argue that this was meant to safeguard their interests and for future based market transfers. The major aim of the post-independence land reform programme was to decongest the communal areas, to improve the standards of living of black Africans, to make underutilised land productive and to expand the base of peasant production (GoZ, 1981). The resettlement programme had limited success and it failed to meet the targets set in the 1980's. By 1999 it had only managed to resettle a paltry 70 000 families on 3.5 million hectares of land (Kinsey, 1999).

Several works have been produced on why the post-independence land reform programmes experienced limited success. According to Palmer (1990:169) for the British, the 1982 target number of families to be resettled was "...totally impracticable and unrealistic." A significant portion of acquired land was of low agro-ecological value. In addition, the principle of willing buyer, willing seller ensured that land abandoned during the war of liberation was the only one available to the programme. The programme started during a period when there was much debate on whether the programme could achieve equity and growth. There were reservations on the large-scale redistribution of land as it was argued that such an approach could lead to reduced agricultural output which would negatively impact on the economy (Kinsey 1982, Cliff 1988).

To deal with some of the challenges faced in the post-independence land reform programme, the state enacted the Land Acquisition Act in 1985. According to this act, the government was given first preference in buying of farms that were on the market (Madhuku 2004). Subsequent amendments to the laws and the constitution were done in 1990, 1992, 1993 and 1995 to hasten the acquisition and resettlement process. Some of the changes which were made ensured that land was to be paid for in local currency, there was the setting up of a Compensation Committee and guidelines on grievance settlement on land issues. The government was also empowered to acquire underutilised land and to acquire land for resettlement where there was seen to be need (Madhuku, 2004; Magaisa, 2010). Despite these legal enactments, challenges continued to be experienced in acquiring and redistributing land.

Several scholars have tried to explain the reasons why the post-independence land reforms were slow and had limited success. Sadomba (2008) has argued that an alliance between the

ruling elite and settler capital had slowed down the resettlement process. This is closely related to an observation by Palmer (1990:170-171) that there was a close relationship between President Mugabe, his ministers and the Commercial Farmers Union (CFU). The CFU used this relationship to lobby successfully for the resettlement programme to progress slowly. Officials of the CFU had argued that if land reform was undertaken rapidly, it would undermine confidence in the country's agriculture and business. It would also threaten exports and strategic crops resulting in significant job losses. Tshuma (1997), Moyo and Yeros (2005) have argued that the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) in Zimbabwe also contributed to the slow pace of the resettlement programme. Focus of the government was more on trade liberalisation and it gradually placed less emphasis and urgency on land redistribution issues. ESAP not only failed to revive the economy but it resulted in downsizing of industries, company closures and this resulted in job losses. This aggravated the incidence of poverty in rural and urban areas (Sachikonye 2004:8). For Tshuma (1997), land reform was a victim of ESAP as the policy attention of government was shifted to other areas of the economy. The neo-liberal dispensation according to Moyo (2001), resulted in land-use diversification and focus was on commercial crop production, sub-contracting and foreign financing of crops and technological changes. Agriculture became lucrative and during this period the black political elite benefitted. There was a convergence of interest between the black political elite and the white farmers thus weakening the resolve and commitment to the resettlement programme. It was in this context that the country struggled to undertake resettlement and in the 1990's it only managed to resettle 20 000 households (Sachikonye, 2003). By the late 1990's there were increasing demands for accelerated land reform in Zimbabwe.

2.3.1 Impact of the Post-Independence Land Reform Programme

The impact of the post-independence land reform programme is well documented. I will briefly highlight on some of the impacts. They are important, and they are at times used as a reference point for the FTLRP and how the programme could have been handled. Jacobs (1989) has shown that administratively the government invested a lot in the new resettlement areas. There was the appointment of a number of Resettlement Officers as well as Agricultural Extension Officers to oversee the new resettlement areas. There was considerable public spending in the new resettlement areas and this included investment in schools, clinics, shopping centres, roads and markets. In order to support the farmers, there was the provision of credit through the Resettlement Loan Scheme under the Agricultural Finance Corporation. In addition marketing services were rolled out to the farms and state enterprises were compelled to have a presence

in areas that were close to the farms (Masiiwa 2004, Kinsey 2004). For Kinsey (2004), the farmers benefitted initially as there was an increase in crop and livestock production.

Findings from the Zimbabwe Rural Household Dynamics Study (ZRHDS)², provides us with important insights on the the impact of post independenec land reform programmes. The ZRHDS was launched in 1983 and it was led by Bill Kinsey. It has continued to date and it is the longest running panel study which looks at rural households in Africa. It has surveyed 400 household in three different resettlement areas in order to assess the impact which land redistribution has had on households. The survey initially covered the Mupfurudzi resettlement area which is in Shamva District in Mashonaland Central Province, Mutanda resettlement area in Makoni District in the Manicaland Province and the Sengezi resettlement in Hwedza District in the Mashonaland East Province. From this survey and other studies; Kinsey, Burger and Gunning (1998) and Kinsey (1999) have shown that resettled households experienced significant increases in cattle ownership between 1983 and 1995. This increase was attributed to land ownership due to land resettlement. They highlighted the importance of cattle ownership in Zimbabwe as in other African countries as a store of wealth that can be used for social protection during times of hardship. Kinsey (1999) also noted that when compared with communal households, the income of resettled households increased significantly between 1983 and 1995. Farmers who had been resettled were seen as being able to cultivate large land sizes and their production was significantly higher than their counterparts in the communal areas. Weiner, Moyo, Munslow and O'Keefe (1985) noted that farmers who had been resettled had shown that they were capable of engaging in agriculture at highly productive and competitive levels. They noted for example that the resettled farmers could produce yields that were much higher than their counterparts in other farming areas and were comparable with those of the commercial farmers. Of interest was that the inputs which were used by the resettled farmers were far less than those used by the LSCF but there was not much difference in output.

While the resettlement programme recorded its successes, there were also challenges. Successes achieved in the 1980's were eroded in the 1990's. ESAP for example was one of the major culprits which impacted on the gains achieved and this, coupled with successive droughts, impacted negatively on the post-independence land reform programmes. Dekker and

² See Dekker and Kinsey (2011); Kinsey (1999) and Kinsey, Burger and Gunning (1998).

Kinsey (2011) noted that the gains achieved in the resettlement areas have been eroded especially during the hyperinflationary period from 2008. Shortages in inputs for agriculture affected output and areas cultivated were significantly reduced. Attempts to attain food security saw farmers diversifying crops and reducing cash crop production in order to enhance food security. There was a reduction in the number of livestock in the resettled households with members engaging in alternative livelihood trajectories to supplement income from farming. A consequence of all this was erosion in gains previously made in the resettlement areas.

2.4 The Fast Track Land Reform Programme

The FTLRP started in Masvingo Province and it later spread to the Matabeleland and the Mashonaland Provinces. It is seen as the largest property transfer in the region since the end of colonialism. Sachikonye (2005:42) indicates that in just three years, it had seen the transfer of 11 million hectares of land and the creation of over 147 000 new farms. This change was quite enormous given that "... in 1980, there were 15.5 million hectares of land which were owned by 6 000 white farmers." (PLRC 2003:14) By 2009, "...over 13 million hectares of land had been reallocated to over 240 000 families who were mainly of rural origin" (Moyo 2013:42). Allocation was mainly made under the A1 and A2 models across the different agro-ecological regions and provinces of Zimbabwe. Table 1.1 below summarises the land holding between 1980 and 2010. It confirms findings by Soones *et al* (2010, 2015) that the peasantry and the middle farmers have been increased due to the FTLRP. The FTLRP downsized the number, size of farms and area of LSCF and the agro-industrial estates (Moyo 2011).

Table 1.1: Land Tenure in Zimbabwe Between 1980 and 2010

Farm Category	Farms/households (000s)						Area held (000ha)						Average farm size (ha)		
	1980		2000		2010		1980		2000		2010		1980	2000	2010
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%			
Peasantry	700	98	1.125	99	1.321	98	16.400	49	20.067	61	25.826	79	23	18	20
Mid-sized farms	8.5	1	8.5	1	30.9	2	1.400	4	1.400	4	4.400	13	165	165	142
Large farms	5.4	1	4.956	0.4	1.371	0.1	13.000	39	8.691.6	27	1.156.9	4	2.407	1.754	844
Agro-Estates	0.296	0.1	0.296	0.02	0.247	0.02	2.567	8	2.567	8	1.494.6	5	8.672	8.672	6.051
Total	714	100	1.139	100	1.353	100	33.367	100	32.726	100	32.878	100	46.7	28.7	24.3

Adapted from Moyo (2011)

An analysis by Moyo and Maguranyanga (2014) has summarised the land-use and land tenure in Zimbabwe. Table 2.2 below summarises the land use category, the responsible authority, the

area of the land and the land tenure regime for the whole country after the FTLRP. The table is quite important for this thesis as it shows the land holdings according to the different categories, the actors or authorities responsible for the different categories and the land tenure regime which now exists in the country. The different categories, tenure regimes and responsible authorities will be referred to in different sections of the thesis. From a point of view of the redistributive outcomes of the land reform programme and issues of land tenure, table 2.2 below is an important starting point for the discussions. The only minor challenge is that the authors used different sources to compile the table hence the land area in percentages exceeds 100%. This is quite common in literature on the FTLRP as different scholars always present different sizes and percentages of landholdings. This is attributable to the ever-changing land sizes and it is also due to the absence of a national database on land in Zimbabwe. Despite this challenge, I believe the table below is quite useful for discussions in this thesis.

Table 2.2: Landuse Categories in Zimbabwe

Land-use Category	Area		Land Tenure Regime	Authorities
	Ha	%		
Agricultural land	5.5	37.5	Freehold and leasehold	Ministry of Lands and Rural Resettlement
Resettlement land	9.0	13.8	Permit tenure	Local Government
State land	1.3	22.5	Freehold and leasehold	Parastatal and municipalities
Communal land	1.6	5.25	Customary land tenure	Traditional leaders and rural district councils
Urban land	0.1	40	Public/freehold leases	Municipalities
Forest land	2	50.25	State-owned freehold leases	Forestry Commission
Parks and conservancies	8	20	State-owned Concession	Parks and Wildlife Management Authority
Mining concessions	0.01	0.025	State-controlled	Ministry of Mines
Total	27.6	100		

Source: Moyo and Maguranyanga (2014)

Several factors are seen as having stimulated the FTLRP. As has been indicated the earlier, the slow pace of the post-independence land reform programme coupled with an economic crisis

stimulated the FTLRP. Another school of thought argued that the waning political support of ZANU (PF) made the party to take advantage of the situation and push for the reforms. This was against the backdrop of a defeat of the ruling ZANU (PF) in a plebiscite for a new constitution in 2000 (Raftopolous, 2003). Moyo and Yeros (2005) have argued that there was discontent with the sluggish rate of the land reform programme. This resulted in civil servants, rural area residents and the former war combatants to illegally occupy the predominantly white owned LSCF. Fearing that it would be overtaken by events, the government officially launched the FTLRP on 15 July 2000. This was against the background of the failure of a September 1998 Donors Conference which sought to mobilise resources for the programme and disagreements between the Zimbabwe and British governments on compensation issues and obligations (PLRC, 2003). The situation was worsened by the rejection of the draft constitution. The draft constitution had provisions for the compulsory acquisition of land. It was interpreted as a refusal to undertake a comprehensive land reform programme.

The Land Acquisition Act was amended accordingly in May and November 2000 in order to streamline various procedural aspects of the land acquisition process and to prescribe new rules for compensation (Mazhawidza and Manjengwa 2011:5). Land acquisitions excluded properties belonging to the church and mission organisations, properties that had Export Processing Zone Certificates and Zimbabwe Investment Centre Certificates. Farms that were part of the Bilateral Investment Promotion and Protection Agreements (BIPPA) were also protected from acquisition. Additionally in 2000, there was Constitutional Amendment 16 which placed an obligation on the British government to pay compensation for acquired farms and Amendment 17 which nationalised land in Zimbabwe (Moyo 2013, Mazhawidza and Manjengwa 2011).

Under the FTLRP, the government of Zimbabwe developed the A1 and A2 models of resettlement. According to the PLRC (2003), these models were a modification of the old Model A, B and C of the post independence land reform programme. The A1 model comprises of either a villagised settlement scheme, with the household allocated 5-6 hectares of land. This type of settlement comprises of common grazing area and it is just like villages in the communal areas. An alternative of the A1 model is that of “a self contained variant.” In this model, farmers are allocated pieces of land and they decide on where to place the homestead and which area be reserved for grazing and agriculture. The A1 farm model was intended to decongest the communal areas and provide for landless urbanites. It also created the A2 model

and in design, this model is commercial in orientation and much larger than the A1 model. On these two models Scoones *et al* (2011:2) say's that "...in practice the distinction between the two models varies considerably and there is much overlap." By having the A1 and A2 models, the agrarian structure in Zimbabwe has altered considerably. In this thesis, I will explore the agrarian structure in the district under study. At this point it is imperative to highlight that the creation of small A1 farms and the medium sized A2 farms has seen the dominance of small landholdings in terms of their number and the hectares which they occupy. There would seem to be a movement from the bi-modal structure of the pre-independence era to a tri-modal structure which Moyo (2011) identifies as being made up of the peasantry who are variegated. It consists of smallholder farms (communal areas and A1 farm), medium capitalist farmholding, and large-scale capitalist enterprises (the conservancies, private, and public agro-industrial estates).

Table 2.3 below by Moyo (2004) cited by Murisa (2017) is quite important as it highlights the land tenure structure that now exists in Zimbabwe after the FTLRP and it can be read in conjunction with Table 2.2 above. Although a lot of changes have occurred since 2004 when it was developed, like the introduction of tenure permits and the relative peace and security in the farming areas. Most of the rights, administrative arrangements and type of tenure have remained unchanged and the table is quite critical in understanding the emergent agrarian structure which now exists in Zimbabwe. I will make reference to it as I discuss some of my findings, but of importance, is that for A1 farmers, their land rights can be seen as being insecure and the state and traditional leaders can be seen as competing to control these areas. This raises important issues and concerns when one looks at the outcomes of the FTLRP.

Table 2.3: Types of Land Tenure Arrangements

Sector	Type of Tenure	Rights	Administrative Arrangements	Security
LSCF	Freehold tenure based on surveying, mapping and lodged with the Deeds registry	Secure rights Land used as collateral Use of courts to protect rights	Individual responsibility Local authority's collection of unit tax Intensive conservation areas	Secure in a normal situation, but insecure in a context of demand for land based on historical circumstances
SSCF	Freehold tenure as above	Secure rights and land may be used as collateral	Individual responsibility	Problems of inheritance

			Local authority's collection of unit tax	and fragmentation because of pressures for access to land
Resettlement (old)	Permit system then revised into leaseholds	Rights of the authorities are prioritized than those of the settlers	State through the Lands Ministry and now traditional leaders	Highly insecure because of the ministerial powers which allows for expulsion
Communal Area	Customary tenure	Usufruct rights Private use of arable land and shared commons Land can be taken without recourse to courts	Traditional leaders (chiefs, headmen, and so forth.) Local authorities through VIDCO's ³ and WADCO's ⁴ State through its statutory agents	Secure in principle, but land cannot be used as collateral
State Land	State land	Leasing, licensing, statutory Allocations	State administers land through its own parastatals	Secure for the state but not so for individuals when the lease period comes to an end
A1	Offer letter issued by the Minister of Lands and Agriculture	Insecure rights Seem usufruct rights with promise of leaseholds	State and traditional leaders contesting to govern	Highly insecure as the situation on the ground is still fluid
A2	Offer letter issued by the Minister of Lands and Agriculture	Promises of leaseholds Highly insecure	Individual State and traditional leaders contesting to govern	Highly insecure as the situation on the ground is still fluid

Source: Moyo (2004) cited in Murisa (2017:15)

2.4.1 Approaches to Understanding the FTLRP

Debates on the FTLRP are reflective of the different methods which scholars have used to understand and analyse the FTLRP. The ideological orientation and methodology adopted by the scholars has shaped the literature, empirical evidence gathered and analyses which is available on the FTLRP. This thesis has benefitted greatly from the debates and the different approaches to the FTLRP as they avail us the literature on the FTLRP from multiple perspectives. Before I look at the contestations on the FTLRP, I will look briefly at the different approaches used by scholars in analysing the FTLRP. Looking at the approaches is helpful as they provide a point of reference from which we can understand where the debates on the

³ Village Development Committees

⁴ Ward Development Committees

FTLRP emanate from. The approaches contextualise the many issues raised on the FTLRP and they are the neo-patrimonial, the livelihoods, the political economy and the rights-based approaches.

2.4.1.1 The Neo-Patrimonial Approach

In the context of the FTLRP, this approach was used by scholars like Sachikonye (2002, 2004, 2005), Hammer (2003), Moore (2001), Richardson (2005), Zamchiya (2011) among others. From this approach, there arises the narrative that the FTLRP was characterised by state sponsored violence (as a response to defeat in the 2000 referendum), patronage, cronyism and corruption. It is from this school of thought that agriculture was seen as having been destroyed, there was lawlessness and the associates of the President, Robert Mugabe and members of the ruling ZANU (PF) party were the only beneficiaries of the FTLRP, and so forth. This approach in the first decade of the FTLRP dominated discussions on the FTLRP. The neo-patrimonialism approach is grounded in the narrative that the state is characterised by corruption, tribalism and patronage (Mkandawire 2012, Olukushi 2011). The concept comes from Max Weber's ideas in which he described the traditional forms of power, rule and legitimacy from modern forms. Weber distinguished between legal and patrimonial (traditional and charismatic) authority. Eisenstadt (1973) first used the term "neo-patrimonialism" to distinguish heritage in traditional and modern contexts. According to Bach (2012):

Neopatrimonialism provided the 'common denominator' for a range of practices that are highly characteristic of politics in Africa, namely despotism, clannish behaviour, so-called 'tribalism,' regionalism, patronage, 'cronyism,' 'prebendalism,' corruption, predation, factionalism, and so forth (Bach 2012:221).

Scholars who use the neo-patrimonialism approach depict Africa as being in crisis and characterised by instability, economic collapse, corruption, war and a preponderance of failed states. The political system is seen as having patrons and clients and if this remains prevalent, there would be high corruption and nepotism as well as intra-elite accommodation. Political leaders are seen to be offering rent seeking opportunities to their supporters as well as to other political supporters. This results in informal relationships of political clientelism (Stokes *et al* 2013, Gray and Whitfield 2014). This approach (mostly) has nothing positive to say especially when it comes to Africa. In Africa, there is seen to be the private appropriation of the public sphere and the use of public resources for political legitimation. This is seen as being linked to practices and relationships and it includes clientism and nepotism as has been indicated above

in addition to horizontal exchange relationships and corruption (O'Neil 2007). This depiction stems from the belief that:

African political economy can be characterized as neo-patrimonial where cultural characteristics of African societies create a logic of power based on patron-client relations that is in sharp contrast to the rational-bureaucratic power exercised by the state in capitalist countries (Gray and Whitfield 2014:4).

This depiction has shaped ideas on Africa and this is where criticisms of Africa have come about based on the neo-patrimonial approach. Africa is consequently seen as having dysfunctional institutions, aberrant political formations, pathological constructs and criminal enterprises (Bayart, Ellis and Hibou 1999). Reno (1998:1) says that Africa is seen as being governed by “tyrannical and authoritarian regimes of ‘big men’ who are greedy and have rent seeking behaviours that see them creating a patronage system.” These ‘big men’ or rulers according to Reno (1998:1):

Reject pursuit of a broader project of creating a state that serves collective good or even creating institutions that are capable of developing independent perspectives and acting on behalf of interests distinct from their ruler's personal exercise of power.

This is supported by Bratton and Van de Walle (1994) who contend that in Africa neo-patrimonial practices are a core feature of the post-colonial politics. “Neo-patrimonialism is a master concept which embraces a variety of subsidiary regime types... allowing for the incorporation of patrimonial logic into bureaucratic institutions. The right to rule ... is ascribed to an individual rather than an office. There are personalised exchanges, systemic clientelism as well as the use of state resources for political legitimation. Neo-patrimonialism creates an element of criminality” Bratton and Van de Walle (1994:458-9). Bayart (1999) has argued that the relationship between patrons and clients and the informal political and economic networks can be seen functioning more as criminal enterprises rather than legitimate political organisations. The “big men have personalised, criminalised and weakened the state through corruption and underhand business dealings” (Bayart 1999: 1-13). These practices in the long run are seen as accelerating the fragility and weakness of nations.

Chege (1997) cited by Mkandawire (2015:2), argues that the approach is “...brazen name calling and laments that through this narrative” there is “unbridled use of anecdotes, pejorative vocabulary and vivid vignettes of all too frequent cases of egregious abuse of state resources

and power.” Wai (2010,2012) argues that neopatrimonialism has a problem in its epistemological stance and analysis and he says:

The major problem with the neo-patrimonialist literature is a vulgar universalism that disregards specific historical experiences while subsuming them under the totalitarian grip of a Eurocentric unilinear evolutionist framework. Explicitly or implicitly, this evolutionist framework produces a particular notion of history which holds that African phenomena can only really be understood as mirroring an earlier European history...neo-patrimonialism has been unable to come to terms with historically specific African realities, and as such, has not only failed to comprehend, and therefore incorrectly or problematically interpreted these realities, but also produced a particular mechanistic conception of history abstracted from the experience of Europe conceptualized as the historical expression of the universal that offers prescription for all to emulate (Wai 2012:13).

I will not go further to explore the issues and contestations on neo-patrimonialism but I believe that this section has served its purpose in creating an understanding of what the neo-patrimonial approach entails. It is this approach which some scholars on the FTLRP adopted as they analysed the origins and processes of the FTLRP. As scholars are analysing the outcomes of the FTLRP it is an approach which can still be used as it provides insights on the FTLRP. What is important at this stage is to note that the neo-patrimonial approach was one of the approaches used to analyse the FTLRP and it is at the core of the debates on the FTLRP.

2.4.1.2 The Livelihoods Approach

The livelihoods approach is another approach which is used by scholars to understand and analyse the outcomes of the FTLRP. The work of Scoones *et al* (2010, 2011, 2015), Mkodzongi (2013), James (2015), Mutopo (2011) are a few of the many works that have adopted a livelihoods orientation in their studies. Chambers and Cornwall (1991) wrote on the livelihoods approach which they saw as comprising of assets, capabilities and resources that are needed for human survival. The livelihoods approach is defined by Chambers and Cornwall (1992:6) as:

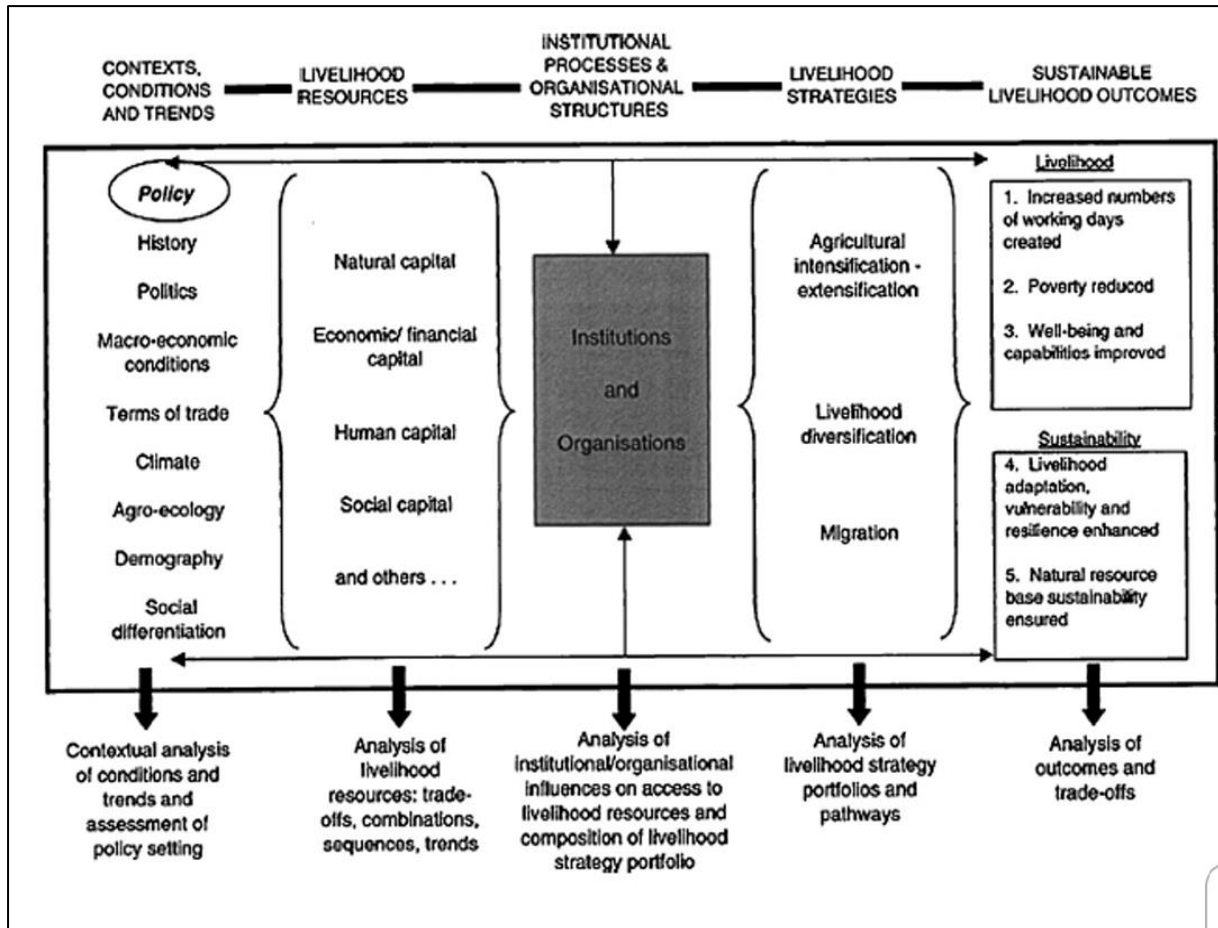
A livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (stores, resources, claims and access) and activities required for a means of living: a livelihood is sustainable which can cope with and recover from stress and shocks, maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, and provide sustainable livelihood opportunities for the next generation; and which contributes net benefits to other livelihoods at the local and global levels and in the short and long term.

It centers on the links between the individual or household assets and the activities in which the household can engage in at a given time. It also focuses on assets profile and mediating processes which include regulations and institutions that oversee access to assets and other

activities (Allison and Ellis 2001). Chambers and Cornway (1991:11) go on to say that "...a livelihood becomes sustainable when it is able to cope and recover from stresses and shocks. It should be able to maintain and enhance its capabilities and assets for the present and the future without undermining the natural resources base." Baumann (2002), gives a summary of what the livelihoods approach is all about by saying that it is an approach which looks at people, assets and capabilities. It focuses on what resources people have, what opportunities are available to them and what are the challenges which they face as they try to eliminate poverty from their lives.

Scoones (1998) further developed the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework which is shown in figure 2.1 below. This approach according to Scoones (1998:13-14) does a "...contextual analysis of conditions, trends and assessment of policy settings, it analysis livelihood resources, institutional or organizational influences to livelihood strategy compositions." Lastly, it "...analyses livelihood strategy portfolios, pathways as well as outcomes and tradeoffs in livelihoods." At the center of the approach is the accessing of livelihood resources with institutions and organisations as the conduits that mediate the access to resources and livelihoods by communities. The Sustainable Livelihoods Approach, according to Scoones (1998, 2009), lays emphasis on human and social assets, finance, the natural and physical capital which are combined and pursued by households to achieve diverse livelihood outcomes. Emphasis is also made on local knowledge and context as well as organizational and institutional processes. The framework is shown below.

Figure: 2.1 The Sustainable Livelihoods Framework



Source: Scoones (1998)

The FTLRP has been analysed using this approach which I have briefly outlined above. The work of Scoones *et al* (2010) is the most outstanding as they have adopted this approach. In their work in Masvingo Province, Scoones *et al* (2010, 2015) looked at issues like the development of value and market chains, investments, production levels, household spending, livelihood trajectories and so forth and their approach has been based on livelihoods. Scoones (2017a) when reflecting on the work and methodology used on the FTLRP by the late Professor Sam Moyo alludes to the discussions that they had and his approach to understanding and analysing the FTLRP using the livelihoods approach and its shortcomings. He says:

Reflecting now on our many conversations over the years, Sam was always critical of the ‘livelihoods approach’ that I have advocated (Scoones, 1998, 2009). In the terms elaborated above, I was clearly too focused on the ‘multiple determinations and relations’— the detailed

specificities of everyday life—rather than the wider ‘concrete’ features that allowed an interpretation in relation to wider processes of change. Sam, instead, always defended an analysis that encouraged a dialogue between diverse empirical contexts and wider structural interpretations (Scoones 2017a:8).

The livelihoods approach has provided rich insights and multiple dimensions on understanding the FTLRP. This is despite some of its weaknesses. Conceptually the approach is seen by Scoones (2009) as being a ‘malleable concept’ which is ahistorical, and it does not belong to a particular discipline. It does not have a long history and an attempt by Scoones to trace its origins and to place it at the center of the development discourse was unsuccessful as there was no information or evidence to prove its centrality. It was only in the 1990’s that it gained prominence. Bernstein *et al* (1992) have argued that the livelihood approach places at its center relations based on gender, ethnicity, cultural identity, class, caste and religion. But literature on livelihoods is seen to be ignoring issues to do with class formation. Class is seen as an institutional variable using this approach, but it is actually a relational concept (O’Laughlin 2004). The approach also ignores patterns of work, income distribution and the dynamics of consumption and accumulation. This is despite the fact that if one wants to comprehend agrarian structures it requires the asking of questions like “who owns what, who does what, who gets what and what do they do with it?” (Moyo 2009 and Bernstein *et al* 1992).

The other criticism of the livelihoods approach is its bias towards the local context. De Haan (2012) argues that many livelihood approaches are biased towards local contexts. This local context has denied the livelihoods discourse the necessary political nuances when it deals with global scale questions. This local bias is seen as being overcome if studies for example include global and local interactions in their analysis. But this can only be realized by focusing on how the global is contested and molded locally and how local communities create localities by crafting contested and negotiated spaces. This approach has been seen producing a multiple of livelihood studies with an endless variation of local livelihoods. There is no presentation of generalized trends and the challenge is to come to grips with that variation (De Haan 2012:352). Other challenges with the approach include its failure to acknowledge the importance of markets and market development, its downplaying of the importance of diversity in solving rural development problems and its failure to provide insights and ideas that can be used by future generations (Cornway and Chambers 1992, Scoones *et al* 2010). In the context of the FTLRP despite the livelihoods approach providing important insights, it does not engage fully

with the debates on agricultural finance, sanctions and alienation on Zimbabwe and its impact on livelihoods. It also does not engage with structural forces of class and capital.

2.4.1.3 The Political Economy Approach

The political economy approach is another framework which has been used to analyse the FTLRP. The approach was extensively used by Moyo and the SMAIS in understanding and analyzing the FTLRP. Mosco (1996:24) has described the political economy approach as “...the study of the social relations particularly the power relations that mutually constitute the production as well as consumption of resources. It is the study of control as well as survival in social life.” Mosco (1996:22-23) further argues that it has a long history and its priority has always been to understand social change and historical transformation. He gives an example of classical theorists for example John Stuart Mills, Adam Smith and David Ricardo who had used it “to comprehend the great capitalist revolution, the upheaval that transformed society from being primarily based on agricultural labour to commercial, manufacturing and industrial societies ... for Karl Marx, it meant examining dynamic forces of capitalism which was responsible for growth and change.” The objective of these theorists according to Mosco (Mosco 1996:22) was to identify and understand the recurring “patterns of short-term expansion and contraction as well as long term transformational patterns that signaled fundamental changes in the system.”

The political economy approach according to Ricardo (1817) also involves looking at relations as well as the distribution of resources from a class perspective. There are three dominant classes which he identified, and these are “... proprietors of the land, the owners of stock or capital necessary for its cultivation and the labourers by whose industry it is cultivated.” In the context of the market and land reform, El-Ghonemy (1999) argues that the political economy approach allows us to better understand the nature and the interconnected components of rural development. According to him, the political economy approach:

Is based on the premise that the economics of agrarian structures cannot be separated from the politics and social organization of the economy within a historical context. The elements in the social organization determining land property and land use rights include inheritance arrangements, religion, political ideology and bureaucracy, as well as the law, rules and customary arrangements. By ignoring fairness in wealth distribution and these elements of social organization, conventional economists concentrate on resource efficiency and assert that what a person owns and earns should solely be determined by the market, not by governments or other non-market arrangements (1999:3).

In addition to issues raised above, the political economy approach needs to be understood based on three areas of focus. Firstly, it is the narrative of different groups of actors based on different knowledge, value systems and political agenda. Secondly, the relations that exist between the different actors and these include contestations, negotiations and co-operation. The third dimension is that of pluralism in which people have different needs, interests and positions which are based different sets of knowledge, understanding and assets.

Moyo *et al* (2009), the SMAIAS and other scholars have used this approach to study the FTLRP. Focus has been on power relations which create and constitute the production, redistribution and consumption outcomes of the FTLRP. They look at the new emergent agrarian structure which, as their central point, they use to understand the production outcomes, levels of accumulation by beneficiaries and the character of land redistribution. Additionally, they look at social organisation in the farming areas, marketing and trade dynamics and how these are linked to political issues, laws, customs and governance. Scholars use this approach to locate the beneficiaries within the context of national and global politics as well as the economy in order to ascertain the impacts which these have had on beneficiaries. Comparisons are made between the different tenure categories especially between those who benefitted from the FTLRP and those who reside in the communal areas. This is to get insight on the outcomes of the FTLRP by making comparisons.

Reminiscing on the methodology and intellectual contribution of Professor Sam Moyo on land issues, Scoones (2017a) provides interesting insights on the political economy approach and its thrust which Professor Moyo used. This approach is reflected in his works and the works undertaken by SMAIAS and other scholars. Scoones (2017a:7) says:

I would argue that this was exactly Sam's methodological stance. He was no 'vulgar' political economist, only interested in deterministic, historical 'laws', nor a simplistic 'structuralist', uninterested in the 'multiple determinations and relations' of complex realities. He was always interested in exactly the sophisticated dialectic that Marx describes, and which Hall interprets as the core feature of method in political economy. Such an approach to political economy allows for engagement with the diversity of livelihood strategies, production practices and social arrangements across sites, while at the same time understanding longer term livelihood trajectories and their structural conditioning and shaping. It also focuses attention on the political and economic alliances being forged between different classes, and so the structuring of the wider political economy.

The political economy approach has greatly influenced this thesis. This is not only because I used survey data from the SMAIAS Household Survey 2013/2014 data to analyse some my

findings but also because in my data gathering, I borrowed extensively from the methodology adopted by Moyo *et al* (2009) to understand and analyse the outcomes of the FTLRP. This approach and methodology (as used by Moyo and scholars at SMAIAS) does have its weaknesses. Scoones (2017a) notes that a theorisation focusing too much on class can miss other wider dimensions that give important insights to changes. In addition, use by the survey method and a political economy approach is seen by Scoones (2017a:8) as sometimes failing to engage “...with all such determinations and relations, and so ignored particularity and nuance, requiring a deeper, ethnographic perspective in combination.”

Despite these weaknesses I relied on this approach while I also borrowed from the other approaches to ensure that the data which I gathered was enough to discern the social policy outcomes of land reform from a social policy perspective. Thus, my work is structured in such a way that I seek to understand livelihood trajectories in the new farming areas, but I also use a political economy approach to understand the influence of power, class, politics and structural forces that have influenced the outcomes of the FTLRP.

2.4.1.4 The Rights Based Approach

The human rights approach is another approach which scholars use in their analysis of the FTLRP. The work by Zamchiya (2011), Richardson (2004, 2005), Marongwe (2003), Sachikonye (2004, 2005), Moore (2003, 2005), Scarnecchia (2006) have aspects of this approach. There was a dramatic shift in Zimbabwe’s politics and economy especially after 2000. Hammar *et al* (2003) aptly captured it showing how there emerged different constructions of the state and land narratives, changes in relations of power and changes in the forms of state rule and violence under authoritarianism. This was in a context where there was seen to be an increase in politics of patronage, state repression and securitisation of state politics in Zimbabwe (see Hammer *et al* 2003, Raftopolous 2016). A consequence of all this was that there were human rights violations during the FTLRP process. Notable human rights violations which occurred due to the FTLRP include physical abuse and violence, violation of court orders, violation of property rights, illegal land invasions and reluctance by the government and security agents to protect farmers and farmworkers (Scoones and Wolmer 2003, Scarnecchia 2006, Alexander 2006).

When it comes to violence, Sacco (2008) argues that it was at its peak between 1999 and 2003. There was violence between the MDC and ZANU (PF), violence between land invaders and

white farmers and farmworkers who resisted farm occupations as well as intra party violence. Another human rights violation during this period had to do with property rights with farmers seen as having been illegally dispossessed of their land. This was despite the fact that they were legally entitled to it (see Richardson 2005). Richardson (2005:74) has noted that white farmers became victims of an unfortunate situation. He argues that by 2000, "... 80 percent of the white commercial farms had changed ownership since 1980 and less than five percent of the farmers could trace their ancestry to the British colonisers who came with the Pioneer Column in 1890." In such a context, he argued that by law, the white farmers were the rightful owners of the land as they had legitimately bought it. The state by dispossessing them of the land had violated their human rights despite it having a moral and legal obligation to uphold these rights⁵. For him it was a consequence of undefined property rights that communal areas have suffered from severe erosion due to poor land husbandry and the use of slash and burn agricultural methods. This is contrary to the small-scale commercial farming and LSCF areas which did not suffer from such environmental degradation⁶. This argument by Richardson (2005) is of interest as it brings to the fore the question of which right comes first. More precisely: Does the current property right engraved and legalised through colonial dispossession, override the right of the indigenous population of their land? This is in a context where the rights-based discourse has seen the year 2000 as the beginning of history, conveniently ignoring what transpired before. Sacco (2008) counters this argument by Richardson (2005) and says that arguments on property rights need to be traced to colonialism and indigenous communities have rights to restitution and compensation as they were deprived of their property rights during colonialism. He says that:

I consider an approach to the rights of the communities dispossessed during colonialism and suggest that a rights-based approach to the land question in Zimbabwe should include attention to the question of how to deal with colonial violations of the right to property... the rights of commercial farmers who have had their farms expropriated have received international attention. However, no attention has been given to the rights of persons and communities that lost land, property and labour during colonial rule and the racist settler regime. In many instances the very same persons who were disposed by the colonial government still live in the arid communal areas into which they were evicted more than fifty years ago. An interesting argument can be made that the victims of colonial expropriation are entitled to restitution and compensation.

⁵ This is immaterial if one takes the common law position on stolen goods (if goods are stolen, property should be returned to the original owners). It is common cause that Africans were dispossessed of their land by colonial conquest.

⁶ Richardson (2005) conveniently ignores the fact that in most of these communal areas were Africans were resettled, some of the areas were arid and overpopulated (due to a 60% increase in population by 1980) hence they were prone to environmental degradation (see Moyo 1995, DeGeorges and Reilly 2007).

Sacco (2008: 349) then concludes by noting that "... if indigenous communities are seen as holding rights to restitution and compensation for the deprivation of property during colonialism, this allows a rational basis to question the moral and legal rights of white farmers to farms settled during farm occupations under the FTLRP."

On a conceptual level, the human rights-based approach is a normative framework based on human rights standards articulated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Branco 2016). There is a recognition that that human beings are entitled to the fulfilment of both material aspirations and the enjoyment of immaterial amenities. These are enshrined particularly in two of the seven covenants (namely the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights). This approach is applicable to land as exemplified by Gilbert (2013:117) who said "...access to land is a pre-condition for an equal access to food and housing, for the enjoyment of cultural liberty especially critical for indigenous persons." Claims for rights to land are important as land is vital for meeting human needs. Not having land for some communities can lead to economic insecurity while having access to land can facilitate access to cultural and religious rights.

A rights-based approach advocates for land access in a non-discriminatory manner and protection of land rights as well as equality in participation and empowerment in land reform and formalisation processes. It also advocates for "monitoring and accountability in terms of due process and the rule of law and equality in the standards for gender-equal and non-discriminatory land reform" (Ik Dahl, Hellum, Kaarhus, and Benjaminsen 2005:2). In practice, this approach is structured along the four fundamental principles of human rights. These state that human rights are universal and indivisible, there is accountability of the rule of law, participation, empowerment and lastly equality and non-discrimination (Branco 2016). Of note is that there are contestations on the issue of human rights and land reform. Some are of the opinion that land reform, is logically an instrument for securing human rights while others argue that land reform when it is redistributive, can result in the infringement on the rights of others. The rationale of human rights is that they should be seen to be avoiding conflict especially on issues of property. This is countered by others who say that one cannot assert a new right in favour of individuals or groups without suppressing some old right which will be to the detriment of another group or individuals (Tapscott 2012, Steiner 1994, Branco 2016). I found this argument particularly intriguing when one looks at the FTLRP especially when one

analysis the redistributive outcomes of the FTLRP. Sacco (2008) is quite clear when he emphasizes the relationship between human rights and land reform and how undertaking a land reform programme can have an effect on other protected human rights. He argues that land is a means through which communities can access economic, social and cultural rights. Through land access, communities have access to a resource which communities can use to fight poverty and in Zimbabwe, land is an important “means of production”. He says:

The progressive realization of economic, social and cultural rights is premised primarily on the opportunity given to individuals and communities to realise their right to food. Land reform allows access to resources that facilitate the production of sufficient food for communities and individuals to feed themselves. The provision of better land ensures long term food security. In turn, food security and access to land ensures long term food security. In turn food security and access to land allows communities and individuals to improve their access to other economic, social and cultural rights such as education, and health through an improvement in income (Sacco, 2008:346).

I believe that when we look distinctly at socio-economic and cultural rights in the context of the FTLRP, it is an area which will yield useful insights and empirical evidence if it is studied further as it has not been extensively explored. This human rights approach has been used to analyse the FTLRP, but it is used in conjunction with other approaches and it is an integral foundation upon which we find some of the contestations on the FTLRP. I found it to be quite useful in my analysis of the social policy dimensions of land reform. In the ensuing section, I look at the contestations of the FTLRP.

2.5 Contestations of the FTLRP

The FTLRP for the past decade and a half has polarised academia. This polarisation is best captured by Hellicker (2011) who indicated that the polarisation can be understood as emanating from two positions. Firstly, there is the minority position. Proponents of this position contend that the reorganization of agrarian capital has been progressive. It has unlocked diverse opportunities for the predominantly indigenous small-scale African farmers. On the other hand, there is the majority position. This position has seen the negative consequences of land reform. It argues that the FTLRP has undercut, dramatically agricultural production, compromising the country’s food security. Cliff *et al* (2011:1) weighs in to show the nature and extent of the debate by saying that:

With few exceptions, those who have engaged in writing or political rhetoric have tended to take positions on one or other end of the spectrum in what has been a highly polarised debate, between welcoming a reversal of a racial distribution of land – some of them bemoaning the

manner of implementation and its distorting of the state – and those who condemn the end, in principle, as well as the means.

Below I will briefly explore the debate that emerged following the FTLRP.

One of the earliest debates on the FTLRP was on the force behind the FTLRP. Scholars such as Rutherford (2007), Raftopolous (2003), Zamchiya (2011), Hammar, *et al.*, (2003) and Sachikonye (2003) among others have argued that the FTLRP was a political tool which ZANU (PF) used to boost its waning political fortunes. It was seen as using political patronage and violence to start and control the land reform programme. From their perspective the FTLRP was more of a ‘top down’ politically imposed programme which was used to ensure the political survival of ZANU (PF). This is aptly captured by an observation by Sachikonye (2004:9) that “... land hunger...was manipulated to improve the political fortunes of ZANU (PF)... apart from resolving the land question once and for all.” Scoones (2017a) notes that scholars like Hammar *et al* (2003) and Raftopolous and Phimster (2004) argued that the farm invasions were co-ordinated, deliberate and supported by the army as well as the security services. It was all a part of a desperate attempt by the governing party to reassert its power from the opposition Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) which was arising as a formidable political force. Moore (2001, 2003), Alexander (2003), argue that the FTLRP was a response by the ruling part to the referendum defeat for the new constitution. Moore (2001:255) even described it as being “...the last straw that broke the ZANU (PF) camels back” and it ignited the FTLRP.

Conversely, Moyo (2005, 2011), Scoones *et al* (2010, 2015), Murisa (2009, 2011), Sadomba (2008, 2013), Chambati (2011) and others have argued that land reform in Zimbabwe was in fact a “bottom-up initiative”. For them it is a result of peasant mobilisation and a demand for social economic equity. In this context they argue that it cannot be considered as a monolithic neo-patrimonial project as as has been argued by critics of the FTLRP. Critics of the FTLRP see the initial land invasions and grievances as a genuine concern for land by the landless which was manipulated by ZANU (PF) for political reasons to its advantage. Such an analysis is challenged by Sadomba (2008) who argues that their arguments fail to provide an adequate explanation as to why there was a sudden eruption around the land question in the year 2000. Those advancing this line of argument are seen as failing to give adequate explanations for why there was a sudden increase of violence mostly in the rural areas, economic challenges in addition to disputed elections starting that year. For Sadomba, the year 2000 had important

events which unfolded which critics of the FTLRP have not adequately addressed. Moyo (2000:3) cements the argument that the FTLRP was in fact "... a bottom up initiative by placing it in a historical context of the land movement in post independent Zimbabwe." He further argues that it was:

An ongoing social phenomenon in both urban and rural areas in Zimbabwe before and after the country's independence...the 2000-2001 occupation mark the climax of a longer, less public and dispersed struggle over land shortages and land demand in the post independence period.

Citing Moyo (2001), Moyo and Yeros (2005), Scoones (2017a:9) notes that:

Others argued that this (FTLRP) was the result of a new, revolutionary social movement, emerging from the grassroots, and responding to liberation war demands for the redistribution of land, as well as genuine demand from peasant farmers living in cramped communal areas. The invasions of 2000–2001 were, it was argued, a continuation of other protests and land invasions in previous years, organised by local people with the support of the war veterans, confronting the state and a white land-owning elite.

This argument by Moyo (2000, Scoones (2007a) can also be understood in the arguments presented by Hanlon *et al* (2012) and Sadomba (2011). They argue slow pace of the land reform programme, agitated veterans of the country's war of liberation. This agitation saw them leading farm occupations totalling more than a thousand in March and April 2000.

Scoones *et al* (2010) provide a new dimension to this debate and argue that in the Masvingo area, land invasions were complex. This was in the context of the drives and duration of land invasions which were a combination of a grass roots-driven as well as state-directed land invasions. Scoones *et al* (2010) note that initially the land invasion were led by the ex-combatants and it was only in later stages that the state came in to regulate the process. The observation by Hellicker *et al* (2008:18) is important to this dimension that land invasions were complex as they note that:

There were clear signs of volunteerism and spontaneity in the pattern of physical movements between the communal lands and occupied farms, involving a rich diversity of individuals, motivations and interests that cannot be reduced to some ill-defined state-cum party political manipulation.

Murisa (2017:10) has added on to the argument to say that the analysis of those who said that the FTLRP was state or ZANU (PF) driven "... did not adequately include the motivations of the land occupiers, especially their socio-economic contexts and the significance of land to rural social reproduction." He also notes Selby's (2006) assertion that taking "... the state as

the main instigator of the land occupations overlooks grassroots-based forms of mobilization and the role of war veterans in land occupations.” The FTLRP, according to Moyo and Chambati (2013:14-15) was a “...cross class mobilization which involved the state on its terms. The programme accommodated persons of diverse interests and it moved beyond the disenfranchised peasants to also include the middle class as well as the political and business elite.” Persons of diverse interests were accommodated in the different resettlement models.

The debate on the FTLRP has centred on the FTLRP process itself. Concern has been raised on the way in which the FTLRP was undertaken and the impact which it has had on agricultural productivity (Richardson, 2005). Agriculture is seen as having declined significantly, adversely impacting the economy. Scoones (2017b) has indicated that even in 2017, there still persist myths on the land reform of which one is blaming the land reform programme for causing food insecurity. He agrees that maize production after the year 2000 declined rapidly and this resulted in frequent imports. He indicates the importance of taking into consideration other factors before concluding that the FTLRP has contributed to food insecurity. Variables such as climate change, the El-Nino⁷ and associated recurrent droughts, varying locations of where agriculture is now practised, the type of land use or crop type, diversion of inputs (exemplified by the prioritisation of cash over food crops), the displacement of maize production with the production of other crops are all seen as contributing to agricultural output. There can be seen to have emerged new marketing channels, the majority of which are not regulated and recorded. These issues need to be taken into consideration when looking at the debates on food insecurity which is seen as having been caused by the FTLRP.

In relation to the issue of crop production and security, Binswanger-Mkhize and Moyo (2012:37-39) weigh in with their argument. They say that when one analysis the production the trends in agriculture in the years after FTLRP, it can be noted that there are “... differentiated growth patterns in both crop production and agricultural productivity.” This observation is confirmed by Matondi (2012), Scoones *et al* (2010) and Moyo *et al* (2009) who argue that the high-level crops that were produced by the large-scale commercial farmers which were intended for export had declined. The most affected was tobacco and this was in contrast to smallholder crops which remained stable and, in some instances, increased under the new

⁷ “The El-Nino is a climate cycle in the Pacific Ocean. It influences atmospheric circulation and consequently rainfall and temperature. It has a global impact on weather patterns globally. The cycle begins when warm water in the western tropical Pacific Ocean shifts eastwards along the equator.”
See (www.weathersa.co.za/learning/climate-questions/33-what-is-la-nina-and-the-el-nino-southern-oscillation)

farmers. Another dimension on the issue of productivity is highlighted by James (2015) that the diverting of inputs, for example, fertiliser meant for food crops to high paying cash crops can also have had an impact on production. James (2015:15) also cites Andersson (2007) to say that when it comes to productive trends and patterns, the issue of affordable inputs and credit, the prevalence of HIV/AIDS and limited public investment in agriculture need to be considered. High unemployment levels are also factors that influenced agricultural productivity in Zimbabwe and they need to be considered when assessing agricultural production by the beneficiaries of the FTLRP.

One cannot therefore make a statement that there is a decrease in productivity without having empirical evidence and trends analysis. This thesis on a smaller scale looks at production issues and how it has impacted the livelihoods in relation to the new agrarian structure. Using trend data from the district and the SMAIS Household Survey 2013/2014, it speaks to the debate on agricultural production and how differentiated production patterns have emerged, which have impacted the farmers and local communities.

The FTLRP is seen as having displaced farmworkers and it negatively affected communities in the former LSCF areas. Farmworkers, mostly of foreign descent were seen as having been overlooked in the FTLRP (Rutherford 2003, Hammer *et al* 2003, Richardson 2005 and Sachikonye 2004). This is seen as being one of the major shortcomings of the FTLRP. This argument is however countered by Chambati (2011) who acknowledges that although there were displacements of 45 000 workers, the benefits outweigh the losses as they were replaced by 170 000 farmer households (now 180 000 according to Scoones *et al* 2015). Some farmworkers continued to benefit from the land both formally and informally and the majority had not been displaced but remain in the farm compounds. In addition, access to land is seen as having produced new economic opportunities for the former and current farmworkers. Beneficiaries now have access to new economic opportunities which include petty commodity trading and opportunities that have emerged from exploiting the environment. James's (2015) study shows that farmworkers were negotiating land access with the beneficiaries of the FTLRP. Land access for the farmworkers was now being renegotiated based on the relationship between the beneficiaries and the farmworkers.

This debate had an influence on my study as I was concerned with the issue of the redistribution of the land and its impact on the farmworkers and beneficiaries. I also wanted to find out the

new livelihood trajectories for the beneficiaries and the former farm workers. My findings confirm those of James (2015) concerning former farmworkers do have access to land and resources but this is dependant, to a large extent, on their relationship with land reform beneficiaries. I also found out that not all farmworkers have been displaced but their areas of residence have been of much contestation between the farmers themselves and former and current farmworkers. While some have since moved away to live or work elsewhere, others remain. Realising the vulnerability of the former farm workers in relation to issues of residence on farm compounds, the government has since protected these areas by making them state land with farmers not having powers over residency issues⁸. Additionally, my study shows that there are numerous economic opportunities available to the beneficiaries as well as the former farm workers. I will present these issues in my results when I look at the social protection, production and social reproduction dimensions of the FTLRP. The aim is to put this issue into the context of the debate on whether it is justifiable to argue that the benefits of the FTLRP outweigh the losses.

The debate on the FTLRP has revolved around the beneficiaries of the FTLRP. One major argument has been that the FTLRP benefitted the political elite and the cronies of Robert Mugabe (this argument stems from the neo-patrimonial approach). This narrative was popularised by the media as exemplified by the quotation below:

Zimbabwe's President, Robert Mugabe, and his allies have seized nearly half the country's commercial farms in a land grab widely blamed for (the) economic collapse, an investigation claims today. Mugabe has bought the loyalty of cabinet ministers, senior army and government officials and judges with nearly 5 million hectares (12.5m acres) of agricultural land, including wildlife conservancies and plantations (Smith 2010 [O]).

There has been an acknowledgement that there are the elite who benefited from the programme and the existence of a political patronage system that made some people to benefit. Scoones *et al* (2011) show that there are civil servants with linkages to the agricultural ministry and those with strong political connections who manipulated the administrative procedures to allocate themselves land. They also argue that there was corruption and political patronage in the later distribution of the A2 farms and this was especially evident at the time of the 2008 elections. At this time, there was a struggle for power and the deployment of political patronage by the ruling party elite and it had an impact on land allocations especially in the A2 sector. These

⁸ This applies to A1 farms. On A2 farms the farm compounds are under the control of the farm owner under whose section the farm compound is located.

political elite are criticised as having multiple land holdings which for the most part they do not use productively. These elite are seen as having acquired productive farms which they have allowed to become derelict (Research and Advocacy Unit, 2016). Of note is that the criticism that the FTLRP benefitted the national elite and the cronies of President Mugabe, has been debunked for lacking a deep empirical grounding. Moyo *et al* (2009:5) have argued that while it is true that some ‘elites’ benefitted from the FTLRP, what is in dispute is the nature and the extent to which they benefitted from the FTLRP. They argue that “there is a tendency to generalise the notion of an elite (and this) leaves unexplained the social content on the concept and assumes that it lacks differentiation in a dynamic process of class formation.”

On this issue of elites Scoones *et al* (2010, 2011) weighs in, in support of Moyo *et al* (2009) claiming that the beneficiaries of the FTLRP were varied, and it is not true and justifiable to say that there was extensive land grabbing by the political as well as the business elite. Moyo (2012:18) argues that most of the criticisms of the FTLRP suffers from ‘conceptual malaise’ and it is ‘empirically deficient.’ For him this applies to most of the criticisms raised against the FTLRP.

Scoones (2017b) argues that patronage politics even in 2017 continues to be at play with factional fights being seen to play out in land access disputes but this cannot be generalised across all the new farming areas. The myth of cronyism, patronage and capture which is used by critics of the FTLRP thus cannot be generalised as it differs from farm to farm. I agree with Scoones *et al* (2010) as my findings from Goromonzi correspond with their findings that A1 beneficiaries are differentiated, and some were formerly the land and income poor residents of the communal area or they came from towns without jobs or they had unsecure and precarious jobs. The interactions which I had with them made me conclude that these people could not be classified as being the political or business elite. Some of them did not have any strong political or business connections which helped them to access land, if their responses in our interactions are anything to go with. The myth that the FTLRP was subject to cronyism, patronage and capture is untenable especially on A1 farms and empirical evidence is showing this. I will allude to this argument in my presentation on the redistributive outcomes of the FTLRP.

Critics of the FTLRP have been blunt in arguing that it only benefitted ZANU (PF) members (Richardson 2004, 2007). These beneficiaries are accused of being subsistence farmers who do not have the skill and expertise to engage in agriculture (Bond 2008). Scoones (2017b) argues

that this criticism is problematic as it is difficult to empirically assess party affiliation. While resettlement areas are ZANU (PF) strongholds and opposition parties have had difficulty penetrating these areas, it does not mean that all who benefitted bear allegiance to the party. In addition, empirical evidence from large surveys by Scoones *et al* (2010) and Moyo *et al* (2009) has shown that with sufficient rainfall and financial support these smallholder farmers who are erroneously labelled as ZANU (PF) members can be productive, exceeding expectations and the production levels of the former LSCF. Closely related to the issue of patronage is corruption. Moyo (2013), although he saw the positive outcomes of the FTLRP, noted that corruption and elite capture of the FTLRP was a major impediment to the success of the FTLRP. I believe that the issue of corruption can be linked to the issue of cronyism and elite capture outlined above but there is need for more nuanced, fieldwork grounded empirical evidence to substantiate this claim. Moyo (2013:37) notes that:

The FTLRP allocation process was not free from corruption. In particular, the A2 scheme entailed jumping application queues to gain better capitalized plot (e.g., with irrigation facilities) and whole farms and unsubstantiated plans to justify access to larger sized plots, using pseudo-legal administrative loopholes.

This is substantiated by Murisa (2017:11) who notes that:

In our field surveys (as part of the AIAS), we came across many cases where political elites, state officials and private citizens with connections had gained temporary, but free, use of the underutilized state farms, and some of the lands acquired by the state but not allocated.

The observations noted above show that the FTLRP was not romanticised by those who have looked at its positive outcomes. Moyo (2013) and Moyo *et al* (2009) noted that there are some issues with the FTLRP which needed attention, but it does not mean that this could be generalised for the whole programme. Challenges exist in land administration for example, but this does not mean that the FTLRP has not been redistributive.

In this thesis, I am interested in understanding the redistributive outcomes of the FTLRP. This is looked at in detail in Chapter Five. I looked at the origin of the beneficiaries and how they had managed to access land bearing in mind the influence which patronage, cronyism and capture had on the FTLRP and this has been a subject of much criticism. As I did my analysis, I was cognisant of the fact that the patronage system and corruption exist at all levels of society and I was on the lookout for political party affiliation, but I chose not to extensively explore this issue as it is very sensitive in the new farming areas. While the A1 farmers whom I targeted

may not be linked to the national political or business elite, I noted that there are systems and institutions that exist at all levels of society which the beneficiaries manipulated so that they could access land and this has continued for example in order to access inputs. In such a scenario if we are to pursue the debate on elites, we need to understand that the levels of being an 'elite' are cross cutting and found at all levels.

Richardson (2005), Masekesa (2012) and Makanyisa *et al* (2012) have raised important points that feed into the debate of the FTLRP. The new tenure system under the FTLRP is seen as promoting tenure insecurity and the beneficiaries of the FTLRP were accused of causing widespread environmental degradation. In addition, farmers were seen as lacking the experience and technical expertise to be productive. This lack of experience and expertise is seen as the cause of food shortages as well as industrial and economic decline experienced in the country. This according to Scoones (2017b) is a myth that has been quite persistent and sadly it is based on ideological positions rather than on field level evidence-based realities. Scoones (2017b) quotes a research report from the Research and Advocacy Unit (2016,[O]) which argues (taking a side in the debate) that:

The transformations brought about by the FTLRP led directly to the collapse of commercial farming and the manufacturing sector and the consequent displacement of millions of workers and a man-made humanitarian crisis...through violations of property rights...the land invasions signalled contempt of the most fundamental basis for any investment.

Scoones (2017b) argues that this myth attempts to link the economic collapse in Zimbabwe to the FTLRP. He sees it as misguided arguing that there is a complex relationship which needs to be understood. I will touch on this relationship below when I look at the debate on the economic collapse of Zimbabwe in relation to sanctions and the FTLRP.

Considering the criticisms raised above, Moyo (2011) argued that it was important for the critics of the FTLRP to engage with the new agrarian structure which has emerged. Critics of the FTLRP do not compare it with the previous structure which favoured a white minority landed class at the expense of the majority. Such a focus is seen as being more beneficial to understanding and producing knowledge which is beneficial for communities in rural Zimbabwe. Moyo (2009) goes to great length to highlight the importance of the changes brought about by the FTLRP which they believe critics of the programme should engage in. To this end Moyo *et al* (2009:1) says:

The FTLRP transformed the agrarian structure from a bi-modal structure in which 4,500 farmers (approximately 5000 units) held over 11 million hectares mostly on the basis of export-focused commercial agriculture, alongside one million communal area households on 16.4 million hectares mostly in drier regions of the country. The FTLRP implemented by the Government of Zimbabwe redistributed about 80 per cent of former Large-Scale Commercial Farms (LSCF) to a broad base of beneficiaries including mostly peasants from across the political divide, as well as politicians, senior Government officials, private sector officials, employed and unemployed urbanites, farm workers, corporate and former white farmers. This has altered the previous 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.

On tenure insecurity, the argument is also countered by Moyo *et al* (2009) who in their baseline survey undertaken in 2005/2006 showed that although the issue of tenure insecurity is a challenge, it mostly affects A2 farmers. Most A1 farmers have not been affected and have gone ahead with their agricultural activities and even invested heavily on the land. A2 farmers were shown to have been mainly affected by this issue as there were contestations on land allocations which sometimes ended up in the courts and evictions. The tenure was so insecure that it resulted in some of them having challenges accessing agricultural credit. The issue of tenure security is important as it has an impact on the productive activities of the farmers. This debate on tenure security is important to this thesis as I also looked at it in the context of redistribution and production activities of the farmers.

As I discuss the debate on the FTLRP, it is important that I briefly refer to debates centered on the politics and the economy in Zimbabwe in relation to the FTLRP. From the year 2000, Zimbabwe began to face an unprecedented economic meltdown and it coincided with the inception of the FTLRP. There had been signs of economic challenges in the late 1990's but it worsened starting in the year 2000 (Makochekanwa, 2009). Mamdani (2008) and Scoones *et al* (2010) have looked at the debate on the extent to which the economic meltdown which was experienced in the country was caused by it or how it generated a decline in agricultural productivity. There has been an interest to see how the FTLRP process is linked to the economic meltdown in the country and scholars proffer divergent positions on the issue. Alexander (2006) links the country's economic challenges to the repressive laws and actions by ZANU (PF). The ruling party according to Alexander (2006) saw itself being threatened and it was compelled to respond in a repressive manner. It therefore enacted the FTLRP to regain its political support but this negatively impacted on the economy. While the debate on the relationship between the FTLRP, the economy and the political environment in the country has been ongoing, the economic collapse experienced from the year 2000 when the FTLRP

began cannot be ignored. Between 2000 and 2008, the economic situation in Zimbabwe was so bad that The Human Rights Watch estimated that the inflation rate during this period ranged from 235 million percent to over a billion percent (Human Rights Watch, 2008). This hyperinflation saw the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe printing currency at unprecedented levels until the country decided to adopt the multiple currency system in January 2009 (Makochekanwa, 2009). This was followed by a political compromise by the formation of a Government of National Unity (GNU) by ZANU (PF) and the two splinter MDC groups. The formation of the GNU brought relative stability but challenges still remained.

The challenges facing the country from the inception of the FTLRP, have been looked at in the context of 'smart' or 'targeted' sanctions imposed against Zimbabwe and more specifically on the ZANU (PF) and government leaders. The issue of sanctions on Zimbabwe is another debate itself which is also fiercely contested. In brief there are arguments that sanctions were put in place as a regime change strategy by western countries using the MDC. They were meant to punish ZANU (PF) for undertaking the land reform programme and to censure the Zimbabwean government for infringement of human rights, demolition of thousands of houses (during *Operation Murambatsvina*) and persecution of opposition advocates (Grebe 2010, Drezner 2003, Chirimambowa 2012). The enactment of the Zimbabwe Democracy and Economic Recovery Act in 2001 by the United States of America and limited international financial support to Zimbabwe (Hove 2012:72) and further opened the way for additional restrictive financial measures on the country. The IMF and the European Union followed suit by withdrawing financial support to the country.

Debate has ranged on the impact of the sanctions on the economy particularly on industry and agriculture. For agriculture in particular, it is argued that the sanctions made international financial support for agriculture to be reduced. Mamdani (2008) argues that agriculture no longer enjoyed subsidies which are essential for its survival and the overall impact was that there were no meaningful credit facilities to support agriculture in the country. Mamdani (2008) and Chirimambowa (2012) paint a picture of the magnitude of the sanctions. They highlight that the deferment of both financial and technical assistance to Zimbabwe mainly by the IMF, foreign payments arrears increased from US\$109 million at the end of 1999 to US\$2.5 billion at the end of 2006. In industry by mid 2009, the country was said to have been operating at ten percent capacity due to sanctions. Foreign direct investment in the country shrunk from US\$444.3 million in 1998 to only US\$50 million in 2006.

Scoones (2017b) has pointed out that when one looks at land reform and economic collapse, one needs to be careful when analysing this complex relationship. He highlights that there are many issues that have directly and indirectly contributed to the socio-economic challenges which Zimbabwe has faced over the years. These factors need to be understood before one criticises the FTLRP and blames it for Zimbabwe's economic woes. Factors such as sanctions, the withdrawal of international finance and credit lines, lack of business and investment confidence due to poorly articulated policy positions like indigenisation have all contributed to the economic challenges. In addition, the collapse of the commodity market, drought and climate change, corruption, massive financial mismanagement have all contributed to the state of the Zimbabwean economy and it is not just the FTLRP. The myth that the FTLRP caused the economic collapse in Zimbabwe is not justified and Scoones (2017b) calls for solid research based empirical information that gives a balanced assessment on the outcomes of the FTLRP. The impacts of the sanctions especially on agriculture is one of the issues that has dominated debate on the FTLRP. As I conducted my fieldwork for this thesis I bore in mind the debate on the sanctions and their impact on agriculture. As I will show in the next chapters, some farmers did raise the issue of sanctions and how it had affected their agricultural production. Droughts, lack of agricultural support, lack of a guaranteed markets were cited as some of the issues which had contributed to poor agricultural performance. These issues are highlighted in the thesis and hopefully they will add some important insights on the contentious issue of the economy, sanctions and the FTLRP.

The other debate on the FTLRP which I think are of interest which I will briefly highlight are the arguments raised by Bernstein (2004) that the FTLRP created a crisis of employment. When it comes to farmworkers and other sectors in the economy, the FTLRP is seen as having caused unemployment on one hand and the informalisation of the economy on the other hand with many of the new farmers engaging in petty commodity trading to boost household income. Moyo *et al* (2009) and Scoones *et al* (2010, 2015) have responded by saying that it is not a crisis, but for smallholder farmers it is a form of livelihood diversification. The FTLRP according to them has opened up new opportunities and pathways for accumulation and this livelihood trajectory is positive. The findings are collaborated by Mkodzongi (2013) who notes that in Mhondoro-Ngezi District, the FTLRP opened up areas which previously were inaccessible to the general population as land and natural resources were closed off under the guise of private property. Mkodzongi (2018:207) further notes that the nationalization of the

tenure system on acquired farms opened access of resources to beneficiaries and local communities to previously enclosed freehold properties which were protected by trespass laws. With the FTLRP, there now exists wider and more diverse livelihood opportunities which guarantee the beneficiaries additional income hence more secure livelihoods and security. The income which they are gaining is being reinvested in agricultural production and development in the new farming areas.

Lastly, debates have revolved around the issue of gender. It has been argued that the FTLRP did not benefit women and many opportunities were lost for women (Matondi 2012). From the FTLRP process itself up to the time when most beneficiaries had been granted land, it was argued that the FTLRP had been discriminatory. Most women had failed to access land in their own right and individual women who got it had to acquire it indirectly or had to be helped by the wider family, men and those with political influence. Even when women managed to access land, they had faced difficulties in fully utilising it and they also had challenges in accessing land, inputs, secure tenure and other things necessary for them to be productive (Goebel 2005). Mutopo (2011, 2014) has shown that while women had faced challenges which is a historic fact, they had managed to play a leading role in land occupations and they had also managed to lobby and put pressure to access land in their own right. The FTLRP is shown as having been positive opening opportunities for them and empowering them. It allowed women to have more autonomy, they are now involved more in economic and productive activities and it has allowed them to renegotiate gender roles.

2.6 From Debates to Outcomes

The debate on the FTLRP has gradually shifted and less attention is being spent on the shortcomings of the programme and processes with more attention being paid to its outcomes. According to Cliffe *et al* (2011:907):

The emergence of a range of studies into what has transpired over a lengthy period provides a 'reality check' and an opportunity to extend debates beyond policy prescriptions and their initial implementation to an assessment of what has actually been happening on the ground as a result of the land redistribution that occurred in the early 2000's.

This shift in debates is quite progressive and there is need for more empirical studies on the impact of the FTLRP. This thesis is one of such studies. Studies undertaken at different sites across Zimbabwe by Moyo *et al* (2009), Scoones *et al* (2010), Dekker and Kinsey (2011),

Mkodzongi (2013), Murisa (2009), Chiweshe (2011), James (2015), Matondi (2012), Mutopo (2011) among numerous others have brought new and exciting evidence on the outcomes of the FTLRP. The different studies have shown that the outcomes of the FTLRP are unique and complex. Some of the findings show that the FTLRP presented opportunities for black landless people to own land. A study by Moyo *et al* (2009) in the districts of Goromonzi, Kwekwe, Zvimba, Mangwe, Chiredzi and Chipinge and Scoones *et al* (2010) in Masvingo has shown that the beneficiaries of the FTLRP are investing in assets despite concerns of tenure insecurity and socio-economic challenges. The studies also show new livelihood trajectories which have emerged after the FTLRP. Some of these trajectories were never captured before and they present new insights on the FTLRP. Scoones *et al* (2015) shows that after 14 years of land reform, there are new processes of accumulation and differentiation that have produced new patterns of accumulation, socio-economic linkages, value chains, social classes and political party formations which are having different influences and impact on the resettlement areas. The different studies show that the farmers are producing meaningfully on the land, but production trends are differentiated across the country. Through the FTLRP, a new agrarian structure has emerged which has had considerable advantages for the previously landless majority.

As farmers now have access to land, they are socially organising themselves to meet their productions needs as well as social and economic needs (Murisa 2009 and Chiweshe 2011). Matondi (2012) in studies undertaken in Mazowe, Shamva and Mangwe produced evidence that by allowing peasant households to own land, the FTLRP has changed and expanded the agrarian base, reinforcing the argument by Moyo *et al* (2009) of a changed agrarian structure. The studies undertaken by scholars highlighted above show that the farming areas are not chaotic, as was previously portrayed, but are normal sites where farmers undertake productive activities. In addition, the new direction taken by scholars on the FTLRP have been to study the small and medium scale capitalist farmers and to understand their productive activities as well as their socio-economic situations. Questions on whether they are generating sufficient surplus for sale, their economic contribution, their investments, as well as their engagement in other productive activities are some of the few issues that are under investigation. Evidence from some of the studies show that there are large investments on the farms with the farmers engaging in a process of accumulation from below. Mkodzongi (2013) in a study conducted in Mhondoro-Ngezi shows that the FTLRP was redistributive and it has opened access to quality and fertile land and other natural resources. This was not the case with the previous dualistic

agrarian structure. In addition, the study shows that land reform goes beyond the utility of the land as a means of production but there are other benefits and opportunities which the FTLRP has opened for rural communities.

The gender dynamics of the FTLRP are shown by studies done by Mutopo (2011); Mutopo, Manjengwa and Chiweshe (2014) in Mwenzezi, Mazowe and Goromonzi Districts. These studies show that women are reshaping socio-economic relations and livelihoods in the new farming areas. The studies found that there is re-peasantisation in the new farming areas; there is the deployment of agency by women to improve their livelihoods; and there is a process of female accumulation from below. Women are saving, acquiring assets, and graduating to becoming commercial farmers at a larger scale. Women who managed to acquire or have access to land now have the finance and opportunities to also engage in different activities like cross border trading to supplement household income. In addition, they are also to support families by growing cash crops which were traditionally 'male dominated'. Studies by Hanlon *et al*, (2012) show how that to some extent, those who benefited from the land reform have invested in the land and the programme itself, improved women's land access. The studies highlighted above are only a few of the many new studies that are focusing on the outcomes of the FTLRP and they are moving from the dominant debates which characterized the FTLRP. For this thesis, I found them very useful as they were not only enlightening, but they shaped the direction which my thesis took and some of the issues which I studied. In my analysis of the transformative social policy outcomes of the FTLRP, which I will present in the following chapters, I will refer to these studies as part of my analysis as they provide important empirical data which I used as a benchmark for my discussion.

Considering the debate on the FTLRP which I have briefly explored in sections above, Scoones *et al* (2011) make a plea for scholars to move beyond the divisive debate of the FTLRP which has created opposites. They quote Raftopolous (2009) to say that it (the debate) had created a 'dangerous rupture' in academia. They argue that what is important for now is to reframe the debate on land reform and how the land as source of livelihood has impacted on communities and the potential of Zimbabwe's land reform. Considering this plea, this thesis is aimed at contributing to emergent studies and knowledge on the social dimensions of Zimbabwe's land reform. Using the transformative social policy concept, it is aimed at seeing how land reform has impacted on the welfare and wellbeing of the beneficiaries. While I bear in mind the debates on the FTLRP which I have highlighted in sections above, this thesis is not concerned with this

debate, although I refer to some aspects of the debates as I analyse my findings. I also believe it is now time to move beyond these debates on origins and processes of the FTLRP. Focus needs to be on the impacts of the FTLRP as generation of such knowledge is significant for development purposes.

2.7 The Importance of Redistributive Land Reform

This thesis uses the concept of transformative social policy to ascertain the impact of the FTLRP. It does this by looking at the production, reproduction, social protection and redistribution functions of social policy. Using the case of Goromonzi District, the thesis explores the extent to which the FTLRP has been redistributive. It explores the positive outcomes of the FTLRP and how this has impacted on land reform recipients and the surrounding communities. Literature shows that the FTLRP allowed for agrarian restructuring which in turn allowed previously landless people from across Zimbabwe to have access to productive land. In addition, the FTLRP has opened agricultural marketing opportunities and value chains which have allowed the farmers to ‘accumulate from below’ as noted in Masvingo Province by Scoones *et al* (2015). The FTLRP has allowed beneficiaries access to natural resources which were a preserve of the former white large-scale commercial farmers. This offers economic opportunities for those who, previously, could not utilize the land for agricultural purposes, and other economic options became available. Lastly, the FTLRP has transformed the rural economy for the benefit of the beneficiaries who are making significant investments in both productive and non-productive assets. This is despite limited state support and difficult socio-economic conditions (this accumulation of assets and capital is quite critical for present and future agricultural production and investments). All these positive changes which are also evident in Goromonzi, will be reported in the results chapters.

Redistributive land reform is very important, especially for the rural poor. Scoones *et al* (2011) and Neocosmos (1993) have argued that when availed with a productive resource like land, peasants are able to ‘accumulate from below’ and this is evident from my observations in Goromonzi District. According to Lipton (1974), land reform comprises of the compulsory taking over of the land by the state. Most of the land is taken from the large landowners for partial compensation. This is an exact depiction of what happened with the FTLRP, although the issue of compensation is still being fiercely contested and has not been resolved. The aim of redistributive land reform is to equalize opportunities by spreading the relationship between humans and land and equalizing policy. Ghimire (2001:7) argues that “...land reform entails

changes in the agrarian structure which results in an increase in access to land by the rural poor who also manage to have access to secure tenure through reforms.” In order for there to be equality in land ownership and social relations of production among peasants and the landowning class, Byres (1996) argues that redistributive land reform is an essential precondition. El-Ghorney (1993:3) views “...redistributive land reform as referring to the distribution of land from big landowners to the landless and it is a development strategy.” He further points out that:

A manifestation of political will and a strong demonstration of commitment by the country’s leadership to rapidly reduce rural poverty and the vast inequalities in rural wealth and opportunities. This strategy views the redistribution of land as a redistribution of purchasing power and opportunities for rural peoples’ progress. Redistributive land reform is also viewed as a public action to remedy market failure, by way of breaking monopoly power in land, labour and credit markets (1999:3).

This raises critical issues of what redistributive land reform is; what it entails; and who are the main actors in it. It is redistributive in the sense that land is taken from the large landowners and redistributed to the poor (who usually comprise of landless peasants and farm workers). Secondly is the country’s leadership who spearhead the process and there has to be political will with the ultimate aim of reducing inequality and rural poverty while creating opportunities. Thirdly it is a strategy aimed at providing a remedy for market failures and breaking monopoly power. In the context of the FTLRP I found this argument by El-Ghorney (1993), on what redistributive land reform is, quite relevant and a reflection of what transpired in Zimbabwe. While a lot of issues are contested there are some relevant points raised by El-Ghorney (1993) which are relevant to the FTLRP and I touched on these in the thesis. Firstly, it involved a commitment by the state to redress inequality in land tenure and in the process to reduce poverty and inequality. Secondly, commitment to see the programme through required political will in the face of domestic and international pressure against the programme and this will be discussed in subsequent chapters. Thirdly the programme was aimed at addressing market failures to redress the uneven tenure system in the country and the sidelining of the majority black population from the mainstream economy. Lastly, redistributive land reform in the country was aimed at breaking white monopoly power over the land, labour and the economy. These issues will be discussed later but I feel it is important for me to mention them here and set the context for the FTLRP and the concept of redistributive land reform.

Redistributive land reform is thus very important, and this importance is best summed up by Jacobs (2013:862) who says that “land reform is also a way of strengthening the rural poor and transforming them into a new class of smallholders with economic and political stakes in a capitalist of social democratic society.”

In Zimbabwe, according to Scoones *et al* (2010:10) the land reform programme is very different from other types of land reform as:

It involved the dismantling of functioning large-scale, commercial farming operations and the transfer to small-scale agricultural ‘peasant’ production, rather than the nationalisation or land-to-the-tiller distribution of pre-capitalist forms of landed property as part of a longer-term transition to capitalism.

This has meant that the overall objective of the FTLRP was essentially redistributive. It was driven by a desire to redress historical injustices in land reform and not the restoration of land claims or ancestral land as is the case in other countries.

While redistributive land reform does have its advantages as has been highlighted above it is worth noting that there are debates on the effectiveness of redistributing land to smallholder farmers. Pessimists of redistributive land reform according to Scoones *et al* (2010:120) argue that:

Redistributive land reform based on a smallholder model makes little sense beyond temporary welfare relief unless combined with substantial investment in off-farm enterprise development with firm links to urban areas.

Redistributive land reform alone is not enough if the observation by Bernstein (2009) is anything to go by. He argues that there are power relationships in land rights and ownership. Historically, Bernstein (2009) argues that land, credit, labour and commodity markets have been distorted to extract economic rents from peasants. This rent seeking behavior increases rural poverty; as it is deeply entrenched it can limit the success of transformation that redistributive land reform can achieve. I believe that even after redistributive land reform, these power relations can still remain in place but comprising of different actors. It is in this context that Moyo and Yeros (2005) argue that land reform, while it is key for agrarian reform, is an insufficient condition for national development. Agrarian restructuring becomes necessary and it must go hand in hand with redistributive land reform. This “democratic agrarian restructuring” according to the ANC (2007) cited by Moyo (2011:494) promotes “...social,

economic and political transformation which creates security of tenure for all, through a legally enforceable system of property rights.”

Redistributive land reform and accumulation from below become very important elements in the dealing with the structural causes of poverty (see Scoones *et al* 2010, 2015; Moyo and Yeros 2005; Moyo *et al* 2009). In Zimbabwe, as in other countries in the global south that faced land dispossession due to settler colonialism, there is seen to be a need to reconstruct the largely unequal bi-modal agrarian structure which is accused of causing poverty. Despite this argument Bryceson and Jamal (1997) and Bryceson (2002, 2009) are quite skeptical. They argue that rural populations in Africa are no longer too reliant on agriculture for a living and due to market liberalisation and structural adjustment they are engaging in other economic activities. They call this process “deagrarianisation” and “depeasantisation” with rural populations pursuing other avenues like trade and mining to make a living. This implies that redistributive land reform is no longer as important as before when rural populations were reliant only on agriculture. Other livelihood trajectories, they argue, have changed social reproduction in rural Africa.

The importance of redistributive land reform highlighted by the scholars above is at the core of this thesis with the question arising as to the impact of land redistribution on beneficiaries. In my study, I looked at the extent to which the rural poor have been transformed into a class which has access to economic opportunities because of their access to land. I also explore, extensively, the transformed agrarian structure and the impact which this transformation has had on citizens. I seek to understand issues of tenure security and insecurity and how this impacts productive activities. Lastly, I am also interested in understanding the opportunities that have arisen because of access to land and the new livelihood trajectories that are now evident in the farming areas due to redistributive land reform.

2.8 Conclusion

This chapter has been in presenting a short literature review on land issues in Zimbabwe which acts as a background to this study. I gave a brief background of the land question in Zimbabwe showing how colonial land dispossession had severe socio-economic implications which largely affected the African population in a negative manner. It was the negative implications of land dispossession which confronted the new African government in 1980, which it sought to address through the largely unsuccessful post independence land reform programmes. I

explored the post independence land reforms and how due to dissatisfaction with the pace of land reform it culminated in the highly controversial FTLRP. In my discussion on the FTLRP, I touched not only on how it was implemented, and the various actors involved, but also on the polemical analytical frameworks used by scholars to interrogate it. As a precursor to the discussion on the social policy outcomes of the FTLRP in subsequent chapters, I explored the contentious debates on the FTLRP showing how they have had implications on the narrative of the FTLRP. I have demonstrated that progressively in academia, the narrative on the FTLRP has altered with focus now being on the outcomes of the programme instead of the divisive debate which characterized it for years. Is redistributive land reform important? This is a question which I interrogated in the last section of the chapter. Drawing from the perspectives of different scholars, I have shown that redistributive land reform is important especially for the rural poor. This narrative on redistributive land reform is touched on in subsequent chapters as I explore the social policy dimensions of redistributive land reform. In the next chapter, I explore in detail the conceptual framework used in this thesis which is the transformative social policy framework.

CHAPTER THREE: CONCEPTUAL ISSUES ON SOCIAL POLICY

3.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to explore the social policy dimensions of Zimbabwe's land reform while putting to test the transformative social policy conceptual framework to ascertain its efficacy and applicability. This concept arose as an alternative rethink of social policy with emphasis being placed on its developmental, redistributive, productive and reproductive roles. In this section I look at what the framework of transformative social policy entails and some of the arguments on why land reform needs to be looked at as an instrument of social policy. The underlying theme which cuts across this chapter is to highlight that social policy has multiple functions which transform the welfare and wellbeing of citizens. The chapter lays emphasis on these functions highlighting their importance and how they can be used as a benchmark to analyse the social-economic consequences of the land reform programme. Lastly, I look at the justification for redistributive land reform and how as a social policy instrument, it can positively transform the lives of people.

3.2 Understanding Social Policy

Social policy is a widely used concept in the academic and policy world without a commonly accepted definition. Yi and Kim (2015:312) see it as "...a philosophical principle, as a product of collective action, as a framework of action as well as a process of action." Over the years, social policy has been viewed as being used to advance the lives of citizens through different interventions. It provides the basis for the social protection of citizens who would have been negatively affected by the market economy. It provides a refuge for those who due to life's circumstances find themselves in need of assistance. Different perspectives of what social policy is and what it entails are provided by Aina (1999), Marshall (1950), Titmus (1974), Esping-Andersen (1990), Walker (1981), Gil (1970), Vargas-Hernandez *et al* (2011). Over the years, social policy has undergone changes in response to changing welfare regimes across the world. The state is seen making use of the administrative, institutional and the legal framework to provide the basic requirements of citizens. At this juncture, it is important to note that for social policy, citizenship is essential in ensuring that members of society are treated fully and equally (Marshall 1950). This is achieved by increasing the number of social rights available to a citizen. It ensures a sense of membership and Marshall (1950) saw citizenship rights as being divided into civil, political and social rights. By granting citizens these rights, they have

through social policy access to public education, unemployment insurance, health care and old age pension (Kymlicka and Norman, 1994). To add on the argument on the importance of civil rights Esping-Andersen (1990:21) argues that:

If social rights are given the legal and practical status of property rights, if they are inviolable and if they are granted on the basis of citizenship rather than performance, they will entail a decommodification of the status of individuals *vis a vis* the market.

Yi and Kim (2015:312) have summarised the different definitions proffered by scholars on what social policy is. They also show that there is an interesting elective affinity which exists between the two core elements of the social policy definition. These are the objectives and purposes of social policy and the means of social policy. The definitions are summarised in Table 3.1 below. They show diverse objectives and purposes of social policy which range from simple and singular to comprehensive and multiple goals. Of interest is the elective affinity that "...exists between the comprehensiveness of purpose and objectives on one hand and the scope of the means of social policy on the other hand" (Yi and Kim 2015:312). The definitions of social policy are shown in the table below which shows the means and ends of social policy. It is quite useful in creating a background understanding of social policy.

Table 3.1: Ends and Means of Social Policies by Selected Scholars

Ends	Means	Scholars
Solving the problems of society	Enduring solutions	Howard E. Freeman and Clarence C. Sherwood (1970)
Betterment of community conditions and social life	Policies for an organization or political unit	
Amelioration of deviance and social disorganization	Policies for an organization or political unit	
Improving conditions and changing the values, structures	Continuous modification of existing social services	
Social purposes and consequences of agricultural, economic, manpower, fiscal, physical development and social welfare policies	Not social service alone	Martin Rein (1970)
Planning for social externalities, redistribution, and the equitable distribution of social benefits, especially social services	Not social service alone	
Affecting the social relationship of individuals and their relationship to the society of which they are a part	Strategy or a settled course of Action	National Association of Social Workers (1963)
Building the identity of a person around some community with which he or she is associated	Policies centering around institutions that create integration and discourage alienation	Kenneth E. Boulding (1967)
Having a direct impact on the welfare of the citizens	Policies providing services and income such as social insurance, public assistance, the health and	T.H. Marshall (1965)

	welfare services, and housing policy	
Changing the individual and family pattern of current and future claims on resources set by the market, set by the possession of accumulated past rights, and set by the allocations made by government to provide for national defense and other non-market sectors.	Redistributive mechanisms including social welfare, fiscal welfare and occupational welfare	Richard Titmus (1969)
Institutionalizing control of present and future social development and meeting specific social objectives such as social equality or justice, the redistribution of wealth, the adjustment of income.	A broad range of measures for institutionalized control of social development adopted by government, industry, voluntary associations, and professional bodies	Peter Townsend (1969)
Ordering of the network of relationships between men and women.	Policies governing the activities of individuals and groups so far as they affect the lives and interest of other people	A. Macbeath (1957)

Source: Yi and Kim (2015)

The table above by Yi and Kim (2015) showing the ends and means of social policy, presents some interesting dimensions of social policy which we need to bear in mind in the study. Firstly, based on the observations by Rein (1970); Titmus (1969) and Townsend (1969), when the objectives of social policy and its purposes are concerned with societal conditions social policy becomes much wider. It covers more than just social services. This wider coverage of social policy results for example in the meeting of social objectives such as equality or justice, wealth redistribution and wealth adjustment (Townsend 1969). For Rein (1970) it can be seen as impacting on agriculture, social welfare policies, the economy, physical development. It results in redistribution, the equitable distribution of social benefits and social services. This is in contrast to a situation where social policy has a limited purpose as shown by Marshall (1965). If social policy is centred around the "... provision of services and income such as social insurance, public assistance, health and welfare services and housing policy" Yi and Kim (2015:313) it is shown as being ineffective.

3.3 Social Policy in a Development Context

Since the turn of the 20th century, social policy has been an instrument which governments in developing countries have used as a tool to address social problems and a means through which they have implemented development strategies. Social policy has not been static but over the years it has evolved. There have emerged some social policy tools to replace previous policy tools which had limited capacities to deal with social problems and to guarantee citizens decent

standards of living (Yi 2015). George (1968) gives an example of the emergence of the social security system which was born as a response to the Great Depression in the 1930's. There was a realisation that public assistance and social insurance had failed to deal with the socio-economic problems caused by the Great Depression. They had limited scope and a shallow depth. In response to these shortcomings there was the "...development of the system of social security in Denmark, the United States and New Zealand" (George 1968). The Second World War had an impact on social policy as people became more and more willing to accept assistance provided by governments and there was the raising of more revenue to meet societal needs. The war showed that social security was important and became a key objective in the economic policies of governments. In Great Britain, according to Alcock (2012), there was the implementation of the recommendations of the Beveridge Report which provided universal and adequate protection against risks associated with the market economy. There was a shift from the individualistic and piece-meal pre-war approaches aimed at dealing with social problems to national plans for social security provision.

Yi and Kim (2015) and Yi (2015) argue that historically, social policy has been a vital element in assisting in the advancement countries now classified as developed countries. The challenge in developing countries has been that it has often been ignored, failing to feature in development strategies. This is in a context where international donors are now playing important and active roles in directing the path and strategies of development in developing countries. Yi and Kim (2015) have noted that social policy programmes like universal health care, which constitute what can be said to be the backbone of development and social cohesion in the developed nations have been labelled as a luxury for the richer countries or an output for economic growth. Social policies in the developing countries have thus taken a palliative or remedial action approach. This is when dealing with some of the challenges which have emerged as a consequence of the implementation of structural adjustment programmes and market led-growth policy prescriptions.

In African states for example, in the first decade of independence in the 1960s. Social policy was associated with the nationalism. Nationalism as a discourse at this time, strongly advocated for there to be a linkage between national unity and economic development. Its emphasis was on the provision of free and quality education, health care and guaranteed employment. The aim was to eradicate the inequalities created by colonialism and the "eradication of the unholy trinity of ignorance, poverty and disease" (Mkandawire 2005:13 cited by Adesina 2007). It was

due to this approach that there was a period of rapid development in Ghana, Zambia and Tanzania under Kwame Nkrumah, Kenneth Kaunda and Julius Nyerere. Over half a century later I would argue that some African countries are still pursuing this trajectory in social policy which unfortunately is no longer bringing the required development outcomes.

Developing countries have faced major developmental challenges, and poverty has emerged as one of the most serious and pervasive challenges which over the years has topped the development agenda (UNRISD 2010). With poverty topping the development agenda, social policy has been brought back into the limelight as a major tool for development. Adesina (2014), Yi (2015), Yi and Kim (2015) argue that social policy in the global south which has been brought back (mainly by international donors) has been not only residual but has been dominated by neo-liberalism.

According to Yi (2015), since the 1980's at a practical and theoretical level it has become dominant and is used in developing countries. Developed just after the second world war, Yi (2015:2) argues that it gradually replaced the Keynesian macro-economic management and the important role of the state in realising social and economic progress. The neo-liberal agenda has placed importance on the liberalisation of international trade and investment, non-interference of the state with market mechanisms, privatisation of the public social services, deregulation of the market and reduction in welfare payments. Such a context has seen social policy in the developing countries becoming a version of residual social policy serving the neo-liberal agenda. It drastically reduced public service provisioning and "... new safety net style residualist welfare institutions gradually filled the vacuum...which was detached from (the) economy and served mainly as anti-poverty... (it) failed to address broader structural causes and the inter-linkages between economic and social, let alone social, economic and environmental aspects of development" (Yi and Kim 2015:318).

Social policy which exists according to Yi (2015:2) can be classified into two divergent approaches which are the holistic and reductionist approaches. Most countries in Sub-Saharan Africa which include Zimbabwe can be seen using an approach which can be identified with the reductionist approach. The holistic approach considers social policy to be a reaction to the poor law system. It can be seen in social protection and social security systems. This approach to social welfare is comprehensive in terms of the way it is able to cover citizens against risks for which the protection is provided. In this approach, the state is considered as having the

responsibility of providing social protection to the citizenry. This is regardless of one's sex, religion, ethnicity, social class, religion and so forth. Social protection using this approach guarantees wellbeing and this is comprehensive (UNRISD 2010, Yi and Kim 2015).

The reductionist approach has dominated the social policy discourse in the developing countries since the 1990's. The reductionist approach views social policy and social protection as interventions which should specifically target groups in society which are perceived as being in need. Social security in this approach is understood to be a social objective as opposed to poverty. Targeting is used as a selection process for beneficiaries. The use of targeting is considered to be exclusionary or some beneficiaries consider it as very embarrassing or degrading such that some of them fail to receive the social protection due to them. In terms of social protection, this approach has a focus to poverty, vulnerability and risk reduction instead of improving the welfare of citizens (Yi 2015, Yi and Kim 2015, UNICEF 2008, World Bank 2001). International aid agencies have spoken of upholding the principles and conceptual framework of holistic approaches to social policy, but they have implemented a reductionist approach with residual welfare programmes which target the poor (Yi 2015).

According to Yi and Kim (2015), for developing countries, the use of the residual approach has meant that the well-being of individual citizens has been at the mercy of the private market which is self-regulating, and which is founded on the principle of supply and demand. Social policy, while it is part of the regulating mechanism it has had a minor role to play. It can do little to change the status quo or to intervene in an already established system and thus the situation of the citizens has been largely dictated by the private market. When one looks at the developed countries found in the global north, social policy as it developed, humanized conditions of work and it altered the social structure. The working class was given full membership of the community and full citizenship. Platforms and institutions for social dialogue including collective bargaining were developed. There was thus some measure of stability and social dialogue which contributed to poverty and inequality reduction, enhancement of opportunity. Capitalism and welfare were made to be comparable especially in the Nordic countries through increasing wage share, stabilizing macro-economic conditions and equalization of opportunities. In developing countries however, the use of residual social policies with a neo-liberal grounding has meant that rights of association and collective bargaining have become weak. This is in a context where there is increasing informal employment which has made trade unions and collective bargaining weaker (Yi and Kim

2015). This has meant that the path which was followed by countries in the global north to achieve advanced welfare states is not being followed by developing countries.

The adoption of residual social policy approach has thus weakened the social policies in developing countries. This is in a context where prescriptions for social policies in developing countries have marginalized the objectives of full employment or reducing unemployment. This is the foundation upon which welfare states were built but it is not considered in social policy development. Rather emphasis is placed on low inflation and deficit reduction. The advanced welfare states did place a lot of emphasis on full employment and the central role of the state. This is the opposite of what is prescribed by the neo-liberal discourse and it has negatively impacted on the development and impact of social policies in developing countries (Reinnert 2007, Mkandawire 2013, Yi and Kim 2015).

I will make a brief reference to Zimbabwe as I believe that it offers insights on the reductionist approach to social welfare which is neo-liberal in orientation and has thus failed to transform the lives of the vulnerable. It is in such a context that this thesis explores the transformative social policy framework as a possible alternative approach to dealing with poverty and lack of development. The social policy architecture in colonial and post-colonial Zimbabwe is seen as being steeped in the English Poor Laws. Post-colonial social policy reflected a wholesale adoption of the British social policy system (Kaseke 1991, 2013; Mhiribidi 2010). From 1980-1990, the government through the Department of Social Welfare provided for those who were destitute and in need of care. Social assistance was means tested and based on a residual concept of welfare (Patel 2005, Chinyoka 2017). According to Patel (2005) such an approach suggests that the state could only provide assistance to individuals if it established that they were unemployed and unable to receive support from their families. It rested on an assumption that individuals were responsible for their welfare and needs should be met through the family and the market.

In the 1990's due to adoption of ESAP, the Zimbabwe government reduced spending in social services and adopted a neo-liberal approach in dealing with social welfare issues (Chitambara 2012). It was during this period that there was launched the Social Dimensions of Adjustment Programmes aimed at cushioning the people from vulnerabilities caused by ESAP. Social policies at this time were aimed at protecting communities from the negative impacts of adjustment by providing social safety nets. They were also aimed at alleviating the losses

which had been experienced in the area of human capital. The worst affected areas were identified as the education, health and food security sectors (Government of Zimbabwe 2003 cited by Maushe 2014). It was during this time that the Basic Education Assistance Module (BEAM) aimed at providing educational assistance to vulnerable children which still exists in Zimbabwe was created.

Currently, the Department of Social Services offers Public Assistance (PA) to target sections of the community that are deemed to be vulnerable and in need of state support. Using the Social Welfare Assistance Act (Chapter 17:06 of 1988 and 2001), the government provides social assistance in the form of public assistance (PA) to the aged (over 60 years), the terminally and chronically ill, persons with disabilities and indigent persons. It also supports children and supports those in need including children who are a child of the beneficiary, a step or legally adopted child and orphans (Chinyoka 2017, Munro 2001). Other forms of assistance which the government has provided have included social assistance to very poor households and assistance to orphans and the disabled. Educational and health assistance are provided through the Assisted Medical Treatment Orders (AMTO) and the Basic Education Assistance Module (commonly referred to as BEAM).

Assistance is provided 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 (Kaseke 2013:1). Through the AMTO, health services can be accessed by beneficiaries at public hospitals and clinics. BEAM is used to provide educational assistance to children who cannot afford, and it is the largest social protection intervention by the Department. In addition to these mainstream social assistance programmes, the government through the department distributes food aid mainly to rural households facing food deficits and this usually occurs in times of drought (Department of Social Services, 2010; Kanyenze *et al*, 2011)). All of the social assistance which is provided in the country is means tested and provided to those in need who meet the qualifying criteria.

Recently, the Zimbabwe government just like other countries in the region has introduced the Harmonised Social Cash Transfer programme (HSCT). The programme is a poverty targeted, cash transfer programme. Its adoption has been attributed to pressure from the donor countries and an MDC led Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare which favoured its adoption during the GNU (Chinyoka 2017). The HSCT programme is for indigent households

which provides support to vulnerable groups which include the elderly, child headed households, the disabled and the orphans. The programme was an initiative under the National Action Plan for Orphans and Vulnerable Children (NAP for OVC) 2011-2015 as well as the broader programming under the Department of Social Services. It is means tested and it targets food poor and labour constrained households (Mtetwa and Muchacha 2013:20, see also Kaseke 2011, 2013).

The social policy architecture in Zimbabwe can be seen as being steeped in the reductionist approach to social policy. This approach is largely anti-poverty and provides short term relief, but it fails to address the broader structural causes of poverty. The approach that is currently being used in Zimbabwe is structured around 'safety nets' and focuses on remedial action which ameliorates the adverse effects of poverty, but it does not in any way redistribute wealth and income. It is in such a context that this thesis explores an alternative approach to social policy making which can be adopted in Zimbabwe and in the rest of the Sub-Saharan African region. This is applicable especially in countries affected by settler colonialism in which land reform as a tool of social is used as a catalyst for inclusive development and a poverty reduction tool.

3.4 Rethinking Social Policy

For Titmus (1974), in order for social policy to be redistributive and to bring about benefits for citizens it has to concern itself with both economic and non-economic objectives. This brings another dimension to the understanding of social policy, that there needs to be a link between the economic and social policies. Economic policy is seen as being inseparable from social policy. Chung (2004) argues that for social policy to be effective it needs to be linked to economic policy and the economic is inseparable from the social. This argument is supported by Fine (2009), UNRISD (2006), Adesina (2011) and Mkandawire (2004). It was countered by neo-liberals who argued that economic growth was essential and if it was achieved it would lead to social development. It has resulted in a debate with neo-liberals arguing that economic growth leads to social development. Others have argued that social and economic policies need to be linked and they have accused the neo-liberals of adopting a residual welfare approach. They argue for emphasis to be placed on human development which indirectly also contributes to economic development (Titmus 1974, Adesina 2011, Mkandawire 2002, Fine 2009). This social and economic policy nexus is emphasised by Mkandawire (2004) who says:

Studies on the linkages between social policy outcomes and economic growth show that at both microeconomic and macroeconomic levels, social development outcomes have beneficial effects on economic growth (Mkandawire: 2004:20).

There has been a notable shift on the conversation on social policy in recent years. It is from this conversation that we draw some important insights which have shaped this thesis. The conversation has been developed in such a way that there is less emphasis on the welfare thrust of social policy. Importance is now being placed on the ability of social policy to transform the socio-economic relationships and its relationships with both the market and the economy. This viewpoint is best captured by Mkandawire (2011:150-151) who argues that social policy is:

Concerned with the redistributive effects of economic policy, the protection of people from the vagaries of the market and the 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 social tasks. Successful societies have given social policies all these objectives, although the weighting of tasks has varied between countries and, within each country, from period to period.

Adesina (2009:38) then weighs in to say that:

Social policy goes beyond immediate protection from destitution. It involves collective public efforts which are aimed at affecting as well as protecting and ensuring the social well-being of people within a given territory. In this context, it covers education, food security, habitat, sanitation, health care provision and some measure of labour market protection.

The coverage of health services, education, social security, pensions, subsidies, land reform (which informs this thesis), interventions in the labour market and taxation are singled out by UNRISD (2006:1) as examples of the benefits which citizens receive as a result of social policies. In addition to these benefits the UNRISD (2006) has highlighted that social policy goes beyond social welfare provisioning. It is also responsible for providing to the individual and society specific social statuses, roles and rights. UNRISD (2006:1) also points that through legal enactments, governments use social policies to transform, racial and other social relations while regulating and producing new social norms and institutions. Through social policies there can be seen developmental outcomes which result in sustainable life enhancing resources. Economic policies and social policies are thus inseparable, and the economy is important in meeting social policy. This is aptly captured in the statement that:

Social policy involves overarching concerns with redistribution, production, reproduction and protection and works in tandem with economic policy in pursuit of national, social and economic goals ... (it) may be embedded in economic policy, when the latter has intended welfare consequences or reflects implicit or explicit socio-economic priorities” (UNRISD 2001:1).

Adesina (2015:112) has gone on to argue that the link between social and economic policy is not only on the consumption and demand side. It should be understood as involving a supply side of social investment with expenditure of public finance needing to be understood in a context in which it is a form of social investment. This social investment can be used in education, health, social fund accumulation in pensions or marketing board surplus, child maintenance, family policies or other interventions grounded in social policy.

On the importance of the social and economic policies and how they bring about inclusive development (especially in reference to land reform which is concerned with this thesis), Gumede (2016:11) says:

Although it is taken for granted that social policy and economic policy should interface for socio-economic development, the link between economic and social policies that would ensure inclusive development cannot be taken for granted. For instance, countries have long lists of ‘policies’ (often these are just wish lists). The fundamental issue is the designing of those policies so they can address the objective pursued, the concern has to do with how can an ideal interface between economic and social policies be ensured. For an example, how can land reform and affirmative action as aspects of social policy inform economic development to bring about inclusive development? Another way to think about this issue is: social policy has (1) intrinsic (normative) and (2) instrumental functions. So, as social policy pursues, say, the nation building agenda, how could it interface better with economic policy to ensure inclusive development.

Mkandawire (2009:22) reinforces this idea with his argument that social policy (should) work in tandem with economic policy to lead to socio-economic development. It is worth noting that neo-liberals have taken a residual approach to social policy. The argument is that economic growth should precede social development. This is disputed by Polanyi (1946) and Midgley (2005) who argue that economic policies are linked to the social. Social development for example attempts to promote human well-being and it does this in collaboration with a process of economic development. The economic and the social are thus symbiotic and are important components of the development process. Midgley (1994,1995) argues that without economic

development, social development cannot take place and economic development is meaningless unless there are improvements in the welfare and wellbeing of the entire population. In order for sustainable development to be realized, there is thus need to address inequality in countries and creating a symbiotic relationship between economic and social policy as well as addressing issues of redistribution (Birdsall and Londono, 1997). It is only when these issues are addressed that social policy is effective.

The new line of thinking on what social policy is and what it should achieve has given rise to thinking on the developmental and transformative role which social can play. This is in a context where there is are scholars who believe that if social policy works in tandem with economic policy, it can enhance the welfare and wellbeing of citizens and this can result in socio-economic development (Mkandawire 2009:22). In this context the economy is considered as being entrenched in society. Through various systems, there is the interaction of socio-economic and political processes in a cyclical relationship. If economic and social policy objectives are reconciled, they can provide important solutions to deal with poverty and inequality (Mkandawire 2004, Midgley 1995). It is this thinking that has given rise to the development of a framework of transformative social policy which I used in this thesis to explore the social policy dimensions of the FTLRP. In the next section I will explore this framework.

3.5 The Transformative Social Policy Conceptual Framework

The thinking around the concept of transformative social policy can be traced to the United Nations Institute for Social Development (UNRISD). UNRISD developed this systematic thinking around social policy which laid attention on the neglected dimensions of social policy in the context of development. It is best to understand transformative social policy as social policy that is multi-faceted which goes beyond addressing economic challenges, market failures and provides welfare through social policy that drives development. Transformative social policy has multiple functions which are redistributive, protective, reproductive, productive and they ensure social cohesion. These functions can be seen playing a transformative and developmental role in societies and the economy (Mkandawire 2001; Adesina 2008, 2011; UNRSD 2006). Adesina (2010) argues that transformative social policy can be best understood from the point of view of ‘visionary agenda setting’ which is the basis of building a socially inclusive developmental agenda. Social policy for him must be viewed

as having multiple functions and thus when addressing developmental challenges like poverty there is need for:

A return to holistic development thinking, with emphasis on inter-sectoral linkages among policy instruments, rather than the fragmentary thinking and single-issue policy merchandising that currently suffuse the international debate; it requires a return to the wider vision of development and social policy. It is this wider vision that is encapsulated in the idea of transformative social policy (Adesina 2010:16).

Myrdal (1960) has noted that social policy has lost its developmental orientation and it is upon this imperative that the concept of transformative social policy is built. The idea that social and economic policies are inseparable is embedded in this concept. An all-encompassing approach that deals with unequal and unjust economic, political and social relations and policy connections is considered necessary. If social policy interventions are comprehensive, they are seen as being able to transform currently existing relations (Yi and Kim 2015).

This point of view is collaborated by Adesina (2010:19) who sees transformative social policy as offering:

Conceptual tools and the policy parameters for such a return to a wider vision of how we may enhance human capabilities and economic development. Rather than social policy being defined almost exclusively in terms of social protection, transformative social policy calls the objectives of social policy to our attention. Central to the new agendas is girding the economy with the same norms of equality and solidarity.

Chung (2014) has further reinforced the transformative social policy argument. Citing Baldock *et al* (2007), it is noted that at the core of social policy are institutions and policies. While primarily focusing on care and health, social policy has looked at public assistance, social insurance and the provision of social services. These are followed by policies on housing, vocational training and education.

Such a conceptualisation according to Chung (2014: 109) is:

More or less based on a configuration of an aspect of the end-state of development, the welfare state and on the distributional effects of income and social protection, many of which may not be directly relevant to developing countries.

In this context Chung (2014) and Mkandawire (2007), argue in support of transformative social policy. For them, human skills and welfare results are changed if there is a change in institutions

and the behaviour of agencies. The long-term result is development. There may not be immediate outcomes in the improvement of welfare, but institutional behavioural changes in the context of transformative social policy convert human capabilities into productive power. Wealth and revenue are redistributed, and people are protected from current and future risks.

Chung (2014) argues that the social policy concept must be redescribed and the conventional social policies which welfare studies have ignored must be incorporated into the functional equivalents. He argues that:

Various forms of the functional equivalents had been implemented at the early stage of industrialisation of the late industrialisers and, as the capitalist economies became mature, more orthodox social policies – such as security policies- have grown by replacing the early functional equivalents or by co-ordinating them. This approach conceptualises and identifies social policy with a focus on welfare functions in diverse historical paths (Chung 2014: 110).

Such an approach has informed government policy, institutions and actors in developing countries. This has affected people's welfare from a long- term developmental perspective. If developing countries continue using conventional social policies, Chung warns that there is the danger that they may lose out on the various forms of functional equivalents brought on by transformative social policy which are able to transform the economy and society. Yi and Kim (2015:324) argue that transformative social policy as a concept has managed to bring back social policy so that it is compatible with the broader concept of development. It manages to do this without losing sight of concerns about the political economy, politics and employment.

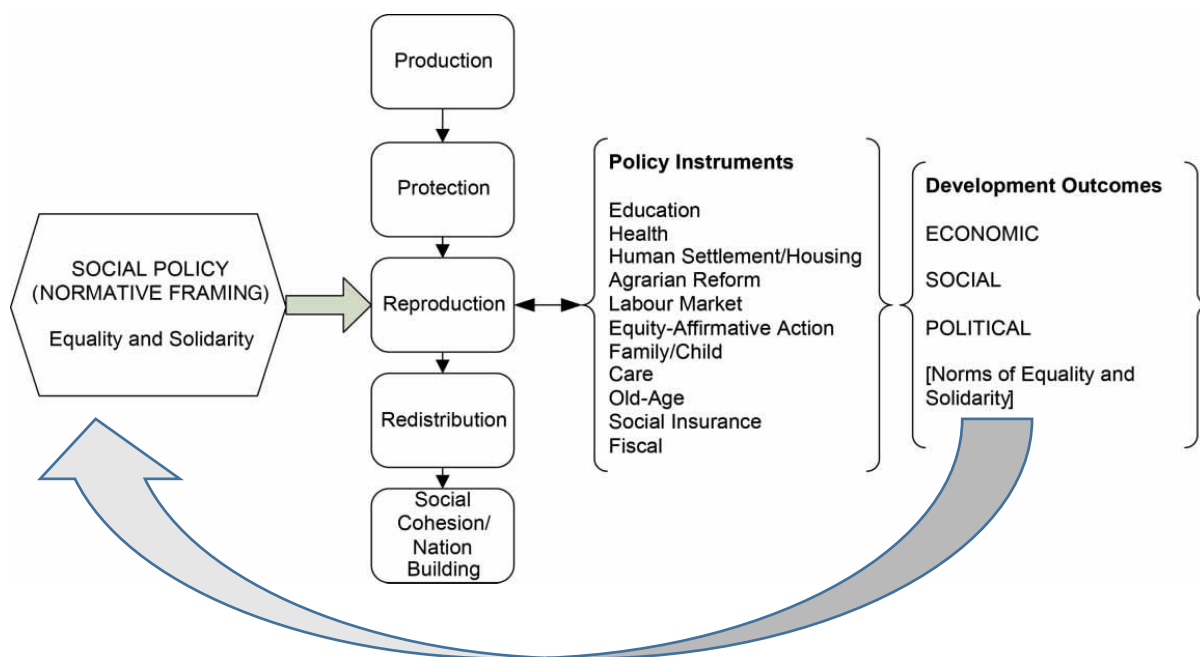
Furthermore, transformative social policy has the advantage of highlighting the productive aspects of social policy, one of the neglected functions of social policy. In this context "... it emphasises investment in human capital, the provision of economic opportunities, the importance of changing power hierarchies, inequitable social relations and comprehensive frameworks of social protection or social policy... these comprehensive and holistic approaches to social policy give consideration to the necessary policy features needed to address new and multiple development challenges" (Yi 2015:10).

Therefore, transformative social policy has multiple social roles. These roles include redistribution, protection, reproduction and social cohesion. The synergetic relationship between economic and social policies is recognised. This type of social policy is seen as combining growth with structural transformation of the economy and social relations. It does

this while reinforcing the norms of equality and social solidarity. In this sense, social policy is not only an expression of normative values but it serves as an important instrument in the process of development. If development outcomes filter through to social and economic development (growth with structural transformation), and also political development, transformative social policy has the potential to enhance both labour market efficiency and innovation (Adesina 2010).

Chung (2014) points to examples of late industrialisers found in Europe especially Germany, in addition to non-European countries like Japan, Taiwan and East Asia. These countries have made great strides in development and some of this success has been attributed to their social policies. In the case of South Korea, Chung (2014) argues that a shift from the conventional approach aimed and social protection and distribution is essential. This is in terms of the direct amelioration of social problems arising from capitalist development. The Figure 3.1 below shows the Transformative Social Policy Framework:

Figure 3.1: Transformative Social Policy



Adapted from Adesina (2011)

The Figure 3.1 above shows the transformative social policy conceptual framework and it lays emphasises on the five social policy functions. They are important as they represent a shift

from the mono-tasking of social policy and leading to development outcomes and a transformation of the economy, social relations and social institutions.

Despite strengths in the concept of transformative social policy, there are some challenges with it which I had to bear in mind throughout the research process. The major challenge is highlighted by Chung (2014:111) who cites Mkandawire (2007) and Yi (2010) to note that:

Although there have been several attempts to establish a theoretical framework for the investigation of the transformative role of social policy, it would be fair to say that they were largely unsuccessful in providing a solid framework for analysis. Although suggestions to look at protection, redistribution and production are highly insightful, it is also important to realise that how these areas are interrelated have not been clearly theorised.

Chung (2014) suggests that more empirical evidence on transformative social policy needs to be gathered. A reasonable strategy would be to examine policy fields for generating benefit outcomes. Empirical evidence should demonstrate the immediate consequences of policies that explain the role of social policy in bringing about change (in actors, institutions and processes). It was in this context that my research focused on investigating and gathering as much empirical evidence as possible on the outcomes of the FTLRP. The study has sought to understand the roles of different actors and institutions as well as the long-term consequences of the FTLRP in the context of the five functions of social policy. So, despite this seemingly minor theoretical impasse I believed that using it as my conceptual framework was highly beneficial as it allowed for a deeper scrutiny of the FTLRP and it presented an important opportunity to learn lessons.

Due to its infancy, the concept of transformative social policy has other limitations which I will briefly highlight. I believe that over time and with more empirical studies these limitations will be overcome, and one must remember that there is no concept that is totally perfect. I will highlight some of the limitations of the concept. Yi (2015) collaborates the observation by Chung (2014) that the approach has a major challenge in that it fails to fully explain how the multiple functions are related to each other and which of the functions are closely related (the nature of the relationship). This is despite the approach being able to eloquently describe the multiple functions and their transformative potential and their linkages. Consequently, the approach remains vague on linkages and explanations. Mkandawire (2004) is seen as not going beyond the argument which he presents on the weight of the different functions of the transformative social policy framework. In the same vein, while the approach has put emphasis on the connection between the social and the economic, this connection has not been

sufficiently explained theoretically. Yi (2015) and Yi and Kim (2015) argue for there to be theories which the approach uses to explain the nature of the linkages between the social and economic. They will also explain the nature of institutions and policies that need to be established as well as the linkages needed to achieve developmental goals as enshrined for example by the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG's).

The transformative social policy concept is seen by Yi (2015) as failing to place sufficient attention on conflict, climate change and the environment. On this he notes that there is insufficient:

Attention to some of the major developmental concerns of today, namely conflict and climate change. More than 1.5 billion people live in countries affected by violent conflict. Estimated poverty rates in these countries are about 20 percent higher than countries with similar conditions but without violent conflict... The neglect of the potential roles and functions of social policy in conflict-affected and post-conflict settings would not be desirable. Climate change and natural or human-induced disasters are also a major development challenges to which social policy does not pay sufficient attention. Climate change as a concept emerged and was widely shared and acknowledged as a reality at the end of the last century... reported global cost of natural hazards increased 15 times between the 1950s and the 1990s. During the 1990s, major catastrophes resulted in reported economic losses averaging an estimated 66 billion USD per year (in 2002 prices). The record loss of some 178 billion USD was recorded in 1995, the year of the Kobe earthquake in Japan – equivalent to 0.7 per cent of global GDP (2015:11).

Given the impact which climate change and conflict have on citizens, it is quite important that they need to be seriously looked at and factored into social policy design and implementation. This is lacking in the transformative social policy conceptual framework. The approach also has a weakness in that it is based on universal norms and it is not specific enough to be linked to normative institutions in policy terms. Yi (2015) argues that in this context, legal and institutional frameworks are important for social policy. There is need for the approach to put emphasis on the legal and institutional human rights framework. This is because having a legal and human rights framework in place will enhance social policy stability while individuals are empowered as they are rights holders. Rights holders are able to participate, negotiate and demand their rights when there is an infringement. Such an approach can reduce inequality and discrimination.

Despite these challenges Yi (2015), Yi and Kim (2015), Chung (2014) argue that the transformative social policy concept does have its advantages which outweigh its limitations. Its focus which moves away from the anti-poverty focus to a more development-oriented focus

makes it ideal to deal with developmental challenges. It is able to expand on the policy space and to identify more policy tools that can be used to achieve the goals of sustainable development. While the approach has challenges in dealing with several developmental challenges and risks, unlike the residual approaches in social policy, a transformative social policy approach is better suited for the SDG's. The reason is that the approach has a wide range of objectives and purposes, various institutional and political tools and ultimately a transformative social policy intention.

Below I briefly look at the functions of the transformative social policy framework of which four were used in this thesis for analysis.

3.5.1 Production

Prasad, Hypher and Gerecke (2013) view the productive function of social policy as referring to the ability of social policy to regulate existing or to reproduce new social norms and institutions. They see governments as putting in place policies that enhance the ability and productive potentials of members of society. These policies include service provision, infrastructural development, education, health and the labour market. (Kotler, *et al* 2006), define production as a procedure entailing the combination of various material and immaterial inputs to produce an output. The output in the form of a good or services is seen as contributing to the utility of the individual as it allows them access to life enhancing goods and services. In this thesis, I look how the FTLRP has improved the productive capacity of beneficiaries and how this has impacted on their welfare and wellbeing.

3.5.2 Social Protection

This concept has been written on extensively, especially in the literature by OECD scholars. Holzman and Kozel (2007), Mkandawire (2005) and Adesina (2011) argue that this literature attempts to identify the solutions for the economic decline which comes about because of economic policies and economic decline. The neo-liberal influence has reduced social protection to social assistance or to the more popular social safety nets and these have become components of the social protection paradigm. Social policy has thus been reduced to mono-tasking with emphasis being placed on *ex-post* interventions instead of *ex-ante* interventions.

In understanding the concept of social protection, Devereux and Sabates-Wheeler (2004) developed what is known as the transformative social protection framework. This was in the

face of the shortcomings of the World Bank inspired Social Risk Management Framework (SRM). The thrust of the transformative social protection framework is to transfer assets and income to the poor and to protect the vulnerable against livelihood risks. It also seeks to enhance the social status and rights of those that are marginalized and to extend the benefits of economic growth to the poor while reducing vulnerability (Devereux and Sabates-Wheeler 2004). They further argue that this approach is useful in addressing vulnerabilities and power imbalances that sustain social and economic inequality and exclusion. Initiatives to achieve this can include a review of policies, monitoring, legal and judicial reforms, analysis of budgets, social and behavioural change and so forth.

The second approach to understanding social protection was inspired by the World Bank and it is the Social Risk Management (SRM) framework. According to Holzman *et al* (2007), this framework is an approach that is used to reduce vulnerability and poverty. It targets countries that are seen as not having the instruments and space to manage risks. Poor countries are seen as being unable to deal with risks such as earthquakes, war, inflation, flooding and so forth., which are both natural and manmade. Poor citizens are seen by the SRM as having the least instruments to deal with risks as for example they do not have income or insurance (these can be government sponsored or market based). Due to lack of protection, when risks hit the poor countries, poor citizens are greatly affected. The approach has its weaknesses, which have led to the development of alternative frameworks like transformative social protection framework highlighted above. Moser (1998), Mkandawire (2005), have looked at it and some of its weaknesses include its failure to deal with the underlying causes of poverty, viewing the poor as a static group in society, its categorization of the poor into the ultra, the deserving and the undeserving poor and its emphasis on means testing which has its challenges. It is also seen as managing to address emergency humanitarian concerns which are short term and it fails to provide *ex-ante* solutions to vulnerability. It also fails to strengthen the ability of people to fight their own vulnerabilities. Given the weaknesses of the SRM, the transformative social protection framework provides important insights on transformative interventions which can be undertaken to deal with economic inequality and social exclusion. We can use it as a point of reference to see the extent to which the FTLRP as a social protection tool has addressed economic inequality and social exclusion *ex-ante*.

3.5.3 Redistribution

Esping-Andersen (1990) in his writings on the Welfare State argued that the family, state and markets have a part to play in ensuring the equitable distribution of welfare provision. There is what he sees as collective and institutionalised social risk and political compromise between the three parties. This results in collectivisation and institutionalisation of social risk which then stimulates redistribution. For there to be growth and reduction of poverty, the redistribution of assets is seen as being of importance. This is in the face of failure by several World Bank programmes which attempted to bring about growth without addressing the issue of redistribution (Birdsall and Londono 1997).

Mkandawire (2011) has argued that that the proceeds from economic development should be redistributed in society. This ensures that there is equitable sharing of the benefits of development and the state has an obligation to ensure that this occurs. Redistribution is achieved through progressive taxation, social transfers, adequate occupational welfare to everyone, decent jobs and wages and so forth. Prasad *et al* (2013) are in agreement with this line of thought. They add on to say that programmes and policies like land reform as well as those mentioned by Mkandawire (2011) like taxation, subsidies, social transfers and other policies which are essentially social in nature can be used to redistribute wealth and equalise opportunities. On land reform, Deininger and Squire (1998) emphasise the point that land reform, if it is redistributive, it can address poverty while improving economic growth.

3.5.4 Social Cohesion

The social cohesion concept can be traced to the works of Emile Durkheim in his works which he tried to understand a rapidly industrialising and urbanizing Europe which was characterized by high migration (Jenson 1998). Over the year's scholars have studied the concept and Chan *et al* (2006:290) have defined it as:

A state of affairs converting both vertical and horizontal interactions among members of society as characterized by a set of attitudes and norms that include trust, a sense of belonging and the willingness to participate as well as their behavior manifestations.

This implies that social cohesion involves individuals as well as social groups and interactions that occur are both horizontal and vertical. At the heart of the concept is an affiliation, a commitment to participate and trust. These are grounded in attitudes and norms showing the psychological and social attributes of the concept. For Jenson (2010), social cohesion must be understood in terms of inclusion and social capital. Inclusion is a sense of belonging, equality,

not being excluded and not marginal. Through inclusion there is multi-culturalism, integration and solidarity. From a social capital perspective, Jenson (2010) argues that social networks, trust, co-operation and co-ordination make up social capital leading to social cohesion. These underlying principles can lead to happiness, development, innovation and other outcomes in the use of resources.

For White (2003:55), social cohesion is:

A single, omnipresent, though immensely broad and variable phenomenon: the social bond, or 'connectedness.' Connectedness pertains to the ways that citizens connect to each other and to the rest of the world through intricate networks of social, economic, political and cultural ties. These bonds are shaped and cemented through cultural and social institutions.

This is corroborated by Green, Janmaat and Cheng (2011:6) who view social cohesion as referring to individual elements of society which can be seen as being bound together. The binding is due to attitudes, behaviours, rules and institutions which rely on consensus and not coercion. Social cohesion is positive and promotes better institutions, governance and political relations, which can undermine government efforts via political threats (Prasad *et al* 2013). Mkandawire (2008) goes on to argue that social policy has the goal of social cohesion. If there is unequal distribution of resources and income for example (which can be achieved through social policies), conflict can arise which can undermine developmental processes.

3.5.5 Social Reproduction

From a social policy perspective, social reproduction can be viewed using a class inequality focus. The work by McNally and Ferguson (2015) on Social Reproduction and Feminism provides useful insights on the concept. MacNally and Ferguson (2015[O]), see labour power as a 'factor' of production. They argue that labour power is "... made available to capital only because of its reproduction in and through a particular set (of) gendered and sexualised social relations that exist beyond the direct labour/ capital relationship." The argument is that generationally, socially and biologically labour power is produced. Thus, when we speak of social reproduction in social policy, we also need to look at it from the biological, social and generational reproduction of labour power or the population perspective. This is a shift from the narrow class inequality and labour perspective of Marxism. This approach posited by Ferguson and McNally (2015) can be further classified into the male-breadwinner model and the dual breadwinner or social democratic model. The male breadwinner model in social policy looks not only at biological reproduction but at social reproduction of women as mothers and

wives. The dual breadwinner model looks at the balancing of reproductive or biological roles by women with other social tasks. Thus, when we look at social reproduction from a social policy perspective, we need to look at it from a biological, social and generational perspective.

3.6 Social Policy and Land Reform

As mentioned earlier, the thesis is about understanding the social policy implications of the FTLRP in Zimbabwe. The link between land reform and social policy should be highlighted, since they are both seemingly unrelated, but literature has argued that agricultural reform can lead to development as a means of social policy. Land reform as tool of social policy is important for economic, social relations and institutional transformations. As has been highlighted earlier in this thesis, while the work by UNRISD (2006) listed land reform as one of the social policy instruments, there is not much literature that connects land reform and social policy. Literature which refers to land reform and social policy as having some kind of relationship includes works by Adesina (2011, 2015), Gumede (2016), Rao (2012), Chung (2014), Gough (2004), Hughes *et al* (1990), Kwon *et al* (2008) and Yi *et al* (2014). Rao (2012:3) quoting Sabates-Wheeler and Devereux (2007) notes that “...social policy in contemporary times seeks to ensure that citizens meet the basic minimum entitlements. It goes beyond the social protection of the most vulnerable and to seek transformation of social relations.” This objective of social policy is seen as having a similar objective as land reform. Land reform addresses social inequality and it makes the agrarian structure to be more equitable through land redistribution and tenancy reforms.

There has been a conceptual separation between social policy and land reform and this has made the concepts not to be viewed or discussed together. According to Rao (2012:3), this separation is “within the patriarchal state and it is reinforced by the nature of bureaucratic organisation, the multiplicity of specialized departments which separate the economic and the social.” In addition, there are no mechanisms for dialogue or synergy. Although Rao was writing within the context of women, land and social policy, her insights are quite important as we explore the issue of social policy and land. From her analysis, we are able to see that land reform and social policy are viewed by some scholars as being distinct, but they are also symbiotic. Land reform addresses social inequality and is able to transform social relations. Thus, on one hand social policy ensures the rights of citizens, basic entitlements and social protection. It transforms social relations of the most vulnerable. On the other hand, land reform performs the very same functions and it can achieve this through equitable land redistribution

and tenancy reforms. Land reform and social policy have an interlinkage. They result in improved consumption, welfare production, procurement, storage, distribution as well as resource and services provision. Land is a valuable resource which enables economic transformation and it addresses productive as well as reproductive concerns (Rao 2012). This is an important dimension to understand land reform and social policy. They can be seen as being conceptually different, but they are linked and this linkage enables them to bring about equality and positively transform relationships.

One of the key issues pursued in this thesis, is the extent to which land reforms are a prophylactic social policy instrument providing public protection *ex-ante* to citizens. I also look at the extent to which land reform enhances the reproduction and production capacities of the beneficiaries positively contributing to their welfare and wellbeing. This raises question on the relationship between social policy and land reform. Adesina (2015:113) answers this question by saying that:

While land reform may be inspired by efforts to redress a historical legacy of land expropriation and colonialism, with the appropriate agrarian support, it can simultaneously address the different tasks of social policy. Inherently a redistributive process, land reform enhances the productive capacity of rural beneficiaries. In doing so, land reform (again, with appropriate agrarian support, upstream and downstream) addresses the protection task of social policy, *ex ante* by smoothing household consumption and enhancing accumulation.

Adesina (2015:112) argues against the idea of land reform programmes and other social policies like affirmative action being classified and described as ‘hidden’ or ‘surrogate social policy’. They are classified as such because they do not immediately replicate the welfare approach to social policy but perform roles that are functional equivalents to enhancing human welfare and wellbeing Adesina (2015:112). For Adesina, land reform needs not be seen as a surrogate social policy instrument that performs functional equivalents of conventional social policy under the welfare paradigm. Land reform needs to be understood as a social policy instrument in its own right which simultaneously addresses the different functions of social policy which in most instances are interlinked.

Chung (2014) gives important insights into key policy issues with land reform in South Korea being presented as a key policy which was used to redistribute wealth. I believe that the argument which he presents is important in highlighting the importance of land reform as a social policy instrument. In South Korea, land reform contributed to industrialisation and

human capital formation. Chung (2014: 132) captures the importance of land reform by saying that:

We need to extend our concept of social policy from the one manifested in the welfare states to a concept that incorporates functionally equivalent policies ... (in South Korea) land reform and subsequent agricultural policies during industrialisation clearly contributed to its success as well as the welfare outcomes of the farmers. For developing countries with a large agricultural sector suffering from stagnant industrialisation, the land reform and agricultural policies to protect the income and livelihood as well as the facilitation of economic growth should be seen as important policy options for both short and long term social policy. If we stick to the conventional concept of social policy, we may lose important insights on various forms of functional equivalents to transform the economy and society.

It is with the aim of getting a comprehensive understanding of the relationship of between land reform and social policy that this thesis looks at the FTLRP in Zimbabwe using the transformative social policy framework outlined in sections above. The aim was to understand the social policy dimensions of the FTLRP focusing on the welfare and wellbeing of beneficiaries, borrowing from the ideas which have been outlined in this chapter.

3.7 Conclusion

This chapter has been important in giving a brief overview of what social policy is, what it entails and how it has been defined by different scholars. In this chapter, I looked at the social policy in the context of inclusive development and how there are observable shortcomings of the concept which have led to a rethink of what constitutes social policy and its relationship with the economy. I showed how dissatisfaction with conventional social policy which has neglected its functions has led to a thinking around the concept of transformative social policy. The concept views land reform as one of its many policy tools which can be used to bring about social development and economic growth. I explored the concept of transformative social policy in detail laying emphasis on its strengths as well as its weaknesses and I also looked at its multiple functions which I will refer to in my results chapters. Lastly, I explored the connection between social policy and land reform in order to give insights on why this thesis has focused on these two seemingly different concepts. The chapter is quite important in laying a foundation for understanding the transformative social policy framework which is conceptual and evaluative which I use in this chapter to explore the transformative nature of the FTLRP. In the next chapter I present findings from the study and I look at the redistributive outcomes of the FTLRP.

CHAPTER FOUR: RESEARCH METHODS

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I outline the research methods which I employed in the study. Research methods in any study are important as they are critical for systematic and strategic planning (Creswell 2003, 2005). According Hakansson (2013) research methods are the procedures which a researcher adopts in order to initiate, carry out and accomplish a research task. Creswell (2014) indicates that research methods encompass data collection forms which include data collection, data analysis and interpretation of results that researchers would have proposed for their studies. In this study, I had to ensure that from the outset the methods which I employed were best suited for the research. In sections below, I look at the research methods which I employed during the research process and I will also highlight some of the experiences which I encountered during the fieldwork.

4.2 Research Paradigm

There is a debate on the production of knowledge and this debate according to De Gialdino (2009) arises from ontological and epistemological positions. Neuman (1994) argues that these contestations on the production of knowledge, emanate from the diverse ways of studying, measuring and observing what constitutes reality. There can be found researchers who have a strong belief in the nature of social reality (ontology) and those who have a vision that human beings create knowledge about the social world or have a vision of how we may know the social world (epistemology) (Nudzor 2009:15). Quantitative approaches are based on positivism and they have an epistemological grounding that considers an appropriate foundation for the study of societies and its manifestations. They provide an underlying philosophical basis for the argument supporting the validity of a research strategy (Schell 1992). Qualitative approaches on the other hand have their foundations in interpretive paradigms with an ontological grounding⁹ thus their perspective is based on looking “...for culturally and historically situated interpretation of the social world... it portends basically that the world we see is a creation of the mind and there is no objective knowledge which is independent of thinking, reasoning humans” (Crotty 1998:67 and Gephart 1999:4 cited in Nudzor 2009:118). Due to the rise of a third methodological movement that uses the mixed methods approach which combines qualitative and quantitative research approaches, there has

⁹ It is important to note that some quantitative methods also do have an ontological premise hence it is not purely a qualitative issue.

risen a philosophical movement in scholarship known as pragmatism which guides social inquiry (Greene and Hall 2010). According to Shannon-Baker (2016), pragmatism breaks the boundary between positivists and constructivists, creating a connection between them when researchers look for what is meaningful from both. For Morgan (2007), pragmatism is an alternative to positivism and metaphysical thinking which is based on critical theory, post-positivism and participatory approaches. While it has undergone changes over the years and there is no consensus among scholars who use this paradigm, it has been seen as important in outcome oriented research, in determining the meaning of things, focusing on the product of research and in putting an emphasis on shared meaning to create practical solutions to social problems as it places primary importance on the research questions (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie 2006, Tashakkori and Teddlie 2003, Biesta 2010).

Challenges in interpretation and understanding arise as researchers look at how best they can comprehend the nature of the social world (ontology for all concerned) and how we can measure it through for example our senses, reason, and logic. Measuring it becomes an epistemological issue (grounded in positivism). This then brings about the question of what constitutes “reality” and Joniak (2007) argues that qualitative researchers embrace internal reality and thus they cannot embrace objective epistemology. They value human based interpretations of reality while maintaining and achieving understanding of knowledge which is based on an understanding of evidence and the context in which it is embedded. Consequently, there is seen to be the social construction of reality, interpretation, translation and representation which cannot be considered as objective. It is these perspectives which have resulted in debates on understanding and interpreting the social world. Ontological and epistemological concerns by researchers have thus resulted in the contestation of what constitutes knowledge and reality. They have also raised concerns on how a researcher can uncover valid knowledge. Arguments are based on the notion of subjective and objective knowledge which is used to understand the world. The deep-seated philosophical debates are beyond the scope of this thesis, but this shows that both qualitative and quantitative methods have their own ontological and epistemological premises which are contested.

Positivism and interpretivism have their differences some of which have been summarized above. In addition to these two paradigms, there is pragmatism, post-positivism and critical realism which also provide a methodologic premise of research methods. Due to scope and space constraints this thesis will not explore them except for pragmatism, which was employed

in this thesis, but it is acknowledged that the alternative paradigms are critical when one is considering which one is best suited for a particular research. For the purposes of this thesis focus will be on pragmatism with reference to positivism and interpretivism which have been shown as having their differences. These differences are minimized when one adopts a mixed method approach to maximise on the strengths of each paradigm and pragmatism is the paradigm from which the approach is derived. Pragmatism allows the researcher to combine qualitative and quantitative approaches and to use an array data gathering instruments. This strengthens the research and I felt that it was beneficial to use it.

Pragmatism

The discussion above highlights the dilemma I faced in considering the research methods which were best suited for the research. I decided to use pragmatism as the research paradigm since I had primary data which was largely qualitative, and I was complementing it with quantitative data from the SMAIAS. This combination was aimed at bolstering empirical evidence available for the study. I felt that the paradigm was best suited to understand human beliefs, motivation and thought processes which formed part of the issues which I was studying. For Morgan (2007) pragmatism has gained prominence due to renewed interest in metaphysics among researchers, this is despite it having a long history and being plagued by disagreements over concepts among the pragmatists themselves. Pragmatism has its roots in the work of Charles Sanders Pierce (1878, 1905), William James (1907) and John Dewey (1907, 1920, 1922). Due to its long history and renewed interest in contemporary times the paradigm can be seen as having undergone some changes and refinement. Dewey (1931) described pragmatism as being based on both realist and idealist metaphysics. It accepts things and events as existing independent of any observers, but it emphasises reason and thought as originators of elements in the external world. Morgan (2007) identifies it as an ‘approach’ and argues that its purpose is to determine the practical solutions and meanings which are useful for programmatic or intervention-based studies. It has the ability of connecting theory before and after data collection and it places emphasis on communication shared meaning making. For Creswel (2009:4), it has its basis on the belief that “...theories can be both contextual and generalisable by analysing them for transferability to other situation.” Goles and Hirschheim (2000), see pragmatism as taking a middle or dual position between positivist and interpretivist ontologies with the pragmatist position being labelled as constructive realism or symbolic realism.

In literature, there can be seen to be three types of pragmatism and these are functional pragmatism, referential pragmatism and methodological pragmatism. Functional pragmatism is premised on the idea that knowledge is a basis for action. Pragmatist research can be performed through action research (Baskerville and Myers 2004). It implies that it is important to formulate knowledge in order to take actions, to facilitate knowledge practise and to use outside local practices. Evaluation research is considered as one of the typical examples of functional pragmatism (see Van der Ven 2007). Referential pragmatism on the other hand following the ideas of Blumer (1969) is based on the idea that actions should be the primary theoretical and empirical focus. This implies that actors, action objects, activities and practices should become the primary objects of study or simply knowledge is about actions. The last type is methodological pragmatism. According to Goldkuhl (2012) this type is concerned with how knowledge is created. Emphasis is put on the role of the researcher in creating data and theories. Experimentation in the world is seen as being pivotal and the researcher is seen as participating in order to explore through their own actions or by closely observing the actions of others.

Morgan (2007) has further argued that an important dimension of pragmatism is that it is able to connect induction with deduction, subjectivity and objectivity as well as context and generality. To show these interconnections, new terms which describe them were developed and Tran (2017) illustrates them in the Table 4.1 below. The terms are abduction, subjectivity and transferability and will be briefly explained in sections below. It is important to note these dimensions and unique connections make pragmatism applicable and flexible in challenging research contexts hence it is a paradigm of choice and I felt it was useful for the study.

Table 4.1: Pragmatism

	Qualitative Approach	Quantitative Approach	Pragmatism
Connection of theory and data	Induction	Deduction	Abduction
Relationship to research process	Subjectivity	Objectivity	Intersubjectivity
Inference from data	Context	Generality	Transferability

Source: Tran (2017:73)

By combining aspects of qualitative and quantitative approaches, pragmatism strengthens the breadth and depth of data which is provided. It allows the researcher to have the leverage to work with both qualitative and quantitative data. This is in a context where some scholars have argued that they are incompatible. By combining the two using pragmatism in a mixed method research approach, the traditional distinction between them in the conduct of research is challenged and broken (Morgan 2007, Modell 2009). For Morgan (2007:71), the pragmatic approach is "...to rely on a version of abductive reasoning and to move back and forth between induction and deduction, to connect theory and data." The abductive process which is shown in the table 4.1 above is employed by researchers who combine the qualitative and quantitative approaches. The process sees a sequential approach where the inductive goals of a qualitative approach based on the deductive results from the quantitative approach and vice-versa (Morgan 2007).

In the pragmatic approach intersubjectivity according to Morgan (2007:72) represents "...the emphasis on processes of communication and shared meaning that are central to any pragmatic approach." This is in a context where pragmatists have argued that it is impossible to have "complete objectivity" or "complete subjectivity" when one conducts research. Values and politics are seen as a part of who we are as researchers and influence how we act. In this context, they are in agreement with constructivists. Research questions are acknowledged as important, but it is up to the researchers to make choices on what they consider as being important and appropriate. The choices which researchers make in this context are influenced by one's personal history, social background and culture (Morgan 2007:69).

The last dimension of pragmatism is that of transferability. As indicated earlier, Morgan (2007) argues that the transferability of research is strengthened by both the breadth and depth of data which is provided by the connection between the qualitative and quantitative approaches. Shannon-Baker (2016) further argues that for pragmatists, the results of a research are based on the belief that theories can be contextual and generalisable, and the aim is to investigate the different factors that affect whether the knowledge we gain can be transferred to other settings. In doing this pragmatism can be seen breaking the boundary between positivism and constructivism, creating the above-mentioned connection between them. Thus, pragmatism can be seen rejecting the idea that researchers have to choose between extremes and to locate their research or research findings in specific or particular context (constructivism) or designing

their research with a generalised set of principles (positivism). The flexibility of pragmatism thus lies in its ability not only to connect the two but also in allowing the researcher to look for what is meaningful in both (Shannon-Baker 2016, Morgan 2007, Tran 2017).

4.3 Research Design

Research design refers to the step by step guideline on how a researcher plans and executes fieldwork. The major function of this is to ensure that the evidence which is obtained, allows the researcher to answer the research questions (Burgess 2000, Dawson 2002). Flick (2002:22-227) argues that "...research designs guide the methods and discussions which researchers make during their studies and it sets the logic which they use to interpret their findings."

In the study, I employed a case study research design which employed a mixed methods research approach (which is based on the pragmatic paradigm) and the use of ethnographic fieldwork (this is discussed further in section 4.5). Tashakorri and Teddlie (2010) have defined a mixed research as an approach that combines quantitative and qualitative approaches. This is collaborated by Creswell (2003:16) who says that mixed methods are a "...research design or methodology with the researcher collecting, analysing and mixes (integrates or connects) both qualitative and quantitative and data." This is done in a single research or in a multi-purpose programme or inquiry. The aim behind the use of this approach is that using qualitative and quantitative approaches in a complimentary and integrative manner is useful for maximising on strengths while minimising on the weakness of each of the approaches (see Creswell and Plano Clark 2011). The mixed method approach is seen as having an advantage in that it overcomes limitations which come about when one uses a mono-method approach and it is useful in understanding complex phenomenon (see Greene and Caracelli 1997, Onwuegbuzie and Johnson 2006, Teddlie and Takashorri 2009). The mixed method approach methodologically and philosophically derives from pragmatism which offers a mix of qualitative and quantitative methods to answer research questions (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie 2004). The integration of the two approaches through use of the pragmatic paradigm can be seen as taking place at the philosophical or theoretical level, through the methods of data collection and analysis, the overall research design and discussion of research conclusion (Shannon-Baker 2016).

For the study I saw using a mixed methods approach as having advantages as my data collection involved collecting qualitative and quantitative data. But most of the primary data which I collected in the study was qualitative. A Household Baseline Survey conducted by the SMAIAS in 2013-2014 complemented my primary data. Although the SMAIAS survey has not been published, I used it in my analysis and it contributed to the quantitative aspect of my thesis. The Household Survey collected detailed quantitative data from six districts namely Goromonzi, Mangwe, Chipinge, Kwekwe, Chiredzi and Zvimba. I had access to the data sets on information collected during the survey. From the SMAIAS data from the six districts, I extracted data from Goromonzi which I used in this thesis. The data was on the emergent tri-modal agrarian structure, the land beneficiaries, agricultural production and land-use patterns, redistribution patterns, social institutions in the farming areas, documentation which the beneficiaries are in possession of and the agrarian changes brought on by the FTLRP.

4.4 The Study Area

4.4.1 District Profile

Before I go into the research techniques I employed, I will look briefly at the study area to contextualize the research and data gathering process. The research was undertaken in Goromonzi District (Mashonaland East Province, Zimbabwe). Demographically the district has a total population of 1 337 059 of which 648 208 are males and 688 852 are females. The population of the province in proportion to the national population is 10.3 percent (ZIMSTAT 2012). The size of the of the district is 2 559 km² and it covers 234 072 hectares (Murisa 2009).

The district falls into Natural Region II and it contains Region IIa comprising 247 072 hectares and Region IIb on 7 000 hectares; of these 168 000 hectares is arable land (Jowah 2009). The district receives high annual average rainfall of between 1000-1200mm and this is one of the best agro-ecological regions in the country. There are different soil types in the district which include deep sandy, sandy loamy and red clay soils, which are suited for different crops and agricultural activities. Temperatures in the district in summer average a minimum of 10°C and 25°C and maximum degrees of between 30°C and 36°C (Jowah 2009, Marimira 2010). Administratively, the district has 25 Wards, led by an elected councilor. This elected councilor not only sits on the Goromonzi Rural District Council, but also serves as the Wards political leader. The district is governed by three chieftainships namely the Chikwaka, Chinyika and Chinhamora chieftainships. These chieftainships oversee the communal areas of Chikwaka, Chinhamhora, Chinyika and Chishawasha areas (Makura-Paradza, 2010).

4.4.2 Agriculture, Land Tenure and the Local Economy

Since 1947, Goromonzi has been divided into two Intensive Conservation Areas (ICA's) in Arcturus and Bromley. ICA's are areas of prime agricultural land where major agricultural activities are concentrated. According to Chambati (2013a), Jiri (2007), the Arcturus ICA is well suited for mixed farming (intensive) and it is characterized by clay soils. It is in this ICA that there can be found 30 of the 46 major dams which supplied water for irrigation mainly to the former large-scale commercial farms. Bromley on the other hand is an ICA which is characterized by sandy soils. It is suitable for tobacco production and cattle ranching. It is in the ICA's of Arcturus and Bromley that the major agricultural activities are undertaken. They are the study sites for this thesis. My fieldwork involved spending time in Goromonzi South in Bromley as well as in Goromonzi North in the Arcturus ICA. It is important to note that over the decades the two ICA's have been recipients of major resources and investment especially by the state to make sure they remain productive. The investment took the form of conservation efforts to fight environmental degradation and to maintain soil fertility and farm productivity. Consequently, there were conservation efforts and investment in agriculture which included dam construction and the construction of contour ridges, drains, terraces, irrigation furrows, the conservation of pastures, among other interventions (Maravanyika, 2010).

Nationally, Goromonzi district is a leader in agricultural production. Crops which are produced in the district include maize, wheat, dry beans, soya beans, groundnuts, sunflower, paprika, cotton, tobacco, horticulture, small grains including sorghum, millet and rapoko. In addition to crops there is livestock production of cattle, pigs, goats, rabbits, poultry and other animals (Agritex 2011 cited by Chakona 2011, Njaya 2015). Agricultural production used to be undertaken by the LSCF's, communal farms as well as the SSCF.s. With the advent of the FTLRP, most LSCF's have since been replaced by A1 and A2 farms.

Before the FTLRP, the land tenure system in Goromonzi comprised of communal areas which was guided by the Communal Lands Act, and it is in this area that most black families are found. All the communal areas in the district belonged to the state with the inhabitants only having usufruct rights over the land. Also, there were small scale commercial farms (with freehold tenure) and these continue to exist in the district. Large scale commercial farms with freehold tenure existed in the district as well as large estates, companies owning land and private institutions. The owners in the latter category had title deeds as evidence of ownership.

The last category of land ownership was state land. The state-owned different tracts of land which was used for various activities or it was leased out and permits and leases were given to those using the land (Marongwe 2003 and Shivji, Moyo, Ncube and Gunby 1998).

In terms of land sizes, communal areas in the district before the FTLRP took up 90 437 hectares or 34 percent of the total land area. The LSCF took up 155 437 hectares or 58 percent of the land area in the district. Small scale commercial farms took up 13 135 hectares or five percent, state land was at 5 812 hectares or two percent, and lastly recreational parks took up 1 500 hectares or one percent of the total land area (Ministry of Lands and Rural Resettlement 1996 cited by Chakona 2011:66). The communal areas in Goromonzi District were divided as follows: Chinamhora communal lands (31 312 hectares), Chinyika communal lands (4 812.5 hectares), Chishawasha communal lands (10 000 hectares) and Chikwaka communal lands (4 812.5 hectares) (Marongwe 2003:4). The district had 257 commercial farms and it had no resettlement farms (from the previous post-independence resettlement programmes).

After the FTLRP, Goromonzi District has had substantial land redistribution and the communal areas and SSCF areas have remained untouched. With the FTLRP, 200 LSCF totalling 111 488.95 hectares were redistributed to 2 522 households by 2012 (Ministry of Lands and Rural Resettlement cited by Chambati 2013a). The land tenure system in the district has changed. In 2012, Chambati (2013a) noted that after the FTLRP, there were 1 673 A1 farmers on 32 437 39 hectares of land. There were 802 small scale commercial farmers (24) and small scale A2 farmers (778) on 45 782.7 hectares of land, and 71 large A2 farms on 27 206 49 hectares. The district now comprises of a diversified agrarian structure confirming the findings of Scoones *et al* (2010) and Moyo *et al* (2009). There are A1 farms, which remain under state administration and tenure, but which are heavily influenced by a customary system just like the communal areas. The A2 farms are under leasehold tenure with 99-year leases. The district also has the SSCF and communal areas (the sizes are highlighted above). These areas are under freehold and leasehold tenure with the state owning the land. Lastly there are a few large-scale commercial farms and agro-estates which are under freehold tenure.

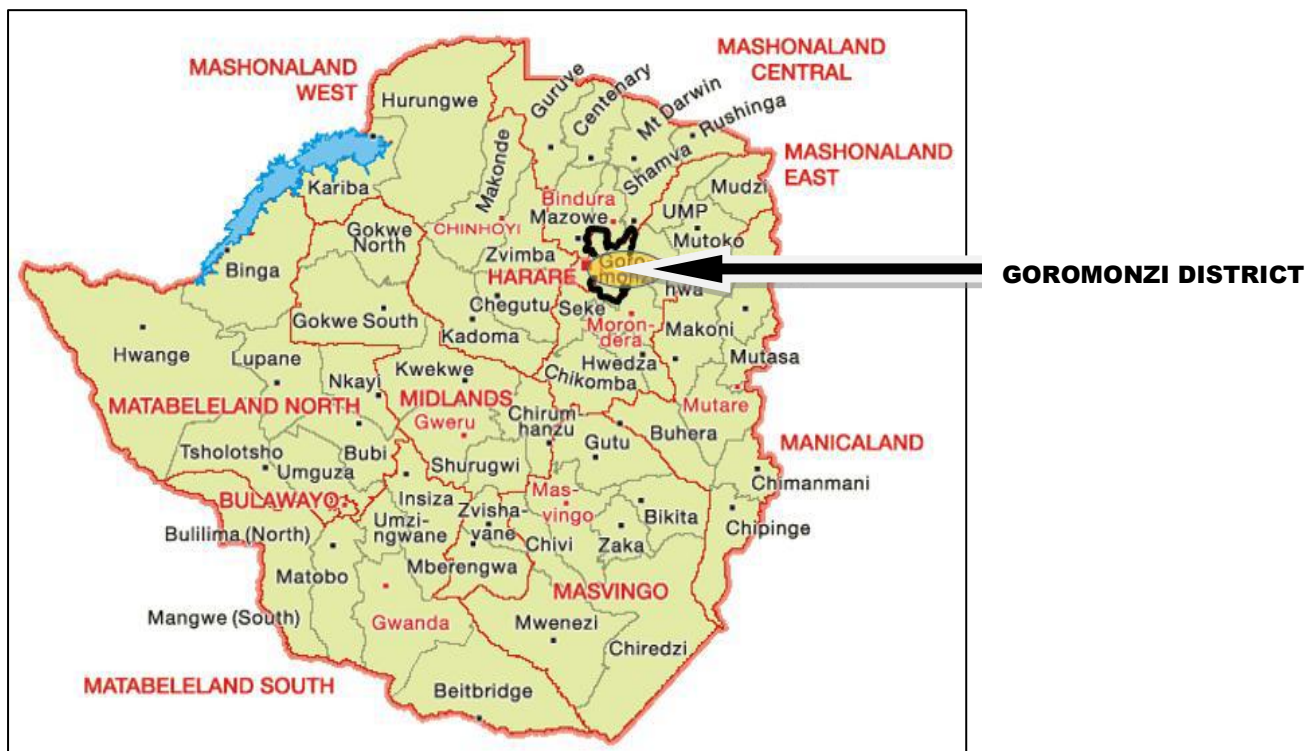
While the agricultural sector has historically been dominant economically in the district, it is not the only one. In addition to agriculture, there is mining which is undertaken in the district; gold mining is the most prominent mining activity (Chakona 2011, Njaya 2015). The district has a large concentration of minerals along the Enterprise Belt which is one of the richest in

the country and this has seen several mines being established there. Wildlife rearing and tourism are other economic activities which are undertaken in the district. Also, there are several business centres which host retailers, bottle stores, butchers, grinding mills among other service providers. At these centres there are petty commodity traders who among other goods trade in agricultural products from the resettled farmers. In these business centres there are a complex network of petty commodity traders and markets with linkages starting from the farms up to traders and companies at national level (the same networks have been noted as also existing by Scoones *et al* 2010, in Masvingo Province). At district level, this network of traders forms an interesting and complex web of trade which is one of the emergent outcomes of the FTLRP and it was also of interest to this thesis.

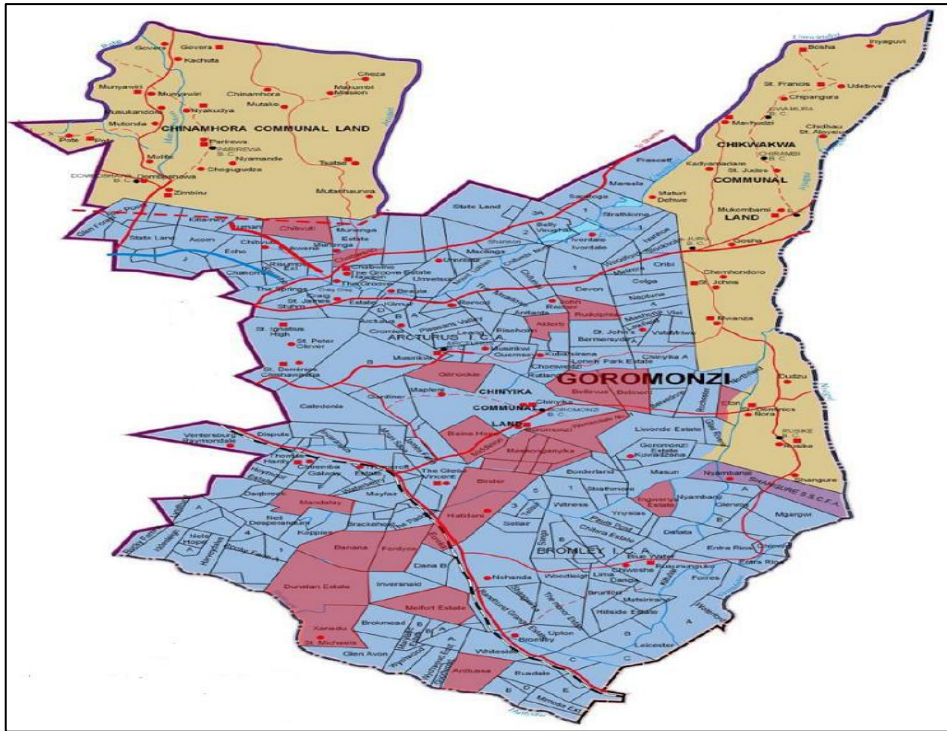
4.4.3 District Map

To locate the district and farm demarcations there are Map's 1 and 2 below. Map 1 shows Goromonzi District where the study was undertaken. Map 2 is specific on Goromonzi, showing farm demarcations in the district. In addition to the farms, the map shows the communal areas in the district as well as the small-scale commercial farms and business centers. The map also shows the different farms covered by the study which are highlighted in red.

Map 1: Goromonzi District Map in Zimbabwe



Map 2: Farm Demarcations in Goromonzi District



LEGEND

Communal Area.....	
Large Scale Commercial Farming Area.....	
Small Scale Commercial Farming Area.....	
Area Covered by Research.....	

Source: Moyo *et al* (2009), modified by Author

4.5 Ethnography

In the study, I employed an ethnographic approach which saw me living continuously in the district for six months from June to November 2015, but the actual fieldwork was undertaken for a period of fourteen months. To prepare myself for the fieldwork, I first had a residency at the SMAIAS Office in Harare. During this time, I familiarised myself with literature on the FTLRP and the study site as well as fine-tuning the strategy for undertaking my fieldwork, and refining my data gathering instruments.

Before I embarked on the fieldwork, I had to receive authorization from government ministries. These include the Ministry of Lands and Rural Resettlement (overallly in charge of the new farming areas and it is here that they decide whether you will have access to the farms or not); the Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Services; the Ministry of Local Government, Public Works and National Housing; the Ministry of Agriculture, Mechanisation and Irrigation Development, and the Ministry of Education, Arts Sport and Culture. It was a cumbersome process as each Ministry had its own clearance procedures. These clearances were required for one to interview officials and land beneficiaries in the district. For some of the Ministries, you were supposed to get an authorisation letter from the Head Office as well as from the Province and districts. At district level, I had to seek permission from the District Administrator (who also wanted a letter from the Ministry of Local Government, Public Works and National Housing and the Research Council of Zimbabwe).

Even when I had the clearances, this did not guarantee that I would get access to the research area and respondents. At farm level, I still had to seek authorization from the traditional and party-political leadership. I found the process quite complex and frustrating at times. Fortunately for me, I was greatly assisted by my former colleagues from the Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare who introduced me to the Directors, Deputy Directors and a Permanent Secretary in the different Ministries. This speeded up the process and in less than a month and a half, I had clearances from the major ministries like Ministry of Lands and Rural Resettlement; Ministry of Agriculture, Mechanisation and Irrigation, Development; Ministry of Local Government, Public Works and National Housing and Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Service. Other clearance letters followed afterwards. The process though was by no means easy as it came with it many questions and clarifications on issues and submitting and resubmitting documents. My affiliation to the SMAIAS which has had a research presence in the district for many years was particularly helpful at the district and farm levels. As I underwent the processes of getting clearance, I realised that what has been written on the political sensitivity of the FTLRP is quite true. There is a lot of bureaucratic gatekeeping on accessing farming areas especially for first time researchers. This experience made me to appreciate what I had read in studies by others that the land reform programme and the farming areas are politically sensitive areas. The situation was confirmed by my relatives and friends whose common comment was '*mava kunogara mukati mevanhu ve ZANU, mune card here? munogona slogan? kune vanhu vanonetsa kauku motoshinga*' (you are going to live in the midst of ZANU (PF) members, do you have a membership card of the party? Can you do the

slogan? These people are troublesome, you really need to be strong). These statements made me to worry about going to live in the farming areas. These fears however were unfounded as I found that in the new farming areas there is peace and people live normal lives. The influence of ZANU (PF) is there and officials from the party act as informal gate keepers in the farming areas but from my experience there was no intimidation or need to fear as much as people portray.

During my residency at the SMAIAS, I also started going to the field, familiarising myself with the district as I had never gone there before and pre-testing and administering the structured survey questionnaire. This was between March and May 2015. In June 2015, I began to reside full time in the district. I resided in three different locations in the Southern, Northern and Central¹⁰ parts of the district to have as much coverage as possible. During the fieldwork, I collected data using interviews, focus group discussions, observations and structured survey questionnaires. I continued collecting data from the field even after I had completed my ethnography as there were still outstanding issues, interviews, meetings and questionnaires that needed to be administered and to address new issues which were arising as I undertook the fieldwork. This was ongoing until April 2016 and even at the time of thesis completion (in 2017) I was still receiving important data on the FTLRP in the district as I felt it was important to keep abreast of the land and agrarian issues in the district.

Ethnography is defined by Kuper *et al* (2008) as the study of social interactions, perceptions, behaviours within social groups, organisations teams and communities. I chose to undertake an ethnographic study as I believed that it would complement my other data gathering techniques. I believe that it gave me an advantage of accessing data which I could not access using other research techniques. Access to information was made possible through participation in the daily work and activities of the community, observations, informal conversations as well as deploying various data gathering instruments and document analysis. I relied on the assistance from the agricultural extension officers from the Ministry of Agriculture Mechanisation and Irrigation Development at district and ward levels and officials from the Ministry of Lands and Rural Resettlement. They are the ones who showed me the farms and introduced me to the farmers. Although they had busy schedules, they did their best

¹⁰ I resided with Baba and Mai Tanatswa at Dunstan farm (from June to August 2015), the Mafukidze family at Chibvuti farm (in November 2015) and the Machokoto family at Warrendale farm (from September to October 2015).

to accommodate me. I had never been to the district before and it was all a completely new experience and a new environment for me.

The extension officers allowed me to move around with them in the district as they performed their work which is primarily providing extension services to the farmers. They also helped me to administer the structured survey questionnaires, to conduct interviews and to mobilise farmers for the focus group discussions. They were quite helpful in introducing me to various business centres and meeting places where I managed to interact with the farmers informally. It is from these places that I received a lot of information which was not communicated to me using conventional methods and I met many respondents with useful information. We visited farmers at their homesteads and we would help them to perform farming tasks like weeding, harvesting, spraying crops, packaging crops for the market, watering crops, feeding livestock or any task that needed to be done. As we worked, I found them opening up and providing important information and insights on the FTLRP. I found these conversations enriching and although some of the farming tasks were tough, they added value to the fieldwork.

I must admit that immersing myself in ethnographic work had proved to be a new experience for which I was not prepared. Firstly, living with farmer households was new for me given my strong urban background. It took me a few weeks to get used to the routines and performing tasks at the farms was a challenge initially but gradually I became used to it. Secondly there was a slight cultural clash given that I am a second-generation descendant with my parents originating from Zambia and Malawi. Most people in rural Zimbabwe are very interested in one's background, one's rural home and one's totem and so forth. They found it difficult to comprehend that I did not have a rural home or a totem in the local language. Some of them just hearing that my name was *Chipenda* struggled to try and locate the name with an ethnic group and an area in Zimbabwe and failing to do so would ask if it was *Chipendo* which they were more familiar with. Even though they did not show it I sensed that they considered me as 'being different'. This however did not affect the fieldwork in any significant way, but I found it to be an interesting dynamic. Culturally, I was much closer to the former and current farm workers who are of foreign origin and I found it easier to relate to them as we have similar historical backgrounds, share the same language and culture (this was in a context where my grandparents are of foreign origin and they were also farmworkers all of their lives).

While ethnography has been criticised by positivists as lacking ‘scientific rigour’, producing subjective data and having a danger of conflict between the researcher’s social world and background and the society that they would be researching on (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007, Reeves, Kuper and Hodges, 2008), This approach was quite useful and pertinent for the study. I made sure that my own social world and world view did not affect the research. I also made sure that my background and issues that I relate to, even though I may have had strong viewpoints and feelings did not affect the research in any way.

As I have stated earlier, in Goromonzi I stayed continuously for six months from June to November 2015 with the A1 farmers. The reason why I resided with the farmers was to have first-hand experience of life on the farms and to participate in some of the activities on the farms. I believed that this was important in helping me to understand the impacts of land reform on households. Ethnography allowed me to interact with community members who included farmers, farmworkers, former farm workers, local political leaders, major and petty commodity producers, government officers among other key respondents. I also attended numerous meetings (including a ZANU-PF meeting at cell level where I was expected to do the party slogan to show solidarity and fortunately, I had practised before going to the field). These meetings and gatherings were quite important for me as I managed to gather important data and insights on the FTLRP.

While I was in Goromonzi, I found that using the methodology adopted by Murisa (2009) of transect walks as being quite useful and insightful. Often, I did the transect walks alone; at other times it was with the farmers, agricultural extension workers and land officers. I used the transect walks to make observations on houses, housing infrastructure, land utilisation patterns and other things which are relevant for the study. Transect walks are a methodology borrowed from the environmental sciences in which a certain walking area is defined and the socio-economic and bio-physical features in that area are observed and documented (Mahiri 2001:2 cited in Murisa 2009:17). Overallly, the use of ethnography enabled me to have a dual perspective which Agar 1980 (cited by Agar 1996:53) described as being that of a “...participant observer who looks at everything from the viewpoint of the insider while remaining conscious of being an outsider with an analytical perspective.” Besides the difficulties in adjusting to a different environment and context, the other challenge which I faced while undertaking ethnographic fieldwork was the ever-changing fluctuation of currency. My income at the time was in South African Rands and I needed to convert them to United

States Dollars for use in Zimbabwe. The exchange rate at the time was very unstable and a lot of the funds were lost as I changed the currency. A consequence of this was that I had to cut costs and adjust my activities in the field accordingly as I found my budget not being enough and this was in a context where prices of almost everything in Zimbabwe at the time was highly inflated.

4.6 Sources of Data and Instruments

In the study, I collected primary data using data gathering instruments which included focus group discussions (FGD's), structured survey questionnaires, in-depth interviews and observations. I also used secondary data from the SMAIS Household Survey (2013/2014). I did not use all the survey data but parts of the data that had been captured and analysed in 2015, which captured data on 1 090 farming households across all the sectors. Other sources which I used were published and non-published articles, newspaper and magazine articles, sources from the internet, research articles and working papers among other sources. The selection of research participants was through a multi-stage sampling technique which involved a combination of purposive, random and snowballing sampling techniques. This combination of sampling techniques allowed me to have a representative and knowledgeable sample that positively contributed to the research.

My sample was made up of 150 A1 farmers. These represent 5.3 percent of A1 farmers in the district as the Lands Officer indicated that the district has 2 822 farmers (Interview, 12/10/15). The 150 farmers were drawn from 25 former LSCFs. After being subdivided, these now make up the smaller A1 and A2 plots (or the new farms). These 25 former large-scale farms were purposively selected, and the criteria used was geographical accessibility, land-use patterns, tenure type, permission from authority among others. The farms covered include Dunstan, Gilnockie, Ingwenya, Warrendale, Chibvuti, Aylmersfield, Mashonganyika, Eton, Miriand, Belmont, Rudolphia, Fordyce, Bigwire, Buena Vista, Xanadu, Glen Avon, Kambeu Trust Farms, Ardlussa, Bellevue, Chabweno, Melfort, Mandalay, Binder, Belvedere and Alderly. On each of these farms, respondents to whom the structured survey questionnaire were administered were randomly selected. In addition, there were 48 informants. These were as follows, 16 businesspersons, 14 civil servants, two religious' leaders, 15 representatives from associational formations in the new farming areas and one person from a non-governmental organisation. Sixty-six participants also participated in six FGD's of which two were held with former and current farm workers and four with the beneficiaries of the FTLRP. Table 4.2 below

summarises research participants, the research instrument administered on them and their number.

Table 4.2 Summary of Research Participants

Research Participant	Number	Research Instrument Administered
A1 Farmers	150	Structured Survey Questionnaire
Business Owners	16	Interviews
Civil Servants	14	Interviews
Religious Leaders	2	Interviews
Members of Associational Formations on farms	15	Interviews
NGO's	1	Interview
Former and Current farmworkers	22	FGD's
FTLRP Beneficiaries and Household Members	44	FGD's

Source: Own Fieldwork

4.6.1 Focus Group Discussions

In the study, I used FGDs. FGDs involve the researcher assembling a group of individuals to discuss a topic or subject area for the research. According to Lindlof and Taylor (2002), FGD is important in producing data which gives one insight and understanding on issues which one would not have come across without the interactions in FGD's. Hearing others speak, and their experiences, stimulates memories, experiences and ideas. FGDs are thus an important form of exploratory research. In my fieldwork, I had a total of six FGDs which were held at six different locations in the district. Two discussions were held with former and current farmworkers and four were held with beneficiaries of the FTLRP. The total number of participants was 66. They

were held at Dunstan¹¹, Glen Avon¹², Ingwenya¹³, Warrendale¹⁴, Mashonganyika¹⁵ and Chibvuti Farms¹⁶.

The FGDs produced interesting insights on the FTLRP which are captured in the results chapters of this thesis. During the focus group discussions, I was assisted by a research assistant who captured notes while I facilitated the discussion. Note capturing was one of the most important activities during these FGDs and to make sure that we did not lose any valuable information we tape recorded all the discussions. The interesting dynamics with these FGDs was that at some scheduled FGDs we found that a higher number of people than expected would turn up. I discovered that it was because word travels fast in these farming areas, and the word that travelled indicated that there was a meeting and some people who would not have been invited would come for the ‘meeting’. We had to turn some people away. This was because we could not manage the large numbers that turned up. We needed to stick to what we had proposed to do and not to jeopardise the research and give the authorities the impression that we were engaging in other activities or meetings involving large numbers of people.

Of interest was that respondents seemed to have the impression that I was a ‘donor’ who would provide them with financial or some sort of technical assistance in their agricultural activities. Some would come with their identity documents believing that I was registering them for some social assistance or relief programme. This happened when we began the FGDs and in subsequent FGDs we made sure that we explained in full to those whom we invited in advance that it was a purely academic exercise with no benefits. There was also a tendency by local political leaders to want to attend to hear what was being discussed, to give their input and to address the respondents after the discussions, it appeared as if they were not familiar with research protocol and I had a fear that this would derail the whole research process. I managed to discuss with the agricultural extension officers to assist me so that those who attended the FGDs were strictly those who had been invited. I had to be actively involved in inviting participants to come to the FGD’s. This was after I noticed that those who were assisting me in the research were inviting participants and telling them *munouya kuzotaura zvichemo zvenyu*

¹¹ 27 June 2015

¹² 11 July 2015

¹³ 16 August 2015

¹⁴ 19 September 2015

¹⁵ 3 October 2015

¹⁶ 2 November 2015

zvese kune ivava (you come and speak out all your grievances to him). This made conducting the first FGD's difficult as respondents tried as much as possible to squeeze in their grievances in the discussions, hoping I would take them to a higher authority. After my active involvement in which I participated in the invitations, the discussions improved and were not 'grievance oriented'.

Even though I balanced the FGDs with both sexes being represented, I noticed that there was a tendency by males to want to dominate the discussion and to trivialise the contribution of women. I had to go to great lengths to moderate the discussions and ensure that the voices of all respondents were heard and respected. For me it became a lesson learnt that for future studies, it is important at times to separate men from women. In this case I had thought that having them mixed in the same group would stir debate, but I noted that this had challenges. The other interesting dynamic which I noticed was that there seemed to be a contestation of facts especially with regards to what had transpired during the farm occupations; who led the occupations; how the land had been acquired; the processes of rationalisation, and so forth. There were some who claimed to have been there when it happened and would give accounts of what transpired but some of their claims were disputed. There were also contestations on the outcomes of the FTLRP which I found to be useful to this thesis. Lastly, there was always anticipation that by participating in the FGDs the respondents would receive some reward. We had to explain to them that there was no benefit for participating and I noticed that this did not go down well with some of the participants.

4.6.2 In-depth Interviews

An in-depth Interview is one of the basic data gathering methods. It involves asking people questions and getting answers from them (Marvasti 2004:14). In-depth Interviews are very useful and relevant especially in complex issues which require knowledgeable respondents and the interview question can either be broad or highly structured. In-depth interview targets key informants who are people who have skills and positions in society. They have authority and they will be working within or for a community (Mies, 2007). For my study, I identified informants whom I believed would be useful for the study. Through snowballing sampling techniques, I found that the number of respondents for my study gradually increased and at the end they totalled 48. Informants who were interviewed included officials from government departments namely from Agriculture, Lands and Rural Resettlement, Youth, Women Affairs, Education, Social Welfare, Irrigation and Small and Medium Scale Enterprises. Also

interviewed were representatives from associational formations at farm level and these were inclusive of farmer's associations, burial societies, cultural groups, women's clubs, savings groups and political groups. Other informants included traditional leaders, resettled farmers, leaders of local government institutions, business men and women, officials from non-governmental organisations among others.

Unlike the FGDs, the in-depth interviews were more controlled, private and easier to manage. From them, I received valuable information and insights which I could not find in survey structured questionnaires, observations or FGDs. Most of the respondents were quite free and knowledgeable on the FTLRP and they readily responded to the questions posed. Some of the government officials and business people did not want to spend too much time with the interviews as they had other commitments, so I had to structure the interviews in such a way that they were concise. The other challenge was that some respondents were not available at the time we would have agreed to meet so there was a lot of scheduling and rescheduling of interviews and this affected my itinerary. From my observations, most of the informants had participated in interviews before (Goromonzi is a heavily researched area) so they were free, responsive and willing to share information on the outcomes of the FTLRP. On controversial issues, however which were critical of the FTLRP, they preferred to say things off the record, emphasising that I should not reveal their identity. Some would meet up with me informally after the interviews and discuss issues on the FTLRP which they said they had reservations discussing in a formal, controlled interview environment. Of the 48 interviewed, 31 agreed to be interviewed using a tape recorder and 17 had reservations. As most of the respondents in this category were professionals, they had no problem having the interviews in English although some preferred the vernacular *Shona* which they were more comfortable with.

4.6.3 Structured Survey Questionnaire

The structured survey questionnaire was one of the major data gathering instruments which I used in the study. According to Neville (2007), a questionnaire is ideal for researchers who want to reach many people without much expenses. It allows respondents to answer quickly and continue with their busy schedules. It is also ideal for potentially embarrassing and sensitive questions if it is self-administered, and other researchers can use it to validate one's findings. The questionnaire is a data collection instrument, which is used mainly for surveys. A questionnaire can either be administered by the respondent on him/herself (self-administered), or the researcher can administer it. It is useful in instances where the researcher

intends to restrict the respondents to specific issues and responses. It is also a useful tool where there are sensitive issues in which respondents prefer to remain anonymous although at times this is not guaranteed. In the study, I administered the structured survey questionnaire to 150 farmers drawn from 25 former large-scale commercial farms. I was assisted by two research assistants to administer the structured survey questionnaire. We pre-tested the structured survey questionnaire beforehand to test its relevance and efficacy as I had designed it prior to going to the field. We found that some revisions needed to be done and my research assistants were quite useful in helping me to design the structured survey questionnaire in such a way that it captured important and relevant issues.

Administering the structured survey questionnaire had its dynamics. Farmers are busy people and at times they do not have the time to sit down and be interviewed. So, it was a challenge to get them to sit down with you and respond to your questions while they were busy. At times, I had to fill up the questionnaire while they did their farm work, or to negotiate time with them when they were not busy. This entailed a number of night trips to administer the questionnaire when they were not busy and relaxing at home. The other challenge was that in some cases, the farmers did not have the information at hand for example on crop production levels in the previous year or livestock numbers. They would also request to crosscheck their information with their spouses, children or workers who at times were not available. At times, they had to look for receipts or books of records. So, in some instances, it took days for a single structured survey questionnaire to be complemented. This was not a problem for me as I needed accurate data. Some of the respondents were not available and the number was quite large, this meant that even when I had completed my residency in the district I would regularly commute from my home in Harare to go and conduct interviews in Goromonzi. In some instances, respondents would ask for a sample of the questionnaire so that they would look at it before participating in the research. In one case I saw the questionnaire which I had given out being brought back to me by the local councillor who wanted clarification on some issues. I realised that when some of the farmers asked for a sample of the questionnaire, they would take it to the local leadership for vetting as they feared giving out 'sensitive information'.

The other challenge which I faced was gender dynamics in the field. Some of the women farmers were not forthcoming or enthusiastic to participate in the research and had to seek authorisation from their husbands first and this authorisation unfortunately was not always granted. Some of the husbands did not live on the farms and it would take days to get a response

and this affected the pace of data collection. Some of the husbands were not willing to have their wives interviewed and some preferred to sit in on the interviews, at times interjecting and disturbing the interviews. I am not sure of the reasons for this behaviour, but I believed that it was because I am male and this made them uncomfortable having their wives interviewed by another man. In two isolated cases, I found that there were women who disturbed interviews which I had with their husbands who are the farm owners. One sat nearby while I interviewed her husband and she constantly interrupted us contradicting almost every response which he gave. She claimed to be more knowledgeable of the farming issues than her husband who had been away working in Mutare and had only come to live the previous year after retiring. I had ended up replacing that household with another one due to the contradicting statements that I received from the household and I was not sure if I had been given correct information. In the other case, the husband had been forbidden by the wife from participating in the study as there was a fear that the information which I was gathering was to assess the performance of the farmers and this would negatively impact on their tenure. I found this fear widespread and my fieldwork coincided with talks of a land audit and the taking away of land from unproductive farmers. So, as I undertook the fieldwork, there was a fear that perhaps I was a government official collecting information on land productivity. They feared that I was assessing them, and they would lose usufruct rights over the land and my association with the extension officers and the land's officers fuelled this speculation. In many instances, I had to explain that this was not the case and that I was a student undertaking research. Despite these challenges, I found the structured survey questionnaire to be useful and it is this instrument that provided the bulk of information that is contained in this thesis.

4.6.4 Observation

The last data gathering instrument which I used was observation. I used observation to look at a number of issues which I believed were of importance to the study and would assist to answer the research questions while complementing the other data gathering instruments. These included the different productive activities on the farms, the marketing and selling of agricultural produce, the different types of shelter used, farm infrastructure, the natural environment on the farms, social networks, the division of labour in households and in the farming areas in general, diversified livelihood activities, interactions between farm households and local authorities among others. This was meant to support the other data gathering instruments and to provide me with an alternative perspective on the outcomes of the FTLRP. Observation is a sociological data gathering technique in which observations are made

and recorded (Tedlock 2005). The observation which I undertook in the district can be roughly divided into two. At times, I only observed activities that were being undertaken while in other instances, I was an active participant observer. I had developed a guideline on the things which I wanted to observe in the study. These guided the observations which I made, and I kept a large note book which I meticulously recorded all my observations. During my fieldwork, I attended several meetings. These included village meetings, VIDCO (Village Development Committee) meetings, trainings and demonstrations by extension workers, farmer associations meetings, meetings called for by government departments, a ZANU (PF) cell meeting as well as community meetings by non-governmental organisations. At these meetings, I observed what was happening and noted issues that were relevant to the study. I also participated in the work of the farmers and in the process, I made observations and engaged in informal conversations which added insights to the research. Tasks which I helped in included tilling the land, harvesting crops, assisting farmers to transport their crops to the market, weeding, assisting in looking after tobacco seedbeds, watering crops and so forth.

Observations were an important and integral part of this thesis as they provided valuable information. Sometimes I would move around aimlessly on the farms observing the way of life, and for me this was interesting and quite revealing. What was challenging with the observations was that it was not all situations that were suited for me to write down issues which I had observed. I had to memorise some issues and take note of them at a suitable time. In addition, in some meetings I just wanted to attend as an observer but in some instances, I found myself being thrust in the limelight and being asked to provide advice or my opinion on certain issues. To the farmers, as a new person there was the impression that I was very knowledgeable on technical issues on agriculture, legal issues (especially dispute settlement) and avenues available for agricultural finance. It took several explanations for them to appreciate that I was not an expert on any of those issues and I only came to observe how they handled their issues.

4.7 Data Analysis

Due to the sample size and the large volume of data which I gathered from the fieldwork, from the onset I realised that early on I needed to come up with techniques to manage the data. These were also supposed to help me to manage and analyse the data with minimum challenges. It was essential that I come up with a coding system to classify and categorise data. The system had to allow me to retrieve data at any time while keeping it clean and manageable. The coding

system was particularly useful for data gathered using FGDs and In-depth Interviews. According to Flutcher and Scott (1999:80) "...coding is the process through which individual responses are converted into categories and classifications for use in the research." For them coding is classified into three distinct stages which are open, axial and selective coding. In these stages, there is attachment of labels to data and connecting them to the main themes of the research.

During the initial stages of the research, I developed labels and themes structured around the four functions of social policy. These were linked with the research questions and objectives and it made the work much easier; it simplified data cleaning, interpretation and analysis. After collecting the data, I attached the labels and themes which I had developed, and the process allowed me to manage the data and to place it according to the themes for easier analysis and interpretation. The process also entailed transcribing the data, continuously making clarifications and setting aside irrelevant information for the thesis. Given the high number of direct quotations used in this thesis, most of them were given in the vernacular, special effort had to be made to ensure that the correct words and their meanings was captured. The correct interpretation of sentiments also had to be done.

Statistical data which was collected in the research had to be manually computed. Electronic files and spreadsheets had to be created where the data was entered. This was done for easier management of the data and to limit reliance on hard copies (of questionnaires and notes) and it was easier to enter it into the SPSS software for analysis. The data had to be checked and rechecked several times to ensure that there were no errors as this would have significantly given erroneous results. Checking for errors was an important part of the process. It was part of the data cleaning exercise which involved checking for errors by reviewing the data for data entry or coding mistakes, conducting logic checks and checking consistency between raw data and electronic data. All the processes of data entering, cleaning and analysis were done between starting in December 2015 until July 2016 with specific issues being looked at as and when the need arose. The computed data was used to come up with frequencies, percentages and contingency table statistics for easier interpretation of the data collected.

4.8 Ethical Considerations

Research ethics were a very important part of this study. They were taken into consideration from the time when the research proposal was formulated, during fieldwork and at the time

when the thesis was compiled. The research was undertaken ethically in line with UNISA rules and guidelines. It was done in accordance with the Ethical Clearance Certificate which the institution issued to me, in which I had committed myself to undertake the research in an ethical manner. Ethics are concerned with what is right and wrong. Research is a human activity and given its impact on people it is important that it should be governed by individual and social values to protect respondents and provide dignity to them. Ethical dilemmas do arise, and I tried as much as possible to overcome these by ensuring that the research was done ethically. I also tried to ensure transparency, quality and integrity as I carried out the fieldwork. For all my respondents, I had the informed consent form which they signed. I ensured that they were conversant with the research subject and processes, and their rights during and after the research process. The informed consent form also ensured that there was voluntary participation and it bound me as the researcher to respect anonymity and confidentiality. To ensure this, those respondents who did not want their identities to be revealed had their requests respected. After completion of the thesis in accordance with research ethics I have bound myself to provide feedback to participants on research outcome and to ensure that no harm is experienced by respondents during and after the research process.

4.9 Conclusion

This chapter on methodology is important in highlighting the research methods that guided this thesis. I looked at ontological and epistemological issues and contestations around the concepts I then highlighted how I used pragmatism as the research paradigm and the mixed-methods research approach, which served as the research design and was aimed at maximising the use of both qualitative and quantitative approaches. While the collection of my primary data was inclined towards qualitative data I also complemented this using quantitative data to collect data which was predominantly numeric. I provided a brief overview of the study site as a background for understanding the context in which the research was undertaken. Ethnography was used in the study and the data gathering instruments employed included FGD's, structured survey questionnaires, in-depth interviews and observations which were shown in this chapter. I also highlighted how the data was analysed and the ethical considerations which were observed. The methodology has been summarised in this thesis, but it was geared towards unearthing the social policy outcomes of the FTLRP from a social policy perspective. I have also highlighted a few of the many issues and dynamics which I experienced in the field some of which added value to the thesis and others which presented challenges and made me to rethink my strategies and approach to the fieldwork.

CHAPTER FIVE: THE REDISTRIBUTIVE OUTCOMES OF THE FTLRP

5.1 Introduction

Where we come from we are right at the border near Mozambique and there is nothing there. It is very hot that you cannot practice agriculture and make a living from it. All those who are strong enough, rush to Harare so that they can work and provide for their families. So, when we heard that people were getting land from war veterans at the height of the farm invasions, when the issue was very hot, we rushed and joined others. That is the reason why I am here today as a landowner and I am enjoying it here on the farm which I now own (Interview with Mai Kahuni¹⁷, 02/09/15).

The interview which I had with Mai Kahuni above was quite enlightening for me as I explored the redistributive outcomes of the FTLRP. Firstly, it showed how people from different areas including far off villages¹⁸ had come to Goromonzi and had managed to acquire land. Unfavourable conditions in the communal areas where agricultural activities are difficult if not impossible to undertake are cited as having been a major push factor and motivation for people to leave their homes to occupy the farms. Secondly, it showed me that the resettlement programme was not localised and it did not only benefit people from within the district. Formal and informal communication channels were used to inform people of the programme and using this information, some beneficiaries acted in their own capacity and joined in the farm invasions. Thirdly, it showed the nature of the agency of the war veterans and beneficiaries during the farm invasions which they deployed to gain access to the LSCF's and the veterans in particular were seen as the drivers and 'owners' of the programme. Mai Kahuni indicated to me that war veterans were in charge of the programme which she says was a contentious and a hotly contested issue at the time.¹⁹ Lastly the interview showed that there are beneficiaries of the programme who despite its controversies are now proud landowners. From the way they speak they display confidence that the land is now theirs and the risks which they took in participating in the invasions seem to have paid off.

Her experience fits into the narrative by Chaumba *et al* (2003), Sadomba (2013), and other scholars that the FTLRP was characterised by a multiplicity of actors who participated in the

¹⁷ Please note that ALL names used in this thesis are pseudonyms to protect the identity of participants.

¹⁸ Mai Kahuni indicated that she came from the Kondo area (Mudzi District, Mashonaland East Province) near the Zimbabwe and Mozambique Border Post

¹⁹ This refers to the chaotic and violent phase of the FTLRP which is referred to as the *jambanja* period in mainstream literature on the FTLRP.

land occupation and resettlement process. There was the use of individual initiative and human agency by the actors to access land. Mai Kahuni's experiences raise a lot of questions and issues which I explore in this section. I look at the extent to which the FTLRP was redistributive and I do this from a social policy perspective. I seek to answer questions like: How has the FTLRP altered the agrarian structure in the district? Who benefited from the FTLRP? Where did these people come from? What are the demographics of the beneficiaries? Among other issues related to the redistributive outcomes of the FTLRP. Let me start by looking at the how beneficiaries in the district managed to access land followed by a discussion on the new emergent agrarian structure at national and district levels.

5.2 How Beneficiaries Accessed Land

In Goromonzi, beneficiaries of the land reform indicated that there had been different methods and initiatives which they used to access land. Two land beneficiaries, Samson Kamuti (Interview, 23/06/15) and Garamauro (Interview, 02/11/15) as well as the Lands Officer (Interview, 12/10/15) gave me some insights on how land allocation had been done in the district. They said that the majority of the beneficiaries on A1 farms were involved in the land invasions. These were mostly led by war veterans and other community leaders. By participating in the invasions, beneficiaries had managed to access land. Initially they had subdivided the land but the government had taken over the process and had sent surveyors who had demarcated the plots. Depending on plot sizes and the intended use of the farm for the either A1 or A2 farmers, and whether the farm was acquired for resettlement purposes, some beneficiaries had been relocated to other farms. After the land was surveyed and subdivided each plot had a number. Formal allocations were done by the District Lands Committee (DLC) with the overall supervision of the District Administrator (DA). It involved beneficiaries picking plot numbers from a hat (or bucket or dish) and the number which they picked was their plot. They were then physically shown their plot and the boundaries where they placed markings which they were familiar with. Such a process was considered to be fair and it ensured that there was no favouritism. This process was not unique to Goromonzi. Chigumira (2014) and Mkodzongi (2013) observed the same practice in land allocations in their studies in Sanyati and Mhondoro-Ngezi Districts in Zimbabwe.

The second process involved the headmen, Chiefs, Councillors and ZANU (PF) officials submitting a list to the DA of people needing A1 plots of land and this happened in the latter stages of the FTLRP. Depending on the availability of A1 plots across the farms, the beneficiaries were given plots, but it is not all of those in need of the land who managed to get it. In both allocation processes, when beneficiaries were allocated land this was followed up with them being given offer letters granting them usufruct rights. These were given out by the DLA and signed by the DA and the District Lands Officer. The process of land allocation for A2 farms was slightly different. Applicants had to apply to the Ministry of Lands and Rural Resettlement. The prospective beneficiary had to submit a cashflow budget and source of funds to demonstrate that they had the capacity to engage in commercial agriculture. Selection processes involved the Provincial Lands Selection Committee which worked closely with the District Lands Committee and the Head Office of the Ministry of Lands. If successful, beneficiaries received an offer letter which was personally signed by the Minister. They were then shown the physical location of the farm by officials at district level.

Land Access by an A1 Beneficiary – Bains Hope Farm

Samson Kamuti was allocated land at Bains Hope Farm. He was part of the group that had invaded the farm in the year 2000. He could not remember the exact date but said it was in early 2000. He said that they had numbered about 72 and had been led to invade the farm by four comrades (war veterans). They had invaded the farm then known as Middleton Farm belonging to Mr Hughes and Bains Hope was a subdivision of the farm. Mr Hughes reared cattle and horses and he was also into dairy production. Kamuti said Mr Hughes had a bad attitude not only to his workers but also to residents of farming communities and they were constantly fighting. This was one of the reasons which had seen the farm being occupied. In addition, there were some people whose forefathers had been displaced from the land and this had been motivation for their descendants to participate and reclaim their ancestral land. Kamuti came from the Chinyika communal lands, leaving his wife and children behind and had joined six other people from his community. As a group of about 72 persons, they had forced their way on the farm they had stayed until they were officially allocated plots in the year 2000. Kamuti said when they first invaded the farm, they had built makeshift structures and they had caught the farm owner by surprise. The farm owner had never thought that something like this (farm invasions) would happen. Although he had initially resisted threatening them with guns and use of force, he had later begun co-operating with the invaders and at times even providing them with food. There had been many confrontations and meetings though in which Mr Hughes had threatened violence and vowed never to leave. Despite these threats, Kamuti said they had remained very disciplined and had not touched his assets or disturbed his farming activities as he would have used that as an excuse to have them evicted. Those caught stealing or vandalising equipment and disturbing farming activities were reprimanded and expelled as the comrades ensured there was discipline and a clear line of authority. The farm had later been acquired for resettlement and Mr Hughes had taken his livestock and assets and had left. This was how Kamuti and others had accessed land.

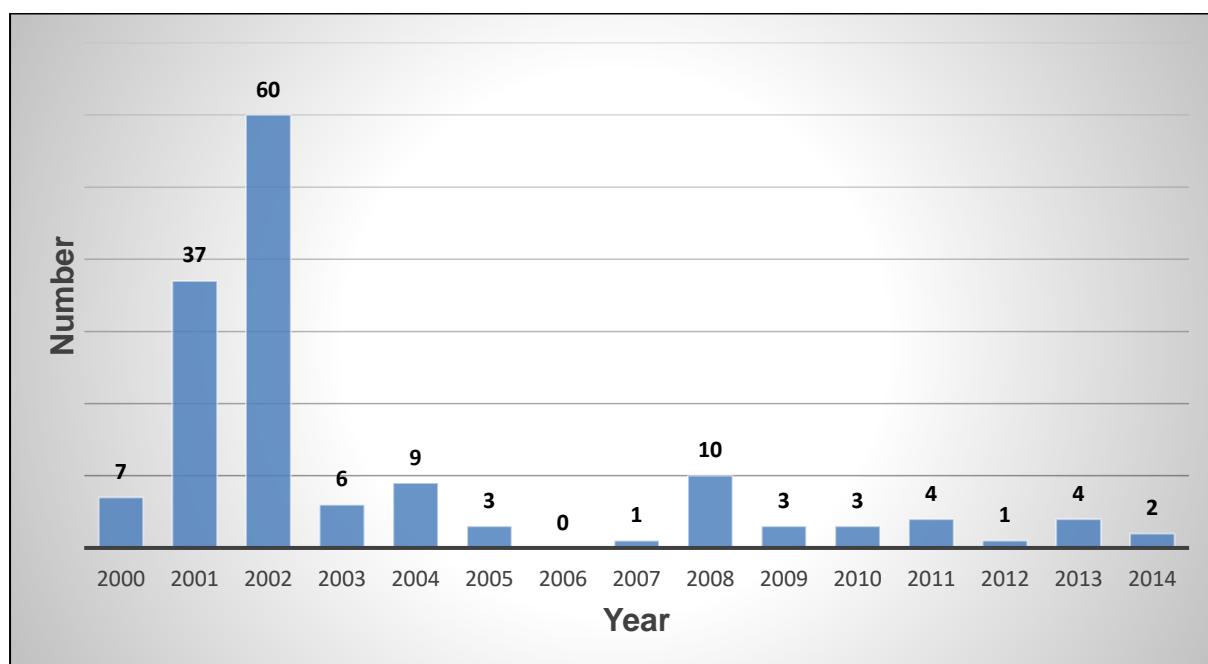
Samson Kamuti (Interview, 23/06/15)

The insights on land allocation highlighted above show us how the land was redistributed and how beneficiaries accessed land either through invasions or by submitting their names through local authority structures. The way in which the allocation process was undertaken shows that measures were put in place to guard against favouritism and corruption. This together with patronage and cronyism have been a major critique of the FTLRP as has been alluded to in the introductory chapter. Garamauro (Interview, 02/11/15) indicated that while there were attempts to make the process transparent, war veterans were highly influential, at times uncontrollable even by the local authorities and they had a say on who eventually benefited. For those who submitted names to local authorities, Garamauro alleged that the process was prone to corruption and abuse and those with money easily manipulated the process to get land. In addition to corruption and nepotism, ethnicity was seen as having played a role in the latter stages of allocations with local authorities and the political elite demanding that ‘locals’, and ‘their people’ were the ones to be given preference under the A1 schemes. Most of the informants who were interviewed in the study indicated that although the initial stages of land occupations were chaotic, the involvement of state institutions had stabilised what would have been otherwise a volatile situation. Corruption, ethnicity and nepotism had played a role in determining who managed to access land but this had been minimal (this is an allegation which is difficult to prove empirically). In addition, it was noted that the claim that the programme had benefitted only ZANU (PF) members was misleading. Informants indicated that the programme had accommodated anyone who wanted to participate, and it had been driven by a desire to acquire land. Just like observations made by Mkodzongi (2013) in Mhondoro-Ngezi some of the beneficiaries had only become full and active members of ZANU (PF) after acquiring land. To secure land and too have security of tenure, the farmers had to adjust politically and support the party that guaranteed them land rights (to play ZANU-PF). From my interactions with informants, I noted this but I did not want to pursue the line of enquiry as it is politically sensitive and most informants were not comfortable discussing these issues.

Based on the study sample, Figure 5.1 below shows the year in which beneficiaries in the study sample first settled on the land. The highest number of recipients in the study sample are shown as having been settled on the land in the year 2000. In this year 60 (40 percent) of the beneficiaries were settled on the land. In 2001, it was 37 (25 percent). Between 2000 – 2007 there were fewer allocations and since 2008 the numbers have gradually decreased as formal allocations have wound down and most of the plots have been taken up. Up until 2014, there were some beneficiaries who have been allocated land. The Lands Officer indicated that these

uptakes of plots is due to some unallocated or abandoned plots and continued rationalization of some ‘excessively large’ plots. This has seen more beneficiaries being allocated land. He said the political violence witnessed in 2008 in the country saw some beneficiaries abandoning their plots fearing the violence but this was neither reported nor captured as such in records. This mostly affected those seen as being MDC sympathizers who had opted to leave rather than to put their lives in danger. Some informants²⁰ reported that there were people with strong political connections who were using those connections to acquire land. Pressure was being put on the land officers to find space for those requiring land who are connected to the political elite and this explained why even after 2010, there are some people who have been given land. Figure 5.1 below shows the trends in land allocation from 2000 based on my study sample.

Figure 5.1: Year of Land Allocation (N=150)



Source: Own fieldwork (2015)

In the next section I look at the extent of land redistribution in the district and the emergent agrarian structure.

5.3 The Emergent Agrarian Structure after FTLRP

Binswanger-Mkhize and Moyo (2012) and Moyo *et al* (2009) have argued that one outcome of the FTLRP was an alteration of the country's land tenure system. There was an increase in

²⁰ The informants strongly requested anonymity

the number of small and medium producers. There was a reconfiguration of labour relations and a reduction in the land sizes of some of the former LSCF. The FTLRP was redistributive as evidenced by 150 000 households being resettled under the A1 scheme and 30 000 under the A2 scheme (Scoones *et al* 2015). The land tenure system was transformed. There was a change in land ownership from private proprietorship to predominantly state proprietorship. According to Moyo *et al* (2009) and Scoones *et al* (2015), 30 percent of those who benefited were the urban workforce and very few farm workers. The FTLRP, has seen the emergence of what Moyo (2011) calls a “tri-modal agrarian structure.” This agrarian structure is characterised a restructured social organisation of labour which now has three modes. It is made up of the differentiated peasantry²¹ who are the A1 and communal farmers. There are the small to medium scale farmers in the middle and lastly, there are the agro-industrial estates²² and conservancies. The last category is of interest as it shows that while there was a substantial increase in peasants and the small and middle farmers, the government retained the large agro-estates and conservancies. In the sugar estates of Chiredzi and Masvingo, 16 private forestry plantations and 40 large estates remained untouched at the height of land acquisitions. This can be interpreted to mean that the Zimbabwe government realised the need for international capital to continue to play a role Zimbabwe’s agriculture and this justified retaining the estates. In addition, some of the agro estates were protected from land invasion due to bilateral agreements.

The emergent tri-modal agrarian structure is summarised in Table 5:1 which is shown below. It summarises the type of farms which can now be found, sources of income, sources of capital and marketing. Of interest for this thesis is the category under which A1 farmers fall. It shows that they are heavily reliant on casual labour, their source of income are remittances or wages and they have no reliable source of capital. When it comes to the marketing, they either self-market or are assisted by farmers associations. These observations by Binswanger-Mkhize and Moyo (2012) resonate quite well with some of my findings which I present in this thesis under different thematic areas and I will make reference to them. For example, I found that A1 farmers are heavily reliant on casual labour and a few can afford permanent workers. The

²¹ Peasants are “... smallholders that work their land, individual plots of land as their principal source of income” Boltvinik (2010: 4). The differences between the peasants due to the labour which they hire, access to markets and their sources of income. Most peasants sell their labour to supplement income (Moyo and Yeros 2005, Bryceson 2000).

²² These are both public and private.

farmers market their own crops or are assisted by farmer associations and most of them do not have access to capital. This is a major impediment to their agricultural activities. Table 5.1 below shows the tri-modal agrarian structure which has emerged after redistributive land reform in Zimbabwe.

Table 5.1: The Tri-modal Agrarian Structure

Farm type	Hired Labour	Source of Income	Source of Capital	Marketing
Differentiated peasantry	Few permanent plus casual labour; family labour	Farm income, some wages, and remittances	Own equity, some formal finance (contracts)	Self-marketing; contracts; farmers associations
Small to medium capitalist farmers	Over two permanent and many casual workers, manager/supervisor	Farm Income, business, and employment	Formal finance, Equity, contracts	Self-marketing (urban); contract exports
Private and public plantations	More permanent and casuals; managers	Farm income, agro-industry	Share capital, profits; loans	Vertically integrated urban and export markets

Source: Binswanger-Mkhize and Moyo (2012)

In Goromonzi the agrarian structure mentioned above is evident. There is the differentiated peasantry of A1 and communal farmers, small to medium scale capitalist farmers who are the A2 farmers and the old small-scale commercial farmers, and lastly there are the large scale agro-estates. According to the Lands Officer (Interview 12/10/15) and the SMAIAS Household Survey (2013/14), in Goromonzi due to land land reform, there are 2 822 A1 beneficiaries (on 32 628 hectares of land, from 71 former LSCF) and 846 A2 beneficiaries (on 84 455.72 hectares, from 51 LSCF). Due to the FTLRP, the number of farm households in the district has increased from 20 253 to 23 733. Prior to the FTLRP, there were 19 976 households in the communal lands, in addition to 89 small-scale farms. With the FTLRP households have increased to the 23 733 households mentioned above in the whole district. 16 agro-estates can be found in the district and are part of the tri-modal agrarian structure. Farmers in the A1 sector own between 5-6 hectares of land depending on settlement type, can include the grazing and arable land. This contrasts with the 3-4 hectares of land owned by households in the communal areas. The small to medium capitalist farmers in Goromonzi own an average of 493.8 hectares, which is 20 percent less when compared to the category in 1980. The agro estates comprise of hectares from 1 400 going upwards. The land controlled by the LSCFs due to the FTLRP

downsized from 61.8 percent to 29 percent. The peasantry increased their land size from 31.7 percent to 44.87 percent. Due to the high demand of land in the district (as a peri-urban district), when compared to the rest of the country, the peasantry obtained a smaller share of land with larger land allocations being made for larger A2 farms.

When asked whether the FTLRP had been redistributive, the Lands Officer for Goromonzi said:

In this district, we currently have 2 822 A1 farmers and these subdivisions came from 75 farms before the year 2000. We also have 846 A2 farmers and these A2 farms were subdivided from 51 farms which were owned by single individuals. So, you can judge for yourself on how much the FTLRP has redistributed the land in this district. The programme was not a joke or a political gimmick as some people portrayed it, it has really resulted in a lot of people owning farms and these are 3 000 plus people in one district imagine the numbers at provincial level and national levels (Interview, 12/10/15).

This was collaborated by one of the farmers T. Katiyo who was allocated a plot at Dunstan farm. In an interview held on 13/04/15 he said:

The land reform programme has resulted in the resettlement of many people from different areas. Goromonzi has rich soils so there was a high demand for land here. Previously, this farm was an estate and together with many other farms like Banana Grove, Xanadu, Fordyce and others. It was owned by the Calinan family and Mike Guysford a grandson of the family took it over in the 1990's. But now with the FTLRP, there are over 116 families which were allocated A1 plots. The same applies with other farms in this area at some you will find 80 farmers on others 50 farmers and these were farms which had only one owner before.

In Goromonzi, an estimated 4 665 permanent employees and 16 619 employees now work in the emerging agricultural structure according to the SMAIAS Household Survey (2013-2014) and ZIMSTAT (2015). This is an increase from an estimated 3 900 permanent employees and 6 950 casual employees who worked in the sector prior to 2000. Nevertheless, the new agricultural structure reduced farm sizes. This means that there are now a relatively smaller number of workers employed per farm than those employed nationally on LSCF.

The evidence above shows that at a national level as well as in Goromonzi, there was land redistribution and a change in the country's agrarian structure. The FTLRP has been effective in reversing the racialized land tenure system which the country inherited in 1980, which post independence programmes failed to resolve. Using a social policy perspective, I would argue that the FTLRP has succeeded in tackling current and unjust social and economic relations in the agrarian sector by addressing historical injustices in land tenure. The FTLRP, through

having a broadened agrarian structure has set the necessary conditions for empowerment and the availing of economic opportunities to beneficiaries and communities. According to Yi and Kim (2015), this is an aim of transformative social policy, which enhances the productive capacities of beneficiaries. As shall be shown in this thesis, the FTLRP due to its redistributive nature has managed to open the farming areas to many people who now have opportunities to access land and other natural resources. This is unlike in the past where a few white minority landowners, owned and had unhindered access not only to the land but most of the natural resources on farms and in surrounding areas. These resources can be seen as showing a lot of economic potential. This has been an advantage of redistributive land reform in the country and these findings are collaborated by other studies undertaken by James (2015), Scoones *et al* (2010, 2015), Mutopo (2011), Mkodzongi (2013), Moyo *et al* (2009) and they show the advantages of the new emergent agrarian structure in Zimbabwe.

5.4 Who Benefited from Land Reform in Goromonzi

One of the major issues and myths which has dominated debates on the FTLRP has been that the programme was subject to cronyism, patronage and state capture (Scoones 2017b). In light of this argument, questions have arisen as to the origins of the beneficiaries of the FTLRP. Moyo *et al* (2009) and Scoones *et al* (2010, 2015) have argued that most of those who benefitted were formerly land and income poor communal area residents or they were people who came from urban areas who were either unemployed or had precarious jobs. Scholars using the neo-patrimonial approach have argued that the programme benefitted the political or business elite or those closely linked to ZANU (PF). Scoones (2017b) has argued that such a generalization of the FTLRP is untenable and it is not universal as it differs with every farm. While land occupations involved those with political connections it is difficult to empirically assess political party affiliations and claim that the programme benefitted ZANU (PF) members only. This is in a context where the farms are in ZANU (PF) strongholds hence it is easy to conclude that party affiliation affected land access and subsequent outcomes. Studies have shown that this is a variable which differs from farm to farm. In my study in Goromonzi and looking at the FTLRP through redistributive lens, I sought to find out the origins of the beneficiaries in my study sample. Table 5.2 below shows the areas of origin of the beneficiaries before they were allocated land:

Table 5.2: Areas of Origin of Beneficiaries

AREA OF ORIGIN	PROVINCE	RURAL/URBAN/ PERI URBAN	No OF FARMERS	PERCENTAGE (%)
Goromonzi	Mashonaland East	Rural	42	28.0
Epworth	Harare	Peri-Urban	26	17.3
Harare	Harare	Urban	21	14.0
Murehwa	Mashonaland East	Rural	12	8
Mutoko	Mashonaland East	Rural	10	7
Chitungwiza	Harare	Urban	7	5
Seke	Mashonaland East	Rural	5	3.3
Uzumba Marimba Pfungwe	Mashonaland East	Rural	4	3
Ruwa	Harare	Urban	3	2
Marondera	Mashonaland East	Urban	3	2
Marange	Manicaland	Rural	2	1.3
Domboshava	Mashonaland East	Peri-Urban	2	1.3
Juru	Mashonaland East	Rural	1	0.6
Chihota	Mashonaland East	Rural	1	0.6
Hwedza	Mashonaland East	Rural	1	0.6
Guruve	Mashonaland Central	Rural	1	0.6
Shamva	Mashonaland Central	Rural	1	0.6
Bindura	Mashonaland Central	Urban	1	0.6
Kadoma	Midlands	Urban	1	0.6
Shurugwi	Midlands	Rural	1	0.6
Gokwe	Midlands	Rural	1	0.6
Buhera	Manicaland	Rural	1	0.6
Nyanga	Manicaland	Rural	1	0.6
Headlands	Manicaland	Rural	1	0.6
Honde Valley	Manicaland	Rural	1	0.6
TOTAL			150	100

Source: Goromonzi Fieldwork

The Table 5.2 above shows that the FTLRP in the district reached many different people from different localities. Goromonzi contributed the highest number of beneficiaries with 42 which made up 28 percent of the total number. Of these 42, six came from the farming areas while the remaining 36 came from the communal areas of Chikwaka, Chishawasha, Chinhambhora and Chinyika. Epworth which is a peri-urban location in Harare and is close to Goromonzi (the southern parts) contributed 26 (17.3 percent) of the beneficiaries. Most of these beneficiaries from Epworth were not formally employed and were engaging in informal trading. Of the 26, only eight indicated that they had formal jobs before being allocated land and most have since left their jobs. The different suburbs in Harare contributed 21 (14 percent) while the communal areas of Murewa and Mutoko contributed 12 (eight percent) and 10 (seven percent). Other districts and Provinces contributed varying numbers of beneficiaries to the district and this

shows the variegated nature of the FTLRP. From the above results, most beneficiaries were from rural Zimbabwe's communal areas while a handful were from urban areas.

Hastings Kanomakuyu (Interview, 02/09/15) who is a relative of Mai Kahuni whom I quoted at the beginning of the chapter, provided insights on why there were so many beneficiaries who had come from areas like Murehwa and Mutoko. He indicated that the annual average rainfalls in the areas were not suited for agriculture in addition to the soil types and high temperatures. This made the areas unsuitable for agriculture and only those lucky enough to afford or have irrigation facilities nearby were doing relatively better. When compared with the soils found in Goromonzi, most communal areas have poor soils. This was motivation enough for Kanomakuyu to participate in the land occupations and to ultimately get a plot of his own. Kanomakuyu added an interesting dimension to the issue, highlighting that he like most of the beneficiaries of the FTLRP had not given up their land in the communal areas and they continued having homesteads in communal areas as well as on the farms. This was because initially they had been unsure about tenure security on the farms which was and still is an issue of concern. They had seen as being reasonable to maintain two homesteads as it ensured their security. Secondly the land in the communal areas now has sentimental value and attachment as family members of different generations are buried on the land and these graves are now part of the family history and heritage. Thirdly, the homestead in the communal areas is seen as giving them an identity as this is where most members of the family clan are found and one can trace their lineage there. Lastly Kanomakuyu indicated that he has several wives and having the farm and the communal areas makes managing the family much easier. So Kanomakuyu has a homestead in the communal areas as well as in the farming areas. I found this quite widespread on the farms.

Epworth, which is a peri-urban area near Harare is an area which contributed a high number of beneficiaries of the FTLRP in Goromonzi. I was inquisitive to find the reasons why a significant number of beneficiaries came from this area. The Agricultural Extension Officer at Dunstan Farm (Interview, 13/10/15) had some interesting insights on why this is the case. He indicated that Epworth is synonymous with the poorest of the poor with many of the residents there not being employed and engaging in informal economic activities to survive. The area has high population densities and there is a lot of pressure to access resources including land and shelter. In his opinion, when the FTLRP began, people from this area had an opportunity to occupy the land and being part of the processes, which resulted in them managing to acquire

land in their own right. Thus, the proximity of the area to Goromonzi, the utilization of formal and informal networks to get information on the FTLRP and to participate in its processes as well as socio-economic pressures on the residents of the area all contributed to them being allocated land.

To get perspectives from the former Epworth residents as to the situations and processes which had occurred resulting them in acquiring land, I had two interviews with Mukoma Edmore (Interview, 16/05/15) and J. Makiwa (Interview, 12/05/15). Mukoma Edmore had this to say about his experiences and how he ended up as a landowner:

I had been living in Epworth for over 12 years until the time when I was allocated this plot. I have suffered a number of misfortunes in my life and getting land here just shows how God has heard me and blessed me. I ended up in Epworth after losing my job at Cone Textiles and at the time I was lodging a house in Mabvuku. After losing my job I moved to Epworth and I was renting a single room with my wife and four children and we stayed like that for over 5 years. Imagine how difficult it was until I managed to secure a stand at Magada where I built a house, a three-roomed house. But it was not easy as I failed to get a job and was doing a self-job tailoring for people at Munyuki which gave me some money which was not really enough but it kept us going. I can tell you, life in Epworth is not so easy especially if you don't have money. When farm invasions began, I saw that it was an opportunity for me to join others and I came to join my brother who is a war veteran who led the invasions here in Goromonzi South. He assured me that this was an opportunity for me to get land and I do not regret fighting to get this land although my wife did not like it and my children and relatives thought I had gone mad. But all has changed, look at me now I live like a king and its very good and quiet here unlike in Epworth and my house there I put lodgers there and every month they give me money.

J. Makiwa (a war veteran) indicated that she and some friends who were living in Epworth at the time of the farm invasions heard of the invasions and joined their 'comrades'. They were a combination of the war veterans, the war collaborators, former detainees, ZANU (PF) youth and women's league members and non-war veterans. She said that they were committed to fighting for the ruling party (ZANU PF) and government so as to push for the resolving of the "land question once and for all." Her socio-economic situation, prospects of opportunities and landlessness had combined and pushed her and others who reside in Epworth to occupy the farms²³. When farm occupations began, they identified Goromonzi as the nearest area close to their homes in which they could actively participate in the '*third chimurenga*'. They had coordinated their activities with the leaders of the war veterans in the district and had actively

²³ I was strongly convinced that this was the major reason for participating in the land occupations, the prospect of owning land and to escape poverty. The issue of fighting for the party or government I believe was just a secondary issue.

participated in the land occupations. Their reward had been the A1 farms. According to her a high number of people from Epworth, due to its close proximity to Goromonzi, had participated in reclaiming the land and some had managed to acquire the land.

The insights given by the beneficiaries above as well as the diverse areas which the beneficiaries originated from paint an interesting picture of the redistributive outcomes of the FTLRP. It confirms the findings of studies undertaken else for example by Mkodzongi (2013), Matondi (2012), Scoones *et al* (2010, 2015), Moyo *et al* (2009) that the FTLRP was a response by peasants and the urban ‘underclass’ to landlessness and economic inequity and it did not only benefit the elite. Local authorities and war veterans had played a part in the processes. In the A1 sector in Goromonzi, some of the recipients came from communal areas and they indicated land hunger as a major push factor as it could no longer sustain them due to increasing population densities and large families. This was in addition to the land being unproductive and located in areas that are not suitable for agriculture. There was also a high number of beneficiaries from the urban areas, but these were mostly employed in the informal sector and those who were employed formally had low paying, precarious jobs. The findings also speak to the claim that the FTLRP only benefitted ZANU (PF) supporters and cronies of the political elite (Moore 2001, Alexander 2003, Zamchiya 2011). Respondents like J. Makiwa (cited above) did not even attempt to hide their political party affiliation, indicating that she was motivated to participate in the ‘*third chimurenga*’ for the party and for the government. Other beneficiaries are not so open about their political party affiliation presenting themselves as being neutral in discussions on party politics. This shows the redistributive nature of the FTLRP, it was cross cutting across party affiliations with beneficiaries having what Mkodzongi (2013) calls dual party affiliations which they use when the need arises. While patronage and corruption may have occurred, the A1 farmers in the study sample show that most of them came from poor backgrounds in the communal areas and used their agency to position themselves and acquire land. Given the accusations that the programme benefitted the political elite, there is need for further empirical study to trace their connections to the political elite (if there is any and at what level) and how they manipulated their connections to access land. But based on findings from my study, the empirical evidence suggests that a lot of the land recipients in the A1 scheme originated from the former native reserves and were relatively poor while those from towns were also poor. This confirms the findings from other studies undertaken in different locations across the country.

5.5 Profiles of Land Beneficiaries

In this section, I will briefly look at the profiles of those who benefitted from the FTLRP. This section helps us to contextualise some of the debates and narratives surrounding the FTLRP, especially that it only or predominantly benefitted the elite. It also helps us to appreciate the redistributive nature and outcome of the FTLRP. As has been raised in the introductory chapter and in sections above, the FTLRP was accused of benefitting the political elite and it was riddled with patronage, corruption and cronyism (Hammer *et al*, 2003; Richards 2004, 2005). Scholars like Scoones *et al* (2010, 2015), Matondi (2012), Moyo *et al* (2009) have undertaken studies to empirically analyse this assertion. A study by the Zimbabwe Independent Institute (2007) is often cited by scholars and it provides important insights for this thesis on the redistributive nature of the FTLRP. The study was undertaken on 375 farms in the Provinces of Matebeleland South, Manicaland, Masvingo, Mashonaland West and Mashonaland East. It showed that 51.3 percent of the beneficiaries were unemployed. The next largest bloc (at 15.2 percent) were civil servants. Beneficiaries who were security and former security personnel were at 8.8 percent, and former farm workers were just 1.1 percent.

Table 5.3 below shows the profile of beneficiaries of the FTLRP.

Table 5.3: Profile of Beneficiaries

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)

The SMAIAS Household Survey (2013-2014) in six districts confirms the findings by the Zimbabwe Independent Institute that the land reform programme was to some extent redistributive. It showed that 86 percent beneficiaries in the A1 sector were unemployed as well as 68.7 percent A2 farmers. For the A1 farmers, 4.8 percent held managerial positions in the civil service compared to the A2 farms at 10.8 percent. It was also noted that there were 26 (8.8 percent) farmers in the A2 model holding managerial positions in the private sector. The table 5.4 below shows the profiles of beneficiaries. It is important in highlighting that the FTLRP was redistributive and it touched people in different classes and sectors of the economy. By looking at the high number of A2 beneficiaries who are in the civil service, there are similarities with the observations by Scoones *et al* (2010, 2015) and Marongwe (2008) that civil servants used their positions and connections to access land. On the other hand, this indicates that the criteria which was used to select A2 beneficiaries which was premised on one's ability to autonomously fund farm investment attracted a significant number of middle- and high-class individuals (including some civil servants noted above). Table 5.4 below provides important insights on the profile of the FTLRP beneficiaries.

Table 5.4: Profile of Beneficiaries in Six Districts

Employment Status	Settlement Type							
	A1		A2		CA		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Not Currently Employment	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 Semi-skilled	11	2.3	6	2.0	13	4.2	30	2.8
Civil Service Semi-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: SMAIS Survey (2013-2014)

5.5.1 Legal Documentation

The FTLRP brought about a new agrarian structure which has resulted in a new tenure regime based on permits and leases. In the Goromonzi study, I wanted to find out the legal documentation which beneficiaries are in possession which confirm that they are legally

entitled to the land. The preferred tenure system of the government is leasehold tenure rather than a freehold tenure system in which the farmers are given title deeds. The fear has been that under a freehold tenure system, the new farmers might sell the land. Initially, the new farmers were given offer letters on the A1 farms and 99-year leases on the A2 farms. At the end of the lease period, A2 farmers have the option of purchasing the land. These documents, in particular the offer letter, have been described by Matondi (2012) as an administrative device acknowledging that a farmer has been given permission by the government to use the land, but they are not the owners, they only have usufruct rights. Through this documentation, the land remains state land with farmers having user rights without the power to sell the land or give it to someone else. It is important to note that the offer letters which beneficiaries were given are not uniform but differ from district to district. I noted this during the study with each district having its own unique offer letter for A1 farms, but the content was more or less the same. Some offer letters had the letterhead of the then Ministry of Local Government while others were on the Ministry of Lands and signed by the DA and the District Lands Officer.

The new tenure regime has had its challenges. Richardson (2005) and Robertson (2011) for example argued that the new tenure regime undermines property rights and agrarian investments. There is tenure insecurity as the tenure documents cannot be used as capital for example to access loans and land tenure in Zimbabwe has been turned into ‘dead capital’ using the argument by De Soto (2000). This thesis, Matondi (2012), Scoones *et al* (2010, Scoones (2017b) argue that the issue of tenure security and collateral has mainly affected A2 farmers and not A1 farmers, who make the bulk of the farmers. Despite some lack of confidence with the current tenure regime, this thesis shows that investments on farms have continued and the A1 farmers have used alternative and innovative agricultural finance initiatives to fund their agricultural activities. This is in the face of financial institutions being skeptical of current land titles to provide funds for agriculture and it collaborates findings made by Moyo *et al* (2009).

In Goromonzi District, table 5.5 shows the legal documentation which A1 farmers in the study sample have.

Table 5.5: Legal Documentation


LEGAL DOCUMENTATION	NUMBER OF FARMERS HAVING DOCUMENT
Offer Letter	137 (91%)
A1 Permit	13 (9%)
Total	150

Source: Goromonzi Fieldwork

The table shows that 137 (91 percent) of the farmers have the offer letter while 13 (nine percent) have the relatively new A1 permit. The farmers started receiving the permits in 2015. According to the Lands Officer of Goromonzi District (Interview, 12/10/15), the new A1 permits are a product of extensive consultation between the government and stakeholders in agriculture especially the financial institutions. The A1 permits were designed in such a way that they are acceptable as collateral by financial institutions in the country. The permits are issued for an indefinite period to Zimbabweans who are aged 21 years and above and are in possession of an offer letter. They are issued on condition that the farmers or their family are resident on the farm. An assessment is made to see if they are productive. Assessments also include looking at the condition of the homestead, productive activities and land use and the maintenance of essential things like water supply. The permits are issued on condition that the farmer has not tampered with or abused communal grazing areas or with the boundaries. The farmers must agree to follow the Goromonzi Rural District Council (GRDC) rules and regulations on environmental management before they are granted the permit. Although the farmers have the A1 permits, the land still belongs to the State. All farm infrastructure which farmers found on the land is owned the State. Farmers only having rights to use the land and the infrastructure, and they cannot dispose it or exchange it for their benefit.

An example of an offer letter which the farmers are in possession of is shown in the figure 5.2 while figure 5.3 shows the new A1 Permit which is being given to beneficiaries of the FTLRP.

Figure 5.3: Sample A1 Permit

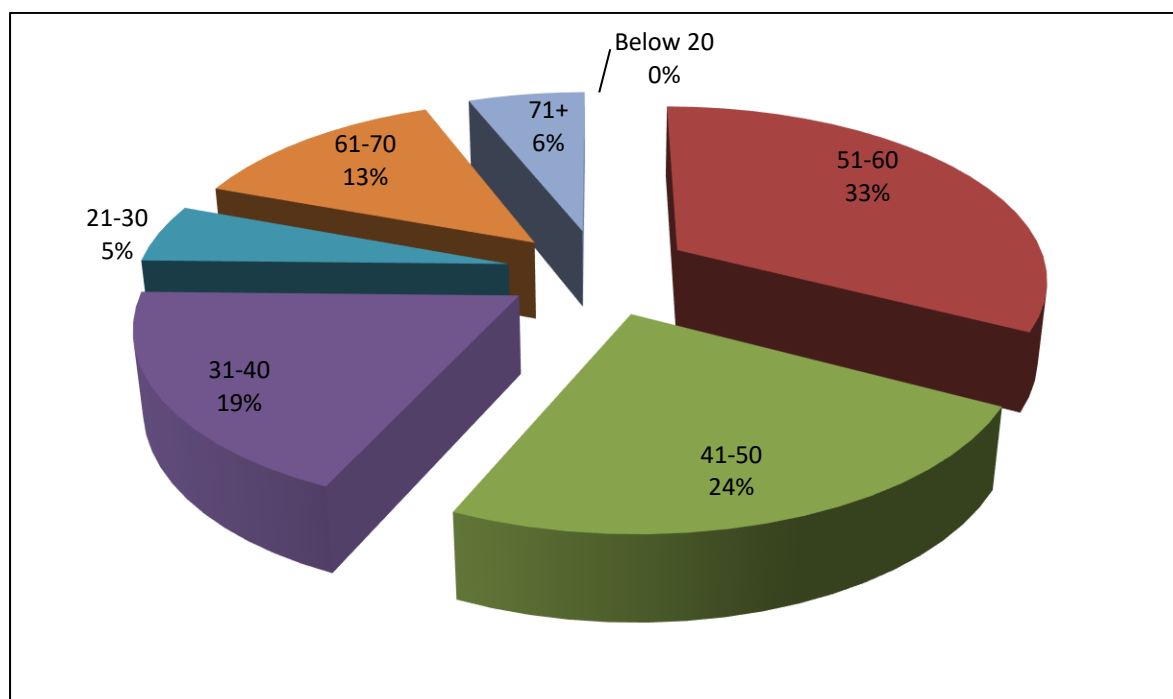
PERMIT NO.		File Ref:				
<p>A1 MODEL SETTLEMENT PERMIT</p> <p>PRELIMINARY</p> <p>This Permit relates to Resettlement Land acquired by virtue of section 72(2) and 72(4) of the Constitution of Zimbabwe, 2013, and in particular to that category of Resettlement land allocated under the A1 Model Scheme described in the Land Reform and Resettlement Programme and Implementation Plan (Phase 2) published in April, 2001 (as re-issued and amended from time to time);</p> <p>This Permit is issued subject to the terms and conditions set out in the Agricultural Land Settlement (Permit Terms and Conditions) Regulations, 2014.</p> <p>DETAILS OF PERMIT HOLDER</p> <p>For the purposes of this section, a “Permit Holder” means a male or female head of household in whose name this Permit is issued. The Permit Holder in whose name this Permit is issued shall be primarily responsible for fulfilling the conditions of this Permit.</p> <p>However, despite the fact that the Permit is issued to the person named in this section, the spouse of the Permit Holder or, in the case of polygamous marriage, all the spouses of the Permit Holder (as specified under section 2.1), shall be regarded as Joint Heads of Household for the purposes of this Permit.</p>						
1.1 Surname:					
1.2 First	Name:				
1.3 Other					
1.4 Title (Dr./Mr./Mrs./Miss./Ms.):	<input style="width: 100px;" type="text"/>				
1.5 Place	of	Birth:				
.....						
1.6 Date of Birth:	Age:.....				
.....						
1.7 National	ID	Number:				
.....						
1.8 Marital Status (tick applicable):	<table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse; text-align: center;"> <tr> <td style="width: 25%; padding: 5px;">Married</td> <td style="width: 25%; padding: 5px;">Single</td> <td style="width: 25%; padding: 5px;">Divorced</td> <td style="width: 25%; padding: 5px;">Widowed</td> </tr> </table>		Married	Single	Divorced	Widowed
Married	Single	Divorced	Widowed			
.....						

5.5.2 Age of Beneficiaries

The age of the beneficiaries is an important dimension when one looks at the future of agriculture in Zimbabwe in terms of continuity and experience. In the study, I was concerned with finding out the ages of the farmers as I believed it has implications on production, protection and redistribution. From my study sample, I found out that 49 (33 percent) are in the 51-60 age group, 36 (24 percent) are in the 41-50 age group, 28 (19 percent) are in the 31-40 age group, eight (five percent) are in the 21-30 age group, 20 (13 percent) are in the 61-70 age

group, 9 (6 percent) are in the 71+ age group and lastly none are aged under 20 years. Figure 5.4 below shows the ages of the farmers.

Figure 5.4: Farmer Ages (N=150)



Source: Own Fieldwork

The results were quite interesting as they showed that those in the 51-60-year-old age groups dominate the numbers who benefitted from the FTLRP. This is understandable considering that the land allocation was made when they were relatively young and more active (and were able to participate in land occupations). Of concern in the statistics was that it appears a large number of the farmers are now over the age of 50 years. In the next 10 – 15 years this group would be approaching retirement or would be retired. In the study, I noted that there were cases of some farmers who have aged but are still engaging in farm activities because there was no one who was ready to take over from them. This can be of concern considering that as one grows older, age can negatively impact on one's ability to work and produce (agriculture is quite labour intensive). Farmers who are older thus find themselves in a situation where they are forced to continue farming. This is because no one is positioned to take over and there is a fear that if any noticeable farming activities ceased the farm would be repossessed by the State. This sentiment was captured by one of my respondents Elton Chirimanyemba (aged 67, interview, 14/09/15) who said:

I am getting old now and it is becoming difficult for me to continue farming. The work here is too heavy and hiring people to do everything is expensive. The good thing is that my wife is young and so she is able much more than I can and I rely on her. Sometimes I worry when I think of who will take over the farm when I am gone because I have two sons who are in Cape Town, they are not interested in farming and they have not come home for a long time now. The third one is in Harare but that one he drinks too much and causes trouble. He will sell everything here. My daughters are still young, it is difficult for me to leave them this inheritance because one day they will be married, and all this wealth will be lost to my family. But if these boys do not want to take over I have no choice, two of my daughters seem to enjoy farming, I will groom them to take over one day and leave the farm as a family trust and whoever faces difficulties in life out there they can always come back. For now, me and my wife will continue farming so that at least there is some activity and the farm is not taken away by the government.

During the fieldwork, I noticed that there are some plots which are idle after beneficiaries die and there is no one to take over. The Lands Officer in Goromonzi indicated that this was common in the district as some children were not interested in continuing farming after the death of parents or there is no one to take over but this is changing. The situation was made worse by high levels of migration faced by the country over the past few years. Plots which remain idle with no one claiming them are repossessed by the state and reallocated to those on the waiting list, but this process can take a number of years.

Another interesting category was that of farmers who are between the ages of 21 to 30 years. In this age group, there were eight participants in the study. Of the eight, only one had been allocated land on his own after submitting an application, which was in 2014. The rest of the farmers are second generation farmers. Most of them had inherited the farms from their deceased parents, while two had taken over after their parents became too old to work on the farms. The ages of the farmers in the study raises pertinent questions on the future of the new farms (given that the majority of the current farm holders belong to an older generation) and the state's preparedness for the transfer of land to the next generation as it seeks to protect the land. The view on the age of the farmers is best summarised by an Agricultural Extension Officer in Goromonzi South (Interview, 12/10/15) who said:

The majority of farmers in this area are well over 50 years and there are cases of some who are well into the 70's and 80's. The ages of the farmers can be worrying because whether we like it or not this generation of farmers will soon be gone and I think it is important that they have succession plans in place so that there is someone to take over the farm when they are gone. You will find that we have very few young farmers here and most of them go and work elsewhere only to return when their parents die or when things don't work out there, but this can be problematic as they would not know farming at all. It is important that the older farmers introduce their children to farming at an early age; this is what the white farmers did so that if they grew old or died someone with knowledge took over and the system worked well, and they were successful. We do assist farmers with knowledge on best farming practices but hey at

times you really see that although you are teaching people due to their age it just does not work. Some of the farmers we have are advanced in age in this area and this naturally affects agricultural performance on the farms.

5.5.3 Marital Status of Beneficiaries

The marital status of the beneficiaries in the study sample showed that a majority or 129 (86 percent) of the farmers are married to one or more persons whom they are currently living with. 13 (nine percent) reported that they were widowed while six (four percent) were single and two (one percent) were divorced. The statistics speak to the family structure on the new farms. Marriage is an important institution in the farming areas. For the beneficiaries, there is an advantage in being married since there would be a spouse to support the individual as s/he undertakes his/her productive activities. Marriage is also important for social reproduction. Men, women and children are important sources of labour, but the challenge has been that women and children are rarely acknowledged as being important. For beneficiaries with employment and places of residency elsewhere, the family is a source of support and security on the farm when they are not there. Even if the authorities visit the area they will see that there are families living on the farm, hence the threat of losing the farm due to non-residency is eliminated. I will discuss the importance of marriage further when I discuss the gender dynamics of the FTLRP. Here it was significant in showing the marital status of the beneficiaries in the study sample.

5.5.4 Educational Levels of Beneficiaries

In the study, I looked at the educational levels of the beneficiaries. This was to understand the educational levels of the people who were allocated land on the farms. Looking at the educational levels of the beneficiaries would paint a clearer picture on the competency levels and ability of the farmers to learn new skills and capabilities which would enhance their productive potentials. This is not to say that uneducated farmers are not capable of learning new skills and techniques but the chances of an educated person grasping new skills and techniques are much higher. This is in the context of the job itself which requires competence in applying inputs and ensuring that farming as a business is run profitably. An interesting observation which can be made from my sample is that in terms of education, there is diversity in the educational qualification of land reform beneficiaries. The findings from my survey of the 150 beneficiaries are presented below in Table 5.6 below.

Table 5.6: Education levels of farmers

Educational Level	Number	Percentage (%)
Primary School	36	24.1
Secondary and High School	86	57.3
College	17	11.3
University	11	7.3
Total	150	100

Source: Own Fieldwork

The findings indicate that 86 (57.3 percent) of the beneficiaries have secondary and high school education. Some of these beneficiaries did not complete secondary or high school. 36 (24 percent) of the beneficiaries had primary school education while 17 (11 percent) had gone to college²⁴. Only 11 (7.3 percent) had gone to university. The statistics show that the educational levels of the beneficiaries who had been allocated land are quite high and impressive. This does not come as a surprise as the country over the past years has always had high literacy rates. This demonstrates that there is a foundation to work on when it comes to capacity/skills development and recipient training.

An Agricultural Extension Officer (Interview, 13/10/15) indicated that the farmers in the ward in which he operates have basic education and are competent when it comes to things that require reading and are technical. He attributed this to their levels of education which he believes have helped a lot and have been a foundation upon which the extension workers have built the farmers competencies and capacities. A teacher in the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education (Interview, 17/10/15) indicated that the district has very high literacy rates. When one looks at the beneficiaries, they have basic education due to the drive by the government to ensure that the people are educated. This has been helped by adult education classes which are conducted in the district by women groups on the farms. These classes have helped the older beneficiaries. The educational levels of the beneficiaries thus present interesting dynamics when understanding their competency and abilities.

5.6 Women and Land Access

Gender is an important idea when it comes to land in Africa. Many scholarly works exist on gender roles in an African context and there is agreement that gender relations in Africa have

²⁴ In Zimbabwe, these are usually diploma offering institutions although some are now offering degrees

not been favourable for women (see O’Laughlin 2009, Jacobs 2010, Tsikata 2003, Mutopo 2011; 2014, Gaidzanwa 1985, 2011). Patriarchy and the colonial dispensation have subjugated women and worsened their plight compared to men. In this study, I wanted to explore the gender dynamics of the FTLRP. According to the PLRC (2003), Mazhawidza and Manjengwa (2011), during and after the FTLRP process, there were demands, especially by advocates of gender equality, that at least 20 percent of the land should be redistributed to women. As a result of this advocacy, 18 percent of women benefitted under the A1 model while 12 percent women benefitted under the A2 model. This fell far short of expectations. Women were seen as having access to land through their husbands or male relatives but did not own land in their own right.

When one looks at land from a redistributive perspective, the concept of gender is of importance. It is important to understand how women benefitted from the programme and how they are managing to access and utilise land. This has connections with other social policy functions like production, protection and reproduction which I will discuss in the next chapters.

Data from the *“Agriculture and Livestock Survey (2015)”* and the *“Understanding Gender Equality in Zimbabwe: Women and Men Report (2016),”* provides insights on the redistributive and gender dimensions of the FTLRP. The survey was undertaken across all the provinces in Zimbabwe showing land ownership by women. The only challenge with the data is that it does not show joint-spousal ownership of land which is information that is not readily available on the FTLRP. For the purposes of this thesis, the survey data is nevertheless important as it shows us the redistributive nature of the FTLRP from a women’s land rights point of view. It shows that for A1 farmers, from surveys done on 131 897 farms, only 27 650 (21 percent) are owned by women as opposed to 104 247 owned by men. In the A2 category, from surveys on 18 254 farms, a paltry 1 874 (10.2 percent) are owned by women compared to 16 380 owned by men. In communal farming areas, out of 1 028 932, 435 025 (42.2 percent) are owned by women compared to 593 907 which are owned by men. Across all the categories there are fewer women landowners compared to men. Results of the survey are summarised in the table below.

Table 5.7: Agricultural Land Ownership by Sex of Owner

Agricultural Land	Sex of Land Owner		Total
	Male	Female	
Large Scale	638	118	756
Small Scale	16 431	2 722	19 153
A1	104 247	27 650	131 897
A2	16 380	1 874	18 254
Communal	593 907	435 025	1 028 932
Old Resettlement Farms	67 070	31 839	98 909
Total	798 673	499 228	1 297 901

Source: Understanding Gender Equality in Zimbabwe: Women and Men Report (2016)

My study in the district corroborated the findings in the survey above that few women benefitted from the FTLRP, in their own right, as opposed to men. Results from my study sample indicated that 117 males and 33 females had benefitted from the FTLRP. This translated to 78 percent of males benefitting while 22 percent of the beneficiaries were women. When I shared these statistics with a Ward Co-ordinator (Ministry of Women Affairs, Gender and Community Development, Interview held on 09/09/15), to get her insights on the gender dimensions of the FTLRP at district level, she said:

The statistics which you are presenting to me are slightly higher than the district average of women who benefitted from the FTLRP as it is around 18 to 20 percent but there is not much of a difference. But for us the number of women who benefitted from the FTLRP is very low and we believed that more women should have actually benefitted from the whole programme because of the important roles which they play in families and in the communities and the fact that due to tradition they have been oppressed and have suffered at the hands of men. But what is important which you should take note of is that we have advocated as a ministry for women to be recognised as co-owners of the land together with the men so they now have the same power and access to the land as the men which is a big victory for us who stand and represent the rights of women.

While the number of women in the district having access to land in their own right is low, I noted that women use various ways to access land. The Lands Officer helped me to better understand this by enlightening me that "...the government has put in place measures which

have seen the name of spouses and dependents being put on offer letters or the new A1 permits. This is to ensure that they all have equal access to the land.” It is also aimed at dealing with issues of inheritance in case of the demise of one of the spouses. Using for example the Deceased Estates Succession Act Chapter 6:02; offer letters and A1 permits are being used in succession issues and this in a way guarantees the access of women to the land (although not always). This is confirmed by Moyo *et al* (2016:8) who argue that (‘the little known’) *Statutory Instrument 53 of 2014* gives the equal share of undivided land in the resettlement areas between husbands and wives. It also provides guidelines for succession. They also see the Constitution as being ambivalent to women’s access to land and their rights. In resettlement areas however, the limited access to formal land governance authorities has meant that communities’ default to arbitrary interpretations of patriarchal orders that perpetuate the discrimination of women. Moyo *et al* (2016) argue that the Constitution and other state laws are of limited use in the rural and resettlement areas. This is due to the limited access to the institutions of enforcement by the residents of communal and resettlement areas. The Constitution is seen as not placing a responsibility on the government to put in place administrative infrastructures to ensure that women realise land rights and resources to promote their participation in agrarian structures. A gap between policy and practice in constitutional and legal provisions is seen as weakening women’s land access. This perpetuates the discrepancy between land rights for women and men. Thus, although joint registration on land leases is allowed, married couples continue to register land in the name of the male spouse (Moyo *et al* 2016).

Despite these constitutional, legal and institutional constraints women have access to land through secondary access. One of my respondents Mrs Melania Gomo (Interview, 22/11/15), provided insights on how women have secondary access to land even though they may not be the primary landowners.

My husband has two other wives. He married me when he had already been given this farm in 2002 and he married me in 2007. I have never seen the title deeds (*I took this to mean the offer letter*) of this farm and he keeps them at his other home in Marondera. I understand that they are in his name only. He is in charge here and has built houses for each of us and given us fields where we practice our agriculture. We have the freedom to plant what we want there and to sell or eat the produce and no one interferes with the activities of others. *Baba* has his own fields and we assist there as well as this is where food to eat and money for our upkeep comes from. We used to work together but this created problems as some of these women and their children do not want to work and they are lazy. When the money comes in or the produce, they quarrel a lot. So, this is the reason we were given our own portions, but we also help *Baba*. In my fields, I plant what I want and last year my brother even helped me, and we shared the produce equally.

The response by Mrs Gomo raised two important insights on the redistributive nature of the FTLRP. I saw it as highlighting the redistributive nature of the FTLRP. Women can be seen as having secondary access to land without necessarily being the recognized beneficiaries. It confirmed what has been noted by Bourdillon (1992) that in *shona* culture, marriage grants one access to resources and it carries with it symbolic social, cultural, political and economic significance. So, for families, it does not matter in whose name the farm is in. By virtue of being a member of the family one (in this case if there is marriage) one has access to land. It confirmed the observation by Mutopo (2011, 2014) that women access land through marriage bonds. Mutopo observed that women after a certain period of time are given a field which in the area in which she studied among the Karanga people they call it a *tsewu*. According to Mutopo the *tsewu* is:

A way of respecting the cultural notion that the wife had led to the enlargement of the family through her reproductive capacity and this had to be respected. The (*tsewu*) concept was respected so much in the area where I worked as the Karanga mythology also advocates that women ought to be appreciated as farmers by giving them their own hectare of land since they are the major providers of labour on the farms. This is a practice that is done in the communal areas and the fast track farmers adopted it to their new farms as an important customary norm that still applied in the new land space. 25% of women had already accessed land in the fast track settlements via this mode and 75% of the women still believed that their husbands and their families would still honour this obligation of allocating them their own land hectare (2014:202).

In Goromonzi, I noticed that this practice exists, and it was taken from the communal areas. They do not call it *tsewu* but use the term *tseu* to denote a field of groundnuts (usually but not exclusively cultivated by women). But what I noted which was confirmed by the Agricultural Extension Officers was that there was a tendency for male beneficiaries to give some of the fields to their wives. This was partly in appreciation of their reproductive roles, to give them independence in production, to give them their own source of income and it is a means by which of attaining food security at the homestead. Women use these fields to grow crops like groundnuts, *nyimo* (round-nuts/bambara nuts), vegetables, pumpkins, maize, sweet potatoes and so forth. In addition to these fields which women may or not have depending on the household, women also have responsibility over the *bindu* (family garden) which will be discussed in chapter six. The crops which are grown in women's fields are usually consumed by the household or sold to generate household income. Despite having these fields women also contribute labour to the family fields. The discussion above confirms the observation by Bourdillon (1992) that among the *Shona*, young and older women (historically) were able to survive as agriculturalists as they had a portion of the land reserved for them in their own

individual right. Although this was distorted by colonialism it has persisted especially among the *Shona*. Women can grow crops and vegetables which feed the family throughout the whole year.

Lastly, observing the gender dynamics of the FTLRP made me to realise that even if women do not have their names on the tenure documents, they have access to land and this applies to members of the nucleus and extended families. I will touch on this when I look at social protection and reproduction, but it is important that I highlight it in the context of the gender outcomes of the FTLRP. Mafeje (2003:2) has argued that the “...concept of individual ownership is alien in African societies. Land belongs to the clan, the lineage, the household as a production unit and not the individual. Landholders are organised into groups with corporate rights.” In the context of the FTLRP, the land belongs to the state with the individual only having usufruct rights on the land. In the study, I noted that beneficiaries had come with their customs, cultures and norms which inform them on how best to manage the land. While usufruct rights are invested in the individual, some members of the family or clan by virtue of their membership to the clan (and their relationship to the landowner) have been granted the rights to use the land usually through verbal agreements. This is another way in which women have managed to access land.

5.6.1 Access to Land and Productive Resources by Women

As we discuss how the FTLRP was redistributive, and the access of women to land, it is important at this juncture for me to briefly discuss the impact which the FTLRP had on women based on the findings of the SMAIAS Household Survey (2013-2014). This is in terms of their empowerment and capacity to use and benefit from the land which they were given and constraints which they face. A further discussion on the gender dimensions of the FTLRP will be made in chapter seven as I discuss the protection outcomes of the FTLRP. In this section I limit myself to a brief discussion on how land redistribution has impacted on women as opposed to men. In Zimbabwe, the constitution while providing a framework for land rights, it fails to provide adequate mechanisms for implementation provisions and a consequence of this is that women’s land rights continue to be weak (Moyo *et al* 2016). Moyo *et al* (2016), have further argued that the perpetuation of various land regulation systems which are derived from the law and illegal formal and informal institutions consistently discriminate against women. The powerful are seen interpreting and reinterpreting land laws to suit themselves and this is at the disadvantage of women. There is thus a lack of clarity and loopholes which various

stakeholders are seen interpreting according to their own understanding. There is also the use of patriarchal structures which are male dominated and these mediate the access of women's the resettlement land. This is seen as undermining their access to land as women have to negotiate directly with institutions directly responsible for their predicament. There is the dominance of patriarchy in policy making institutions and in policy implementation. These undermine the capacity of women to benefit and control land in Zimbabwe. Patriarchal practices for example, the use of the term 'male head of household' in land allocation, the registration and distribution of inputs marginalises and excludes women (see Agarwal 1994, Midzi and Jowa 2007). This is reflected in the SMAIAS Household Survey (2013-2014) which showed that in 71 percent of the cases, males were identified and assumed to be the head of the house and landowner.

Table 5.8 below from the SMAIAS Household Survey (2013-2014) summarises findings on the experiences of women in mobilising and controlling the land redistributed to them. It showed that in resettlement areas, in as much as some women have access to land, there are a lot of constraints which they are facing on the land. These have impact on their capabilities and productive activities. The survey showed that women farm on smaller pieces of land compared to men and the largest disparity is in the A2 sector. Men are better off in terms of control and ownership of livestock, family labour, fertiliser use, agriculture machinery and access to irrigation. Unlike their male counterparts, women lack the capacity to mobilise chemicals, seeds and credit. In all the sectors, female farmers are disadvantaged in the use of certified seed and organic fertiliser. The survey also showed that when it comes to irrigation infrastructure as an example, women are reliant on labour intensive irrigation infrastructure like deep wells (40 percent). Male farmers on the other hand do not face this challenge that comes with labour intensive infrastructure as they have overhead irrigation (31.7 percent). It should be noted that there are variations between farms and areas. The scenario on A2 farms can be different from the other sectors as women in this sector are more economically empowered and they are educated hence differences between them and their counterpart's in the other sectors differs. The findings in the survey on women in the context of their empowerment, capacity and benefits from the land are summarised in table 5.8 below:

Table 5.8: Access to Land and Productive Resources by Women and Men Landholders

	Communal Area	A1	A2
Land Size	Women crop less than men	Women crop less than men	Women crop less than men
Field crop production	Minimal differences in production between men and women		
Livestock ownership	Men dominate in the ownership of cattle	Men dominate	Men dominate
Access to hired labour	Men dominate	Men dominate	Men dominate
Access to family labour	Controlled by males	Men dominate	Men dominate
Access to agricultural seeds	Men more dominant in use of certified seed	Men dominate in use of certified seeds	Men dominate in use of certified seeds
Access to irrigation	Men dominate	women dominate	Men dominate
Use of fertilizer	Male biased in all the areas		
Male contract farming	Low among all the farmers but male-biased among the few that practice contract farming		
Agricultural Machinery	Male-biased in all the three areas		
Access to credit	Male-biased but generally low among all the farmers in three areas		

Source: Moyo *et al* 2016

5.7 Farm Residency

The issue of farm residency is critical in unearthing the extent to which the FTLRP was redistributive. I believed that by analyzing farm residency, I would be able to ascertain the extent to which beneficiaries have committed themselves to the farms as places of permanent residency and where they undertake their income generating activities. It is a proxy that demonstrates the extent to which they are committed to staying on the farms full-time and engaging in productive activities while supervising activities and workers if there are any. This is in a context where there are contestations on the FTLRP that land had been given to non-resident ‘cell-phone farmers.’

The SMAIAS Household Survey (2013-2014) showed that 61.1 percent of the recipients under the A2 model stay on the farms with 87.1 percent on A1 farms. For A1 farmers, it shows that 0.8 percent live in the communal areas, 49 (10.4 percent) in urban areas and four (0.8 percent) live in the diaspora. The findings infer that a significant number of A1 farmers use their plots as their places of residence. This implies that they have either relocated permanently or they did not have land prior to benefitting from the FTLRP and have now established their homes at the farms. It dispels the notion that the beneficiaries of the FTLRP are ‘cell-phone farmers’ not residing on the land. But if one looks at the A2 farms, there is a worrying trend that some farmers do not permanently reside on the farms and this places doubt on their full commitment to commercial farming given the history in farming in Zimbabwe where most the old LSCF’s had a permanent presence on the farms. The statistics are important in showing that the majority of A1 farmers are on the farms and it is important that their presence translates into improved productivity and enhanced livelihoods. It also shows that some of the beneficiaries have alternative places of residency in urban areas (which they own or rent) and communal areas. In addition, some of the beneficiaries have alternative sources of income like employment which make them live away from the farms. This is the reason there are some beneficiaries living in urban areas. The findings on farm residency by SMAIAS Household Survey is shown below.

Table 5.9: Farm Residency

Residency of Plot Owner	Settlement Type					
	A1		A2		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
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: SMAIAS Household Survey (2013-2014)

My studies in the district corroborated the findings by the SMAIAS Household Survey (2013-2014) that a large number of A1 beneficiaries reside on the farms. Table 5.10 below shows that from my study sample of 150 beneficiaries 139 (92.6 percent) reside on the farms with the second highest number residing in the urban areas where there are six or four percent. The results are shown below.

Table 5.10: Residency of Owner (A1 farms – Goromonzi)

Residency of Plot Owner on Farm	A1	
	No.	%
On Farm	139	92
Communal Area	3	2
Urban Area	6	4
Diaspora	2	1
Other	1	1
Total	150	100

Source: Own fieldwork

The findings show that a significant number of land recipients stay on the farms with only six residing in the urban areas. For the 139 who reside on the farms, it does not mean that they are not employed (as it can be normally presumed). Some of the resident beneficiaries commute daily to Ruwa, Marondera or Harare where they work and use some of their income to support their agricultural activities. This saves them from accommodation and other urban related expenses. Some even use proceeds from the farm to support their transport fares and expenses to go to work as salaries in Zimbabwe over the past years are quite low. This is an interesting dynamic of the beneficiaries in Goromonzi. The proximity of the farms to urban centers have seen the beneficiaries engaging in unique income generating activities which I will explore in detail in next chapters.

5.8 Conclusion

The chapter has been quite exhaustive in looking at the redistributive outcomes of the FTLRP. The FTLRP according to one informant has been redistributive and it has had impact on the welfare and wellbeing of the farmers. He said that:

The FTLRP was effective in redistributing land. This is something which the previous programmes failed to do...through land redistribution farmers have been empowered. Some have managed to break the cycle of poverty. Serious farmers are doing well despite the challenges. The previous system was working well mainly because it enjoyed maximum financial support from banks and other financial institutions. So we cannot say that to those to whom land has been redistributed are doing badly – Irrigation Technician (Interview, 15/08/15).

This view is collaborated by the Agricultural Extension Officer (Interview, 12/10/15) who said:

It (the FTLRP) resulted in the development of many small-scale commercial farmers who are doing well and it is benefiting a lot of families compared to the previous system which had high production levels but benefited a few.

Issues explored in this chapter show that the FTLRP was redistributive. In this chapter I looked at how beneficiaries accessed land, focusing on the different processes and initiatives which were used by beneficiaries to access the land. The years in which beneficiaries in the study sample were allocated land was looked at and the tri-modal agrarian structure which has emerged in the country and is now evident in the district. In the chapter I also looked at the origins of the beneficiaries and their profiles. The legal documentation which the farmers are in possession of, the demographics of the beneficiaries, some of the gender dimensions of the FTLRP and issues of farm residency were also looked at. Issues raised in this chapter have addressed the redistributive outcomes of the FTLRP while simultaneously speaking on some of the debates on the FTLRP. This is an important dimension which this thesis provides to the discourse on the FTLRP. Having interrogated the redistributive dimensions, it is imperative to comprehend the diverse productive activities which the farmers are undertaking on the farms as these point to how farming has enhanced their welfare and wellbeing. In the next chapter I explore the productive outcomes of the FTLRP.

CHAPTER SIX: THE PRODUCTION OUTCOMES OF THE FAST TRACK LAND REFORM PROGRAMME

6.1 Introduction

Production is an important function of social policy. If citizens are availed with a resource (like land) it enhances their productive capacity as well their welfare and wellbeing. Land reform is a social policy tool which is *ex-ante*, facilitating household consumption while enhancing accumulation (Adesina 2015). In this chapter, I look at the FTLRP's production outcomes. Linking it to the previous chapter in which I focused on the FTLRP's redistributive outcomes, I look at the extent to which the FTLRP outcomes were productive. This is in a context where it has been shown that one of the FTLRP's major outcomes was the emergence of a tri-modal agrarian structure which replaced the colonial bi-modal structure (Moyo 2011).

This chapter explores how the new agrarian structure has opened new agricultural opportunities for farmers and how this has positively impacted on their welfare and wellbeing. I write this chapter bearing in mind that one of the fiercest criticisms of the FTLRP has centered on the issue of production. As has been shown in the introductory chapter, the FTLRP has been accused for undercutting agricultural productivity and severely compromising food security (see Cliff *et al* 2011, Hellicker 2011, Richardson 2005). This argument has been countered by other scholars. They have argued that when one looks at the issue of production there is need to consider other variables. These include droughts due to the El-Nino in previous years, the diversion of inputs from food to cash crops, the effects of climate change, challenges in water management, economic mismanagement in the country, and the withdrawal of international and local credit lines to farmers. Scholars have also argued for the need to look at the issue of sanctions, poor post-harvest storage methods, the effects of HIV/AIDS, unemployment and emergent unofficial agricultural market chains. All these variables have contributed to food insecurity and fluctuations in production (see Scoones 2017b, James 2015, Binswanger-Mkhize and Moyo 2012, Moyo 2011, Matondi 2012).

In this chapter I will start by looking at some issues which are important in understanding current agricultural production patterns at national and district levels. This is done bearing in mind the argument by Hanlon *et al* (2013) that for full agricultural production outcomes to be realized and appreciated they take at least a generation. If we are to assess the productive outcomes of the FTLRP we need to contextualise it in the period 2000-2015 and appreciate the

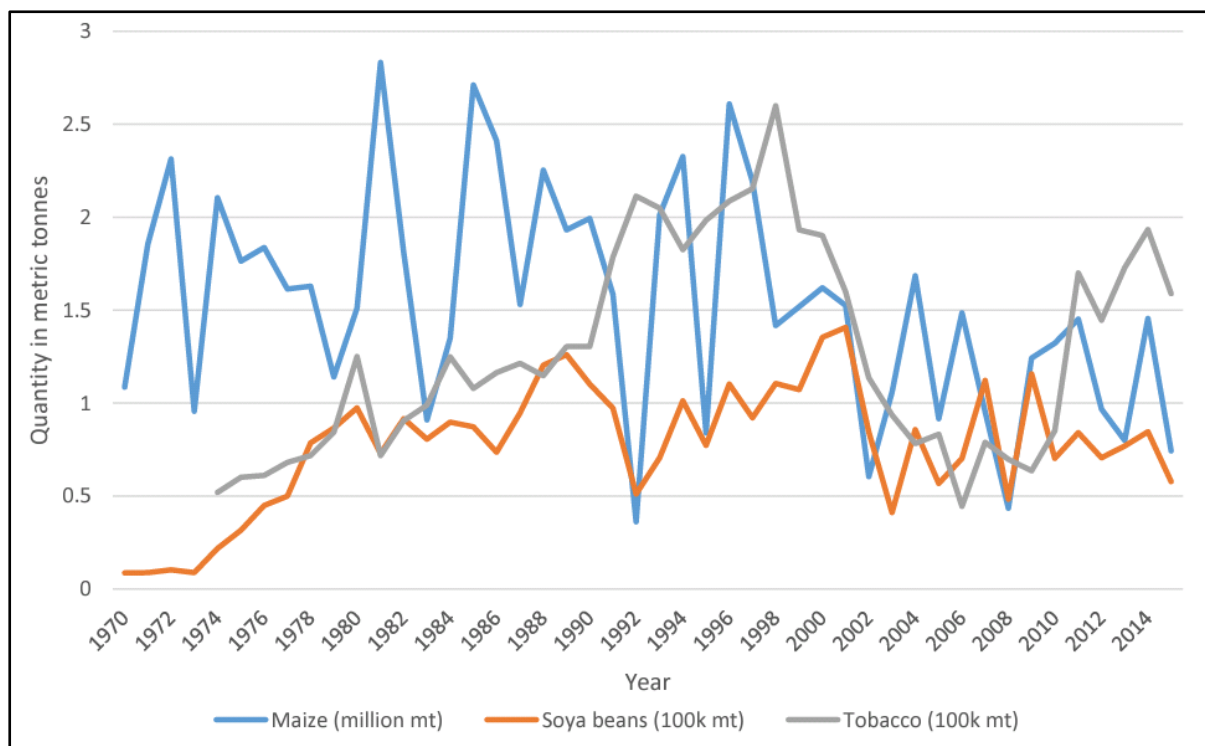
impact of the variables mentioned above to agricultural production outcomes. By looking at this period, I believe it helps us to appreciate the production levels of the beneficiaries and their experiences. We also need to understand that there are diverse opinions and interpretations on the production outcomes of the FTLRP and that the emergence of new marketing channels has distorted the records of production levels. In this chapter I interrogate the production outcomes of two major crops, maize and tobacco which are important for food and income security. I also look at agrarian factors which influence agricultural production which include finance, marketing and the socio-economic environment which beneficiaries have been operating under for the past years. I will start by looking at agricultural production trends.

6.2 Agricultural Production Trends

Since the year 2001, Zimbabwe has witnessed fluctuations in levels of agricultural production. The lowest levels in agricultural production was in the 2004-2005 and 2006-2007 seasons. From the year 2009, agricultural production has been steadily recovering. It even grew by “...21 percent in 2009, 33.9 percent in 2010, 7.4 percent in 2011 and 11.6 percent in 2012” (Ministry of Finance 2011, 2012). Moyo (2014) has summarized crop output from 2000 and indicates that maize production had declined but was recovering to below 20 percent below of the 1990’s average since 2010/11. Wheat had declined throughout the 2000’s, and in 2013/14 it was short by 90 percent. Cotton had remained steady until 2012/2013 and there was a 30 percent deficit. Tobacco had slowly recovered since 2006. It had accelerated in 2009 and in 2013/2014 it had reached 100 percent of the 1990’s average output. Sugar was on the road towards full recovery. Since 2009 due to ethanol production, it had increased and in 2012 it had reached 80 percent of the 1990’s levels. Oilseeds, mainly soya beans and groundnuts had declined on average by 40 percent. Small grains had been an exception to the decline affecting other crops as their production had grown.

Figure 6.1 below from the SMAIAS database (2015), shows the production outputs from three major crops from 1970-2014. It is important in establishing the trends in production from 2000 since the inception of the FTLRP. It can be used for comparison purposes to compare trends in production between the former LSCF’s and the beneficiaries of the FTLRP who now dominate agricultural production in the country.

Figure 6.1: Production Trends of Maize, Soya Beans and Tobacco



Source: Moyo (2014)

The graph shows trends observed by Moyo (2014) in the discussion above. It shows that after 2000, there has been a reduction in output compared to the previous years. The years between 2004 and 2008 were the worst in terms of output but since 2008 there has been steady recovery. Tobacco production was highest in 2013 in the post 2000 period, but it was still much less than the output for 1998. Maize production is quite volatile having dipped in 2008 but it is slowly recovering. Since 2000, maize output has been low with exception of the drought years before 2000 where there can be seen sharp falls in production. Soya beans in 2014 can be seen as being lower even when compared with 2000. The graph helps us to understand the production patterns since 2000 and the trends and fluctuations in production due to various factors which I will touch on in sections below. It shows that in 2014 there was a decrease in output as compared to the other years and I believe this downward trajectory affected my findings as I noted that there was a decrease in production by the farmers in Goromonzi during the 2014/15 season.

To have a more comprehensive view of agricultural production trends by A1 farmers in the country for 2011, 2012, 2013 and 2015, Table 6.1 below from the Agriculture and Livestock Survey (ALS, 2012 and 2015) shows production trends between 2011-2015. The survey was undertaken across all the Provinces in the country by the Zimbabwe Statistical Agency (ZIMSTAT) and it provides a macro perspective on the performance and production levels of the farmers. Although there are differences in the number of farms counted each year, we can derive valuable information from it. We see the major crops which A1 farmers are producing, how much is being produced and the yield per hectare. From a production perspective based on production trends in Table 6.1 we can argue that at a national scale, A1 farmers are being productive. Although there are fluctuations in production which are attributed to droughts and lack of financial support and other factors, empirical evidence shows that they are being productive although there is room for improvement. Table 6.1 below shows the agricultural output by the farmers from twelve major crops. It shows the farm count. The area which was planted, the crop reaped as well as the yield which beneficiaries realised for 2011, 2012, 2013 and 2015.

Table 6.1: Crop Production Trends for A1 farmers (2011, 2012, 2013 and 2015)

Crop Type		2011	2012	2013	2015
Maize	Farm count	132 572	130 215	122 344	119 125
	Area planted (ha)	257 521	251 042	223 725	210 570
	Crop reaped (t)	209 100	219 971	165 261	136 423
	Yield (kg/ha)	812	876	739	648
Sorghum	Farm count	26 172	28 694	31 990	13 354
	Area planted (ha)	17 761	25 181	34 028	7 735
	Crop reaped (t)	5 827	5 271	9 648	1 506
	Yield (kg/ha)	33	209	284	195
Tobacco	Farm count	27 257	23 521	29 528	25 387
	Area planted (ha)	27 578	23 539	35 057	26 772
	Crop reaped (t)	31 963	31 393	36 949	30 448
	Yield (kg/ha)	1 159	1 334	1 054	1 137
Cotton	Farm count	23 800	30 319	15 691	9 948
	Area planted (ha)	42 301	60 983	26 935	16 275
	Crop reaped (t)	18 404	33 962	12 892	2 515
	Yield (kg/ha)	435	557	479	155
Groundnuts (Unshelled)	Farm count	94 314	82 155	62 060	65 534
	Area planted (ha)	31 907	24 186	17 620	16 731
	Crop reaped (t)	11 200	8 965	6 513	5 250
	Yield (kg/ha)	351	371	370	314

Sunflowers	Farm count	9 683	10 005	7 170	8 306
	Area planted (ha)	2 393	2 340	1 639	2 176
	Crop reaped (t)	827	1 072	955	1 200
	Yield (kg/ha)	346	458	583	551
Soyabeans	Farm count	8 122	6 941	6 771	10 884
	Area planted (ha)	5 654	5 333	8 059	17 214
	Crop reaped (t)	4 929	6 698	10 938	15 702
	Yield (kg/ha)	872	1 256	1 357	912
Sweet Potatoes	Farm count	26 751	26 383	18 834	28 066
	Area planted (ha)	1 940	1 915	1 778	1 374
	Crop reaped (t)	6 279	5 714	5 028	5 498
	Yield (kg/ha)	3 238	2 984	2 828	4 003
Edible Dry Beans	Farm count	29 304	34 750	32 449	24 424
	Area planted (ha)	6 089	7 351	9 527	7 110
	Crop reaped (t)	1 890	3 109	3 458	2 431
	Yield (kg/ha)	310	423	363	342
Potatoes	Farm count	1 575	1 865	1 602	1 837
	Area planted (ha)	415	509	527	633
	Crop reaped (t)	1 742	2 634	1 593	2 031
	Yield (kg/ha)	4 199	5 172	3 025	3 206
Peas	Farm count	120	36	63	560
	Area planted (ha)	8	26	10	112
	Crop reaped (t)	4	4	5	29
	Yield (kg/ha)	455	138	499	263
Paprika	Farm count	1 201	426	202	135
	Area planted (ha)	311	80	32	23
	Crop reaped (t)	89	49	21	19
	Yield (kg/ha)	287	613	670	864

Source: Agriculture and Livestock Survey, A1 (2012 and 2015)

At District level, A1 beneficiaries in Goromonzi grow crops which include maize, tobacco, tomatoes, cowpeas, onions, sweet potatoes, dry beans, Irish potatoes, groundnuts, soya beans, sunflowers, sorghum, paprika, cucumber, carrots, flowers, chillies among other crops. The favourable agro-ecological conditions make it quite well suited for diverse agricultural production activities. From my interactions with some of the beneficiaries, I noted an interesting dynamic. While scholars have been debating about levels of agricultural, the contribution of agriculture to GDP, comparisons between the former LSCF's and resettled farmers and so forth. I noted that A1 beneficiaries in my study sample are not worried too much about such issues. Their immediate worries centre around producing enough food to feed

themselves and their families, having a place which they call home which they are constantly improving and selling surplus to meet their daily expenses. One of my informants Gilbert Somerai (Interview, 04/04/15), indicated that:

So long as we produce enough for our food and produce enough tobacco to give us some money we are safe.

The same sentiments were shared by Taruvinga (Interview, 29/11/15) who said:

My major concern is to be seen active in producing crops so that the farm is not repossessed by the government. I heard that they are repossessing the farms these days. If that is covered I have to produce enough for us to eat then some crops for the market. Because you see we need the money to pay for things like the grinding mill, to buy clothes, to buy food foodstuffs and soap and to pay school fees. You cannot exchange those with crops you see, you need to go to the market.

The sentiments raised by Gilbert and Taruvinga made me to realise that sometimes when we talk of production and if you read about production issues in literature, these are the expectations of scholars on what production should be about and what it should achieve. It is from their point of view and not that of the beneficiaries. Beneficiaries view production issues and the reasons for their resettlement in simplistic terms of having a home, producing food, feeding their families and making a living. While there are beneficiaries who are into production and aspire to produce a lot with each season, most of the A1 farmers just like their counterparts in the communal areas consider their farms as homes. There are places where they relax, enjoy and they preserve them for the next generations. It needs also to be remembered that when we assess the production outcomes of A1 farmers, the intention behind the setting up of this model was to decongest the communal areas and it was never a capitalist model in orientation (PLRC 2003).

6.2.1 Maize Production

For me and many other farmers on this farm, maize is one of the most important crops which we grow together with tobacco. If you don't grow maize you will be inviting hunger to visit you because without *sadza*²⁵ there is no life. There is no way you can expect to survive without it. Tobacco is much harder to grow successfully but the rewards are worth it. But as a farmer you need to balance cash crops and food crops. That is what makes a good farmer (M. Chibanda, Interview, 04/11/15).

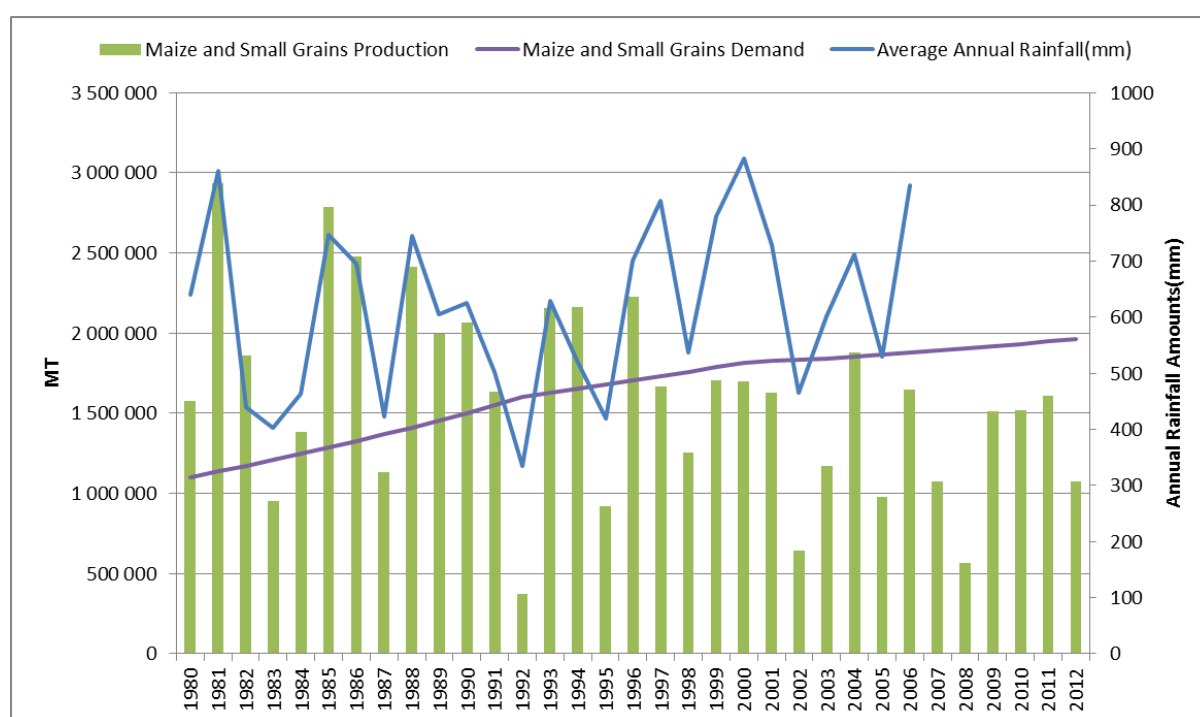
²⁵ *Sadza* is a staple diet for most of Zimbabwe's indigenous people. *Sadza* is a "generic term used to describe thickened made out of a number of pulverised grains. The most common being from white maize (corn) mealie meal." (www.zambuko.com)

The sentiments shared by M. Chibanda underlie the importance of maize to the beneficiaries of the FTLRP as well as communities and households in Zimbabwe. Maize is an important staple diet for Zimbabweans hence its production is important, and its production has always been a priority of the state in colonial and post colonial Zimbabwe. Just like all the other crops, maize production has fluctuated since the inception of the FTLRP. According to Binswanger-Mkhize and Moyo (2012:35), maize production suffered from droughts in 2002-2003, 2004-2005 and 2006-2007. Between 2002-2003 and 2006-2007, maize production in the country declined to between 915 and 953 thousand tonnes or up to 45 percent of the average production in the 1990's. In 2003-2004 and 2005-2006, it recovered to 1 685 and 1 485 thousand tonnes. This was at or slightly below the average maize production of the 1990's. Between 2007-2008, maize production greatly declined to reach its lowest level of 575 000 metric tonnes. The hyper-inflationary environment and price controls are blamed for causing this decline. From that period until 2010-2011, there was a steady recovery which reached a level of 1 451 000 metric tonnes which was 14 percent below the average of the 1990's (Binswanger-Mkhize and Moyo, 2012).

For the past years maize and small grains (sorghum, millet) have been pivotal in ensuring that the country is food secure and they are an essential component for agricultural systems in dry conditions (FAO 2013). Small grains are used as a substitute in case of the failure of maize and as they are drought tolerant and they can survive and produce in cases where there is erratic rainfall. While I am discussing maize in this section, I feel that it is important to refer to small grains as they have also played an important role in ensuring food security. They are also quite popular with beneficiaries of the FTLRP as they are drought resistant and do not require expensive inputs like other crops. According to Moyo (2014), while other crops declined in the 2000's, the exception were small grains which grew by 123 percent relative to the level of the 1990's. This has been attributed to an increase in contract farming, the encouragement of small grain production by NGO's and as a survival strategy and a response to the twin challenges of food insecurity and drought by farmers in all the sectors. In 2008-2009 production peaked at 270 200 tonnes or 60 percent of the 1990's level. During the economic crisis (2008), and the first two years of dollarization, small grains did very well. In recent years there has been witnessed a reduction to just below the 1990's average due partly to reduced cropped area and reduced fertiliser use.

In order to get insights on the production of small grains and maize in Zimbabwe between 1980 to 2012, figure 6.2 below shows maize and small grain production. It shows maize and small grain production in relation to annual average rainfall and maize and small grains demand. It shows that in some years of drought like 1992 and 2002 there has been a marked decline in production as well as in the famous hyperinflationary year of 2008. In the post FTLRP period, the highest production had been in 2004 and that levels had not been reached again. In 2012, there had even been a decline compared to 2011. The trajectory is shown in the figure 6.2 below.

Figure: 6.2 Maize and Small Grain Production



Source: SMAIAS Database (2015)

In Goromonzi, an Agricultural Extension Officer (Interview, 12/10/15) indicated that in the district, they also encourage the planting of small grains to supplement maize production and it was for food security purposes in case erratic rainfall patterns or inputs shortages. He noted that small grains were not too expensive to grow compared to other crops, there was a market for them and they were popular. Former communal area farmers who are beneficiaries of the FTLRP had brought with them their experience and expertise in growing the small grains and were practising it now on the plots. He indicated that disaggregated data from the district in the 2014-2015 season had shown that all the farming sectors had produced a total of 78 9222t of

small grains from 171,01378 hectares. The average yield was 0.4615t per hectare. For maize, the farmers had produced 37 578.06t of maize and the average yield per hectare across all the farming sectors ranged from 0.6 to 3 (t/ha) and the total area which was cultivated was 35 609 ha. He believed that some of the trends in production output which are below expectations are due to poor farming practices, lack of inputs and a decline in fertiliser use by farmers across all the sectors. This confirms the observations made by Dekker and Kinsey (2011) and Scoones *et al* (2010) that nationally there has been a decline in fertiliser use. Dekker and Kinsey (2011) for example noted that in the old resettlement areas, fertiliser use had dropped from 280 kg/hectare in 1985-1986, 220 kg/hectare in 1999-2000 and 16.5 kg/hectare in 2009-2010. In the communal areas during this period it was 12.8 kg/hectare. This has been a common trend across all the sectors as for example as noted in Masvingo by Scoones *et al* (2010). While the use of the United States dollar is seen as having improved fertiliser use, challenges with accessing it and financial constraints were seen as still contributing to reduced fertiliser use.

Table 6.2 below provides us with insights on maize production nationally from 2012 to 2015 and the contributions of the different farming sectors. It shows that in 2012/13, the output in metric tonnes was 798 596, in 2013/14 it was 1 441 448 and it declined in 2014/15 to 742 226. The percentage increase between 2012/13 and 2013/14 was 80.5 percent while the percentage decrease between 2013/14 was -49 percent. Of interest is the high output of maize from communal areas when compared with the other sectors and the competitiveness of A1 farmers when compared with A2 farmers. They can be seen as having produced more in two consecutive seasons. The statistics show that small-scale farmers in Zimbabwe are quite productive and this speaks to debates which have been raised in literature on the contribution of communal farmers to agriculture in both the post-colonial and colonial period compared to the LSCF's. It also shows the important contribution which peri-urban agriculture is making to maize production and contributing to national food security. Table 6.2 below shows the maize production by different farming sectors in Zimbabwe including the beneficiaries of the FTLRP who had a combined output of 1 357 218 metric tonnes between 2012 to 2015

Table 6.2: The Contribution of Different Sectors to Maize Production (2012-2015)

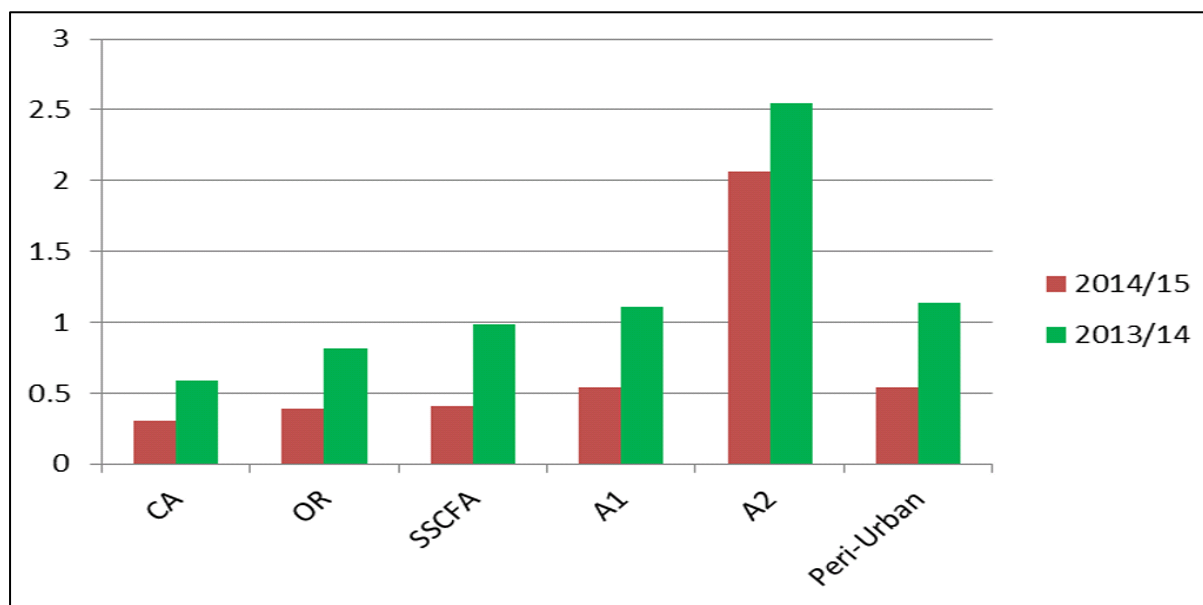
Sector	Production (Metric tonnes)		
	2012/2013	2013/2014	2014/2015
Communal Areas	303 351	636 274	279 300
Old Resettlement	78 500	131 137	57 167
SSCA	28 571	47 103	15 786
A1	188 120	322 663	158 703
A2	179 811	285 667	222 254
Peri-urban	20 073	18 664	9 016
Total	798 596	1 441 448	742 226

Source: Compiled by author from Ministry of Agriculture, Mechanisation and Irrigation Development Crop Assessment Reports 2013/14 and 2014/15

For A1 farmers who are the focus of attention in this study, in 2012/2013 their contribution to maize production was 23 percent. This was even higher than A2 farmers (who contributed 22 percent) and it repeated itself in 2013/2014 where the A1 farmers contributed 23 percent compared to 20 percent by A2 farmers. This changed in 2014/2015 when A1 farmers contributed 21 percent and A2 farmers 23 percent of total production. In all the seasons (2012/13, 2013/14 and 2014/15), communal farmers have always had a higher sectoral contribution to national maize production. In 2012/2013 it was 38 percent, in 2013/2014 it was 44 percent and in 2014/2015 it was 38 percent. The reasons for the differences in sector contributions differ. They can be attributed to different agricultural support schemes which the sectors have access to, preference for cash crop production compared to food crop production, fertiliser and input use, expertise and experience, agro-ecological conditions among other factors.

The national average yield of maize from 2012 to 2015 has fluctuated between 0.63t/ha to 0.85t/ha. Figure 6.3 below helps us to understand average yields of maize by the different sectors. It shows that A2 farmers in both seasons have had the highest levels average yields in metric tonnes per hectare followed by A1 and peri-urban farmers. For A1 farms, in 2014/2015, they were much lower than in 2013/2014. This has been blamed on erratic rainfall and I saw it reflecting in my fieldwork in Goromonzi as the output by the farmers in that year was slightly lower when compared with the other years according to respondents. The situation was most evident in the much drier Goromonzi South. Figure 6.3 below shows us the average maize yield trends from the Ministry of Agriculture in its “*Second Round Crop and Livestock Assessment Report 2014/2015 Season.*”

Figure 6.3: Average Maize Yields (MT/HA)



Source: Ministry of Agriculture (Zimbabwe), Second Round Crop and Livestock Assessment Report 2014/2015 Season

At district level, farmers are into maize production and as has been indicated earlier, in the district the output in the 2014-2015 season the output was 37 578.06t from all the farmers across the different sectors. This was in contrast to the 2011-2012 agricultural season which had seen farmers in the district producing 42 778t. The agricultural production trends in maize from 2011-2015 are shown below.

Table 6.3: Maize Production in Goromonzi (2011-2015)

Sector		2011-2012	2012-2013	2013-2014	2014-2015
CA	Area (ha)	18 200	19 150	19 170	19 178
	Yield (t/ha)	0.74	0.79	0.90	0.69
	Production (t)	13 468	15 128.5	17 253	13 232.82
A1	Area (ha)	5 898	6 324	6 512	6 524
	Yield (t/ha)	1.39	1.12	1.15	1.20
	Production (t)	8 198	7 082.88	7 488.8	7 828.8
A2	Area (ha)	6 606	6 712	6 900	6912
	Yield (t/ha)	2.22	1.8	1.9	1.8

	Production (t)	14 665	12 081.6	13 110	12 441.6
SSCF	Area (ha)	99	108	96	98
	Yield (t/ha)	3.57	3.2	3.1	3.0
	Production (t)	354	345.6	297.6	294
LSCF	Area (ha)	562	620	622	619
	Yield (t/ha)	2.49	2.10	1.89	1.76
	Production (t)	1399	1 302	1 175.6	1089.44
Peri-Urban	Area (ha)	1 924	2 100	2 210	2 278
	Yield (t/ha)	2.44	1.3	1.1	1.3
	Production (t)	4 694	2 730	2 431	2 961.4
Total Production (t)		42 778	38 671.19	41 756	37 578.06

Source: Compiled by Author from Agritex Goromonzi Reports (2011-2016)

Table 6.3 shows that there have been minor fluctuations in maize production in the district between 2011-2015. In the 2011-2012 season, farmers from across all the sectors had managed to produce 42 778t of maize. In the 2012-2013 season, it had decreased to 38 671.19t, increasing to 41 765t in 2013-2014 and decreasing again to 37 578.06 in 2014-2015. Many factors have contributed to these fluctuations and they include erratic rainfall patterns, increase and decrease in total cropped areas, issues to do with farming inputs and the contribution of peri-urban agriculture especially in the 2011-2012 season. The statistics shown in table 6.3 confirm observations in figure 6.3 which show that nationally, there was a decrease in maize output in the season 2014-2015 compared to the 2013-2014 season. For this thesis, the contribution of A1 farmers to maize output in the district is of importance. Despite cultivating smaller areas, their yield per hectare is high compared for example with the communal farmers. Communal farmers only beat them due to their high numbers, but the A1 farmers are quite competitive. Between 2011-2015, they produced a total of 30 598.48t of maize which is 19 percent of the combined sectoral contribution (this is within the range of the national A1 contribution which usually ranges between 20-23 percent).

The Agricultural Extension Officer at Dunstan farm in Goromonzi (Interview, 12/10/15) noted that generally there had been a decrease in maize production by individual farmers in areas under his jurisdiction compared to other years. He had attributed this to erratic rainfall patterns. Despite falling in relatively reasonable quantities in the district, the patterns had been erratic and this had negatively affected crops. Secondly, the unavailability and late disbursement of inputs had also contributed to the reduction in yields as well as a reduction in the cropped area for maize. Maize was shown as being one of the most popular crops in my study sample with 98 percent of the beneficiaries growing the crop and only two farmers indicated that they had not grown maize. Of these two beneficiaries, one had opted to concentrate on cash crops as he had done poorly in maize production the previous season. The other beneficiary had decided not to produce maize and had complained over low producer prices and non-payment by the Grain Marketing Board (GMB) which he said owed him money from the previous seasons.

From the study sample, the total production of the farmers ranged from 0 tonnes (t) to 60 tonnes (t) per beneficiary for the season. The total output from all the beneficiaries combined was 1 274.85t (an average of 8.4t). Of this output, 928t were sold. The total hectares which the farmers cultivated exclusively for maize was 327 hectares translating to an average of 2.18 hectares. The output from the beneficiaries was quite low considering that the district lies in an agro-ecological region which has always produced highly and is well suited for maize production. But I had to bear in mind the argument by Dekker and Kinsey (2011:1007) that for smallholder farmers "...at even moderate standards of cultivation, the output from one acre should have been over 1000kg, enough to feed a family of five for a year." This means that as the average output from the farmers is 2.18 hectares, the farmers have enough to eat and there is surplus which is left for sale. We also need to bear in mind that in as much as production levels are important, the A1 model was "...intended to decongest the communal areas" (PLRC 2003:6). Therefore, in these areas attaining high levels of productivity or their having a commercial orientation in production has not been prioritised. From the study, the largest group of beneficiaries (13 in total) managed to produce at least 1t of maize. This was followed by a group of 12 beneficiaries who produced 2t of maize; eight beneficiaries produced 0.5t; seven beneficiaries each produced 3t; six beneficiaries produced 6t and two sets of six beneficiaries produced 17t and 1.5t respectively. The rest of the beneficiaries had differing maize production levels but there were 22 beneficiaries whose harvest ranged from 20t to 60t on the A1 farms.

There were six farmers who indicated that they had not produced any maize from their fields. For me this was surprising because personally, I had always believed that maize is one of the least complicated crops to cultivate and any farmer who cultivates it is guaranteed of some return, but the fieldwork proved me wrong (this is an example of preconceived ideas which researchers take with them to the field). Escalabar Moyo (Interview, 13/11/15) is one of the farmers who failed to realise anything from the field in the 2014/2015 season. On the reason's why he had failed to produce he said:

The year was tough because I wanted to put a hectare under maize. After planting a small area, I realized I could not plant more as I had financial problems. This affected my ability to buy inputs and the inputs that we received from the President came late. So, my crop was not fertilized with either D or top (compound D and ammonium nitrate fertilizer). The situation was worsened by rainfall patterns. Rain came then it went for a long time only to return after the crop had been damaged. Due to these problems, I did not care or even weed the maize and as you can see my plot is right here at the boundary with that mountain and the forest so baboons and monkeys ate the little that was produced but it wasn't a lot and I did not get anything.

Maize production in the district differs but maize remains one of the most important crops. During the fieldwork, I noticed that agro-ecological conditions differ in the district. A lot of the farms in the southern parts of the district have relatively lower yields of maize compared to their counterparts in the northern parts, mainly in the Arcturus ICA. Low yields by farmers results from various factors, including constrained financing, which limits the size of the fields that is cultivated, availability and investment in labour on the plots, and the inputs used.

Maize is used for both household consumption and sold on the markets and as it does not require much technical expertise or machinery, and this makes it popular among the beneficiaries. Beneficiaries also have gardens where they cultivate green mealies for household consumption and for sell to markets mainly in Ruwa and Harare. What is important is to take note of how the FTLRP and the emergent agrarian structure have had an impact on maize production and the sectoral contribution to maize by beneficiaries of the programme. All farmers continue to be competitive in producing maize as has been shown in the discussion above. As a crop, the production of maize gives us an understanding on the production dimensions of the land reform programme. In the next section I look at another important crop which beneficiaries are cultivating which is tobacco.

6.2.2 Tobacco Production

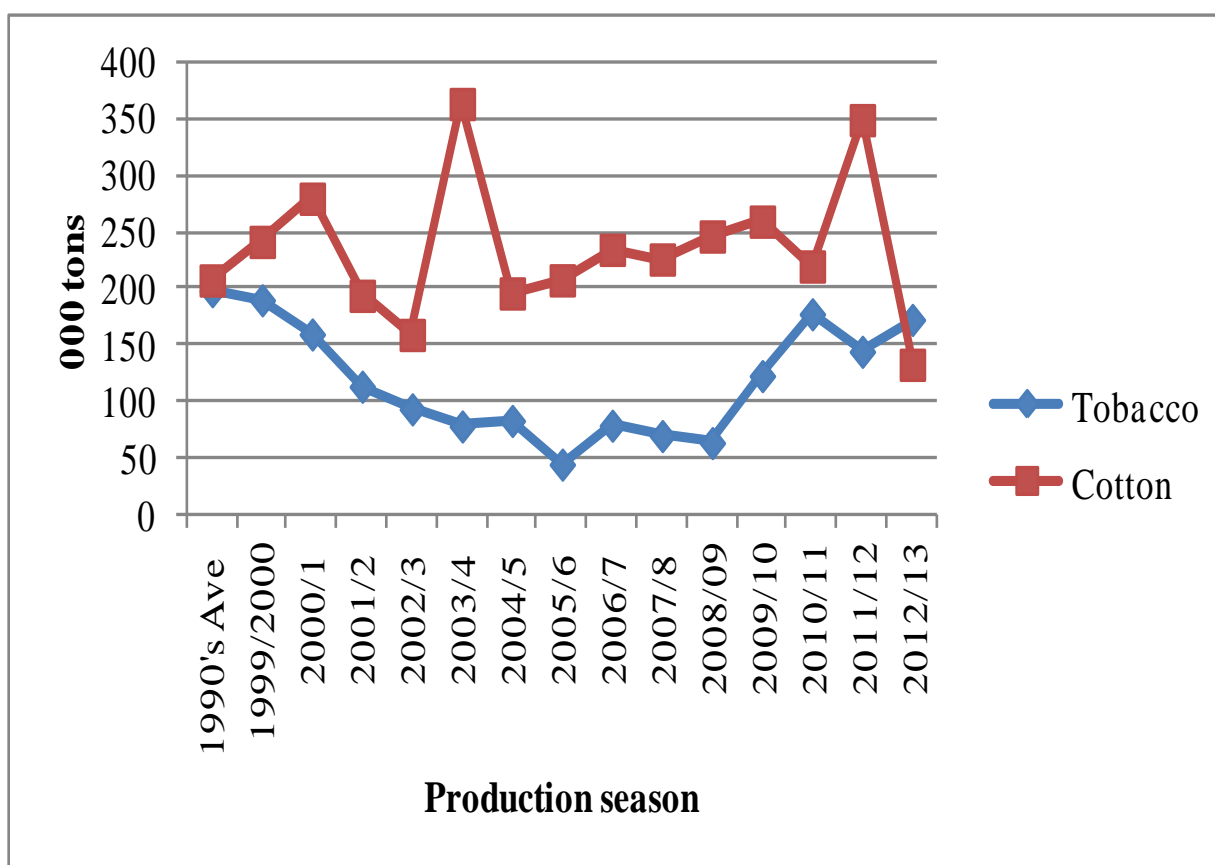
Chimutashu (Interview, 28/04/15) is a tobacco farmer in Bromley. He is a former farm worker who was among the lucky few to be allocated land in 2002. On his plot, Chimutashu grows a

number of crops, including maize, groundnuts, dry beans, tomatoes, pumpkins, sweet potatoes, vegetables, cucumbers and tobacco. The story of Chimutashu and his experiences tell us of tobacco farmers who have emerged with the FTLRP in Goromonzi District. The 2014-2015 season was particularly successful for Chimutashu as he managed to produce high yield across all the crops which he had cultivated including tobacco. Despite several challenges which he faced as he produced the crop, mainly financial, he managed to produce 6.7t from one hectare of land. Ongoing support from the Tobacco Sales Floor Company, the Kuwirirana Credit Group and the Zimbabwe Farmers Union had helped him immensely in his production activities. Proceeds from the sales of the tobacco and other crops had enabled him to purchase productive and non-productive assets, to send his children to boarding school and to finance his agricultural activities for the next season. Immediate benefits which farmers realise from a season work in producing tobacco has seen an increase in beneficiaries of the FTLRP engaging in this type of agricultural activity. Let us look briefly at the national context of tobacco production.

In Zimbabwe, tobacco production is important. Due to its high returns, there has been seen many farmers growing the crop. According to Binswanger-Mkhize and Moyo (2012:37), tobacco is one of the crops which has recovered since 2000. This can be attributed to easier access to credit by farmers growing the crop due to contract farming arrangements. They argue that tobacco used to be dominated by the LSCF sector. It had declined in production from an average of 198 000 tonnes in the 1990's to 82 000 tonnes. Between 2005-2006 it had further declined to 55 000 tonnes or only 28 percent of the average production of the 1990's. It started to recover slowly and this recovery accelerated in 2009-2010. At this time, it reached 103 900 tonnes which was almost half of the levels reached in the 1990's. There was a further increase in 2010-2011 to 132 400 tonnes. This increase according to Binswanger-Mkhize and Moyo (2012) brought production to around two thirds of the production levels which had been reached in the 1990's. The entry of smallholder tobacco farmers and new contractors and dollarisation was one of the major reasons which stimulated this increase. The figure 6.4 by Moyo (2014) provides a comparison of production levels between cotton and tobacco. It shows that while there was a decline in the production of tobacco, cotton was not as seriously affected, and even peaking in 2003/04. This has been attributed by Binswanger-Mkhize and Moyo (2012) to the fact that cotton was predominantly a crop grown by communal farmers and it had a large number of private contractors investing in the crop. After an increase in 2011-12, cotton had been badly affected by the vitality of international markets and downswings in market

prices. This coupled with policies had contributed to the dramatic decline in 2012/2013. But overall, unlike tobacco, cotton production was not as badly affected by the conditions in Zimbabwe’s agricultural sector like the other crops. The production trends of tobacco and cotton are shown below.

Figure 6.4: Tobacco and Cotton Production (1990-2013)



Source: Moyo (2014)

According to the Ministry of Finance (2015) and the TIMB (2015), in 2013 farmers had produced 165.85 million kg’s of flue cured tobacco. This had increased to 216 million kg’s. In 2013, tobacco sales had realised US\$610.31 million and in 2014, this had increased to US\$684.87 million. In terms of hectareage, there had been a 21.2 percent increase from 88 626 hectares in 2013 to 107 371 hectares in 2014. There had also been an increase in the number of tobacco growers, rising to 86 900 in 2014 from 78 756 in 2013. Table 6.4 below provides a comprehensive breakdown of the production of flue cured tobacco over a 20-year period from 1995 to 2015. It shows that before the inception of the FTLRP, there were few growers, but

the output was high. After 2000, there was a decline in production, but it has gradually recovered reaching 216 196 683 kgs sold in 2014. This has been the highest in recent years, but it is less than the 236 946 295 kgs in 2000 and 218 370 345 kgs in 1993 (which I believe should be credited to the LSCF's). It is important to note that the output which was attained in 2000 has been the highest since 1975 and it remains to be seen whether the level will be reached again. Table 6.4 below shows trends in the production of flue cured tobacco since 1995.

Table 6.4: Progress in Zimbabwe Flue Cured Tobacco Production (1995-2015).

Years	Growers	Area (Ha)	Mass Sold (kg)
2015	97 616	104 546	198 954 849
2014	106 372	107 337	216 196 683
2013	78 756	88 627	166 572 097
2012	60 047	76 359	144 565 235
2011	56 656	78 415	132 431 905
2010	51 685	67 054	123 503 681
2009	29 018	62 732	58 570 652
2008	35 094	61 622	48 775 178
2007	26 412	54 511	73 039 015
2006	20 565	58 808	55 466 689
2005	31 761	57 511	73 376 990
2004	21 822	44 025	68 901 129
2003	20 513	49 571	81 806 414
2002	14 353	74 295	165 835 001
2001	7 937	76 017	202 535 209
2000	8 537	84 857	236 946 295
1999	7 194	84 762	192 145 383
1998	8 334	91 905	215 913 864
1997	5 101	90 630	171 542 696
1996	2 921	81 231	201 550 527
1995	2 525	74 550	198 751 924

Source: TIMB (2015)

Table 6.5 below shows the number of registered tobacco growers in 2013 and 2014 while Table 6.6 shows the distribution by sector in 2015.

Table 6.5: Grower Number by Sector

Sector	2013	2014	% Change
A1	37 805	35 532	-6
A2	11 720	9021	-23
CA	48 292	45 617	-6

SSCA	8 639	7 465	-14
Total	106 456	97 635	-8

Source TIMB (2015)

Table: 6.6 Grower Distribution and Production by Sector 2015

Sector	Number of Growers	Mass (Sold)	USD Value	USD/KG	Hectares	Yield-Kg/Ha
A1	27,282	51,283,419	135,149,635	2.64	40,072	1,280
A2	6,982	70,892,762	237,697,628	3.25	27,662	2.561
CA	35 235	57,290,484	150,493,984	2,63	50,637	1,137
SSCA	5 875	19,867,426	62,756,241	3,16	10,352	1,919
Total	75 392	198,954,849	586,444,231	2,95	128,454	1,551

Source: TIMB (2015)

The tables provide insights on tobacco production in the country during this period. They show that the number of grower registrations decreased from 106 456 in 2014 to 97 635 in 2015. This is a decrease of eight percent. The largest decrease was in the A2 sector with a reduction of 23 percent and in the A1 sector it was six percent. It shows that the highest number registered growers in both seasons are found in the communal areas. This is followed by farmers in the A1 and A2 sectors. In terms of production in the 2014/15 season however, the highest number of growers were communal farmers who were at 35 253 and managed to cultivate 50 367 ha, producing 57,290,484 kg which sold for US\$150 493 984. Despite their numbers and area of cultivation they were beaten by the A2 farmers. A2 farmers (6982 growers) cultivated 27 662 ha producing 70,892,762 kg at US\$237,697,628. The A2 produced more because their yield at 2.561 was much higher than that of communal farmers who had 1.137 hence the difference in production levels. It shows that in terms of tobacco production, there has been witnessed fluctuations over the years. It will be interesting in the future to undertake a more nuanced analysis of these fluctuations over a long-term period to find the causes. The Table 6.7 below shows the grower distribution and production by sector in 2016. If we contrast the two years we are bale to see that in the A1 and A2 sector there is not much of a difference with a marginal decrease in the number of growers and output in 2016 compared to 2015.

Table: 6.7 Grower Distribution and Production by Sector 2016

Sector	No of Growers	Mass Sold	USD Value	USD/KG	Yield-Kg/Ha
A1	27,134	50,877,853	134,483,970	2.64	1,396

A2	6,594	70,274,099	262,122,732	3.31	1,949
CA	35 265	52,559,259	139,755,133	2,66	1,242
SSCA	5 474	19,573,383	59,578,272	3,04	1,799
Total	75 437	202,284,589	595,930,082	2,95	1,552

Source: TIMB (2016)

The total flue cured tobacco which was sold in 2015 was worth US\$586,444,231 from a mass of 198,954,849 kg which was produced from 128,454 hectares. This can be contrasted with 2016 where the mass sold was slightly higher at 202,284,589 kg. In 2015, the yield kg/ha was 1.551 and it was mainly the A2 farmers who had the highest yield in this area when compared to the A1 and A2 farmers who had 1.280 and 1.137 kg/ha respectively. For 2016, the yield was 1.552 which was a slight increase from the previous year and the A2 farmers produced more per hectare. The statistics above show us that A1 farmers are competitive producers who are doing better than communal farmers who are more in number than them but produce less. A1 farmers are also doing better than communal farmers in their yield per hectare, but their output is far less than A2 farmers. A2 farmers earned almost twice as much as A1 farmers in production and this speaks to issues of agricultural support, expertise and input mobilisation. The total cropped area for A2 farmers was much less than the cropped area for A1 farmers but they managed to produce more and earn more from their produce. The quality of their produce was thus much better and it fetched much higher prices at the auction floors.

In Goromonzi, unaggregated data from the District AGRITEX Office and TIMB (2015) for the 2014-2015 season provide us with important insights on the nature of tobacco production in the district. During this season, there were 991 growers who harvested from 3 641ha. The mass which they produced was 5 396 856 kg which was sold at an average of US\$3.22, realising US\$17 404 179 for the farmers. The yield kg/ha was 1.482. In the Mashonaland East Province the district came sixth out of eight with Marondera and Murehwa Districts leading. In my study in Goromonzi, 37 beneficiaries or 25 percent of the total in the study sample are into tobacco farming. The Agricultural Extension Officer in Goromonzi South (Interview, 12/10/15) indicated that this is a high number considering the difficulties and complications in producing tobacco. The beneficiaries cultivated a total of 87.1 hectares and produced a total of 123.48 tonnes or 123 480 kg's of tobacco. The average area which the beneficiaries cultivated was 2.3 hectares and the average output was 3.3 tonnes. With an average price ranging between US\$1.40 to US\$3.22 per kg depending on crop quality, the farmers received between US\$172,872,00 to US\$397,605.6 for their crop. In the study sample, nine farmers sold 2t of

tobacco while ten (five in each category) sold 1.5t and 1t respectively. The other categories comprised of beneficiaries who sold between 0.1 and 7.5 tonnes. Their numbers ranged from one to three persons and they made up the remaining 25 beneficiaries. The beneficiary who sold the highest sales managed to sell 7.5t.

These numbers fall in the range of findings by other scholars elsewhere. For example, Moyo *et al* (2009) reported of figures ranging from as little as 0.2 kg to 1t per household in Zvimba and Goromonzi. Matondi (2012) reported of A1 farmers producing 1t per hectare in Mazowe. The produce is quite low considering that these areas are in the rich agro-ecological regions with high rainfall and fertile soils. In Goromonzi at Buena Vista farm, an informant Tapureta (Interview, 9/09/15), who is a former farm worker with 32 years' experience in tobacco farming gave insights on some of the reasons why some farmers have low yields. He no longer works at a single farm but helps the farmers with advice and assistance to grow tobacco. On low yields by some farmers he said:

I have assisted many A1 farmers over the years. The problem with some of them is that they are stubborn and this affects their levels of production. When you tell them about the importance of planting and transplanting dates of 1 June and 1 September they don't listen. So, their plants will be weak and will be attacked by pests. They are stingy with fertiliser. They don't want to put the recommended amounts and they feel that you will be wasting. There are chemicals which must be sprayed on the plants and float-beds but they only use them when the plants show that they are under serious attack from pests. That is when they take action. The tobacco barns are not maintained and in the curing process they don't take their time and there is always pressure from others who will want to use them. So, this compromises the quality and the quantity of the tobacco. This is why it does not match with the tobacco which the whites used to produce.

Picture 6.1 below shows a conventional tobacco seedbed by two A1 farmers at Dunstan and Rochester farms. Although the seedbeds appear to be simplistic, they are very productive. The seedbeds serve their purpose and the farmers were anticipating that they would receive not less than US\$10 000 from the tobacco. The tobacco in the seedbeds is not only for the farmers use but they also grow in excess in order to sell to other farmers. The farmers just like many other tobacco farmers in the study sample have the two seedbeds captured in the Picture 6.1 below which helps us have a glimpse at their tobacco production activities.

Picture 6.1: A Conventional Tobacco Seedbed Belonging to A1 Farmers (Dunstan and Rochester Farms)



Source: Own fieldwork

In Goromonzi, I noted that tobacco barns on most A1 farms are now a common resource which are used by the farmers. Some of them are newly built and they are in fairly good condition when compared to other farm infrastructure left by the former LSCF which has since been vandalised and not repaired. At Dunstan, Ingwenya and Bains Hope farm for example, the irrigation system, tobacco barns, boreholes and greenhouses were vandalised and have never been repaired and most of the infrastructure lies idle and neglected. On the contrary, some of the tobacco barns (which bring in the money) are maintained but some farmers have now built their own tobacco barns as shown in Picture 6.2 below which shows a photo collage of a tobacco barn at Glen Avon farm. The reason for this is that the farmers need smaller and more fuel- efficient barns for their crops which are smaller in quantity per farmer compared to the large quantities produced by a single LSCF.

The barn (shown in Picture 6.2 below) according to the Agricultural Extension Officer (Interview 10/01/16) is a rocket barn²⁶ which is made mostly from local materials and the innovativeness of the farmers is shown in the picture where they used drums to make the funnel. The barn was built by an A1 farmer and he rents it out to other farmers for a fee. It has to be noted that most of the farmers use firewood to cure their tobacco. While some of the farmers have woodlots, most look for it from the surrounding forests (causing depletion of natural resources). This was said by the Agricultural Extension Officer as affecting product quality, reducing the market value of the tobacco as firewood is not as efficient as coal.

Picture 5.2: Tobacco Barn at Glen Avon Farm



Source: Own Fieldwork

²⁶ The rocket barn according to the Arex officer is a new and innovative tobacco barn design introduced and encouraged by the Tobacco Research Board. It has a smaller furnace diameter, is fuel efficient and usually has a double chimney system to draw in more air for faster curing. It is affordable, easy to build and it is designed for small and medium scale farmers. In the rocket barn, 4 kg of wood is burnt to produce 1kg of cured tobacco unlike the conventional barn which uses 9 kg of wood to produce 1 kg of cured tobacco. The rocket barn also has a capacity to cure 15 000 leaves (which is equivalent to 0.5 hectares of cropped area). Its curing cycle is 5 to 6 days unlike the conventional barns which take 7 to 10 days.

Picture 6.3 below shows an abandoned and neglected tobacco barn at Dunstan farm which is now being used by the farmers for storage and residency purposes. The barn which is one of two at the farm is very large that a single A1 farmer cannot use it and it is not economic or efficient for the A1 farmers to use them hence they have not been utilised. The barn tells a story of an aspect of the FTLRP which needs to be re-looked at to see how some of the farm infrastructure can be utilised perhaps as a common pool resource with farmers curing their tobacco together during a certain agreed period.

Picture 6.3: A Tobacco Barn at Dunstan Farm



Source: Own Fieldwork

A Case of Alternative Agricultural Production Activities

Farmers do not only engage in 'traditional' agricultural activities (like maize, tobacco and cattle rearing and so forth) but I noted that in Goromonzi there are some farmers who are pursuing new and contemporary farming activities from where they have identified new market opportunities. An example is Mudavanhu of Belvedere farm (Interview, 30/11/15). Mudavanhu engages in seasonal crop production just like the other farmers but he specialises in free range chicken rearing and mushroom production. Mudavanhu's chicken rearing business is different from other farmers who rear free range chickens. His chickens are the Boschveld free range chickens which are slightly different from free range chickens found in Zimbabwe. He says that initially he smuggled fertilised eggs from a farm in South Africa which he later hatched at his plot. This was in 2014 and since that time he has been producing and rearing the chicken which he said is in high demand by individuals, hotels and restaurants. The chicken grows faster than the local chickens and they are tastier and more nutritious. But it has the same characteristics of the free range and it is not expensive to rear. At the time when I interviewed him, Mudavanhu had 1 056 chickens which he was rearing which were at different levels of growth. He had fenced off a large portion on the plot where the chickens stay comprising of chicken coops where they sleep and an area where they eat and range freely. Mudavanhu said he gets anything between US\$3.00 and US\$3.50 per kg for chickens sold and his profit ranges between US\$150-US\$200 for each batch of 100 chickens sold. When Mudavanhu is not busy with the chickens, he works on his mushroom business. He said that mushroom farming is an alternative activity for farmers and is available for those who do not have capital. It does not require much inputs, equipment or expertise. At Mudavanhu's plot there are three rooms which he has constructed for his business. He concentrates on producing the oyster and button mushrooms and harvests on a weekly basis. Just like his chickens he has an exclusive market for his mushrooms and it includes restaurants, hotels and supermarkets which include OK, TM and Food Chain Group. While his initial investment was initially just US\$600 including a three-day training which he attended, he said he now makes between US\$300-US\$500 a month. His mushrooms sell for anything between US\$0.50-US\$1 for every 200g. He said for the agricultural activities which he undertakes, he mainly uses local materials and he has a guaranteed market as he has identified a market for which there is high demand and less competition. I found it interesting that from the three small rooms, Mudavanhu was realising so much income which was even more than what others were producing from cultivating large hectares of land and crops which take months to grow. His mushrooms only take a few weeks. Mudavanhu has recognised a fringe market for traditional foods and during different seasons of the year he forages for *mbeva* (mice), *ishwa* (termite alate) and *makurwe* (tobacco cricket/*brachytrupes membranaceus*) which he sells to individuals along the highway, and exclusive restaurants where they are served as a delicacy. He said he gets a good price for them as there is high demand. These are freely available on the farms and represent the natural resource extraction discussed elsewhere in this thesis. For Mudavanhu these activities ensure multiple sources of household income and they are also a source of food and nutrition.

6.3 Livestock Production

Rukuni *et al* (2006) have argued that the FTLRP affected livestock production in various ways. Zimbabwe, prior to the FTLRP used to have a robust livestock sector. Beef which was produced mainly by the former LSCF was exported to European countries and it was in demand. State support and subsidies in the livestock sector had contributed to the growth of the industry but with the coming of the FTLRP, this has changed dramatically, and beneficiaries are now on their own. At district level in Goromonzi, in addition to crop production A1 beneficiaries are also into livestock production. Livestock is important for both household consumption and for sale. For rural households, "...cattle are an important store of wealth and as a means of production and reproduction" (according to the Livestock Production Extension Officer, Interview on 30/09/15). Table 6.8 below shows the number of animals which the farmers in the study had in the 2014-2015 season.

Table 6.8: Livestock Production in Goromonzi

Livestock	Farmers currently in production	Total livestock in 2015	Total livestock at inception of FTLRP	Percentage increase (%)
Cattle	100 (67%)	868	236	268
Sheep	8 (5%)	39	9	333
Goats	96 (64%)	796	179	345
Chickens	124 (83%)	6834	2780	146
Ducks	5 (3%)	51	12	325
Turkey	1 (0.6%)	4	0	NaN
Rabbit	2 (1%)	22	2	1000
Donkey	64 (43%)	244	110	122

Source: Own Fieldwork

Table 6.8 shows that most beneficiaries keep chickens. 124 of the farmers or 83 percent indicated that they keep chickens. In 2015, they had 6 834 chickens compared to 2 780 which they had brought with them when they were allocated land. The farmers indicated that they keep chickens as they are not too complicated to rear, they have a ready market and they are also good as a source of food and nutrition. Some of the beneficiaries have so many chickens that they have lost count of how many they have and could not immediately give a figure of how much they had as the chickens are always being slaughtered, sold and breeding in a continuous cycle. In order for them to provide me with a number, they had to count the chickens in order to have the current numbers and some of the beneficiaries were even surprised at how many chickens they now had. Cattle followed the chickens in popularity with 100 beneficiaries or 67 percent having cattle on their plots. The farmers had 868 different types of cattle and this

was a 268 percent increase as they had only 236 cattle at the time when they were allocated land and brought with them. Goats are also popular among farmers in Zimbabwe especially among communal farmers and the beneficiaries of the FTLRP are no exception. They are preferred as they are not too expensive to look after, they can be quite productive if well taken care of, there is a ready market for them. They provide meat for household purposes and they are in demand for some traditional and ritual purposes. Ninety-six (64 percent) of the beneficiaries keep goats and there were 796 goats on the farms. This was a 345 percent increase showing that the breeding of goats is increasing. Five farmers in the study keep ducks and there were 51 ducks in total, followed by five farmers who keep sheep totalling 39. There were 22 rabbits kept by two farmers, and lastly one farmer kept four turkeys. Another form of livestock which farmers keep which is not for consumption but is used to perform various chores is the donkey. This animal is used for cultivating fields and in most cases pulling scotch-carts (two wheeled trailers). It is also used for transporting people and goods. Sixty-four farmers had 244 donkeys but at the inception of the FTLRP the farmers only had 110.

The evidence presented above has shown that livestock production in Goromonzi District has grown steadily over the years. It shows that there is potential and there can be improvement if the necessary support is given. For the wellbeing and welfare of the beneficiaries to be realised, it is important for their productive capacities to be enhanced and livestock production shows a lot of potential as an instrument for achieving this. According to my respondents, livestock is important for them as a store of wealth especially cattle, they also very useful at homesteads in providing draught power and they are a source of nutrition and food for the household. One of the beneficiaries Stanley (Interview, 02/08/15) of Ingwenya farm indicated that if one has livestock, one can never be completely broke. He gave an example that he has chickens which give him about 90 eggs a day and this translates to about US\$20 a day if he manages to sell them. He also said that he can sell chickens for between US\$5 or US\$6 for live chickens or provide them to local butchers at anything between US\$3.00 or US\$3.50 a kilogramme. Goats sell for anything between US\$30 and US\$45 each or one can sell them per kilogramme to the local butchers or restaurants. So, Stanley argued that there are multiple channels which one can use to get money on the farms on a daily basis if one takes livestock production seriously. During the fieldwork, I noted that these issues raised by Stanley on different revenue streams which beneficiaries use on a day to day basis to gain an extra income are quite common. Beneficiaries use livestock production to enhance household income. Cattle in particular are important for the safekeeping of ones wealth and as a hedge against inflation as has been argued

by Scoones *et al* (2010). But this is on condition that there are no critical emergencies and droughts which can erode their importance and can result in farmers disposing them off cheaply. The picture 6.4 below which was taken at Glen Avon farm shows some of the cattle kept by an A1 farmer, known as Gono-Chirandu. He indicated that he has 18 herd of cattle which serve various purposes on the farm including providing draught power, milk, manure and cash after being sold. Every year he slaughters one of his cattle which provides his family with meat for the whole year and for him and other A1 farmers, cattle have become a very important asset serving multiple purposes.

Picture 6.4: Part of the cattle herd kept by an A1 Farmer at Glen Avon Farm



Source: Own Fieldwork

6.4 Income from Agriculture

Looking at the FTLRP's outcomes in production, it is vital that we also look at agriculture's contribution to household income. Such an analysis enables us to appreciate how much agriculture contributes to the household which impacts on the welfare and wellbeing of

members. Moyo *et al* (2009), Scoones *et al* (2010) have argued that land reform has enhanced the income, food security and livelihoods of beneficiaries as they are able to engage in productive activities. An aim of social policy is to redistribute wealth and income while enhancing the productive capacities of citizens. When we look at the FTLRP in the context of the contribution of agricultural activities we are able to see how households now have a source of income from agriculture.

Table 6.9 below from the SMAIAS Household Survey (2013-2014) provides us with important insights on how agriculture is contributing to domestic income. One can note that a high number of households are reliant on crop and livestock production for household income. In 2011 it was 63.6 percent, in 2012 it was 66.5 percent and in 2013 it was 64.5 percent. Between 2011 and 2013, the average incomes per settlement model varied. A comparison between A1 and communal farmers shows that for example in 2011 agricultural incomes for A1 beneficiaries ranging between US\$1-US\$500 were 29.8 percent, for US\$501-US\$1000 (14.7 percent), >US\$3000 (9.9 percent). In 2012 for the same categories it was 29.8 percent, 13.8 percent and 9.9 percent and lastly in 2013 it was 28.9 percent. For communal areas, there was a higher number in the low-income categories during the same period. For communal farmers in 2011, the households in the US\$1- US\$500 was 37.3 percent, US\$501-US\$1000 (4.7 percent), >3000 (0.9 percent). In 2012 in the same categories it was 35.8 percent, 5.7 percent and 0.9. In 2013 it was 35.8 percent, 5.7 percent and 1.6 percent. The full statistics and trajectories are shown in table 6.9 below and the conclusion which I can draw from it is that in terms of household income from agriculture, the A1 farmers are doing relatively well compared to their counterparts in the communal areas. While other variables may also play a part, to a certain extent it can be argued that this is due to the redistributive nature of the FTLRP which has enhanced the productive potentials of beneficiaries. Increased income has transformed the lives of the beneficiaries as they are able to acquire assets, provide for household needs and participate in the local and national economy. The income of farmers across the different sectors are shown in sections the table.

Table 6.9: Household Income from Agriculture

	Income Range	Settlement Type							
		A1		A2		CA		Total	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
	0	147	30.8	80	26.9	170	53.8	397	36.4
2011	\$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: SMAIAS Household Survey (2013/14)

In summary, the Table shows that in 2011, the highest number of households receiving income from agriculture ranged from US\$1-500 (26.1 percent). This was followed by >US\$3000 (14.7 percent), US\$501-US\$1000 (9.7 percent) and US\$1001-US\$2000 (8.3 percent). In 2012, the highest number of households were in the US\$1-500 (25.3 percent), this was followed by >US\$3000 (15.6 percent), US\$1001-US\$2000 (10.1 percent), US\$501-1000 (9.7 percent) and US\$2001- US\$3000 (5.8 percent). In 2013, the highest range was the US\$1-US\$500 (25 percent), >US\$3000 (15.55 percent), US\$1001-US\$2000 (7.7 percent) and lastly US\$2001-3000 (4.1 percent). These statistics show that farmers are managing to get an income from their agricultural activities and the income differs. Some A1 farmers are even managing to receive in excess of US\$3000. This shows that engaging in agriculture can be rewarding. If we make a comparison with social welfare initiatives in the country like the HSCT programme. We can see that beneficiaries under the programme can never hope to get such an amount. The highest a household can get in a year is US\$300. This strengthens the case for alternative social policies like land reform which allow the beneficiaries to be active producers unlike the residual social policy approach which has been adopted by many countries including Zimbabwe.

6.5 Agrarian Support and Production

Agricultural productivity in Zimbabwe has been affected by many factors. According to Scoones *et al* (2010, 2015), Scoones (2017a, 2017b) one of the ‘myths’ of the FTLRP was that land reform had caused a decrease in agricultural production and resulted in food insecurity. They have argued that there are many variables which one needs to take into consideration before one makes this simplistic and empirically deficient assessment and conclusion. The agrarian structure has undergone changes but questions arise as to whether the associated agricultural infrastructure has been restructured to meet the new dispensation. Binswanger-Mkhize and Moyo (2012) have argued that low levels of production have been primarily caused by capital scarcity and not due to poor farming skills by the beneficiaries. They give an example of cotton and tobacco where an increase in access to credit and contract has resulted in a simultaneous increase in production in the post FTLRP. Trajectories show that with continued support in major crops and having had two decades to settle down, beneficiaries are poised to be more productive than the former LSCF’s. While prospects for the beneficiaries are positive, there are challenges which they face which I will look at in this section. My fieldwork showed that agricultural support is important if the FTLRP is to achieve its maximum potential and if the productive potentials are to be enhanced. While productive outcomes of the FTLRP are evident as has been shown in this chapter, there is need for increased support to the beneficiaries and links to the wider economic linkages at a local and international levels. In the same vein policies need to be revisited and continuous engagement need to be done to further enhance the productive capacities of beneficiaries. If these issues are addressed, I believe that the expected social policy outcomes of the FTLRP will be realized. Let me look at the issue of agricultural finance and how it has impacted on production.

6.6 Agricultural Finance and Production

We do not have access to finance. Banks do not accept our offer letters as collateral and this has had a negative impact on our agricultural production activities. There are some cash crops and some horticultural products which are highly paying and have markets even in Europe which we would like to produce but we cannot as we don’t have the money. We end up growing useless and poorly paying crops like maize, *nyimo* (round-nuts), groundnuts and *mbambaira* (sweet potatoes) because the finance is not there. The situation has been worsened by sanctions. These sanctions have effectively frozen foreign currency from outside and shut us out from international markets (Participant at FGD held on 27/06/15)

The issue raised by one of the participants at an FGD highlights a very important issue when it comes to production by beneficiaries which is of agricultural finance. Beneficiaries complained

that they do not have access to loans or other forms of agricultural finance. Farmers also see the restrictive sanctions imposed on the country's leadership as having a negative impact on their agricultural production activities. In addition, there was a complaint that the support of the government to agriculture (the agriculture ministry in particular) was too little compared with other ministries. This issue was well articulated by an Agricultural Extension Officer (09/02/17) who said:

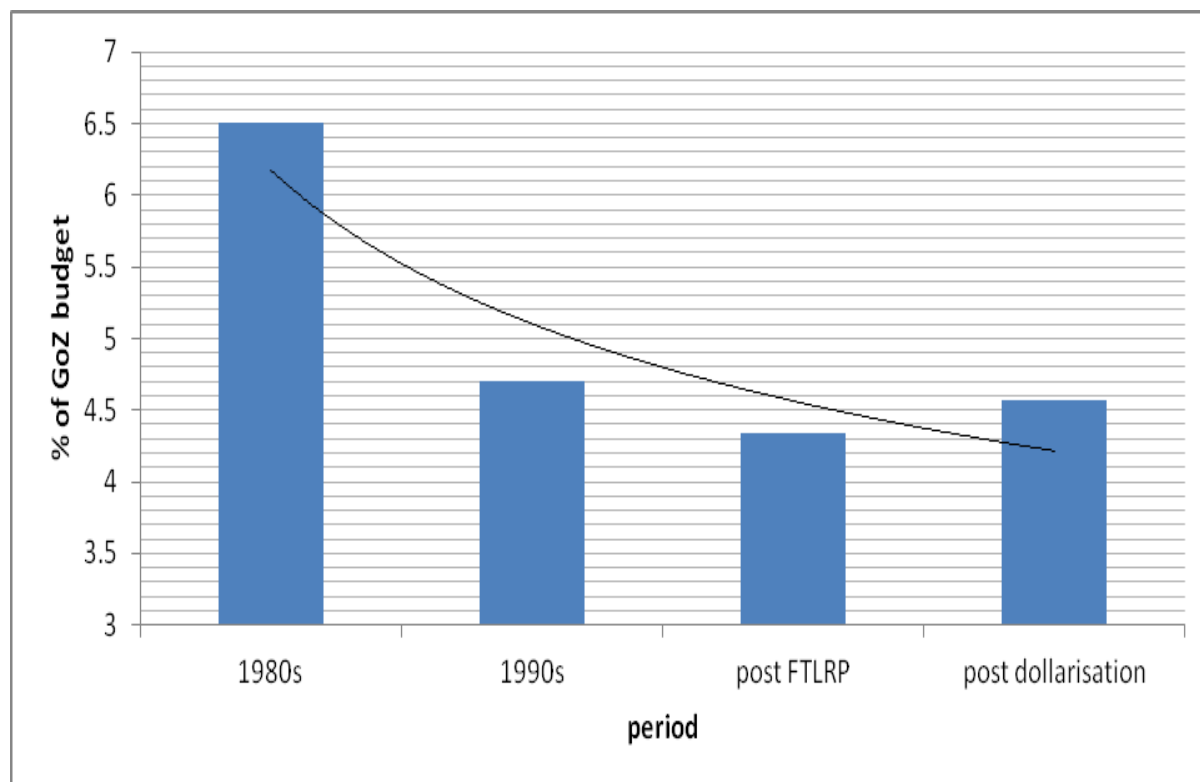
Generally, people complain even the newspapers that the farmers are not producing well. They even accuse the farmers especially the A2 farmers of being even worse than communal farmers. But you will find the situation that is there is because of many factors. These farmers cannot access loans in banks. They offer letters a just a piece of paper which banks do not take seriously enough to give them even a dollar. So, they cannot fund their agriculture like the old white farmers. They rely on *chimbado* (informal credit schemes) which has exorbitant interest rates to fund their agriculture or money sent from outside the country by their children. With such funding, surely you cannot expect much. Secondly, we the extension officers are supposed to assist them but we have so many challenges. I am supposed to have a motorbike to do field visits and hold demonstrations but I cannot as I don't have the motorbike. Instead of fortnightly demonstrations I combine and hold them once a month. I have to use my own funds at times to commute in the wards or the farmers assist here and there to have me in their area. But this is not their responsibility. This just highlights the conditions which we work and the fact that there are very few resources. Even other government departments that are supposed to provide technical support are not adequately resourced and this impacts on output.

The issues raised above raise critical questions on the role which finance is playing in agriculture in Zimbabwe. Finance is important in stimulating and driving production which is a key outcome if we look at the FTLRP using the transformative social policy conceptual framework. Moyo (2011) argues that changes in the agrarian structure have resulted in changes in capital operations. The former LSCF had access to credit before the FTLRP, but the same could not be said for the small-scale black farmers. The FTLRP and associated socio-economic issues which emerged in Zimbabwe especially after 2000 have seen a change in agricultural financing. In this section, I briefly look at these and ascertain their impact on production.

Government support for agriculture is quite critical especially from a production perspective. Financial support is essential for increased agricultural production. According Binswanger-Mkhize and Moyo (2012), the channelling of resources to finance agricultural activities such as extension services, investment in research and rural infrastructural development and public support to agricultural credit are important for production. A major challenge in Zimbabwe, is that agricultural support and credit have remained limited due to various factors and this has had an effect on production. In Zimbabwe, since 1980, the government has provided budgetary support to agriculture mainly through the agriculture ministry as well as through parastatals

like the GMB, AgriBank and ARDA. Figure 6.5 below show the government spending on agriculture

Figure 6.5: Budget allocations for Agriculture in Zimbabwe

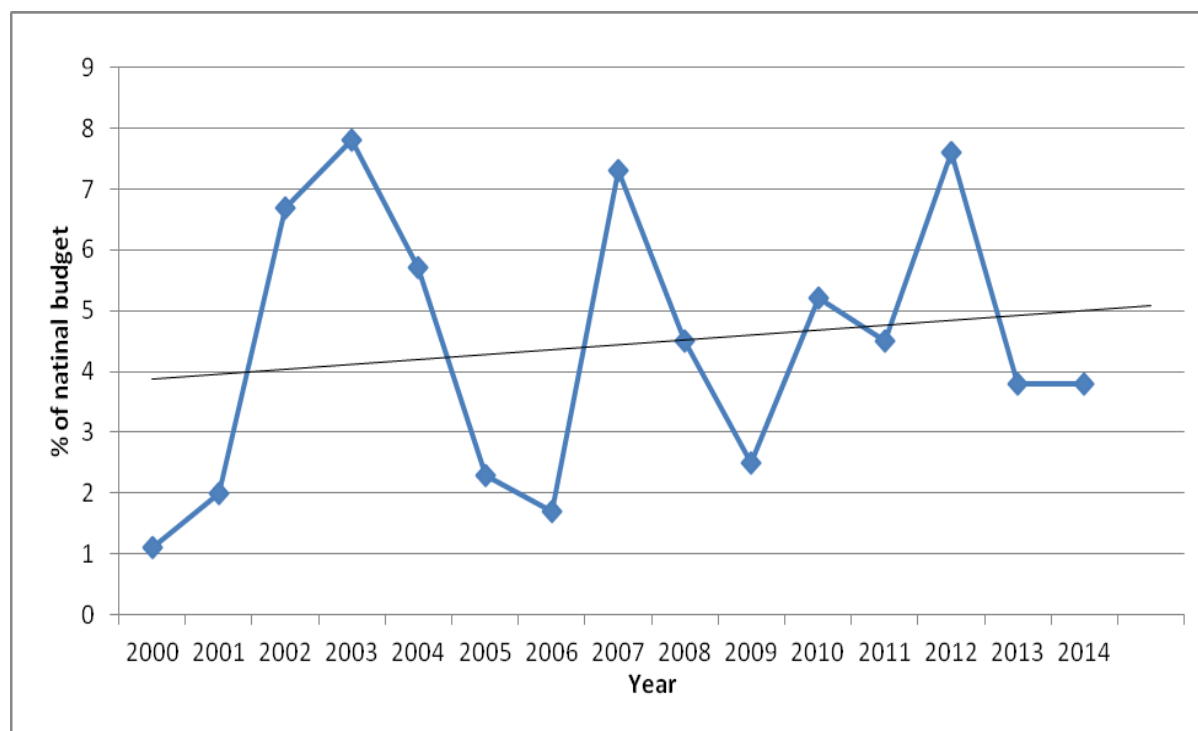


Source: Moyo (2014)

Figure 6.5 from Moyo (2014) shows that in the 1980's, agriculture had an average share of 6.5 percent of the national budget which dropped in the 1990's to 4.7 percent. After the FTLRP, it further dropped to 4.3 percent until 2008. Since then it has risen to an average of 4.6 percent from 2009 to 2014 and this has been attributed to dollarization of the economy which brought short term stability. The trajectories in the budget *allocation* in agriculture are a reflection of the economic and political dispensation at the time. Moyo (2009), Biswanger-Mkhize and Moyo (2012) have argued that in the 1980's, there was a high allocation in the agricultural sector due to attempts to redress imbalances which had been created by colonialism. There were several foreign donors who were willing to support agriculture. Consequently, public spending on agriculture was high throughout the 1980's. In the 1990's there was ESAP and the neo-liberal dispensation resulted in cuts in spending on agriculture. Public spending on agriculture was reduced during the whole period in the 1990's and it spilled over to the period of the FTLRP. During this period, there was even more reduced public spending in agriculture.

Reduced public spending on agriculture as shown in Figure 6.6 below which has only started recovering after 2008, increasing in 2012 but declining in 2013 and 2014.

Figure 6.6: Percentage Allocation of Agriculture in National Budget (2000-2014)



Source: SMAIAS Database (2015)

The year 2000 saw the lowest budget support to agriculture. As shown in the Figure 6.6 above, in 2000 it was 1.1 percent and in 2001 it was two percent of the national budget. From 2002 to 2004 it was 6.7 percent, 7.8 percent and 5.7 percent respectively. In 2005 and 2006 it declined significantly to 2.3 percent and 1.7 percent respectively. Since 2009, when it dropped significantly, the budget allocation has fluctuated. Since 2009, the general rise in budget allocation has been from 2.5 percent to 3.8 percent and it has been remained inadequate. Most of the funds are channelled towards administration expenses and payment of salaries and very little is left for the actual agricultural activities. This occurs in a context where the country is facing serious economic challenges and has limited access to international lines of credit. The country has faced challenges in paying back its creditors and in 2014 for example, the debt of Zimbabwe to GDP ratio was at 77 percent. It has thus faced challenges in paying back its debt. In such a context, most of the “...credit given to farmers has been through private agribusiness contracting firms” (Binswanger-Mkhize and Moyo 2012). It is in this context that that

beneficiaries face the issues cited at the beginning of this section by a participant at an FGD and the Agricultural Extension Officer that farmers are facing challenges when it comes to issues of finance and there is limited support from the state. This brings another important issue of agricultural finance which focusing on the ability of farmers to access credit.

6.6.1 Agricultural Credit

Access to credit has been a major issue which has negatively affected the production levels of the beneficiaries of the FTLRP. According to Moyo and Yeros (2007), the collapse of freehold property rights which came with the FTLRP resulted in the retreat of international capital. Moyo and Nyoni (2013) have argued that there has been a shift in the operations of the banking sector after the FTLRP. They (banks) prefer to work with private merchants who then provide credit to the farmers. Private agricultural credit which was provided by commercial banks dropped from US\$315 million in 1998 to US\$6 million in 2008. There has been some recovery with private commercial banks increasing their support from US\$6 million in 2008 to US\$620 million by 2014 (BAZ 2014). Despite this increase, farmers continue facing challenges accessing loans to finance their agricultural activities and this negatively impacts on their productive activities. If the FTLRP is to live up to its fullest potential, it is important that there is need for adequate agricultural finance. The old LSCF's were successful partly because they received credit from financial institutions in addition to subsidies from the state (PLRC 2003, Rukuni *et al* 2006). This has not been the case with beneficiaries of the FTLRP who face challenges in accessing credit.

Table 6.10 below from Agriculture and Livestock Survey (A1 and Communal, 2012 and 2015) provides a national insight on the access of farmers to loans by A1 and communal farmers for 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013 and 2015. It shows that fewer A1 farmers have access to credit compared to the communal farmers. Most of the loans which are provided to the farmers in both sectors are short term loans and this raises questions on whether they can be sustainable for long term agricultural projects. Scoones *et al* (2015) put the number of A1 farmers at 150 000. So, if we are to estimate the percentage of A1 beneficiaries who have successfully accessed credit in 2010 it is 12.8 percent, 16.7 percent in 2011, 17.8 percent in 2012, 13.2 percent in 2013 and 9.3 percent in 2015. There is a downward trajectory from 2015 which reversed the upward trend experienced between 2010 and 2012. Tenure insecurity and lack of assets are some of the challenges which beneficiaries have which result in them failing to access credit. Communal farmers on the other hand are mixed with some having employment, some

have assets acquired over the years including houses in urban areas and businesses, so they have collateral which gives them access to credit and this is unlike A1 farmers. The credit extended to the A1 beneficiaries is shown in table 6.10 below.

Table 6.10: Access to Credit by A1 and Communal Farmers

Type of Credit								
Year	A1				Communal Areas			
	Short Term	Medium Term	Long term	Total	Short Term	Medium Term	Long term	Total
2010	19 216	0	0	19 216	86 601	432	224	87 257
2011	25 062	0	0	25 062	116 022	2 101	185	118 308
2012	26 565	46	17	26 627	130 615	6 381	0	136 996
2013	19 627	126	0	19 753	117 816	141	174	118 131
2015	13 742	308	0	14 051	69 269	0	0	69 269

Source: Agriculture and Livestock Survey, A1 and Communal (2012, 2015)

Table 6.11 below from the survey shows the reasons why farmers accessed credit for 2011, 2012, 2013 and 2015. For A1 farmers looking for credit was mainly to purchase crop inputs, farm equipment and for other uses. Most of the farmers borrowed to buy inputs and this trend is common across all the five years. The same trend is also observable among the communal farmers who mainly borrow in order to purchase inputs. This can provide an explanation as to why short-term loans are very popular among the farmers. They take short term loans in order to purchase crop inputs and after harvesting and selling, they make enough money to repay the loans and be in a position to take a short-term loan again.

Table 6.11: Reasons for Getting Credit

Year	A1			Communal Areas					
	Crop Inputs	Farm Equipment	Other	Crop Inputs	Livestock Inputs	Farm Equipment	Livestock Purchased	Tillage Services	Others
2011	25 052	0	10	117 812	0	47	0	0	47
2012	26 573	18	36	136 710	0	198	0	0	141
2013	19 485	84	184	116 815	270	510	600	0	0
2015	13 874	44	133	69 269	0	129	0	178	652

Source: Agriculture and Livestock Survey, A1 and Communal (2012, 2015)

Findings from the SMAIAS Household Survey (2013-2014) paint a slightly different picture from the one presented above. They show that more A1 farmers 20 or 4.2 percent were able to access credit compared to six or 1.9 percent of communal farmers. The survey showed that

across all the sectors most of the farmers were not able to access credit between 2011 and 2013. In the resettlement areas only 10.5 percent managed to access agricultural credit while 89.5 percent did not access credit. In the communal areas, the story was the same with only eight percent managing to access credit with a massive 92 percent did not get credit. The trends in agricultural credit can be seen in table 6.12 below.

Table 6.12: Access to agricultural credit by settlement type 2011 to 2013

	Settlement Type									
	A1		A2		Total RA		CA		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Yes	20	4.2	61	20.6	81	10.5%	6	1.9	87	8
No	458	95.8	235	79.4	693	89.5%	310	98.1	1003	92
Total	478	100	296	100	774	100.0%	316	100	1090	100

Source: SMAIAS Survey (2013-14)

The statistics above show that beneficiaries face challenges in accessing credit and this has an impact on production. I believe that it provides an explanation as to why farmers have not performed as well as expected given these bottlenecks in their productive activities. In addition, Binswanger-Mkhize and Moyo (2012) have argued that where farmers have access to credit, the interest rates are so high and maturity short. This negatively impacts on production. In Goromonzi, beneficiaries pointed this out and indicated that even though some banks offer credit, the interest is too high, and the terms are tough. This makes them to decide not to take the loans and they opt for alternative channels to finance their agricultural activities and I will look at them in sections below. The other issue which is largely unexplored has to do with low level of documentation by the beneficiaries. While some may have the offer letter (which unfortunately differ from district to district) they do not have other documentation which give banks enough confidence to give them access their credit or other financial services. This low-level documentation among beneficiaries is of concern as it has also negatively impacted on asset accumulation.

Since formal support in agriculture through the state and financial institutions is lacking, questions arise as to where the beneficiaries are getting the funding to support their productive activities. The SMAIAS Household Survey (2013-14) showed that there are several alternative channels which farmers use to finance their agricultural activities. Table 6.13 below for example shows that most of the farmers in 2013 were receiving credit support from private

companies. This was particularly high in the A2 sector where 77.5 percent of the farmers were being given support. This shows that increasingly contract farming is becoming an alternate source of agricultural support in the face of lack of government or commercial bank support. Commercial banks had only managed to support 11 percent of the farmers and it was only for the A2 model. The trajectories in agricultural credit are shown in Table 6.13 below.

Table 6.13: Sources of Agricultural Credit by Settlement Type

Sources of Agricultural Credit	Settlement Type									
	A1		A2		Total in RA		CA		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No.	%	No	%	No	%
Government Scheme	1	12.5	0	0	1	2.1	0	0	1	1.9
Private Company	3	37.5	31	77.5	34	70.8	3	50	37	68.5
Commercial bank	0	0	6	15	6	12.5	0	0	6	11.1
Relatives and friends	0	0	1	2.5	1	2.1	0	0	1	1.9
Cooperatives	0	0	1	2.5	1	2.1	0	0	1	1.9
Microfinance Institutions	3	37.5	1	2.5	4	8.3	0	0	4	7.4
Chimbadzo	1	12.5	0	0	1	2.1	0	0	1	1.9
Other Sources	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	3	50	3	5.6
Total	8	100	40	100	48	100	6	100	54	100

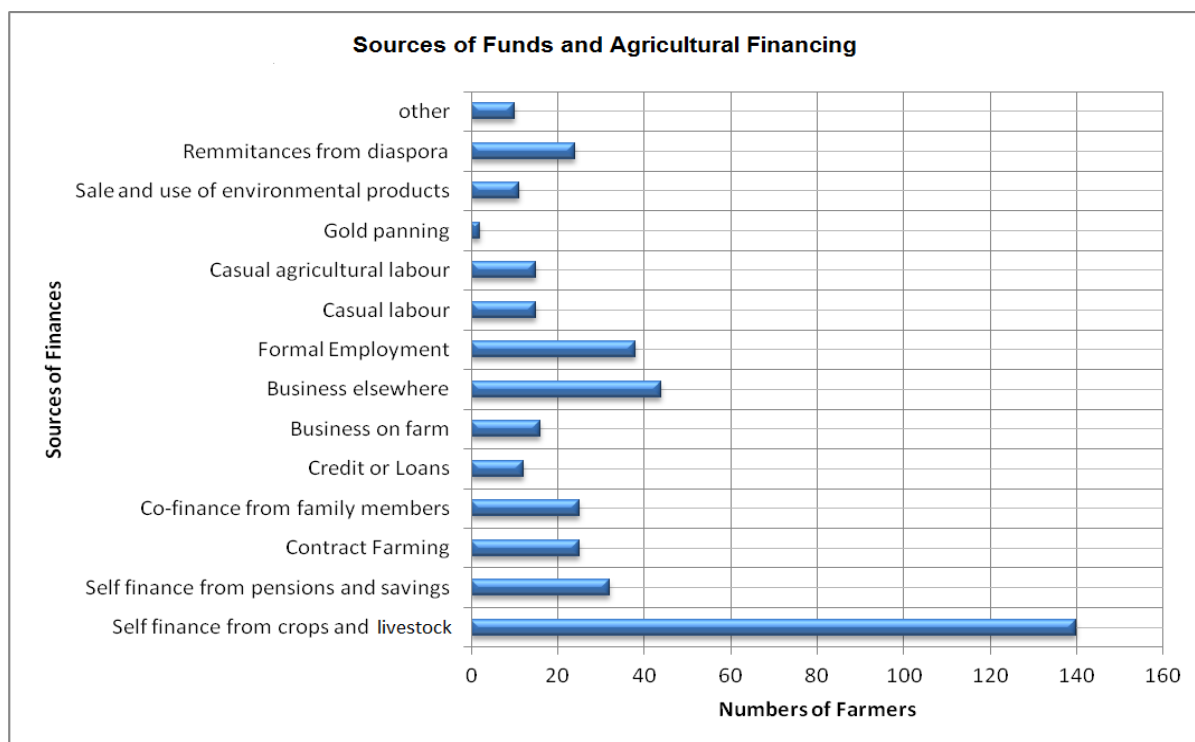
Source: SMAIAS Survey (2013-2014)

The table above illustrates that credit from state institutions in the year 2013 was only extended to a few households at 1.9 percent and it was given mainly to the A1 households. This reflects the discussion which at the beginning of this section in which I highlighted that there is not much financial support which is being provided to support agriculture in Zimbabwe. The constraints the government is facing in funding agriculture is reflected at district level. Private players are filling this funding gap through contract arrangements and there are issues which are arising from this. Some beneficiaries in my study sample indicated that they are not comfortable with private players as their motivation is to make profit and, in the process they feel exploited. I will briefly touch on this issue when I look at the issue of marketing of agricultural produce.

In Goromonzi, farmers from my study have their own arrangements which they use to finance their agricultural activities. Figure 6.7 below summarises some of the sources which beneficiaries use to fill the funding gap which exists in agriculture due to inadequate state and

financial institutions support. Some of the farmers are not reliant on single income streams and have multiple activities which they use to finance their agricultural activities. The major sources of finance for agriculture include sales of crops and livestock, businesses elsewhere, formal employment and co-financing by family members. The activities which farmers engage in serve two purposes, firstly they are an alternate source of funding for their farming activities and secondly, they serve as sources of income which they use to supplement household income. This touches on other social policy outcomes of the FTLRP which include reproduction and protection in addition the production which we are discussing here. The alternative sources of agricultural finance by beneficiaries in the district are summarised in Figure 6.7 below.

Figure 6.7: Sources of Funds and Agricultural Financing



Source: Own fieldwork

The prevailing agricultural finance structure which now exists in Goromonzi according to respondents in FGD's has arisen due to high interest rates and short lending terms. This situation has forced beneficiaries to seek alternative agricultural financing channels. There have emerged informal lending traders and schemes as well as loan sharks whose services are in demand due to the prevailing situation. Borrowing from them also has its challenges but they are not as strict as formal institutions when it comes to issues of collateral. If these lending channels are not available respondents indicated that this is when they resort to their own

resources like wages, remittances, pensions and so forth but this is not always their preference. Contract and out-grower farming are increasingly playing a role in agricultural finance. Beneficiaries felt that the system was not fair as financial institutions preferred to fund these private players and not the farmers whom they denied credit. They felt that at the end of the day it was not fair as they did all the work but they did not get fully rewarded for their effort and the involvement of too many players made them not to fully realise the benefits of working on the land.

6.7 Agricultural Production Support Services

Agricultural support is important for the production outcomes of the FTLRP to be realised. There are a number of support services which are in place aimed at enhancing the productive capacities of beneficiaries. There are government departments which provide technical support to the beneficiaries. The SMAIAS Household Survey (2013/2014) showed that there are several government departments which beneficiaries are in contact with from which they access several services. Table 6.14 below shows some of the government departments from which farmers access different services which enhance their productive activities.

Table 6.14: Contact with Government Agencies by Settlement type for 2013

Government Extension Provider	Settlement Type											
	A1 Model			A2 Model			Communal Area			Total		
	No.	%	N	No.	%	N	No.	%	N	No.	%	N
Agritex	443	96.7	458	238	91.2	261	230	96.6	238	911	95.2	957
ARDA	8	1.8	454	3	1.2	252	21	8.8	238	32	3.4	944
Dept of Veterinary Services	338	74.0	457	139	54.1	257	114	47.9	238	591	62.1	952
Dept of Livestock Prdn & Dev	140	30.9	453	52	20.3	256	54	22.7	238	246	26.0	947
Dept of Irrigation	49	10.8	455	34	13.3	255	2	0.8	238	85	9.0	948
Dept of Natural Resources	134	29.5	455	39	15.3	255	25	10.5	238	198	20.9	948
Forestry Commission	106	23.5	452	25	9.9	253	36	15.1	238	167	17.7	943

Source: SMAIAS Survey (2013-2014)

Across the six districts it was shown that agricultural extension officers have the highest contact with farmers across all the sectors at 96 percent. This was followed by the Department of Veterinary Services (DVS) which managed to reach 47.9 percent of the farmers and the Department of Livestock Production and Development (DoLD). For the A1 sector, the highest

contact was with extension officers at 96.7 percent, DVS at 74 percent and the DoLD at 30.9 percent. The Department of Natural Resources (DNR) and Forestry Commission also contact with A1 beneficiaries and this shows that issues to do with the environment, natural resources and conservation are of concern in the farming areas as they are addressed by this department and parastatal. The least contact was made with the Department of Irrigation at 10.8 percent, showing that most of the A1 farmers are not involved too much with issues to do with irrigation hence there is not much contact between them and the responsible department.

Across all the sectors, extension officers are quite visible and they have a lot of contact with farmers across all the sectors. In Goromonzi District, in each ward there is an extension officer and beneficiaries have contact with these officers more than any other officers in government departments. This confirms the observations made by Murisa (2009) that extension services are present and active at local levels. While extension officers maintain a heavy presence on the ground, in the Masvingo Province, it has been noted that there are some challenges with extension services (see Scoones *et al* 2010, 2015). This is because some of the qualified and experienced staff have since passed away and their post have remained unfilled. They do not have the requisite transport to perform their duties and lack of research and development by government institutions due to challenges. This has hampered their ability to offer up-to-date advice on agriculture. Advice on agricultural issues is increasingly being offered by private input suppliers, agro-dealers and companies offering contract farming. But on the ground the extension officers that are there are committed to providing services despite the challenges which they face especially lack of adequate resources.

In Goromonzi, extension workers reside close to the communities which they serve and they visit and train the farmers. I noted that the extension officers have excellent knowledge of agricultural production in the areas which they serve as well as the individual farmers needs, strengths and weaknesses. They go the extra mile to serve the farmers and some who do not have transportation opt to travel long distances on foot or on bicycles in order to serve the beneficiaries. I noticed that due to their commitment, extension officers have endeared themselves well with the beneficiaries. The extension officer at Dunstan farm for example who has a plot of his own together with his wife who is also an extension officer in another ward has developed an area for demonstrations on his plot. He invites farmers for demonstrations and trainings. The plot is ever busy with farmers seeking advice and being trained and I saw this as an example of the commitment which is demonstrated by the extension officers. They

go the extra mile with limited resources in order to deliver services to the farmers. In addition to providing support and advice to the farmers, extension workers facilitate training on the Master farmer course for the beneficiaries of the FTLRP. Due to several challenges, the SMAIAS Household Survey showed that only the 9 percent of sampled A1 and A2 beneficiaries had successfully received training up to the Certificate level of the Master Farmer programme and 1.7 percent had attained the Advanced Master Farmer Certificate. Picture 6.3 below from Dunstan farm shows part of the Agricultural Extension Officer 's demonstration plot. At the time when I took the photograph, he had tomatoes in the demonstration plot and this is where farmers are taught good agricultural practices. In this demonstration plot many farmers have received training on agriculture.

Picture 6.5: Agriculture Demonstration Plot at Dunstan Farm



Source: Own Fieldwork

Over the years, there are a number of schemes of agricultural support which were introduced by the government targeting A1, A2, communal, state owned farms and large estates. These include in 2002 – 2013 free inputs which were provided by the state. There was the Productive

Sector Financing (2004) which provided agricultural loans and it targeted A2 farmers. The Agricultural Sector Productive Enhancement Facility (2005) provided credit to agriculture. In 2005 there was *Operation Maguta* which was aimed at increasing agricultural output and boosting food security. Through *Operation Maguta*, the government provided inputs and ploughing support for maize and wheat. The Zimbabwe National Army (ZNA) was an important implementer of the programme responsible for co-ordination. The ZNA also ensured that land was ploughed, and inputs were transported to the schemes timeously. Other schemes which were put in place to boost labour in agriculture, increase agricultural productivity, increase seed production, and to resuscitate and expand irrigation included the Champion Farmer Scheme (2008 to 2009). There was also a farm mechanisation programme (2003 to 2008) as well as a Seed Supply Recovery Programme (2002 to 2008). Other programmes included the Irrigation Rehabilitation and Development (2004 to 2011) and the Agricultural and Rural Development Authority (ARDA) Recovery from (2003 to 2006) (Moyo 2013:206).

In Goromonzi in recent times, one of the support programmes available to farmers is the Presidential Well Wishers Input Programme. According to the Agricultural Extension Officer (Interview, 13/10/15), the scheme provides support to beneficiaries so that at least in every agricultural season they have somewhere to start. He indicated that under the scheme for maize production, each beneficiary is provided with 10 kg of seed maize, 50 kg ammonium nitrate as well as 50 kg of compound D fertiliser (small grains and beans are now also becoming part of the package). Support under this programme is provided to A1, communal and former small-scale commercial farmers in the old native purchase areas in Goromonzi. According to BAZ (2014: [O]), in the 2013/2014 agricultural season, the scheme had mobilised US\$252.3 million to support 1.6 million households. Support was towards maize and small grains (US\$184.8 million), Livestock (US\$51.2 million), cotton inputs (US\$9.9 million) and soya beans and cowpeas (US\$6.2 million). One FGD participant (FGD on 16/08/15) had this to say about the Presidential Input Scheme

The President has good intentions in providing us with inputs because he knows that we need the support. Even the white farmers were supported by Smith during Rhodesia and the President knows and he supports it. The problem is with the way the programme is being administered. I think there is too much corruption, politicking and even sabotage there. We only get maize seed and D fertiliser in December or January or even February when the half the season has gone and you really cannot do anything much with it unless maybe you have irrigation. We have to keep it and use it in the next season but at times with the larger grain borer you will find it eaten and you have to throw it away. Such a situation of the late delivery of the inputs negatively affects agricultural production. It is not even surprising that some beneficiaries end up selling

the inputs on the black market because they come late and rather than lose them through poor storage they opt to sell them and at least get something.

The sentiments by the participant were confirmed by the Agricultural Extension Officer who indicated that inputs that come through the scheme are usually very late and at times cannot be used as the season would have progressed. Farmers thus at times keep the inputs for the next season, but due to poor storage facilities some of the inputs end up getting wasted or diverted to the markets. For those who use the late inputs, there can be significant losses at times as the crops do not fully mature. He however was optimistic that things would change as every year there is a slight improvement of the time when the inputs are disbursed to beneficiaries.

In addition to the scheme outlined above, beneficiaries in Goromonzi are also receiving support through other government-initiated programmes. The Lands Officer in Goromonzi (Interview, 12/10/15) indicated that there is for example the Brazilian Facility which is now being implemented at Buena Vista, Rochester and Chibvuti farms. On these farms, beneficiaries form a group and are assisted with irrigation infrastructure, tractors and inputs. The programme seeks to increase the productive levels of the farmers and to maximise on the available irrigation infrastructure. As a group, the beneficiaries share the costs of all inputs and equipment which is provided to them. They are under the supervision of government agencies which provide the farmers with technical and other requisite support. At the time of the fieldwork, the programme had just begun, and it was still too early to make an assessment of how it is impacting on the beneficiaries. A follow up is quite essential after three or four years to ascertain the extent which the programme has impacted on production and the lives of the beneficiaries.

Table 6.15 from the SMAIAS Household Survey (2013-2014) shows access by the beneficiaries to agricultural extension services offered by the government. It shows that most of the A1 farmers access extension services as 97 percent accessed the service compared to three percent who did not. Even in the A2 sector 88.8 percent of the beneficiaries accessed the service compared by 11.2 percent who did not. Communal area farmers were also seen accessing the services, but a lower scale compared with their counterparts in the resettlement areas. The statistics are presented in table 6.15 below.

Table 6.15: Access to Agricultural Extension Services

Accessed Government Extension Services	Settlement Type							
	A1		A2		CA		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Yes	458	97.0	261	88.8	238	76.0	957	88.7
No	14	3.0	33	11.2	75	24.0	122	11.3
Total	472	100.0	294	100.0	313	100.0	1079	100.0

Source: SMAIAS Survey (2013-2014)

Agricultural support is quite important in enhancing the productive capacities of land reform beneficiaries. Over the years, the government has put in place different initiatives aimed at providing the requisite support to the beneficiaries of the FTLRP. According to Moyo (2013) between 2001 and 2006, the government put in place several strategies aimed at supporting beneficiaries to increase productivity through what was known as ‘Command Agriculture’. It entailed setting up of targets for outputs as well as providing credit and subsidies. The Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe (RBZ) was also active in introducing a number of agrarian reforms in the farming sector. The RBZ provided agricultural finance, inputs and it procured equipment for use on the farms. It encouraged reforms which included encouraging the use of contract farming, the production of diverse crops, the imposition of market controls and trade protection. In addition, the GMB was responsible for the development and adoption of policies on the monopolization of grain procurement by the GMB, and the prohibition in the use of genetically modified seeds. It ensured that foreign currency was provided to the agro-industry at a cheaper price (Moyo 2013).

In my study sample, there were some beneficiaries who had benefitted from the RBZ programme. Mai Charehwa (Interview, 6/09/15) for example indicated that she had benefitted from the RBZ Programme and she was not sure whether it had been in 2008 or 2009. She had managed to get an ox-drawn plough and scotch-cart. Another beneficiary was Chimutashu (Interview, 28/04/15). He indicated that he had been given a scotch-cart and inputs. He had wanted a tractor but had failed to get one as they had been mainly for A2 farmers in the area. He was hopeful that the government would come up with another programme as this one by the RBZ as it had benefitted most of the farmers.

The SMAIAS Household Survey (2013-2014) provides us with insights of the support which farmers are receiving from the government and NGO's. Table 6.16 below shows the recipients of crop input subsidies from 2011-2014.

Table 6.16: Crop Input Subsidies (2011-2014)

	Settlement Type									
	A1		A2		Total in RA		CA		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
GoZ 2011/12	139	29.1	18	6.1	157	20.3	74	23.4	231	21.2
NGO 2011/12	8	1.7	4	1.3	12	1.6	16	5.1	28	2.6
GoZ 2012/13	132	27.7	19	6.4	151	19.5	94	29.7	225	20.6
NGO 2012/13	4	0.8	1	0.3	5	0.6	18	5.7	23	2.1
GoZ 2013/14	221	46.3	17	5.7	238	30.7	143	45.3	381	35
NGO 2013/14	4	0.8	2	0.7	6	0.8	13	4.1	19	1.7

Source: SMAIAS Survey (2013-2014)

The table shows that input subsidies are meant for vulnerable groups as they are concentrated on A1 and communal farmers. Government support was mainly concentrated in the small-scale farming areas while non-governmental organisations assisted mainly farmers in the communal areas. The bigger and better resourced A2 farmers have not been targeted in the provision of input subsidies relative to the A1 and communal farmers by either government or NGO's.

6.8 Agricultural Markets

Scoones *et al* (2015:198) argue that an important outcome of the FTLRP has that "...it has seen the emergence of commercialised farm production which has production links between markets and the core economy." Value chains have been shown as having emerged in Masvingo Province which link inputs suppliers, distributors, aggregators, transporters, retailers, supermarkets and farmers. Studies by Moyo *et al* (2009), Scoones *et al* (2010), Mkodzongi (2013), Matondi (2012), Mutopo (2011) and others show that there has emerged a pattern of accumulation from below (after Neocosmos 1993 and Cousins 2010). As is confirmed in this thesis due to the FTLRP, there have emerged a new class of petty commodity producers who are in a continuous process of selling and investing. Scoones *et al* (2015) calls this group farm-based entrepreneurs and my findings collaborate observations made by Scoones *et al* (2015) in the Masvingo Province.

Looking at production from a social policy perspective, I believe that the issue of agricultural marketing is of importance. While beneficiaries may have land, the value of that land and its potential is only visible when it is used productively. The involvement of beneficiaries on the markets, selling their produce is one way in which they can unlock value from the land and benefit from it economically. While it is not the aspiration of all A1 farmers to use the land as a business, exploring the activities of some of the beneficiaries on the market and looking at the emergent value chains is important in showing us the degree to which the FTLRP has improved the productive capacities of beneficiaries. In this context, the land is seen to be allowing them to participate in the economy and contributing to national development.

Table 6.17 below from the SMAIAS Household Survey provides insights on the number of farmers who produced various crops and how many decided to put their crops on the market in the in the 2013-2014 agricultural season. It shows that for A1 farmers, it is mainly export crops and oil seeds which have high returns which they sell. Soya beans (51.5 percent), tobacco (92.7 percent) and cotton (68.1 percent) where the crops which the highest number of farmers sold. Maize had only 33 percent farmers selling it, groundnuts 7.3 percent, and sugar beans 35.3 percent. A2 farmers can be seen selling more maize, soya beans and sugar beans. The same trends which we witness with the A1 farmers are also shown with the communal farmers who prefer to sell cash crops and retain food crops like maize for household consumption and they do not just sell it. The trajectories in crop selling are shown in the table below.

Table 6.17: Crop Sales (2013-2014 Season)

Crop Type	Settlement Type											
	A1			A2			CA			Total		
	NP	NS	%	NP	NS	%	NP	NS	%	NP	NS	%
Food Crops												
Maize	451	149	33	228	139	59.2	301	36	12	980	320	32.7
Millet	24	0	0	0	0	0	48	0	0	72	0	0
Sorghum	97	9	9.3	4	1	25	93	5	5.4	194	15	7.7
Rapoko	12	0	0	1	0	0	8	0	0	21	0	0
Sugar Beans	51	18	35.3	59	29	49.2	10	3	30	120	50	41.7
Roundnuts	126	0	0	18	0	0	84	0	0	228	0	0
Cowpeas	63	0	0	8	0	0	72	0	0	143	0	0
Oil Seeds												
Groundnuts	193	14	7.3	59	10	16.9	131	5	3.8	383	29	7.6
Soya beans	33	17	51.5	45	37	82.5	1	0	0	79	58	68.4
Sunflower	19	6	31.6	3	0	0	5	0	0	27	6	22.2
Key Export Crops												
Tobacco	55	51	92.7	59	47	79.7	1	0	0	115	98	85.2

Cotton	47	32	68.1	0	0	0	9	6	66.7	58	38	65.5
Estate Crops												
Sugar Cane	2	1	50	39	36	94.7	1	0	0	42	37	90.2

NP = Number of Producers, NS = Number of Producers who sold, % = % of proportion of producers who sold

Source: SMAIAS Survey (2013-2014)

In Goromonzi, beneficiaries indicated that there are various places where they sell their agricultural produce. The Agricultural Extension Officer (Interview, 12/10/15) indicated that when it comes to crops like maize farmers sell to the GMB, local boarding schools, to private companies like National Foods and other private buyers. Grinding mills and households in Goromonzi (from the communal and farming areas) and surrounding urban areas in Ruwa, Harare and Chikwanha (in Chitungwiza) also purchase the maize. Farmers also sell maize at their farms and along the major highways where they get customers who will be travelling. Tobacco is bought by companies which include Boka Auction Floors, Premier Tobacco, Dashville Tobacco, Tobacco Sales Floors and Zimbabwe Leaf Tobacco. He indicated that most of these companies have contacts with the farmers and the tobacco is sold using these contractual arrangements. The views of the agricultural extension officer were collaborated by farmers in the FGD's. They indicated that they sell maize to the GMB and private companies/buyers, but they also sell to local people who may require small quantities at the farms, at farm stores, at grinding mills, along the highways and to surrounding urban areas. Agricultural products like vegetables have a market at Mbare Musika in Harare, the streets of Harare CBD (as shown in the example below) local mines and vegetable markets in Goromonzi. They also sell at the farms and along the major highways especially along the Harare-Mutare highway. Other agricultural products like dry beans, potatoes, soya beans, chillies and so forth are sold to different buyers who include private companies, individuals (from the farming areas, communal as well as urban areas), schools, supermarkets, local businesses and vendors.

The 'Street Market' in Harare CBD

For some Goromonzi farmers like Baba Dee (interview 01/02/17) the streets of Harare have provided a lucrative and easy market for him to sell his agricultural produce. He currently owns an A1 plot at Warrendale farm where he grows crops which include maize, bambara nuts, cabbages, tomatoes, leafy vegetables, sweet tomatoes, cucumbers and onions in addition to livestock rearing. For Baba Dee, the relaxing of city by-laws by the City of Harare since 2015, has provided him with an opportunity to sell some of his agricultural products directly to customers in Harare. During the time of the fieldwork, I interacted with him while he sold leafy

vegetables, onions, cabbages, cucumbers and tomatoes on the pavements of the streets of Harare. He indicated that he has three different selling points on the street (along Robert Mugabe Way, Chinhoyi Street and Cameroon Street) and family members and hired workers sell on his behalf as he is usually busy on the farm. In addition to selling his agricultural produce directly to customers, he also provides agricultural produce to other vendors at a cheaper price in bulk. Baba Dee said that the relaxing of by-laws had given him an advantage as it allowed him to avoid dealing with middlemen at Mbare Musika who in most instances made it difficult for the farmers to realise any meaningful profit. He also indicated that the US\$1 which the City Council was collecting from them was fairly reasonable given the brisk business which they were experiencing and the exposure to a large number of customers. Three times a week, Baba Dee transports his vegetables to Harare from the farm and he has no problems with transportation as he owns a one tonne truck (which he bought from the proceeds of farming) as well as a house in Harare's Westlea suburb. Depending on the season, time during the month and available customers, Baba Dee indicated that he makes anything between US\$40 and US\$60 a day and he grosses between US\$1200-US\$1800 a month. For him this is a reasonable amount which goes a long way to supplement his household income. He indicated that if he compares to the sales and profit which he makes from selling vegetables in Harare CBD it is more profitable than when he used to sell his agricultural produce at Mbare Musika, along the highway to Mutare or at the farm.

Of note is that although Baba Dee is doing well, the practice of selling agricultural produce on the streets of Harare, is contentious and highly debated. The City of Harare has in the past attempted to regularise the practice by relocating those who sell on the streets to designated markets as they are operating in contravention of the city's by-laws. The vendors operate under very unhygienic conditions as they do not have proper sanitary facilities, and this is in addition to shop owners and 'legal vendors' at council market places complaining that these vendors on the streets are taking the bulk of their customers.

What is interesting when one looks at the case of Baba Dee is how farmers have now become innovative, identifying market gaps which they exploit to their advantage and directly sell to customers in urban Harare. Although with time this activity will end, for Baba Dee it has had its advantages as he has managed to acquire a number of assets, to complement household income and to expand his customer base through the exposure of selling his agricultural produce in urban Harare. Baba Dee's agricultural produce can be seen in the picture below which shows some of the produce which he sells himself and some which is sold by his customers.

Picture 6.6: Baba Dee's Agricultural Produce in Harare CBD



Source: Own Fieldwork

When it comes to the livestock market, farmers in FGD's indicated that they trade cattle among each other and they also sell to butcheries in Harare, Goromonzi, Ruwa and Marondera. They also sell to abattoirs like Binder, Surrey and Koala. This confirms the findings by Scoones (2014) that while there has been the loss of export markets for cattle. There have emerged a broad and diverse group of producers in the beef industry. These producers are linked to local trader's suppliers and sellers. This trend is also applicable to other agricultural products and there have been economic benefits for many people. Pigs, goats, sheep and chickens are sold to households which require them, and these come from different areas with the district as well as places outside of the district. Butcheries, schools and markets in Goromonzi and different places in Harare, Ruwa, Chitungwiza and Epworth are also popular destinations for selling livestock. This was collaborated by my findings from the 150 beneficiaries in the study sample who also indicated that the areas mentioned above were the main areas where they sold their crops.

In order for farmers to have a fair return of their effort and for their productive capacity to be enhanced, it is important that they receive fair and adequate payment for their produce. One of the complaints which the beneficiaries had in Goromonzi was against the GMB and middlemen at tobacco and vegetable markets who they felt were unfairly profiting from them. The SMAIAS Household Survey (2013-2014) showed that the market for cereal crops was dominated by buyers from the private sector. Consequently, 31.5 percent of the A1 farmers opted to sell their crops to private buyers. This was because the GMB was failing to pay farmers on time. It used to have a monopoly in grain procurement between 2002-2008 but with liberalisation of the market and dollarization, it had faced numerous challenges which had forced it to fail to pay farmers on time. In Goromonzi, this was evident with farmers choosing not to sell their maize to the GMB. This sentiment was expressed by T. Musasiwa (Interview, 17/09/15) who said:

You can trust the GMB at your own peril. Never sell maize in bulk to them because they don't pay or they delay payments. I have stopped supplying maize to them. I now prefer dealing with private players who are relatively reliable.

Other beneficiaries however did not share this sentiment and believed in taking their maize to the GMB. Others opted to sell part of their produce to the GMB and to some to private buyers who paid in cash but at a lower price than the GMB. Beneficiaries who believe in the GMB include Smart Munyawiri (8/09/15) who said:

I sell most of my maize to the GMB. As farmers, I feel it is up to us to feed the nation. People were against us getting land and I am sure that if we do not feed the nation it is taken to mean that we have failed. So, I feel it is our duty to feed the nation and supply maize to the GMB. The current situation where maize is being imported for example from Zambia is unacceptable. GMB does have its challenges, we need to understand that and support it. We need to grow other crops so that as we wait for GMB to pay us we are not stranded. We need to thank the government for giving us land and we can only do this by filling up the silos with maize.

His sentiments were echoed by Mai Tapiwashe (Interview, 14/10/15) who said:

When you cultivate maize, you can be assured that you have a ready market and the other thing is that private buyers since they will be having cash will actually pay low prices so it's a big disadvantage either way so I would rather sell my maize to the GMB.

The SMAIAS Household Survey (2013-2014) found that A2 farmers are motivated to sell their maize to GMB. They are attracted by the prospect of them acquiring subsidised inputs which the GMB provides to qualifying farmers who provide it with inputs. In selling their produce to

the GMB, farmers are cautious, and they were quite aware that the GMB rarely paid them on time. Despite this, beneficiaries continued to sell part of their produce to the GMB and to private buyers.

Discussions held with beneficiaries in FGD's and interviews with the Agricultural Extension Officers showed that farmers have challenges when selling their crops. They complained that when it comes to vegetable markets there are middlemen who intercept their produce and buy it from them at cheap prices. They then sell it to vegetable wholesalers at Mbare Musika and they realise a profit from it. I accompanied a beneficiary of the FTLRP, Mr Mafukidze whom I resided with during the study who sells vegetables at Mbare Musika. I witnessed first-hand how the system operates. When farmers arrive with their produce they are not allowed to sell it to the wholesalers (who in turn sell to traders). They have created an atmosphere of intimidation and they are quite numerous that the farmers cannot challenge them. Mr Mafukidze sold onions to them at US\$0.80 per kg and they in turn were selling it at US\$1.80 to wholesalers and they had even initially offered Mr Mafukidze just US\$0.50 a kg for the onions. A bundle of vegetables was bought for US\$0.70 and the middlemen sold it to the wholesalers for US\$1.50. This is a practice across all commodities. I saw a pocket of potatoes being bought for US\$5 and it was in turn sold for anything between US\$8 and US\$9, buckets of sweet potatoes were being bought for US\$3.50 and being sold at US\$5. Mr Mafukidze and other FTLRP beneficiaries felt that if they had direct access to the wholesalers and retailers they would have their crops being bought for better prices. Complaints were also made on this practice also happening at the tobacco auction floors. It was alleged during the FGD's alleged that middlemen work in collaboration with staff at auction floors to reject tobacco. This rejected tobacco is bought by middlemen who simply return the tobacco to the auction floor where it is bought at a high price. The profits are shared between the middlemen and staff at the auction floors. The Agriculture Extension Officer confirmed this but I could not confirm it as the two beneficiaries whom I accompanied to the auction floors had their tobacco accepted and auctioned without any challenges. The only challenge which they faced was having to wait for some time before their tobacco went through the auction.

The foregoing discussion has been relevant in unearthing some of the issues which arise as beneficiaries attempt to improve their lives through participating in the economy. The participation of A1 farmers on the markets is not as diverse and comprehensive as their counterparts in the A2 sector. They can be seen as having established a presence and are

utilising the available opportunities to enhance their welfare and wellbeing through income generation from agricultural activities. My findings in Goromonzi confirm the findings by other scholars that there have emerged farm-based entrepreneurs who are into agricultural production and selling. The FTLRP in the district has also opened up opportunities for petty commodity production and trade. I observed that in the district there are numerous small business and markets where agricultural commodities are bought and sold. Some of the business people were even complaining that the beneficiaries of the FTLRP were even failing to meet their demand and there were some concerns on product quality. This was exemplified by the Manager of Mutangaz Abattoir and Retail (Interview, 17/09/15), who said that they received mixed quality agricultural produce from farmers. He also indicated that farmers were failing to meet demand especially by the abattoir which was forcing him to look for cattle from far off places like Muzarabani²⁷.

6.9 Conclusion

I examined the production outputs of the FTLRP in this chapter. I have demonstrated that there are discernible production outcomes of the FTLRP. It can be argued that from a social policy viewpoint, the redistributive nature of the FTLRP has availed land to beneficiaries and it can be seen as enhancing their productive capacities. If we look at the empirical evidence presented in this chapter from national and district levels, we can argue that the FTLRP has enhanced the capabilities of the farmers as evidenced by the work which they are doing and production outcomes on the ground. Chung (2004) and Mkandawire (2007) have argued that social policy (in this context of land reform as a social policy instrument) can convert human capabilities into productive power. This is exactly what has happened with the beneficiaries of the FTLRP. Land has become an important productive and economic resource which they are using to take care of their families and to generate income. Yi (2015) and Yi and Kim (2015), have argued that transformative social policy is important as it brings to the fore production which is a neglected function of social policy. Social policy through the production function should avail economic opportunities while equalising social relations and this is what the FTLRP has managed to do as evidenced by empirical evidence presented in this chapter.

This chapter has shown that the FTLRP has brought a new dimension in dealing with vulnerability and poverty in Zimbabwe which needs further engagement and analysis. The

²⁷ Muzarabani is a district which is located in the Mashonaland Central Province. The district is approximately 330 km from Goromonzi district.

FTLRP can be seen to be production oriented as an alternative to the residual and reductionist social policy approach which has been used in the country the country for decades. There can be seen various support systems, input transfer schemes (and not cash transfers) and agricultural support schemes which have been put in place to encourage production by the farmers and to ensure sustainable development. This is the goal of transformative social policy. Production trends, support systems, some policies on agriculture presented in this chapter have shown that the FTLRP has been geared towards enhancing the productive potentials and providing *ex-ante* social protection to the formerly land and income poor A1 beneficiaries.

While the chapter has highlighted the tangible production outcomes of the FTLRP there are challenges, weaknesses and areas that need improvement to transform lives to improve to the productive capacities of beneficiaries. Despite these challenges, this chapter confirms the findings made by other scholars in different study sites. Studies by Scoones *et al* (2010,2015), Matondi (2012), Mkodzongi (2013, 2015), Mutopo (2011), Moyo *et al* (2009) and others have unearthed the productive outcomes of the FTLRP and this is confirmed by findings shown in this chapter. In addition to confirming the findings by other scholars, this chapter speaks to some of the debates on the FTLRP in relation to production issues. It shows that using empirical data from a national and local perspective, there are many dynamics when one explores the productive outcomes of the FTLRP. These dynamics need to be taken into consideration and contextualised if one wants to make conclusions on the impact of the FTLRP on agricultural production.

Lastly, I can argue that using the transformative social policy concept, the FTLRP can be seen as having positively improved the lives A1 beneficiaries, by uplifting them in terms of their productive activities. In the face of funding challenges by both the state and the private sector, the beneficiaries have shown high levels of resilience for over 15 years. A1 beneficiaries have had high levels of production for crops like maize and they have made impressive gains in livestock production. Favourable agro-ecological conditions and good quality soils have made the A1 farmers to perform well in the production of crops compared to their counterparts in the communal areas. A1 farmers who are more into the production of food for domestic consumption have become increasingly ambitious and are slowly venturing into the production of cash crops for export. This is an area which was once exclusive for former LSCF's. This demonstrates changes in productive activities brought about by the FTLRP and it is further evidence of the production dimensions of the FTLRP. In the following chapter, I look at the

FTLRP as a social protection tool (*ex-ante*) in addition to the reproduction outcomes of the programme.

CHAPTER SEVEN: THE SOCIAL PROTECTION AND REPRODUCTION OUTCOMES OF THE FTLRP

7.1 Introduction

In focus on the social protection and reproduction outcomes of the FTLRP in this chapter. The two functions are closely related, and I felt that it is beneficial for this thesis if they are looked at together. I will start by setting a context to understand how the two concepts are defined. I will do this briefly as I have already looked at them in Chapter Three, but it is important as this will guide the discussion. Using empirical evidence from the field and various secondary sources, I will then present evidence on the social protection and reproduction outcomes of the FTLRP. I will look at how the emergent tri-modal agrarian structure has affected beneficiaries and communities in the farming areas from a social protection and reproduction perspective. I will specifically focus on how beneficiaries manage risks and vulnerability, issues of shelter in the farming areas, livestock as insurance against risks, livelihood diversification and new income streams. Focus will also be on the impact of the FTLRP on farmworkers, the role of families in agricultural production, the impact which the FTLRP has had on women, as well as labour and education issues on the farms. I will start by looking briefly at the social protection concept followed by reproduction.

7.2 The Concept of Social Protection and Reproduction

The social protection paradigm in Africa as we have discussed in Chapter Three is dominated by the residual and reductionist social policy approaches. These approaches are based on the principle that the needs of an individual are met through the family and the economy. If these two institutions fail to address the needs of the individual, the third mechanism, the social welfare structure takes over. According to Noyoo (2016:9), "...the residual model is based on the notion that although society should help in emergencies, individuals are responsible for their own problems and they solve them with minimum state intervention. It prescribes short-term, stop gap welfare measures which only last until the family and economy are able to resume their protection functions." In order for one to access assistance under this approach, one has to undergo means testing based on income. Wilensky and Lebeaux (1958) have criticised this means testing and have argued that it is aimed at ensuring that applicants do not get more help than they should. This approach has dominated the discourse on social protection. It is in this approach that we locate the Social Risk Management Framework. This framework is commonly used by the World Bank. It focuses on the critically poor and it is an

approach which is used to reduce vulnerability and poverty in countries that do not have the instruments to manage risks. It categorises the poor into the ultra, deserving and undeserving poor (Holzman and Kozel 2000).

The other alternative to understand the concept of social protection is the transformative social protection framework by Devereux and Sabates-Wheeler (2004). It lays emphasis on the importance of social protection in responding to social and economic risks in developing countries (Yi 2015:2). Devereux and Sabates-Wheeler (2004) argue in favour of social protection programmes that are all-inclusive and wide-ranging in coverage. They must include concepts like participation, empowerment and right based approaches. This holistic approach also has to include actions of protection, prevention, promotion and transformation (Yi and Kim 2015). This approach differs from the widely from the approach used in developing countries comprises mainly of the social protection or safety net approach. The argument presented by the transformative social protection approach can be seen being reflected in the transformative social policy conceptual framework. The transformative approach to social policy argues that social protection is a function of social policy which contributes in varying degrees to the transformation of societies (Yi 2013, 2015). It is from this understanding and in the context of the transformative social protection approach that I explore the extent to which the FTLRP has had social protection outcomes. I look at how land reform has become a social protection tool (*ex-ante*) that has been used to manage risks, disparities, challenges and inequalities in the farming areas created by the FTLRP.

The concept of reproduction is a fluid concept which has been used by different scholars the most notable who have been Marxists and feminists. Reproduction is another one of the multiple tasks of the transformative social policy concept. It is closely related and linked to the other functions and it is of major importance. Naidu and Osome (2016:51-52) see social reproduction as entailing biological reproduction, accumulation of education and skills (to participate in the capitalist economy) and acquisition of skills to engage in household production and care work. They also define it as the daily reproduction of working-class households through the acquisition of basic needs. These include food, shelter, clothing, healthcare and everyday survival. Lastly it entails the in-calculation of value systems to ensure reproduction. From a social policy perspective, labour and the labour markets are important in social reproduction. It is at labour markets that there is the realisation of basic civil and social rights. It is by understanding labour issues that there is an appreciation of issues facing

developing economies and reconciling the participation of women in the labour economy and their reproductive and caring roles. Dickinson and Russel (1985) have argued that social reproduction in the contemporary capitalist economies hinges on the interplay between households, markets and the state. The roles which these institutions play may at times contradict or complement each other. There are many dimensions of looking at social reproduction. Luxemburg (1951) for example looks at it from the context of the relationship and struggle between capitalist and non-capitalist forms of production. She also looks at the development of productive labour from the point of view of unpaid and individual domes, the rise of working classes and the rural labour reserve. It also involves the introduction of the market system in rural areas, dispossession and commodification. In developing economies, social policy in the context of reproduction is concerned with enabling the individual (especially women) to participate in the economy. It aims to reconcile the productive responsibilities of women with their reproductive tasks for example through the provision of child care facilities. It also seeks to facilitate education and skills training and to provide means for the enhancement of the lives of citizens. In this chapter, I will touch on various aspects of reproduction mentioned above to bring out the reproduction outcomes of the FTLRP.

7.3 Land Reform as a Social Protection and Reproduction Tool

7.3.1 Shelter

Shelter and adequate housing are recognised as rights that are enshrined in international human rights law. Shelter which people have should ensure sufficient space and protection from cold, damp, heat, rain, windy and other conditions which are a threat to health. Housing needs to be affordable, to be in an accessible location and it must be culturally appropriate. Adequate housing and shelter ensure that citizens have dignity, it is sustainable for family and human life and it is necessary for personal safety, security and protection from diseases (UN-Habitat, 2013 [O]). This concept of shelter as a right, fits into Marshall's (1950) concept of social rights and citizenship. In the Zimbabwe context, Sacco (2008) points out that land reform through the FTLRP was a means through which socio-economic and cultural rights were achieved. I would argue that shelter was one of the gains from the FTLRP which beneficiaries now have. In addition to accessing land for agricultural purposes, beneficiaries now have land for building purposes and it now serves as a social protection function.

After being allocated land, the issue of shelter was one of the immediate concerns which beneficiaries of the FTLRP had to deal with. In Goromonzi, I noticed that over the years, the

beneficiaries have built for themselves different types of housing on their plots. These range from improved thatch round huts as well as brick houses, under asbestos or zinc which are built with local material and material brought in from elsewhere. The Lands Officer (Interview, 12/10/15) indicated that unlike some of their A2 counterparts, most A1 farmers had not been lucky enough to access farmhouses left by the former LSCF's. They had to build their own houses as most farmhouses on farms which were subdivided into A1 plots had been converted either into satellite clinics or schools. He indicated that initially the farmers had built temporary shelters fearing eviction but gradually they were now building more permanent structures. This was collaborated by a Ward Councillor (Interview, 05/09/15) who indicated that just after land allocations, beneficiaries would build just one or two round huts to show that they were present on the land. They did not fully commit their resources to building permanent shelters and this was due to fear of eviction. He said the same trend has also occurred on A2 plots especially among those farmers who were allocated virgin and undeveloped land. They had built temporary shelters or brought wooden cabins with them on the plot as they feared eviction and did not want to commit themselves fully to the land.

In Goromonzi, 149 (99.3 percent) of the beneficiaries in the study sample have built houses for themselves on their plots and these comprise of improved thatched huts and brick houses. The total number of houses is 300. Only one farmer at the time of the fieldwork had not built a house on his plot. He was allocated a plot next to his sister and he resides in the diaspora. Although he cultivates in his fields he has not built a house and his full-time worker resides on his sister's plot. He is the only one in the study sample who has not built a homestead on his plot. In the study, 92.6 percent of the respondents now reside permanently on the plots. I believe that this indicates the confidence which they now have on the tenure system and there is evidence of investment on shelter. These findings were collaborated by the SMAIAS Household Survey (2013-2014) which showed that 87.1 percent A1 and 61.1 percent A2 farmers now permanently reside on their plots. The survey also showed that 156 (32.7 percent) in 2011, 133 (27.9 percent) in 2012 and 87 (18.2 percent) in 2013 A1 farmers had invested in housing. The same trend was observed among A2 farmers were in 2011 it was 20.2 percent, in 2012 it was 17.5 percent and in 2013 it was 18.2 percent.

The confidence which beneficiaries now have in investing on the land according to the Lands Officer was because in 2014, the government had issued *Statutory Instrument 53 of 2014*. Through this statutory instrument, the government had committed itself to compensate

beneficiaries for any improvements or developments made on the land (in case the plots were repossessed). In addition, the beneficiaries have stayed on the land for such a long time now such that they are confident enough to build permanent structures on the land. Table 7.1 below from the ALS Survey (2015) provides us with a national perspective on the investments which A1 farmers have made on housing for themselves and for their workers from 2009-2014 (except for 2013).

Table 7.1: Value (US\$) of new buildings, works and improvements done on farms by type of building, cost and year, 2009 – 2014.

Type of Building		2009	2010	2011	2012	2014
Housing and facilities for farmer	Paid to Contractors	1 136 977	1 375 195	1 075 270	2 033 343	2 301 846
	Material Purchased	6 248 709	5 966 134	8 153 367	10 083 717	12 618 267
	Labour Costs	3 033 134	2 534 754	3 322 553	3 828 893	4 225 336
	Total Value	10 418 820	9 876 083	12 541 867	15 945 953	19 145 449
Housing and facilities for employees	Paid to Contractors	18 270	61 319	4 272	20 119	54 549
	Material Purchased	63 111	69 407	80 404	121 179	194 265
	Labour Costs	31 340	35 860	32 728	46 607	123 733
	Total Value	112 721	166 586	117 404	187 904	372 546

Source: Agriculture and Livestock Survey, A1 (2015)

The table shows that there has been a substantial increase in investments on housing by A1 farmers since 2009. From 2009 to 2014 there has been an increase in spending from US\$10 418 820 to US\$19 145 449. This is an increase of US\$8 726 629 or 84 percent. It shows that beneficiaries are increasing their investment on the land, they are confident enough to invest on it and it may be an indication of increased return from agricultural productive activities. While there has been a substantial increase in investment in housing for the farm owners, the same cannot be said for the housing of farm workers. While the investment has doubled since 2009 to 2014 it is still quite low compared to investments made on housing for farm owners. The difference between 2009 and 2014 was US\$259 825. To explain this discrepancy based on my observations in Goromonzi, I can say that it is because most A1 farmers do not have permanent workers. They rely on casual labour hence they do not invest too much in housing for workers. Secondly there are farm compounds where farmworkers reside. These compounds in order to protect the residency rights of farmworkers, the government designated them as

being on state land. This was to protect the current and former farmworkers from forced evictions and victimisation by the beneficiaries of the FTLRP. This has meant that beneficiaries of the FTLRP have no obligation to invest or improve housing in these compounds. The new dispensation has changed the previous system where former LSCF's used to build and maintain farm compounds. The responsibility now squarely falls on farm compound residents. This explains why there is not much investment on housing for employees and it explains the dilapidated conditions of the houses which I saw in most farm compounds.

Having access to land has provided beneficiaries with social protection as they now have shelter. Seventy-Two (51.3 percent) of the beneficiaries indicated that prior to being allocated land, they were either renting, staying at family homesteads or having other arrangements to stay in houses which they did not own. The FTLRP had changed this and they now own houses. Owning houses has come with its advantages. Mukoma Edmore (Interview, 16/05/15) who was allocated a plot at Gilnockie farm for example indicated that life on the farms was easier and cheaper as one did not have the headache of looking for rentals every month (for those who had not owned land before), paying rates as well as water and electricity. Most of the resources which they used were freely available and it was cheaper to build houses as grass for thatching, poles and sand for brick molding was available. The FTLRP has provided opportunities for beneficiaries to own houses and this has protected them from vulnerabilities that come with lack of shelter. It has strengthened their capabilities and strengthened individual and societal resilience. This is evidenced by the number of houses built and the money invested in shelter. Picture 7.1a and 7.1b (on same homestead) and 7.2 below shows houses built by A1 farmers in Goromonzi South. They provide us with an example of the houses which the farmers are building on their farms, providing them with shelter.

Picture 7.1a: A House Built by an A1 farmer at Glen Avon Farm



Source: Own Fieldwork

Picture 7.1b: A Round Hut Built by an A1 farmer at Glen Avon Farm who also built the House shown on Picture 6.1a above.



Picture 7.2: A House Built by an A1 farmer at Dunstan Farm



Source: Own Fieldwork

7.3.2 The *Musha/Ekhaya*

In addition to providing beneficiaries with shelter, the FTLRP has allowed beneficiaries to establish the *musha/ekhaya*. Mkodzongi (2013) raised the issue of the *musha* in his study in Mhondoro-Ngezi and I believe it is something of importance which I also looked at in Goromonzi. In *Shona* culture, the concept of *musha* means a home of a family or a kinship group. It can be for the nuclear family or the extended generational family. The *musha* according Soroka (1997) does not represent individual proprietorship; it belongs to the kinship group and can be mobile. Some A1 plots are now being considered as a *musha* by beneficiaries. It has become a homestead for the nuclear and extended family and it plays the role which the *musha* in the communal areas used to play. It must be borne in mind that Soroka (1997) argued that the *musha* can be mobile and this mobility is visible when one looks at the way in which some of the *musha* has moved from the communal areas to the A1 plots and in some instances from neighbouring countries. As I indicated earlier, some beneficiaries of the A1 farms are not too worried about issues of production and the plots serve as homes. In this context, the plots have become the *musha* which acts as a place of residence, a place where the clan congregates on different occasions, as a place where members of families are buried and as a safety net in

case children of plot owners in urban areas or the diaspora become destitute. Participants in FGD's said the *musha* is available for all. The *musha* gives dignity and is an inheritance which parents will pass on to their children. For former farm workers who benefited from the FTLRP, the programme has afforded them the opportunity to have a *musha* which they will pass on to their descendants. The farm compounds system did not allow them to have land, houses or a *musha* of their own and the FTLRP has afforded them this opportunity. Previously, they said that they used to be ridiculed by locals as people without roots or a *musha*. This is now changing with the FTLRP for those who managed to acquire land. It is in this context that the A1 plots have assumed the role of the *musha*, providing refuge and residency to members for both the extended and nuclear families, meeting the social protection needs of the family. In this context, if we look at the FTLRP, I can argue that to some extent it has contributed to structural transformation with the emergence of the *musha* concept in the new resettlement areas. The *musha* used to be found in the communal areas but now it is also found in the farming areas.

The *musha* acts as a safety net against vulnerability but it is also a productive resource that can be utilized productively to reduce poverty. It is available to members of the family and it can be used as an instrument to empower the weak and vulnerable. This function of the *musha* is shown by Scoones (2017c) in a study in Masvingo Province at the Wondedzo²⁸ A1 farms. While he does not speak of the plots as being used as a *musha*, he argues that on most plots after the demise of parents or grandparents who are the principle beneficiaries most plots end up being subdivided and being home to different family members. There is the sharing of the land among the siblings and land is rarely given to the eldest son as is 'custom'. I believe that this replicates what happens to the *musha* in the communal areas. For Scoones (2017c), the net result of this has been the subdivision of the land across all the resettlement areas as the next generation makes claim to the land. Such practices can be seen in the communal areas with the land being allocated to different family members who build their dwellings on the *musha*. It is yet to be seen how these subdivisions will have implications for the livelihoods of the new generation of residents on the farms (this will in the future touch on the redistribution and production outcomes). This discussion has briefly summarised the importance of the *musha* in the farming areas as a social protection tool and a sight for social reproduction. An example where land has been subdivided and where children are gaining secondary access to land and

²⁸ This is an A1 farming area in the Masvingo District, in Masvingo Province comprising of two resettlement areas namely Wondedzo Extension (a self-contained A1 model) and Wondedzo Wares (a villagized A1 model Scheme).

using it to build their own *musha* is at Mbuya Chirisa's homestead at Dunstan farm. Mbuya Chirisa's husband passed away in 2012 having been one of the early land occupiers at the farm. With Mbuya Chirisa now aged (having born in 1935), she is preparing for the future of her children and grandchildren. In consultation with with her husband, they cut off some pieces of the land and had given it to her son and daughter (together with her husband). They now own pieces of land on the farm which Mbuya Chirisa calls the *musha* and they are rearing chickens and cultivating their fields there although they do not permanently reside on the farm as they work elsewhere. The pictures of the houses which are being built by Mbuya Chirisa's children on the *musha* are shown below and Mbuya Chirisa's case speaks on an important dimensions of the post FTLRP era. The children on those who benefitted from the FTLRP are now gaining secondary access to land on their parents or grandparents farms where they are building homes and accessing agricultural land, and this is in a context where there is fewer agricultural land available. Secondly it shows how some practices in the former native reserves (communal areas) are now being practiced on the farms with parents and grandparents subdividing the plots so that their children can have their own homes in a *musha* like setup as in the communal areas. The photographs taken at Mbuya Chirisa's homestead are shown below:

Picture 7.3: Mbuya Chirisa standing in front of a house built by her daughter²⁹



²⁹ Please note the picture has been partly blurred to protect her identity.

Picture 7.4: A house being built by Mbuya Chirisa's son

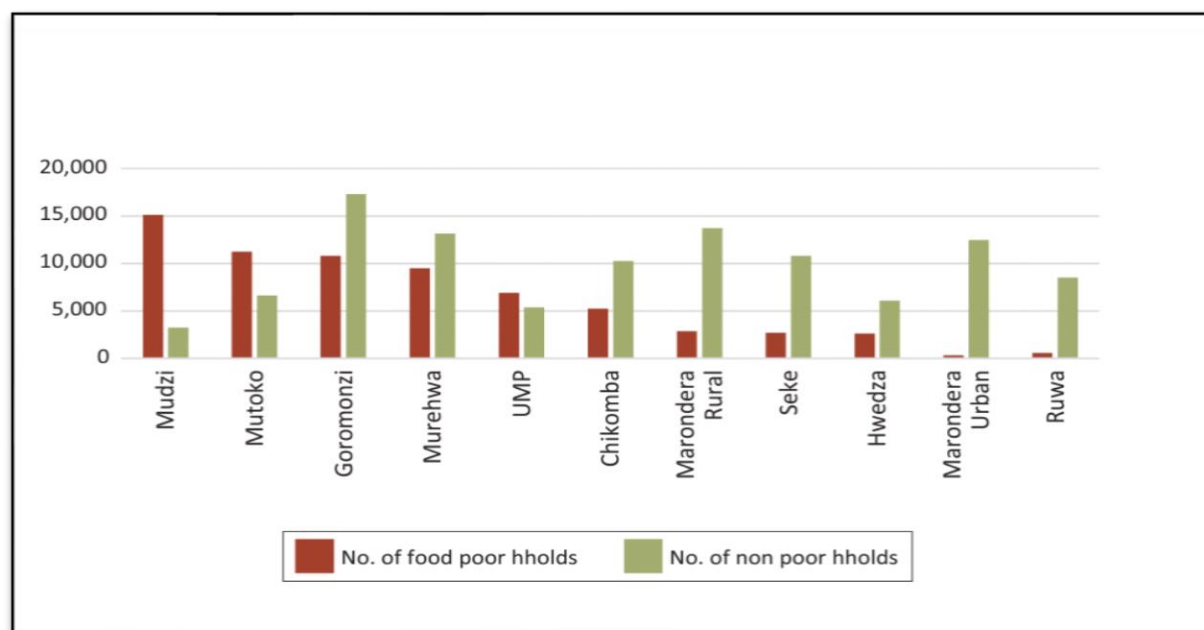


Source: Own Fieldwork

7.3.3 Food Poverty Prevalence in Goromonzi

Figure 7.1 and Table 7.2 below from the Food Poverty Atlas (2016) highlights food poverty prevalence in the Province (Mashonaland East) as well as in the districts found in the province and by ward in Goromonzi. They are important in showing a picture on the food poor household and food poor people in the district. They can help in understanding some dimensions of social protection and reproduction in the district.

Figure 7.1: The Prevalence of Food Poverty in Mashonaland East Province



Source: Zimstats, Food Poverty Atlas- Zimbabwe (2016)

Table: 7.2 Small Area Food Poverty Prevalence for Households in Goromonzi District (2016)

Ward No.	Population	Total no. of hholds	No. of food poor hholds	No. of food poor people	No. of non-poor hholds	Average hhold size	Food poverty prevalence	Se food poverty
Ward 01	8,657	2,039	514	2,184	462	4.2	25.2%	0.0374
Ward 02	12,430	2,805	639	2,830	752	4.4	22.8%	0.0327
Ward 03	4,919	1,186	289	1,200	277	4.1	24.4%	0.0359
Ward 04	30,124	7,189	1,283	5,374	2,262	4.2	17.8%	0.0221
Ward 05	5,829	1,319	295	1,302	331	4.4	22.3%	0.0356
Ward 06	11,965	3,109	333	1,280	1,449	3.8	10.7%	0.0183
Ward 07	5,858	1,443	250	1,013	508	4.1	17.3%	0.0322
Ward 08	5,573	1,561	309	1,105	480	3.6	19.8%	0.0344
Ward 09	4,505	1,256	193	691	444	3.6	15.3%	0.0337
Ward 10	7,090	1,788	440	1,744	432	4.0	24.6%	0.0425
Ward 11	8,428	2,122	479	1,901	551	4.0	22.6%	0.0309
Ward 12	14,376	3,594	763	3,053	1,056	4.0	21.2%	0.0246
Ward 13	2,880	772	154	573	234	3.7	19.9%	0.0417
Ward 14	9,611	2,443	398	1,568	862	3.9	16.3%	0.0263
Ward 15	6,418	1,474	332	1,446	414	4.4	22.5%	0.0429
Ward 16	16,081	3,808	788	3,329	1,105	4.2	20.7%	0.0265
Ward 17	4,926	1,237	249	992	378	4.0	20.1%	0.0327
Ward 18	7,796	1,904	455	1,863	475	4.1	23.9%	0.0347
Ward 19	268	67	9	37	25	4.0	13.9%	0.1081
Ward 20	5,382	1,459	249	918	529	3.7	17.1%	0.0295
Ward 21	3,480	937	186	689	298	3.7	19.8%	0.0395
Ward 22	7,210	1,950	332	1,226	663	3.7	17.0%	0.0285
Ward 23	6,091	1,548	206	811	578	3.9	13.3%	0.0292
Ward 24	5,594	1,501	184	685	637	3.7	12.2%	0.0237
Ward 25	26,833	7,141	1,473	5,536	2,108	3.8	20.6%	0.0234
Total	222,324	55,652	10,801	43,351	17,308	4.0		

Source: Zimstats, Food Poverty Atlas- Zimbabwe (2016)

According to The Food Poverty Atlas – Zimbabwe (2016: viii), “...a household is food poor or extremely poor when the total household consumption per capita is below the food poverty line.” The food poverty line is the total amount of expenditure which is needed in Zimbabwe to meet the minimum food needs³⁰. The Atlas used US\$30.86 per capita per month as the food poverty line. While they used this amount, the general poverty line³¹ in Zimbabwe at the time was US\$71.08. Table 7.2 gives a detailed picture of food poor people and food poor households per ward. It shows that the communal wards (1,2,3,4,5,10,11,12,15,16,18) have slightly more food poor households and people compared to wards in commercial farming areas (6,7,8,9,13,14,17,20,21,22,23,24,25). The highest food poverty prevalence is in a communal ward, ward 1 (Munyawiri) at 25 percent, while the lowest is in ward 6 (Glen forest) which is a commercial farming ward. The old small-scale commercial farming areas have a low prevalence of food poor households and food poor people at 13.9 percent (ward 19, Shangure).

The statistics show that food poverty prevalence is much less in the farming areas compared to the communal areas. This means that beneficiaries of the FTLRP are more food secure than their counterparts in the communal areas. Several variables contribute to this. They include access to fertile land, diverse agricultural production activities by the beneficiaries as shown in Chapter Six, diverse economic and income streams by the beneficiaries, favourable agro-ecological conditions among other variables. The statistics show us that beneficiaries in the farms have some protection against risks and vulnerability as most of them are not food poor. This means that there is a measure of coverage and protection against vulnerability in the context of social protection. In the section below, I will look at some issues in the farming areas which I believe have contributed to protecting households from food poverty while allowing for social reproduction. These measures have made households to be food secure and have contributed to making the district to have lower food poverty prevalence than other districts in the Mashonaland East Province like Mudzi, Mutoko and Uzumba-Maramba Pfungwe.

³⁰ “Food Poverty Line (FPL) or Lower Line represents the minimum consumption expenditure necessary to ensure that each household member can (if all expenditures were devoted to food) consume a minimum food basket representing 2100 calories per day.” (ZimStat Food Poverty Atlas – Zimbabwe 2016)

³¹ The general poverty refers to a situation where total consumption per capita of a household is below the general poverty line. The latter includes minimum food and non-food needs.

7.3.4 From Livelihood Diversification to Accumulation

Ellis (1998:4) defines livelihood diversification as a process by which rural families construct a diverse portfolio of activities and social support capabilities in their struggle for survival and in order to improve their standards of living. Ellis (1998, 2000) further argues that households diversify as a coping strategy. It is a risk management strategy and households deliberately use it to safeguard future livelihoods while it is also a response to stresses and shocks. Devereaux (2001) has argued that it is important for households that practice agriculture to diversify. Vulnerability can come up if there is dependence on single crop production or if there is the introduction of cash crops at the expense of food crops. But if income is secure, pursuing an undiversified livelihood strategy does not matter. In Zimbabwe after the FTLRP, Matondi (2012), James (2015), Mkodzongi (2013, 2015), Mutopo (2011, 2014), Scoones *et al* (2010), Moyo *et al* (2009) and Ncube (2012) noted that households participate in various livelihood diversification strategies which have transformed into processes of accumulation. As strategies evolve from diversification to accumulation, households are now engaging in various businesses and service provision both on and off the farms.

In Goromonzi, during the field work I noted that beneficiaries of the FTLRP are now engaging in farming activities (both farming and non-farming) aimed at supplementing household income. This has contributed to the protection and reproduction outcome of households that benefitted from the FTLRP. Ellis (2000) has defined off farm activities as referring to employment on other farms and this is exemplified by casual labour. Non-farm activities refer to activities which can be done on the farm and elsewhere but are separate from the actual business of farming. These can include gold panning, vending, formal employment and so forth. Households in Goromonzi participate in activities on and off the farms in order to supplement household income. This is not new as Marongwe (2008), Marimira (2010), Njaya (2015), Murisa (2009) and Moyo *et al* (2009) also noted that these activities are undertaken in the district. This is not only in the district as Kinsey (2010) and Hoogven and Kinsey (2001) noted that in the ZRHDS survey, communal area and resettled farmers had engaged in non-farm activities especially after 1992 where prohibition of employment outside the resettlement areas was no longer enforced. In the study sample in Goromonzi, I noted that 30 (20 percent) of recipients reported that they engage in casual labour to supplement household income. Thirty-eight (25.3 percent) had formal and self-employed jobs. Forty-four (29.3 percent) were operating small businesses and markets. Two (1.3 percent) were into gold panning while 29 (19.3 percent) were engaging in various activities which included selling firewood, fishing,

brick molding, sand extraction and so forth. This exemplifies the many diverse income generating activities which beneficiaries of the FTLRP are engaging in.

Jacha of Eton farm (Interview, 14/10/15) is one of the farmers who engages in casual work for other beneficiaries of the FTLRP mainly the A2 farmers. He indicated that the employment arrangement is not permanent, and they are hired when there is need. He originally came from the Chinyika communal lands and was allocated land in 2001. He does not get much returns from farming as he does not have the capital. To supplement household income, he engages in casual labour. He performs different types of work for other farmers and they include weeding, spraying crops, herding cattle, harvesting, planting or any task which arises. Payment can range from anything between US\$5-US\$10 a day depending on the task at hand or the agreement made by the parties involved. The activities performed by Jacha confirm the findings by Chambati (2011) that the employment opportunities which used to exist on the commercial have been replaced by new opportunities for casual labour.

At Dunstan farm and Bains Hope farm, I observed that some A1 farmers are into fishing, honey extraction, selling mushroom, sand extraction, craft making, artisanal repair work, firewood trading, and so forth. These activities supplement household income and they are quite prevalent in the whole of the Bromley area. They confirm findings made in other studies by Mkodzongi (2013) and Moyo *et al* (2009) that A1 farmers have benefitted from increased access to natural resources. Wild fruits, woodlands, rivers, pastures, mountains and other natural resources which were once the preserve and enclosed in the LSCF's have now been opened up to communities. These activities which beneficiaries engage in are important as they ensure that households have additional income and can respond to risks and shocks. Moyo (1995:52) has argued that the diverse informal income generating activities which farmers engage in are critical for social reproduction as is the exchange of entitlements derived from agriculture.

At Buena Vista farm, Changara (Interview, 09/08/15) runs a tuckshop at the farm. It is at his homestead and it is a simple structure comprising of wall panels and a zinc roof. Changara's business exemplifies many of the small businesses or petty commodity trading which farmers engage in. He sells small items like sugar, salt, airtime, paraffin, cooking oil and peanut butter (made on his farm), pesticides and farm inputs. The farm inputs like fertiliser and maize are sold in smaller quantities like one kilogramme or in cups which differ in size. The same is done

for seeds which include seed maize, beans, round-nuts and so forth. This is to cater for customers who may not want or cannot afford the larger quantities usually sold by suppliers. Pesticides and herbicides are also sold in smaller quantities depending on one's needs. From his business, Changara said he makes a profit between US\$100-US\$250 a month and this helps to meet some household expenses.

Table 7.3 below highlights the different sources of household income from the SMAIAS Household Survey 2013/2014. It shows that farming households obtain incomes from a broad range of activities which are not only in agriculture but from various sources in order to meet their social reproduction needs. It is a confirmation of what I have already highlighted above that resettled families are now engaging in a variety of income generation activities due to opportunities which have been opened up by the FTLRP. It also shows that households rely on remittances from the diaspora as well as locally to meet their needs. In the resettlement areas, A1 households hire out their labour (8.6 percent), they engage in petty trading (9.9 percent), sell forest products (4.6 percent) and engage in gold panning (4.9 percent). For A2 farmers, there are a large number of them that are employed (31.3 percent) and petty trading is one of the activities which they carry out to supplement household income (7.9 percent). None of them hire out their labour and this shows that they are better off and have alternative income channels compared to the A1 beneficiaries and their counterparts in the communal areas who hire out more labour than the other sectors at 19.0 percent. The table is important in providing empirical evidence to justify the discussion in this section on livelihood diversification, accumulation and trajectories by the resettled farmers.

Table 7.3: Sources of Household Income

Source of Income	Settlement Type							
	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: SMAIAS Household Survey (2013/14)

The study by Scoones (2017c), confirms some of the issues raised in this section on the impact of the impact of FTLRP which has resulted in livelihood diversification and accumulation (confirming the social reproduction and redistributive outcomes). Scoones (2017c) however looks at it from a different and interesting dimension which I believe can be expanded to other farming areas in Zimbabwe. In a study in Wondedzo A1 farms, Scoones notes that the children of A1 beneficiaries are also benefitting from the FTLRP. It was noted that over half of the women in the survey were farming with their parents until they were married. Fifty-eight percent of the men were into farming with nearly all the allocations being on their parent's plots. Land allocations were in two forms. There were those working on their parents plots while others had been allocated plots of 1-1.5 ha within the A1 farm. Looking at the life history of children of beneficiaries, it was observed that the FTLRP has opened new opportunities. This is in a context where working in the wider economy (in Zimbabwe) or in neighbouring South Africa is seen as being highly risky, challenging, precarious, unrewarding, short term and stressful. This leaves the children of beneficiaries with the only option of carving out livelihood options on their parent's farms. With vanishing opportunities for accumulation, the plots at Wondedzo offer opportunities for children to work on the land. Scoones (2017c) notes that they engage in smallholder agricultural production in which they mix risky dryland maize production and the more secure horticulture production. This is done through a combination of land allocated to parents or through other various routes which can be illegal like accessing land near dams or streams (Scoones 2017c). The children of beneficiaries also work on what they call projects in the farming areas. These include running shops, grinding mills, brick moulding and selling, vending and so forth. This demonstrates a new dimension of the FTLRP and new emergent generational livelihoods trajectories.

Asset Accumulation

Agriculture has allowed the beneficiaries to accumulate both productive and non-productive assets and they are a means of social reproduction to meet household needs and daily survival. Productive assets are being used by the farmers to further enhance their productive capacities and this is essential for farming households. Table 7.4 and table 7.5 below bear testimony of the productive and reproductive outcomes of the FTLRP. Beneficiaries are using income

generated from agriculture to invest in productive tools. The productive and non-productive assets which farmer households acquire are used for several purposes. I would argue that they allow for households to be able to produce and reproduce hence compete in a capitalist economy. Productive assets and non-productive assets are important in ensuring families meet their basic needs and they are crucial for everyday survival. The assets shown below allow households to access shelter, food and other basic essentials required for survival. In this context, the purchase of productive as well as non-productive assets indicates the reproductive, productive and protection outcomes of the FTLRP. Table 7.4 shows assets accumulated by beneficiaries from the SMAIAS Household Survey (2013-14) data while Table 7.5 shows productive and non-productive assets accumulated by beneficiaries from my study sample.

Table 7.4 shows that in, 2012 there was more investment in hand tools by A2 farmers at 52.2 percent compared to A1 farmers at 45.9 percent and the communal areas at 24.7 percent. The same scenario was experienced in 2013 where A2 farmers at 53.9 percent invested more in hand tools compared to A1 farmers at 36.1 percent and communal households at 21.5 percent. There were also investments in housing in 2012 with A1 farmers leading in investments. In 2012, it was 27.9 percent for A1 farmers, 17.5 percent A2 farmers and 10.4 percent communal area households. In 2013, the investment in housing showed A1 farmers leading at 18.2 percent, A2 farmers at 16.2 percent and communal areas at 13.6 percent. Investments were also made in livestock facilities. For 2011, there were 15.7 percent for A1 farmers, 2.5 percent in the communal sector and 16.8 percent in the A2 Sector. In 2012, investments for livestock facilities was 5.2 percent for the A1 sector, 10.2 percent in the A2 sector and 4.4 percent in the communal sector. In 2013, it was 5.9 percent for the A1 farmers, 7.3 percent in the communal sector and 6.7 percent in the A2 sector.

Farm implements which are important for agricultural production also saw some investments. In 2012, 2.3 percent A1 farmers and 13.1 A2 farmers invested in farm implements. In 2013, it was 3.8 percent for A1 farmers, 13.1 percent for the A2 sector and a very low 0.3 percent for the communal sector. Overall, in 2011 significant investments were made on hand tools by all sectors at 46.8 percent, housing 22.4 percent, animal drawn implements 13.2 percent and livestock facilities 12.2 percent. In 2012, the highest investment was in hand tools at 41.6 percent, housing at 20 percent, animal drawn farm implements at 27.4 percent and power-driven implements 10.4 percent. In 2013, the trend continued with the highest investment on hand tools at 36.7 percent which was a slight decrease from the previous year. Investment in

housing was at 16.3 percent, facilities for livestock stood at 6.5 percent while animal drawn tools were at 6.7 percent. When it comes to the accumulation of assets, it is important to note that low level documentation by the beneficiaries besides the offer letter make it a challenge to access finance from banks. This negatively impacts on asset accumulation.

Table 7.4: Asset Accumulation and Investment Across all Sectors

Investment Type	2011								2012								2013							
	A1		A2		CA		Total		A1		A2		CA		Total		A1		A2		CA		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Hand tools	291	61	168	56.6	51	16.1	510	46.8	219	45.9	156	52.5	78	24.7	453	41.6	172	36.1	160	53.9	68	21.5	400	36.7
Infrastructure																								
Housing	156	32.7	60	20.2	28	8.9	244	22.4	133	27.9	52	17.5	33	10.4	218	20	87	18.2	48	16.2	43	13.6	178	16.3
Deep wells	23	4.8	14	4.7	2	0.6	39	3.6	8	1.7	13	4.4	2	0.6	23	2.1	9	1.9	5	1.7	2	0.6	16	1.5
Boreholes	4	0.8	11	3.7	0	0	15	1.4	2	0.4	4	1.3	0	0	6	0.6	3	0.6	11	3.7	0	0	14	1.3
Storage facilities	29	6.1	21	7.1	6	1.9	56	5.1	5	1	7	2.4	1	0.3	13	1.2	8	1.7	13	4.4	2	0.6	23	2.1
Private tobacco barns	7	1.5	11	3.7	0	0	18	1.7	4	0.8	14	4.7	0	0	18	1.7	10	2.1	23	7.7	2	0.6	35	3.2
Irrigation	7	1.5	12	4	2	0.6	21	1.9	1	0.2	11	3.7	0	0	12	1.1	1	0.2	10	3.4	0	0	11	1
Green House	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.3	0	0	1	0.1
Animal Drawn																								
Farm implements	103	21.6	36	12.1	5	1.6	144	13.2	78	16.4	19	6.4	16	5.1	113	27.4	32	6.7	29	9.8	12	3.8	73	6.7
Livestock facilities	75	15.7	50	16.8	8	2.5	133	12.2	25	5.2	30	10.1	14	4.4	69	6.3	28	5.9	20	6.7	23	7.3	71	6.5
Power Driven																								
Farm implements	18	3.8	45	15.2	2	0.6	65	6	11	2.3	39	13.1	1	0.3	51	10.4	18	3.8	39	13.1	1	0.3	58	5.3
Grinding mills	3	0.6	6	2	0	0	9	0.8	2	0.4	5	1.7	0	0	7	0.6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Generators	22	4.6	24	8.1	3	0.9	49	4.5	6	1.3	17	5.7	2	0.6	25	2.3	14	2.9	16	5.4	6	1.9	36	3.3
Truck >1t	3	0.6	16	5.4	0	0	19	1.7	3	0.6	14	4.7	0	0	17	1.6	6	1.3	16	5.4	0	0	22	2
Cars	9	1.9	20	6.7	2	0.6	31	2.8	3	0.6	19	6.4	0	0	22	2	7	1.5	15	5.1	1	0.3	23	2.1
Truck (Single Cab)	4	0.8	9	3	3	0.9	16	1.5	4	0.8	7	2.4	0	0	11	1	6	1.3	4	1.3	0	0	10	0.9
Truck (Double Cab)	2	0.4	4	1.3	0	0	6	0.6	0	0	7	2.4	0	0	7	0.6	2	0.4	11	3.7	0	0	13	1.2

Source: SMAIS Household Survey (2013-2014)

Table 7.5 Productive and Non-Productive Asset Accumulation in Goromonzi

Productive Assets				
Asset Type	Farmers Owning Asset		Frequency	Average
	No	%		
Hoe	150	100	1289	8.6
Wheelbarrow	124	82.6	175	1.4
Knapsack sprayer	142	94.6	350	2.5
Shovel	146	97.3	293	2.0
Pick	135	90	245	1.8
Spade	69	46	104	1.5
Harrow	90	60	107	1.2
Axe	147	98	352	2.4
Machete/Cutlass	71	47.3	108	1.5
Borehole	12	8	13	1.1
Plough	105	70	130	1.2
Cultivator (Animal)	23	15.3	27	1.2
Cultivator (Power)	0	0	0	0
Ridger	4	2.6	4	1
Planter	4	2.6	5	1.3
Scotchcart	75	50	80	1.1
Tractor	18	12	19	1.1
Disc Harrow	6	4	8	1.3
Irrigation Pipes	69	46	587.5	8.5
Water Pump	73	48.6	87	1.2
Maize Sheller	3	2	3	1
Truck (1t)	22	14.6	24	1.1
Truck (+1t)	9	6	9	1
Storage Shed	23	15.3	28	1.2
Cold Room	0	0	0	0
Green House	1	0.66	1	1
Non-Productive Assets				
Asset Type	Farmers Owning Asset		Frequency	Average
	No	%		
Television Set	109	72.6	137	1.3
Sofa (set)	92	61.3	104	1.1
Refrigerator	47	31.3	57	1.2
House	149	99.3	300	2.0
Satellite Dish	30	20	33	1.1
Radio	135	90	167	1.2
Car	30	20	37	1.2
Cell-phone	149	99.3	295	2
Bicycle	110	73.3	163	1.5
Fixed Phone	0	0	0	0
Solar Panel	114	76	151	1.3

Source: Own Fieldwork

Table 7.5 above shows that the A1 farmers in Goromonzi from my study sample have acquired a number of productive and non-productive assets from their agricultural activities. Small assets like hoes, sprayers, picks, shovels and so forth are abundant. Larger assets like tractors, ridgers, cultivator's and trucks are owned by a few. This shows that in terms of productive assets, farmers still need to invest more in the assets given the importance of the assets to assist them in increasing production. Even the average number of assets per farmer is still low especially for bigger and more expensive machinery and this shows that there is a gap in the farmer's investments on the farms. In contrast, farmers can be seen investing a lot in non-productive assets if one looks at the statistics above. Of interest is that almost all the farmers have managed to build or buy a house for themselves and most have assets like television sets, cell-phones, radios, sofas, bicycles and solar panels. These assets directly and indirectly contribute to production and social reproduction. The collection of pictures below from A1 farmers at Warrendale, Dunstan, Xanadu and Glen Avon farms summarises some of the assets which some A1 farmers have managed to acquire from farming.

Picture 7.5: An example of assests acquired by A1 farmers from farm proceeds



Source: Own Fieldwork

Source of finance for fixed assets

Most of the fixed assets which farmers purchase are bought using proceeds from agricultural activities. This is shown by Table 7.6 below from the SMAIAS Household Survey (2013/14). It shows that in 2013, significant investments were made using finances obtained from agricultural production (68.2 percent). When compared with the other previous years it had decreased but it still remained the highest. Finances from outside agriculture were the second highest source of financing for fixed assets (27.3 percent). Bank loans were a source of finance for 0.8 percent fixed assets, diaspora remittances (1.5 percent) and local remittances (3.8 percent). The funding for the purchase of fixed assets is summarised in table 7.6 below and it helps us to understand some dimensions accumulation, the diversification of livelihoods and the financing of agricultural activities.

Table 7.6: Source of Finance for Fixed Assets (2011-2013)

Source of Finance	Year		Earnings from Agricultural Sales	Private Savings (Not from Agriculture)	Credit from Bank	Diaspora Remittance	Local Remittance	Total
A1	2011	No.	84	23	0	2	1	104
		%	80.8	22.1	0	1.9	1	100
	2012	No.	29	9	0	0	2	39
		%	74.4	23.1	0	0	5.1	100
	2013	No.	38	12	1	1	1	52
		%	73.1	23.1	1.9	1.9	1.9	100
A2	2011	No.	56	20	0	1	0	72
		%	77.8	27.8	0	1.4	0	100
	2012	No.	44	14	0	0	0	55
		%	80	25.5	0	0	0	100
	2013	No.	42	14	0	0	1	56
		%	75	25	0	0	1.8	100
CA	2011	No.	7	5	0	0	1	11
		%	63.6	45.5	0	0	9.1	100
	2012	No.	6	11	0	0	0	17
		%	35.3	64.7	0	0	0	100
	2013	No.	10	10	0	1	3	24
		%	41.7	41.7	0	4.2	12.5	100
Total	2011	No.	147	48	0	3	2	187
		%	78.6	25.7	0	1.6	1.1	100
	2012	No.	79	34	0	0	2	111
		%	71.2	30.6	0	0	1.8	100
	2013	No.	90	36	1	2	5	132
		%	68.2	27.3	0.8	1.5	3.8	100

Source: SMAIAS Household Survey (2013/14)

7.3.5 The *Bindu*

The *bindu* (vegetable) garden is one of the most common features on A1 farms. I would argue that the *bindu* is one of the instruments which households use to cope with minor shocks. *Bindu*'s have always existed in communal areas and the A1 beneficiaries introduced them to the farming areas. The *bindu* is not part of the arable land but it is an area reserved for the family garden usually in areas identified as having high moisture content (it can be near streams and it is called *jeki* in *shona*). In the *bindu* there can be found crops like leaf vegetables, tomatoes, onions, green beans, peas, chilies, round-nuts, groundnuts, bananas, sugar cane and so forth. The *bindu* is usually but not exclusively cultivated by women. In Goromonzi, across all the farming sectors be it A1, A2 or communal areas, I noted that the *bindu* is common.

In the study, a total of 109 farmers indicated that they either had a *bindu* which they were cultivating, or they were not cultivating it but had it on their farms. Seventy-two (53.1%) had *bindus* that were being actively cultivated at the time of the fieldwork, while 37 (25%) indicated that while they were not cultivating the *bindu* at the time of the fieldwork, but they have one on their farms and had not been cultivating it due to various reasons including the time of the year (season), commitment elsewhere, water challenges and so forth. The Agricultural Extension Officer indicated that farmers use the *bindu* to supplement household income as well as nutrition. He said while traditionally the *bindu* was cultivated just after the harvesting season (from April), the beneficiaries of the FTLRP were now cultivating them all year round. This is due to the availability of water pumps, wells, boreholes and streams which cut across the district. They use these to water the vegetables. Farmers who have the resources, instead of having a *bindu* have greenhouses, but these are mostly found on the bigger A2 farms. In my study sample, no farmer had a green house. The greenhouses which were at Bains Hope and Ingwenya farms for example prior to the FTLRP covering over four hectares of land were vandalized.

The *bindu* concept in Goromonzi corroborates the findings by Mutopo (2011) of the *tsewu*. I touched on this in Chapter Five in which Mutopo argued that the *tsewu* are fields which are given to women in appreciation of their reproductive roles. In these fields, they cultivate crops of their choosing and they either sell the produce or they are consumed within the household. The *bindu* however is a family garden and it is not exclusively a field for women, and everyone works in it but I noted that it is mostly for women. In Goromonzi, vegetables are grown in the *bindu* and can be sold straight from the *bindu*, at vegetable markets in the district or in towns

or along the major highways. Leaf vegetables for example sell for anything between US\$0.50 and US\$1 a bundle (which is much larger than the one sold in town) hence there is more demand. The money realized is usually used to cover minor day to day household expenses, but some farmers are now doing it on a much larger scale and it covers major expenses. Herbs and other vegetables which supplement household nutrition are also grown in the *bindu*.

Mai Chaka of Ingwenya farm (Interview, 17/08/15) is the spouse of an A1 beneficiary who has a *bindu* at her plot. She said that she started it in order to supplement household food and then it had been very small. She had expanded it after realizing that it was a profitable venture with people asking her to sell them vegetables. During the early years she had worked alone in the *bindu* with her husband not being interested in it and concentrating on cultivating high paying cash crops and looking after livestock. When the *bindu* began realizing profits he had become more and more interested in helping. During my interactions with the family, I even noted that the husband was even making the major decisions in the *bindu*, despite having been skeptical at first (for me this said a lot about the gender or patriarchal dynamics of the household). The *bindu* was producing so much that Mai Chaka was even able to produce enough and take her produce to Mbare Musika at least once a week to sell. For her *bindu*, Mai Chaka had a small pump (5 horsepower) which she uses to draw water from a well which they dug right inside the *bindu*. She said that she would have preferred to use irrigation infrastructure at the farm to increase production but the infrastructure at the farm had been vandalized and the A1 farmers at the farm could not afford to rehabilitate it. Even if the irrigation infrastructure was rehabilitated, she was doubtful that the farmers could afford to pay electricity for the irrigation or to maintain it. As a result, Mai Chaka was using her own initiatives to water the *bindu* and she said that it was profitable. She said she was making anything between US\$200-US\$250 profit a month depending on the market and the season. The major threat to the *bindu* according to Mai Chaka include stray livestock, thieves, wild animals and challenges with water supply. These are overcome by having the perimeter of the *bindu* covered by thorny bushes, the *bindu* is constantly watched to ensure that there are no stray animals or thieves and there are multiple water supplies to water the *bindu*. In her *bindu*, Mai Chaka grows maize which she sells fresh to locals and markets in Harare and along the highway.

The picture below captures the green mealies which Mai Chaka grows in her *bindu* at Ingwenya farm (on the right) in contrast to green mealies which are grown in the fields and rainfed at Xanadu farm. The maize had been planted in the same week but there is a huge difference. The

maize grown in the fields can be seen suffering from moisture stress and wilting as it is reliant on rains. In contrast, the maize in the *bindu* was well watered and growing well. This underlies the importance of the *bindu* as well as irrigation which is critical for agriculture especially now where there are erratic weather patterns. The other picture 7.7 shows some of the green leafy vegetables which she grows in her garden.

Picture 7.6: Maize grown in the fields vs maize grown in Mai Chaka's *bindu*



Source: Own fieldwork

Picture 7.7: Vegetables grown in Mai Chaka's *bindu* for household consumption



Source: Own Fieldwork

In addition to cultivating the *bindu*, I noted that there are women who cultivate agricultural crops near or on anthills (which are no longer active). In my study sample, there were four households where women were cultivating on or near anthills from where they were digging up anthill soils which they mixed with top-soil and it acted as a natural organic fertiliser. In three of the cases, the anthills were outside of the main family fields while in one case it was right in the middle of the maize field. The anthill would no longer be active, and the women had cleared it and planted crops and vegetables on it, creating a small area with very healthy plants. Two of the women had flattened it while the other two had left it in its original shape but had covered it with crops. Informants indicated that soils from the anthills are taken and used as a natural fertiliser as they are very fertile, they assist in retaining soil moisture, they improve the soil texture and have a number of nutrients. The anthills are used by the women as an area where they plant vegetables and crops for household consumption and to supplement household nutrition. The crops and vegetables do exceptionally well as the soil is very fertile. At the Mariga homestead at Gilnockie farm, the small garden fertilised by soil from the anthills was in a clearing a short distance from the houses and it was separate from the *bindu*. It had been cleared and the ants and other insects that had lived in it had been killed. The mound had been flattened but each year the crops on it were renewed and this entailed digging it up and turning the soil over. When I visited the homestead, it had leafy vegetables on it, green beans, tomatoes, spinach, spring onions and so forth. It was being watered just like the *bindu* but it was producing much more than the *bindu* and the crops on it looked much healthier. Most of the vegetables from this area are eaten by the household and it serves as a backup when there are no vegetables from the *bindu*, when there are new plants in the *bindu* or when pesticides have been applied to crops the *bindu*. Just like the *bindu*, the growing of crops on old anthills or using anthill soil as an organic fertiliser is a practice that was taken from the communal areas, but it is not very widespread, and it is done on a very small scale. Studies undertaken elsewhere have shown that soils from the anthills and termite mounds can increase crop fertility and be used as organic fertilisers (Evans *et al* 2011). In some communities which do not have much agricultural land, the anthills are areas where farmers actually cultivate their crops and they first get rid of all insects residing there as they eat plant stems and kill crops. According to the Mariga family the areas with anthills are important as an alternative to the *bindu* in providing with household food and nutritious plants which are natural and very healthy which are otherwise very expensive in supermarkets. Indigenous knowledge through knowing the value of anthill soils and how to use inactive anthill mounds thus functions to provide some

social protection and is one of those natural resources which some farmers use to benefit the household.

Picture 7.8 below shows an example of a *bindu*'s at Rudale farm while Picture 7.9 shows a *bindu* in the communal areas of Seke. This is just to reinforce the idea that the *bindu* can be found in both the farming as well as the communal areas. Over the years, the owner of the *bindu*'s at Rudale farm said he had been slowly increasing its size due to its high output and profitability such that it now resembles a small field but it is distinct from the farms arable lands where the major crops are crown. In the *bindu*, there can be found lettuce, carrots, leaf vegetables and green pepper. In the *bindu* in the Seke Communal Lands, there can be found tomatoes and beans.

Picture 7.8: *Bindu* at Rudale farm



Picture 7.9: *Bindu* in the Seke Communal Lands



Source: Own fieldwork

7.3.6 The *Dura* (Granary)

In Chapter six, I spoke of the productive activities of the beneficiaries. A1 farmers produce maize and small grains and they do not sell it all but some of it is reserved for household consumption. Dekker and Kinsey (2011) have noted that output from one acre of land which can be over 1000 kg can be enough to feed a family of five for a year. There is need for there to be storage facilities where produce is kept. The *dura* (granary) has emerged to be one of the most important facilities found on most A1 farms. Not only is it for storage of agricultural produce like maize, groundnuts, cowpeas, *bambara* nuts, small grains and beans but it is a facility that ensures food security and protection not only for the household but also for surrounding communities and kin. Even though the LSCF's had their storage facilities, in Goromonzi I noted that some of the farmers have brought the communal area concept of the *dura* to the A1 farms. Crops that are stored in the *dura* are usually for household consumption with crops that are sold not being placed in the *dura*. The *dura* is not only found in Zimbabwe. Yarwitch (1981) and Tapela (2008) have argued that the African grain storage system has

always existed traditionally in many African societies. They see it as a symbol of indigenous rural livelihood sustenance which is useful for post-harvest storage. The *dura*, like livestock, is a bedrock of rural livelihoods, food security and wealth for communities. Devereux (2009) argues that when the *dura* is full, there may not be any need to buy food. Depending on its size, it will have enough food for household consumption until the next harvest. When granaries in an area are depleted due to poor rains or poor harvests, food prices usually rise hence the granary is of importance (Devereux 2009). In Zimbabwe before colonialism and even up to today, the *dura* has existed at community level and has been known as the *Zunde raMambo* (Chiefs Granary). According to Dhemba *et al* (2002) and Rugaranganda *et al* (2017) the *Zunde raMambo* was designed just like a household granary but it was for the community and managed by the Chief. The *Zunde Ramambo* caters for community members who are vulnerable and these include orphans, the disabled and the aged. It is also meant to deal with shocks due to food insecurity caused by droughts. So, the *dura* concept is not new at all, but it has evolved and is now a common feature in the farming areas which is a tool for social protection.

In Goromonzi I saw different types of the *dura* on A1 homesteads. In my study sample, 139 (93 percent) of the A1 beneficiaries have a structure on their plots which they use as the *dura*. Due to the diverse cultural mix in the district some call it *hozi* others call it *chipembwe* or *gombana*. The structure and materials used to make the *dura* differs and informants told me that this is usually determined by the cultural background of its owner. Their function however is the same. They are used to store grains, to protect grains from dampness as well as insects and pests. Protection of grains is important as it ensures the survival of the household is dependent on it. I noticed that some of the *duras* are designed in such a manner that they have very small openings for grain retrievals, others have small doors which only children can fit in to retrieve grain and usually they are elevated above the ground. Dogs usually stay under the *dura* and this is for security purposes and the door of the *dura* usually faces the kitchen so that it is under constant surveillance. While some of the A1 farmers construct their *dura* using traditional methods and materials (usually stones, pole and dagga, thatch), some have begun building them using modern materials and they are just like small storerooms. Despite this change, the purpose of the *dura* still remains the same. All members of the household have a role to play in constructing the traditional *dura* with men usually sourcing the poles and stones while women look for thatch and cow dung. The cow dung is used for plastering and flooring in order to repel weevils and termites.

Chihota (Interview, 04/10/15) is a farmer at Mashonganyika farm who helped me to understand the purpose and use of the *dura*. Originally, he comes from the Rusike communal lands (in Goromonzi) and had brought with him grain storage methods which he had learnt from his parents. He had a *dura* at his home which was made from pole and dagga with a thatched roof. The *dura* was some metres above the ground with a small opening where maize was taken out. Chihota said that there are two types of *dura*. There is the *tsapi* where crops are put when they first come from the field. After the crops have dried, they are then put in a *dura* which is first cleaned and fumigated. He indicated that previously they would put ash and some indigenous pesticides in the *dura* to preserve the grains but over the years they had noticed that pests were destroying their produce so they now use modern chemicals. Ideally, he said that if the *dura* was full it would last them until the next harvest. But with pests this was not so as they destroyed the harvest. The *dura* has different compartments on which different crops are stored. At the time of the interview he was considering building a modern *dura* to ensure that his grains were safe and easy to monitor. Despite these challenges he said that the *dura* was important for homesteads as this is where they kept their food. The amount of grain in the *dura* shows whether a household was food secure or not for that particular season. In case other families neighbours or kin faced challenges, the *dura* is used as social safety net from where food can be accessed and those in need given. He also indicated that crops like sweet potatoes are not kept in the *dura* as they spoil easily. After being harvested, they are stored in a hole which is dug in the ground known as *pfimbi*. The *pfimbi* is the equivalent of the *dura* for sweet potatoes and ash is sprinkled inside so as to preserve the crop. If the *pfimbi* is well maintained and secured, Chihota said they would last between eight months to a year.

The Agricultural Extension Officer (Interview, 09/02/17) that: “In as much as the *dura* is important for grain and food security for the farmers. There have been challenges with regards to post-harvest management of produce.” As pests are continuously evolving therefore posing a threat to the household’s food security and the functioning of the *dura*, to protect harvests and ensure some measure of food security he said as a department:

They assist the farmers with field inspections to ensure that their crop is not being attacked by pests. Most farmers do not test their maize for moisture after harvesting and this can lead to it being attacked for example by the larger grain borer which can cause significant losses. Farmers are taught to identify pests and the chemicals which they must use to eliminate the pests and we do this with our sister department of Plant Protection and Quarantine Services which also routinely sprays crops. We also advise them on the different types of granaries which they

should have to store their maize. We discourage the use of the traditional granaries of wooden poles and dagga walls which have been shown to have weaknesses and we encourage farmers to have brick and mortar buildings. These needs to be constantly fumigated to kill all pests and break their life cycle.

Participants in FGD's indicated that they are aware of losses that come about due to poor storage practices. A result of this is that some of them combine traditional and modern grain management systems. Most farmers in Zimbabwe use modern chemicals like *Chirindamura Dust* or *Copper Shumba* in the *dura*. Those who cannot afford use ash from maize cobs and eucalyptus leaves and most of the farmers combine both methods. For rodents, farmers use different types of rodent killers as these rodents pose a major threat to the *dura*. Those who do not have the *dura* use their kitchens, spare rooms or bedrooms to store their grain, but this is discouraged especially if they use chemicals to preserve the grain. Some of the farmers without the *dura* indicated that they prefer to keep their grains in the house as it was more secure. It is in this context that the *dura* has become one of the important symbols of wealth, abundance and food security on many A1 farms. Picture 7.10 below is an example of one the many *duras* found in Goromonzi (note the use of traditional and modern building materials). It is at a homestead at Buena Vista farm. As indicated earlier the *dura* is not only found in the farming areas, picture 7.10 below shows a *dura* in Goromonzi and 7.11 a *dura* that I saw in the Mudzi communal areas³².

Picture 7.10: An example of a *dura* in Goromonzi



³² This speaks to the argument that some of the practises and lifestyles of people in the communal lands can now be found on the farms with the *dura* being an example.

Picture 7.11: A dura in the Mudzi Communal lands



Source: Own Fieldwork

Case Study: Mixed Crop farming for food security and protection (Insights into crop diversification, the *bindu* and *dura*)

In Goromonzi, I resided with the Machokoto household at Warrendale farm. The time which I spent with this household was quite beneficial as it gave me insights on how some families undertake their agricultural activities. It showed me the different strategies adopted by some families to be food secure, to be resilient and to manage stresses and shocks that can come about due to crop failure or single crop cultivation. For the past ten years, Mr. Machokoto boasted that he always manages to fill up his three *dura*'s and to sell excess. He is ever busy and he produces crops all year round. I stayed with the family during the rainy season and I noted that of Mr. Machokoto's five fields, only two had a single crop (where he plants hybrid seeds). The other three fields had mixed crops with there being three or more crops planted in a single field (most of the crops were traditional crops). Mr. Machokoto said that he had learnt to do this type of farming from his father. His father had practised this type of farming at his small-scale farm in Mutoko (a district which is also in Mashonaland East Province). In Mr. Machokoto's fields with mixed crops there could be found sorghum, millet, rapoko, water melons, groundnuts, pumpkins, sweet potatoes, beans among other crops. Mr Machokoto said that due to his diversified agricultural activities his family never goes hungry and they always have enough to eat as well as surplus to sell. At his homestead, I saw that his *dura*'s were well stocked with one still being sealed. There is enough food at that homestead to last more than a year and each day the family which comprises of eight individuals eats three times a day. He has a market in Harare which he supplies and to people who want traditional crops. There are customers who constantly come to the farm to purchase the crops. The traditional crops are in demand by people who eat traditional organic food and those who use them for traditional and ritual purposes. In addition to the main fields, Mr Machokoto has two *bindu*'s on his farm. In the *bindu*'s he concentrates on growing leaf vegetables, carrots, spinach, cabbage, green beans, peas among other crops. He uses natural material and his products are organically certified, and he supplies the products to some exclusive restaurants and hotels in Harare.

Mr Machokoto said mixing crops ensured that his family was food secure for the year as no matter the weather conditions or rainfall amount he was guaranteed of a harvest. The crops are also beneficial to the family as they supplement household income and they are a source of nutrition. He said that the practise helps to maintain soil fertility and to minimise attacks by crops. He had some methods of seed preservation which he uses which include slow heating of some seeds, air and smoke preservation or mixing the seeds with ash and some roots or liquids and leaves from trees. In this way, he does not buy any seeds for his three special fields and neither does he use fertiliser as he uses natural manure (thus he cuts many costs). As the seeds are natural they are resilient and can be used even in harsh conditions. This is different from hybrid varieties which easily get spoiled and cannot be used in the following season. He produces approximately three tonnes of maize, two tonnes of small grains, a tonne of shelled groundnuts and an unquantified amount of sweet potatoes, pumpkins, water melons and other crops. The agricultural extension officer said that the manner in which Mr. Machokoto undertakes his agricultural activities is one of the emergent methods of agriculture being undertaken by some beneficiaries of the FTLRP. Beneficiaries have adopted some farming methods which used to be practiced in the communal areas and they mix modern and traditional farming methods to ensure food security. He said that this type of farming has the advantage of reducing pressure on crops which is brought on by weeds and insects pressures. There is reduced need for nitrogen fertilisers especially if farmers concentrate on leguminous crops. He also said there is reduced soil erosion, an increase in yields per unit area and the breaking of disease cycles. The importance of this method is that it assures family of food security. This is confirmed in literature where crop diversification is seen as being sustainable and productive. Crop yields are seen as being improved through the management of soils, optimisation of water use by plants, lower pest pressure and the suppression of weeds and parasites (see Lin 2011, Joshi 2008 and Hollings 1973).

7.3.7 Livestock as Social Insurance

When things are tough, and we do not have any money in the house we always have the option of selling livestock. My husband is a truck driver so at times he goes for long periods to the Democratic Republic of Congo even up to two months. So, money for food and household supplies which the money he leaves for food can run out before he returns. So, we sell chickens and goats so that we get money to buy basic necessities and we do this even when we have poor harvests. The other option which we have is to sell vegetables, but the returns are small and there are so many vegetable producers in this area (Mai Chenai, Interview 12/02/16).

This was said by Mai Chenai of Chibvuti farm in relation to the importance of livestock at the farms. Her sentiments were echoed by Mathias of Lot 3 Buena Vista (Interview, 10/10/15) who said:

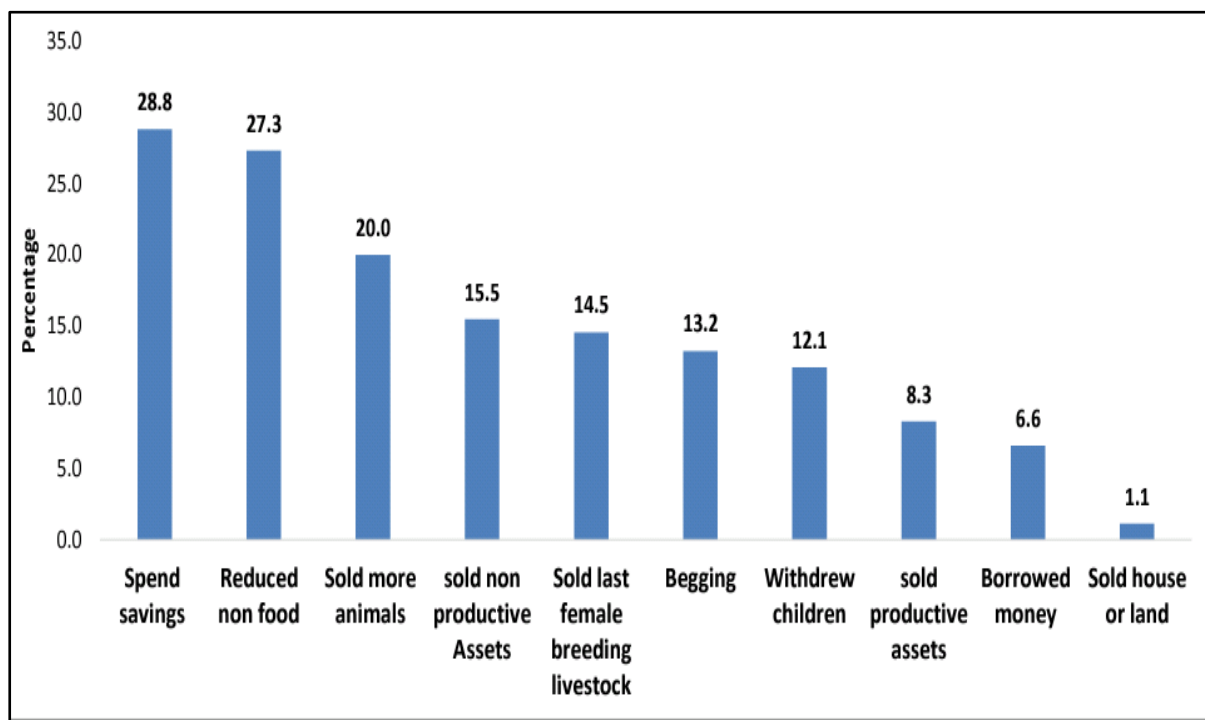
I keep livestock because it helps me in case of emergencies. Keeping livestock is good because it is money that you invest which keeps on reproducing and growing. So, it's better than putting your money in the bank. But if your animals are attacked by diseases and they die, or they are stolen, it's a big loss. If you have livestock, and things are tough, or you have health or school fees or food issues which need cash you can always sell your livestock. But when I talk of selling livestock, I mean chickens, sheep and goats. Cattle are not just sold because of small problems those ones are the last to go and they only go if there is a major problem.

The sentiments captured above show the importance of livestock as a form of accumulation and insurance in instances where the beneficiaries have urgent needs. Devereux (2009) has noted that smallholders in the face of production failures adopt various coping strategies. The selling of livestock and assets is one of the coping strategies. Other strategies identified by Devereux (2009) include rationing of consumption which can also include skipping meals, diversifying diets and reducing household expenses by cutting spending on non-food items. The importance of livestock for rural community's social protection and social reproduction is captured by Dorward *et al* (2016:17) who say that:

Livestock are very important to the livelihoods of some rural people, sometimes in production and income, and sometimes as assets for use in accumulation, buffering and insurance. There has been a tendency for livestock development services to focus on the income generating role of livestock at the expense of attention to low cost, low risk livestock keeping to fulfil more 'social protection' functions of accumulation, buffering and insurance.

Figure 7.2 below from the ZimVac Rapid Assessment Final Report (2016) shows the coping strategies of households. It confirms the observations by Devereux (2009) that smallholders adopt various coping strategies. The figure shows the common household coping strategies from a survey of 60 rural districts in Zimbabwe.

Figure 7.2: Common Livelihood Coping Strategies



Source: ZimVac Rapid Assessment Final Report (2016)

Figure 7.2 above highlights the importance of livestock as a livelihood coping strategy. At 20 percent, livestock sales are the third highest coping strategy. Some households in order to reduce vulnerability even end up selling their last female breeding livestock. In the survey, 14.5 percent households had sold their last female breeding livestock. This has implications on the production and reproduction of households, negatively affecting livelihoods. In Goromonzi, I observed that livestock are important as a coping strategy as shown in Figure 7.2 above. The Livestock Production Extension Officer (Interview, 30/09/15) indicated that livestock are an important asset which households keep. They sell them to meet household needs or for investment in productive activities, to acquire assets and farmers keep them to manage risks. He said that farmers integrate crop and livestock production so as to maximise on production and to diversify household income. Cattle are kept for draught power and this helps the farmers as it supports crop production. The Officer indicated that the livestock market for A1 farmers in the district is dominated by the sale of smaller livestock like goats and chickens. Cattle are kept in the district, but smallholder farmers do not easily sell them. In Goromonzi he said that farmers own an average of four cattle and the range is between 1-25. Cattle are not easily sold because they provide draught power, milk, manure and meat. They are also a store of wealth

for the farmers and serve multiple purposes which include payment of dowry, income generation, use during cultural practices and they are important for dealing with shocks like droughts and funerals. From the study sample, the highest number of livestock which was sold by the farmers was chickens. Fifty eight percent beneficiaries reported having sold chickens in the 2014-2015 season. Most of the chickens which they sold were the broiler chickens³³ and 32 percent sold goats while 24 percent had sold cattle. Only two percent of the beneficiaries had sold a donkey. Livestock products like milk and eggs were sold by few of the farmers and it was below 10 percent. As Goromonzi lies in a favourable agro-ecological region, beneficiaries are not pressured too much to sell their livestock as a response to shocks and deprivation. I noted that the sale of vegetables from the *bindu* is the immediate response of families to vulnerability and it is only when this option is not viable that they resort to the selling of livestock. In this way, livestock in the district have become a welfare instrument that beneficiaries use for temporary relief. It also assists them to recover from shocks and deprivation. It is one of the production and social protection outcomes of the FTLRP.

7.3.8 The FTLRP and Input Transfers

Social protection is seen by Devereux *et al* (n.d:1) as being an essential public service which encompasses a broad range of public action. It provides direct support to help people deal with risk, vulnerability, exclusion, hunger and poverty. One major element of social protection are social transfers. The other elements are social legislation and social insurance, but it must be noted that these typologies are contested in literature. Devereux *et al* (n.d:1-2) see social transfers as:

Non-contributory (in the sense that the recipient is not required to pay for them through premiums or specific taxes) social assistance provided by public and civic bodies to those living in poverty or in danger of falling into poverty.

Social transfers benefit the individual or household, they can be means tested, community targeted and they can be geographically, categorically or self-targeted. Social transfers include food, cash and agricultural inputs which can include fertilizer, seeds, assets, tools or livestock. In Goromonzi, I noted that the FTLRP opened up channels through which social transfers in the form of agricultural inputs are being provided to A1 farmers. From a social policy perspective, Yi (2013) has argued that social transfers strengthen individual and social

³³ These are chickens which are domesticated and bred specifically for meat.

resilience as well as capabilities. They empower the weak and vulnerable and are a basis for equitable, democratic and sustainable growth. While social transfers have existed in Goromonzi, in the form of the HSCT scheme they have been exclusionary to the beneficiaries of the FTLRP. According to the District Social Services Officer (Interview, 19/08/15), beneficiaries of the FTLRP do not qualify under the HSCT. She said:

By virtue of them having been given land they automatically do not qualify under the public assistance programme because it is meant for vulnerable households which are labour constrained and food poor. There are interviews and home visits or assessments which are conducted to make sure that anyone those who applies are really in need and if they do a recommendation is made for them to benefit from the Public Assistance Programme. Thus, if you look at our records the majority of our beneficiaries under the Public Assistance Programme can be found in the communal areas as opposed to the farms. I am not saying that there are no vulnerable populations on the farms they are there but they are relatively better off than their counterparts in the communal areas.

As A1 beneficiaries are excluded from the HSCT scheme, I noted that they benefit from another social transfer programme, mainly the Presidential Input Scheme. In the 2013/2014 season, the scheme saw US\$252.3 million being mobilised for A1, old resettlement, communal and small-scale farmers BAZ (2014). The programme has had its challenges as has been alluded to in chapter six. In Goromonzi, the Agricultural Extension Officer in Goromonzi South indicated that all of the A1 farmers under his jurisdiction were registered under the input support scheme and were receiving 50 kg fertilizer (compound D and ammonium nitrate) and seed maize (during each season). He said the inputs which the farmers are given is enough to cultivate from 0.2 to at least one acre of maize and depending on farming methods, the weather and dedication and they can harvest up to a tonne of maize. While the programme has its challenges of which the late disbursement of the inputs is the major challenge. I can argue that the provision of inputs and subsidies is aimed at building resilience, enhancing incomes and capabilities of the beneficiaries of the FTLRP. My view was collaborated by most of the responses which I received from participants in all four FGD's of A1 beneficiaries who said that the input scheme was particularly helpful for the poor peasants, even though inputs sometimes come late. They said that the inputs are always put to use either in that season or in the following season. If we look at Moyo's (2011) tri-modal agrarian structure, there are poor peasants who benefitted from the FTLRP. These poor peasants are the one's who are hardest hit by droughts and economic crisis. They are the ones benefitting from the inputs programme of provided under the FTLRP.

One participant of the FGD held at Warrendale farm (19/09/15) said that:

The input scheme by the President helps us access maize and fertilizer. Most of the time the prices of these inputs are beyond our reach and it is worse just before the planting season as prices skyrocket. The inputs which we are given go a long way in ensuring that at least we put something on the ground and we don't go hungry.

These sentiments were echoed by the Agricultural Extension Officer (Interview, 13/10/15) who said that even though inputs are usually disbursed late, they are quite helpful for poor households. Goromonzi has high rainfall levels and the season can stretch, so even if inputs come late some beneficiaries can manage to use the inputs but the output can be lower. The inputs are of help as some of the beneficiaries would not be having inputs or would be needing additional inputs to maximise on production. They thus cover a gap that exists in input provision to vulnerable households.

The FTLRP has thus provided beneficiaries, especially the poor with some means through which they have some degree of social protection. In addition to the state sponsored inputs, there are NGO's which provide free inputs to farmers across all the sectors. Results from the SMAIAS Household Survey (2013-2014) showed that in 2011-2012, 30.4 percent farmers (from all the sectors) benefitted from input support and subsidies from NGO's. In 2012-2013 it was 26.8 percent and in 2013-2014 it was 47 percent. From a transformative social policy viewpoint, one can argue that the programmes are a means of empowerment as well as enhancing capabilities. Some of the respondents even indicated that through inputs which they receive, the areas which they now cultivate have increased with some even saying that this has forced them to deploy additional labour and at times even hiring casual labour for hard tasks like weeding and harvesting. I did not pursue further these issues which were raised although I had reservations about how such a small starter pack could actually see farmers requiring increased labour deployment. These claims are however justifiable for beneficiaries who would have their own large quantities of inputs and cultivate a larger number of fields. While it is premature to have a definitive conclusion on the impact which the input programmes are doing in transforming positively, the lives of land recipients, in the short term they are an important instrument for social protection on the farms. For poor households, they are part of the coping and survival strategies provided to individuals and households and they assist them to manage risks. They have an additional dimension of enhancing the capability and productive potential of beneficiaries by providing with a resource which they can use to multiply their output. They

provide social protection *ex-ante* rather than *ex-post* through enhancing the productive potential of farmers. The major challenge with studying the impact of these agricultural inputs as social transfers is that farmers mix and these inputs with their own inputs sourced elsewhere. It is therefore a challenge to empirically assess just how much is produced from these inputs as they are not used independently to other inputs sourced elsewhere.

7.3.9 Communal and Farming Area Linkages

In the district, I noted that the resettlement areas have connections with the communal areas and this linkage has social protection, production and reproduction outcomes. Some of the new resettlements lie adjacent to communal areas for example Dunstan farm is close to the Seke communal lands with the Manyame river separating the two areas, Warrendale and Mashonganyika farms are close to Chinyika communal areas and Rochester farm is close to the Mwanza and Rusike communal areas. Connections exist between the two areas range from kinship ties, loaning of cattle, sharing grazing in livestock, labour transfers, food relief among other connections. The ties are based on kinship, friendship and religion. The relationship according to Njaya (2015) has various levels of contact, it is ongoing and is based on social and economic interactions. Some beneficiaries of the FTLRP maintain homes in the communal areas with the aim of boosting yields by spreading risk and it is also a strategy aimed at numerous risks faced by farmers of which eviction and the failure of crops are the most common and challenging. The communal areas are maintained as they have value as these are areas where graves of the lineage are located. The clan and extended family is found in these areas and the identity of an individual is now synonymous with the area where they reside and in Zimbabwe people identify with these communal areas. Some beneficiaries of the FTLRP could not abandon these homes as in *shona* custom according to Bourdillon (1982), abandoning such homes would be like turning away from one's people.

According to Dorward *et al* (2009) a function of social protection is providing welfare instruments which provide relief and sometimes recovery from deprivation. In Goromonzi, I noted that the linkages between the communal and farming areas have these social protection and reproduction connotations. They provide welfare, relief and recovery from deprivation. This is exemplified by Mateu of Rochester farm (Interview 01/09/15). He is originally from the Rusike communal lands and had experienced misfortune in 2014 when his homestead had been burnt down and he had to start afresh. He only had two cattle at the time and had sold these to raise money. As he had no insurance, he had faced challenges recovering and could

not adequately provide for his family. His kin in the Rusike communal lands had provided him with four cattle to assist him to prepare his fields and produce for the 2015-2016 season. The cattle did not belong to him but were loaned to him. They call this practice *kuronzera*³⁴ and it is one of the traditional practices which was also borrowed from the communal areas. At the time of the fieldwork he was using the cattle to prepare his fields. I also noted it being done at Chibvuti farm but in this instance, it was the local community assisting a child headed household to prepare their fields. An A2 farmer had cultivated the fields for the family for free and had pledged to plant for them and send some of his workers to come and assist the family. For Mateu, there was a promise that if one of the cows which he had been loaned produced offspring, it would be his. The intention was to assist him to get back to his feet after his misfortune. While the practice of *kuronzera* was new to me, I noted that in literature it has been shown as existing in traditional societies in Zimbabwe and in Africa. Mchomvu *et al* (2002) for example noted that in Tanzania, the Massai people lend cattle to households in need. Due to droughts and other misfortunes, some families would have lost their cattle and they are the ones who are assisted. In Buhera (Zimbabwe) Ruparanganda *et al* (2017) noted that there is the lending of cattle to poor households by the community as a form of aid to assist them with draught power so that they are productive.

For A1 beneficiaries living close to the communal areas, the communal areas are places where they can access social services. At Rochester farm for example I noted that some children attend schools in the communal areas. Some beneficiaries who have communal homes, during the school term have their children residing in the communal areas which have schools nearby. Musuruvari (Interview, 06/07/15) is one A1 beneficiary at Bains Hope who maintains a communal home in Chinyika which is a communal area near the farm. On this, he said:

I have my family home in Chinyika. I inherited it from my father who also got it from his father. My first wife and children stay there because it is much closer to the schools. During the holidays, they come and help here on the farm. I keep the home and I will never give it up. My parents and grandparents are buried there. My identity comes from there so it is very valuable to me. My family has invested a lot in that home and we have productive gardens and wells that are very deep there and they are never dry. We produce vegetables there and the market is nearby so it helps us with household income. We are not really sure how safe we are on these farms. We always hear of people being evicted like last month we heard of an army boss evicting people near Chibvuti there. So, we have to be careful if you are evicted and you do not have a place to go, what will you do? So, it is better I balance between the two.

³⁴ This is a custom in which cattle is loaned to a household in need. One only has usufruct rights over the cattle and cannot dispose or slaughter it.

Maintaining houses in the communal areas thus has benefits. Another advantage which the beneficiaries have which they were not free to disclose but which I observed was that they benefit from inputs and food handed out to families in the communal areas. According to respondents at the FGD's, there are some benefits and subsidies which are provided to families in communal areas by NGO's. These are not given in the A1 farming areas. If a household has a home in the communal areas they benefit from food and agricultural inputs. Some of the inputs which are given are even used on the A1 farms when they would have been meant for families in the communal areas. This was an interesting dimension which the participants gave to me and when I tried to pursue this line of enquiry A1 beneficiaries did not seem to want to open up on it. It was only three families in my study sample who admitted that they benefit from inputs which they receive from the communal areas and they even showed me the seed and fertilizer starter packs.

The relationship which exists between communal areas and the A1 farms is something that has many dimensions and dynamics which needs further and deeper empirical analysis. I did not commit myself to studying too much as it was beyond the scope of my thesis. At Wondedzo A1 farms in Masvingo Province, Scoones (2017c[O]) also notes that there are linkages between communal and resettlement areas. He notes that at Wondedzo, "...those who benefitted from the FTLRP were often asked by their poorer relatives in the communal areas to take care of their children and to reside with them on the A1 farms." This is because those who benefitted from the FTLRP have larger landholdings and are relatively in a better financial position than their relatives in the communal areas, in addition to having access to resources. Scoones (2017c) calls this a "magnetic effect" and it is not a new phenomenon as it was also observable in the early post independence land reform programme. With the FTLRP is also evident and its impact is only being studied now as scholars explore the outcomes of the FTLRP.

In as much as the relationships are cordial, there are some issues which were noted during the fieldwork which show that the linkages between the communal and farming areas have caused some friction and challenges. According to *Sabhuku* Choto of Dunstan B1 village and *Sabhuku* Munatsi of the neighbouring Seke communal lands (interviews held on 12/08/15), there is friction between the communities which is a result of some residents of the communal areas especially the youth stealing firewood and poaching sand from the farming areas where they can be found in abundance. This firewood is sold to urban households in the neighbouring

Chitungwiza and Epworth for household fuel. Many A1 farmers who are into tobacco farming cannot afford to use coal and as some do not have woodlots, they either buy the firewood which is acquired illegally or risk heavy fines and illegally cut down trees. At Xanadu farm, one of the local *Sabhuku*³⁵ (traditional leader) indicated that the illegal cutting of trees was rampant especially at night by people from the communal areas. He attributed this to the close proximity of the areas as well as the ready market for firewood. He also said that it was dangerous for one to confront those who came for firewood usually at night as in most instances they were armed and dangerous. With the acquisition of neighbouring farms, another *Sabhuku*³⁶ of the Seke communal lands indicated that over the past few years he has witnessed a dramatic reduction in the number of people in his area who are illegally cutting down trees, poaching sand or conducting illegal hunting and fishing practices making him to be recognized by the local rural district council for his conservation efforts. He said that the activities were now more rampant on the farms which were endowed with more natural resources. He also indicated that there were some young people from his area who were participating in these activities and they were doing so as they did not have alternative livelihood options and he bemoaned the fact that a few people from his area had benefitted from the land reform programme. The picture below was taken during a transect walk at between Xanadu and Glen Avon farm and it shows some of the forests in the farming areas which are allegedly being targeted for their natural resources.

Picture 7.11: A Forest between Xanadu and Glen Avon farm



Source: Own fieldwork

³⁵ Interview held on 03/09/15

³⁶ Interview held on 06/09/15

From the little evidence which I gathered in Goromonzi, I realized that communal and farming area linkages play an important role in protection, production and reproduction. The linkages which exist between communal areas and A1 farms are channels for the provision of relief and recovery from deprivation for inhabitants of both areas. Using practices inherited from communal areas, they provide recovery mechanisms, they allow people to manage risks and they allow for asset building and recovery for those who would have undergone unfortunate incidents in life. But in as much as they are beneficial, there are now instances where these linkages are being used for the illegal exploitation of natural resources and if these are not controlled, they can have disastrous consequences to the natural environment.

7.3.10 The Gender Outcomes of the FTLRP

The FTLRP has had an impact on women. In this thesis, I have touched on the impact of the FTLRP in previous chapters as well as in this chapter. This section looks at some of the gender, social protection and reproduction outcomes of the FTLRP in Goromonzi. Studies on the gender dimensions of the FTLRP are not new as are numerous historical studies undertaken in Zimbabwe on women and land. Moyo (2011), Mutopo (2011, 2014), Mazhawidza and Manjengwa (2011), Gaidzanwa (2011, 1994) PLRC (2003), Derma and Hellum (2004), Steen (2011), Scoones *et al* (2010), Moyo *et al* (2009), Matondi (2012), Makura-Paradza (2011), Magaramombe (2010), Goebel (2007), Hartnack (2007) and Chiweshe *et al* (2015) among others have written and given insights on multiple gender dimensions on the nexus between women and land in Zimbabwe at different historical junctures. It is these works which form the basis of my understanding of the gender dimensions of the FTLRP.

The transformative social policy framework lays emphasis on the reduction of inequities and inequality while also emphasizing the improvement of womens skills. One of the shortcomings of social policy as it has been presented in literature and adopted by different countries has been that it has had an oversight in appreciating the reproductive and nurturing roles of women. These roles are considered to be central and important for the wellbeing of the individual, household and the nation (Bonoli 1997, Folbre 1994 and Adesina 2007). In the 1980's, social policy was oblivious of the reproductive roles of women. A rethinking of social policy has advocated for social policy to have a "strong pro-natal approach but is also requires social provisioning that treats women as people in their own right rather than in their procreation and nurturing roles" (Adesina 2007:45). Social policy has thus become gender 'conscious' with

emphasis being put to women advancement (in all spheres and on merit), the provision of women in the social insurance system and credits being given to women for child rearing, maternity benefits and child care facilities (Bonoli 1997). Social policy thus becomes important for several reasons. It ensures that citizens in any country or territory are able to live their lives with dignity. They receive social protection and their welfare and wellbeing is catered for regardless of their ethnicity, age and gender (emphasis placed here). It was with the issues discussed above in mind that I looked at some of the impacts which the FTLRP has had on women in Goromonzi.

When we look at the gender dimensions of the FTLRP, there are some issues which we need to bear in mind which I will briefly highlight. Firstly, when we look at the issue of land in Zimbabwe, we need to understand that there are linkages between the land, space and culture in the country (Chiweshe *et al* 2015). This relationship has mediated on land access for generations. Patrilineal societies (which are predominant in Goromonzi among the *shona* people) have seen land access being mediated through men historically (Gaidzanwa 1994). With independence and the new resettlement programmes there were some changes. Although married women accessed land through marriage at the demise of their husbands, they inherited the land and had control over the land and production. Although the whole system had patriarchal undertones it altered the access and productive activities of women on the land (Goebel 2005). The FTLRP as has been indicated in the earlier chapters saw intense advocacy for the inclusion of the women's interests firstly in the design and then in the actual implementation of the land reform programme. The lobbying made progress and inroads were made with policy documents recommending a reservation of 20 percent quota for women under the FTLRP. The FTLRP has thus brought some changes. It has allowed for leases and permits to be written in the names of both spouses and one partner cannot dispose of it without the consent of the other (Moyo *et al* 2009). This is in a context where in the communal areas Makura-Paradza (2010) has noted that patriarchy is still strong and predominates. Land is still being allocated along patriarchal lines for example, it is allocated or inherited by the eldest sons and the rights of women are limited.

When we explore the gender dimensions of the FTLRP, we need to bear in mind that the concept of patriarchy is contested and quite dominant in many societies. The literature on gender presents patriarchy as oppressing and marginalizing women. This is in terms of access

land and it negatively impacts on their livelihoods. Chiweshe *et al* (2015: 718) give important insights on patriarchy which I bear in mind as I discuss the gender dimensions of the FTLRP in Goromonzi. They argue that:

Patriarchy as a system of domination is invariably a negotiated system... (it needs to) be understood not simply in structuralist and legalistic terms, such that greater access to socio-economic resources for women and reform to patriarchal legislation spell the end to patriarchy. Ultimately, patriarchy entails intense lived experiences and everyday relations between men and women through the 'operation of local patriarchies'... patriarchal domination – existing as a seemingly sutured system – consists of various threads of social relations in sites of economic production and social reproduction. These threads normally reinforce each other but, particularly during times of contestation and change, they may enter into tension with each other. As a result, at any one moment, one thread may hold fast while another one starts to unravel. Patriarchy is not a uniform or static system but is contingent and open to spatial and temporal variations and change. Lastly, 'women' is not a homogeneous category because all women are infused with a multitude of social identities and these identities position them differentially within a particular system of patriarchy; they hence experience patriarchy differently. Besides class, race and ethnicity, marital status and age are recognised as particularly crucial identities with regard to accessing land: hence land reform programmes normally have differential effects on different categories of women.

In Goromonzi, the study showed that when it comes to their reproductive roles and care work, the FTLRP has had impact. The impact is not uniform, but it differs with each individual. In Goromonzi South a village health worker at Bromley (Interview, 23/09/2015) indicated that it is women in most households who have undertaken the role of providing palliative care to the chronically ill and they are the primary care givers. She indicated that with the prevalence of HIV/AIDS the situation was worse but in recent years with the availability of anti-retroviral treatment the burden on women has lessened. She was assisting 26 households with ill people some of whom were chronically ill under her jurisdiction. She said that in these households it is mostly women who take care of the sick. They feed them if they are unable to do it for themselves, dress them, bathe them and at times collect their medicine on their behalf from health facilities if they are unable to go. The situation is made worse as most of the farms do not have health facilities which are close by. At Dunstan farm for example, they beneficiaries have to travel over 20 km to receive comprehensive health services otherwise they rely on village health workers whose ability and resources to assist are limited. Respondents in the study sample indicated the distances below to the nearest health facilities and child care facilities as well as access to a village health worker. This usually directly impacts on women. The distances are as follows:

- ✓ Clinics: 14 (9%) farmers indicated that a clinic was in the 0 – 5 km radius from their farms. 76 (51%) farmers in the 6- 10 km radius, 29 (19%) in the 11-20 km radius and the remaining 31 (21%) in the 21+ km radius.
- ✓ Hospitals: None of the farmers saw the hospital as being in the 0-5 km or 6-10 km radius from their farms. 52 (35%) saw it in the 11-20 km radius while the remaining 98 (65%) farmers saw the nearest hospital being 21+ km away from their farms.
- ✓ Village Health Worker: 73 (49%) farmers had a village health worker in the 0-5 km radius, 72 (48%) in the 6-10 km radius and 5 (3%) in the 11-20 km radius with 0 in the 21+ km radius.
- ✓ Child Care Facilities: 85 (57%) farmers had a childcare facility in the 0-5 km radius, 56 (37%) in the 6-10 km radius, 9 (6%) in the 11-20 km radius and 0 in the 21+ km radius

Women in the farms still have to balance out their reproductive roles with their productive tasks. In my study sample, the A1 beneficiaries had 502 biological children and the numbers keep on growing. Women have to balance out productive work, reproductive roles in addition to care tasks. Participants at the FGD held at Warrendale (19/09/15) said that it was important for women to be productive as well as reproductive. They said women had always performed household tasks at the homesteads in the communal areas (during colonialism) in addition to bearing children so it was not unique to the A1 farms. This was at a time when most men had lived in urban areas or mines where they were employed. One participant said that what was happening in the A1 farms was not new but a continuation of how people live in the communal lands. The only difference was that there was a much larger land holding and more tasks for women, but this balanced out to some extent as most of the men were also now resident on the farms unlike in the past when most were migrant labourers. The farm health worker at Dunstan farm (Interview, 25/09/15) summarized the reproductive and situation of women on the farms and said:

Women who are married are expected to give birth to children. That is what is expected of them to make the families of their husbands grow. So, on average women give birth here every two to three years and on average they have between four to six children in their lifetime but some can go to as far as nine³⁷. This will be with one woman but we have some men here with more than one wife so we are looking at maybe ten to over eighteen children for these families. The women have to work hard to feed their families and assist their husbands and being pregnant

³⁷ This claim was not supported by my sample data.

or having young children to take care of is not an excuse. Women also have to provide their husbands with their conjugal rights and I can tell you it is never easy for the women. This is the reason why we teach them and their husbands on issues of reproductive health because we had women having too many children, men and women engaging in risky sexual behaviour and women being overworked during sensitive times in their lives when they were heavily pregnant or when their children are still very young.

The situation of women is further complicated by inadequate sanitation and lack of proper facilities. At most A1 farms, I noted that there are no proper sanitation facilities (most families do not have toilets) or safe drinking water sources. Most of the boreholes which the former LSCF's put for their workers were vandalized or have broken down due to lack of proper maintenance. Households have to resort to unsafe water sources from dams, rivers and unprotected wells for household use. Some homesteads at Dunstan farm for example use water from the Manyame river for household chores and they look for drinking water from safe water sources. On other farms, beneficiaries have to set aside at least two hours each day in which household members (mostly women) go to look for safe drinking water. I noted that some A1 beneficiaries on farms adjacent to communal areas go to these areas to collect safe drinking water. Some women carry water on their heads, others have wheelbarrows, or they use scotch-carts. Men do help to collect water, but this is not often, and the task is usually performed by women. This brings up the issue of intrahousehold relations in the household have seen the advent of a new and interesting division and decision making.

Chiweshe *et al* (2015:718) note that in Mazowe, Mwenezi and Goromonzi, the organization of production and livelihood activities on the A1 farms is gendered in many ways in both the relations of production and in the division of labour. They go on to argue that gendered relations of production shape the division of labour. Women continue to be under the overall command of their husbands when it comes to decision making on crop production and income. This is in a context where males are recognized as the primary income earners for the household by the intra-household patriarchal institutions (O'Laughlin 1998 and Tsikata 2009). In Goromonzi, my observations confirmed these findings. I found that women perform household tasks like cooking, cleaning, child care, the take care of livestock, cultivate gardens, they assist their husbands in the fields and engage in income generating activities both on and off the farms. This is different from men who concentrate mostly on cash crop production, maintaining the physical infrastructure of the household and engaging in farm and off-farm income generating activities. In Goromonzi, I resided with Baba and Mai Tanatswa. The couple has

six children. They live with four of their children, two of them are women who are married and live elsewhere. All of the four children who remain are in secondary and primary schools. The case below briefly highlights the activities which Mai Tanatswa undertakes on a typical and normal day. This provides insights on the division of labour within the household and the dynamics in the relations of production. It gives a clearer picture on the tasks which women perform and also shows what happens in most A1 households although there are variations from household to household.

Case Study: A Day in the life of Mai Tanatswa

Mai Tanatswa's day typically starts at five thirty am in the morning. Depending on whether water is available in the house from the previous day, she goes to the well to collect water and soak plates from the previous night's meal which she will wash later. Afterwards she makes sure that the goats are tied so that they do not stray to peoples *bindu's* or get lost. This task is at times done by the children, but since a previous incident in which they ate the neighbour's vegetables she prefers to do it herself. While she is doing this, the children will be preparing to go to school. They are old enough to fend so forth their own water, bath and prepare for school. When they were younger, she would prepare them herself but now they are grown and do it on their own. After tying the goats, Mai Tanatswa would sweep the *chivanze* (or yard).

The family has an arrangement with seven other families in which one family for a week is responsible for looking after the cattle of all the families and taking them to the pastures for the day. This is a practice which was taken from the communal areas and they call it *zoro* others call it *dzoro*. The family has six cattle in total and when combined with cattle from other families they will be around 34. When it is not their responsibility for that week to take the cattle, Mai Tanatswa while sweeping the yard will be waiting to hear *simbi inorira* (the gong) which indicates that the cattle are ready to be taken to the *zoro*. As soon as it rings they must bring them to the agreed assembly point. At times taking the cattle to the assembly point is done by Baba Tanatswa or the children but I noticed that it is usually done by Mai Tanatswa. When I was with the family, it was not cultivating season and Mai Tanatswa said that if it was cultivating season, they would first take the oxen to the fields very early in the morning where they would cultivate the field before taking the cattle to join the other cattle at the *zoro* (If there was weeding to be done especially on maize. This would be the first task which is done by all members of the household before all other activities but this is only in late November to January). When the cattle are to taken to the *zoro*, Mai Tanatswa first collects them from the kraal and takes them to the assembly point which is just a few metres from the homestead. When it is the turn of the family to take the cattle, they have an arrangement with a young man from the neighbouring farm whom they pay to perform the task.

When the cattle are gone, Mai Tanatswa washes the plates, feeds the chickens and dogs and prepares breakfast. At this time Baba Tanatswa would be up attending to different things either on the farm, in the fields or preparing to engage in the many of the income generating activities which he engages in. After breakfast Mai Tanatswa goes to work in her garden where she grows various vegetables. She performs different tasks there which include watering, weeding, pruning and so forth. While she is performing these different tasks, she will also be selling vegetables, maize and chickens to people who come to buy them at the farm mainly from the neighbouring communal areas. Between 12 pm and 1 pm she prepares lunch and rests at the homestead for a while as usually it will be very hot. She returns to the garden after 3 pm to complete any tasks that would be outstanding. After completing the tasks, she will return home to bath, to collect the cattle and close them in the kraal. She feeds the livestock, unties and closes in the goats. Afterwards she would start preparing supper which is eaten at around 7 pm. This is usually her daily routine which changes slightly for example if she needs to go and look

for firewood, go to the shopping centre or to the grinding mill it also changes during weekends. Her husband's assists here in the garden but this is not frequent, most of the time he will be doing other activities to generate household income or he usually concentrates on the production of his tobacco and chillies. The children also assist her most of the tasks but this is if they are not at school. Most of the decisions on income and production are done by Baba Tanatswa. He is also responsible for all of the income that comes into the household (including the sales from the garden or livestock, Mai Tanatswa is not allowed to spend even a dollar of that amount) and allocates it according to his preferences. This routine for Mai Tanatswa occurs from April to September and it changes when they are preparing for the farming season. During this time, most of the activities are concentrated in the family fields.

Agarwal (1994), has argued that landownership empowers women and it gives them a status as well as the ability to challenge structures of patriarchy within households and rural communities. This epitomizes what has happened to some women due to the FTLRP. For female headed households especially, the FTLRP has empowered women (by enhancing their productive capacities and decision-making powers) and has put them in a position to question some social structures and patriarchy in particular. Just as the FTLRP has opened up opportunities for diversification and accumulation for men, in Goromonzi I noted that this also applies to women. Respondents in FGD's and the Agricultural Extension Officer indicated that women on the farms now engage in various income generating activities. These include gathering honey, brick making, collecting pit and river sand, operating small tuckshops, engaging in cross border trading, selling cooking oil and peanut butter (which they usually make themselves), selling vegetables, catching and selling *mbeva* (mice), collecting and selling firewood among other activities. This confirms the findings in other areas for example by Mutopo (2011), Chingarande (2010) and Moyo *et al* (2009).

Married women are often allocated pieces of land which are designated as theirs. On these pieces of land they grow a variety of crops. The most popular crops are *bambara nuts*, tomatoes, onions, groundnuts sweet potatoes and so forth. Chiweshe *et al* (2015), see these as women's crops which receive less support if compared to men's crops. Men's crops are often cash crops which include maize, tobacco and cotton and have a high market return. I noted that the trend also exists in Goromonzi and preference in terms of resources and production is given to men's crops. FGD participants said that it is usually men household heads who control income which is realized from the sale of the crops. Women's crops are not considered to be as important as men's crops and they are cultivated on a smaller scale. The distinction between what are women's crops and men's crops is aptly summarized by Mutopo (2011:1 030) who says:

The land they referred to as theirs (women) constitutes the areas where they plant women's crops, which are traditionally bambara nuts, ground nuts and vegetables from the water gardens. These are classified as women's crops because they are considered as more labour intensive and requiring patience which can only be provided by women. The crops are seen as being of low market value and do not fetch so forth a lot of money as compared to cash crops that are dominated by men.

In Goromonzi, I noted that hired labour is provided to men's crops with women usually cultivating their own fields. In contrast, such dynamics do not exist in female headed households where women control production issues and how income is used hence there is no distinction between fields or crops.

In addition to the roles of the women mentioned above which cut across their roles as bearers and carers of children and being responsible for household chores as well as productive activities. Women are seen as also playing an important part in the socialisation process of children in the new farming communities. Some of the women whom I encountered in the study indicated that they are the ones who bear children and are with them in their formative years. Their role as caregivers and the interactions which they have with children make them the ideal transmitters of culture, norms, values and socially acceptable behaviours. This is in the context when African men did not actively participate in the upbringing of their children with women being the primary care givers and the primary transmitters of cultures. Due to the role of women they are thus actively involved in the social reproduction of societal norms, values, cultures and customs of children who in turn are expected to transmit the same to their children as well in the future. The roles of women in society are in the long term indirectly contributing social reproduction as there are discernible gender and reproductive roles that are being transmitted saliently to the next generation in these areas. Emphasis can be seen to be made that male children are expected to be breadwinners while for girls there is an emphasis of socialising them in learning to balance out productive and reproductive functions. This is a sign that in terms of social reproduction, social roles are being used as a vehicle for socialisation.

Mai Moreblessing (Interview held on 21/08/15) confirmed this observation by saying that:

Isu madzimai basa redu harisi rekubereka vana chete asi tisu tinovaita kuti vave vanhu vane hunhu wakanaka. Hazvina mhosva kuti tinoita mabasa api asi ndizvo zvatinotarisirwa kuti tive tinoita (We women our job is not only to give birth but we have to make sure that our children grow up and develop as people with good characters and manners. It does not matter what other tasks or work which we do but this is what is expected of us).

In as much as women are the primary transmitters of cultures and customs, men also play a secondary role in the social reproduction of these cultures and customs, this is exemplified by Cain Mumvuri (Interview, 17/08/15) who said:

Madzimai ane zvavanodzidzisa vana kubva pavanorumirwa asi isu tinekubatawo kwatinoita asi basa redu rakanyanya rinobatika kana ava majaya takuvadzidzisa kuva varume izvi zvinoitwa zvichienderana nedzinza uye hazvishambadzwe kana kuitwa pachena. (Women have things which they teach the children from the time when they are born and when they are young but we men also have our role to play in the socialisation of the children especially the males when they reach their late teenage years in which they are taught their cultures and traditions which are sacred issues and are not publicly discussed).

Women in Goromonzi District (from their responses in FGD's and interviews) were also critical of customs and the legal statutes guiding the allocation of land and access to land. This complaint was emphasised mostly by the spouses of the farmers. The complaint which women gave to me was that there was the continuous reproduction of social relations which did not favour women even in the new dispensation in societies brought on by the FTLRP. Examples which they gave (which were unfortunately not verifiable) included claims that even though some plots were in the names of the women after the demise of their husbands, the eldest sons assumed the role of house heads. They become leaders of the farming processes and this was supported by the late husband's family, thus further reinforcing oppressive patriarchal relations. The women felt that the land allocation system as well as additional support systems were best suited to support men as opposed to women. The argument which they present is that the social systems which are in place, including those providing farmers with support in monetary and material terms, are skewed and favour men. These men already have access to resources both financial and material which they use as collateral.

A Ward Co-ordinator with the Ministry of Women Affairs (Interview, 19/09/15) indicated that even if women do have farms, they do not have the same access to resources and opportunities as men. Consequently, they cannot achieve the same high levels of agricultural productivity. This becomes a challenge as the whole system reproduces itself and as it has deep rooted cultural roots based on patriarchy, it is seen as continuing for a long time. Women (just like men) often have to rely on informal support networks. These include co-operatives and clubs which provide them with access to inputs, machinery, markets, information as well as extension and other specialist services which may require technical expertise. Due to the socialisation

process and attitudes they are considered as not being able to run the farms effectively and the closet male relatives end up running the farms. In addition, females are considered weak and to be married elsewhere and customs dictate that they move to the husband's family and a man living off his wife's family is usually not well respected; therefore, few men actually do that. Thus, the whole social system is negative towards women and girls although it is being challenged socially, legally and politically and there is still need for considerable attitude change. These issues of succession and male domination are aptly summed up by Martha of Rochester farm who said:

As women farmers, we have so many challenges. I think it all begins with tradition and society. The expectation is for us to perform domestic chores only and not other activities. There is still opposition to us being given land. It can be seen in attitudes and I think that is why we face a lot of challenges as women farmers. We do not receive as much support as male farmers and businesses and government officials treat us differently. We are never at the same level and I believe this has an impact on our production. In addition, even in our families, it is worse for widows because families want a male heir to take over if our husbands die. They fear that property will be lost from the family (Interview, 11/09/15).

7.3.11 Farm Compounds: Labour and Citizenship

Farm compounds have existed for decades. The agrarian and labour relations system which had shaped the large-scale commercial farming system during colonialism had been based on a labour reserve system and it was also replicated in the mines (Arrighi 1972, Amin 1972). There was the control and regulation of labour on the LSCF's through the farm compound system (Clarke 1977, Palmer 1977). The system of the farm compound was designed in such a manner that it was a form of labour tenancy in which the farm labourers were attached to a particular farm. Farmworkers resided and provided full time labour while additional part time labour was provided by peasants usually from the surrounding communal areas. Farm workers who provided labour on the farms had a labour tenancy arrangement. Their residency on the farm was on condition that they provided their labour. The tenure was insecure, and the owner could withdraw it at any time using his/her discretion (Clarke 1977). This was in a context where most of the farmworkers originated from neighbouring countries like Zambia, Mozambique and Malawi. In Goromonzi, the Chairman of the ZNLWVA (Interview on 21/09/15), said the system had created a master-servant relationship. The system had been geared towards the reproduction of farm labourers. Getting the children of farm workers educated was a challenge with schools being too far. The farm owners supported basic primary education in order to make the future farm workers literate and capable to perform basic functions on the farm. Very young children were offered part time work on the farms and their

education was never a priority. He went on to say that the environment on the farms had encouraged early marriages, early child birth and large family sizes. All this was aimed at ensuring that there was always a steady supply of farm labour.

With the coming of the FTLRP, most farm compounds have remained untouched. They house current and former farm labourers. Most of the farm workers were marginalized during the land reform programme and were not allocated land (Marongwe 2008, Marimira 2010). In most instances, they were accused taking the side of the white farmers and the opposition MDC hence the marginalization. In Goromonzi, Njaya (2015) reports that a farm worker at Bains Hope farm recalls the District Administrator saying that farm labourers were denied land (under the FTLRP). The objective was to ensure that there would be a continuous supply of farm labourers who would work on the farms. As a result of this history and contemporary challenges, the farm compounds have over the years been areas of fierce contestation and controversy.

During the fieldwork, I had two FGD's with current and former farm workers. They raised some critical issues on the state of the farmworkers and the farm compounds. They said that farm compounds are unique places which have people who trace their origins from diverse nationalities. They trace their origins from countries like Malawi, Zambia and Mozambique. Few remain who originally came from these countries and most are descendants of those who migrated from different countries in the region. Due to their history, the descendants do not have rural homes in Zimbabwe and the only homes which they know are the farm compounds. This situation forces some of them to provide their labour to the farmers in return to have places of residency and access to amenities (respondents emphasized that even though the government has said that the compounds are no state land, farmers continue controlling and being in charge of the compounds). Farm workers are forced by the situation to provide their labour and they complained that the payment which they receive from the farmers is very little. With labour shortages in the farming areas, Chambati (2013b) noted that A1 landholders at times restrict the production of cash crops by former and current farmworkers. Tobacco is usually restricted and the aim of this is to prevent the employees from being autonomous in their social production. This is aimed at ensuring that they continue providing their labour. FGD participants also confirmed this observation by Chambati (2013b). They said they were not allowed to cultivate certain crops even if they had land access agreement with beneficiaries of the FTLRP. They could only grow maize and small grains but this was usually on a small scale

and in areas unsuitable for agricultural activities. These situations have impacted on their rights and citizenship and I will discuss this later.

Participants in the FGD's indicated that the farm compounds are an important pool for skilled labour. Most of the residents in the compounds are former employees of the LSCF's. Most of them have many years of experience in agriculture as most have worked on the farms all of their lives. They have intimate knowledge of how to grow and take care of crops like tobacco, maize, maize seed, wheat, paprika, cotton as well as horticultural crops which are grown under strict conditions (some of them used to grow crops for export which were of high quality). Due to their knowledge and skills, beneficiaries of the FTLRP hire the workers on a temporary basis to grow a certain crop. Participants also indicated that the farm compounds are also an important source of expert labour with the farm workers having specialized skills on operating, servicing and repairing farm machinery like combine harvesters, pivot irrigation systems, water pumps, tractors and so forth.

At Bains Hope farm, a former farmworker Moses (interview on 06/07/15) indicated to me that the relationship with the A1 beneficiaries had not been good. The farmers believed that the farmworkers were anti-land reform and this had started during the time of farm invasions where the farm workers were accused of siding with the white commercial farmers and opposition political parties. At the farm, some A1 beneficiaries have built their homes very close to and in the farm compound and Moses said this was 'to keep them in check'. Moses said that the A1 beneficiaries use the farm compound as their source of cheap or part time labour. Previously they had sourced labour from the communal lands, but their low rates had made people in the communal areas to shun working on the farms. He said this had forced the A1 farmers to mend relationships with the farm workers. Each A1 farmer had workers whom they are used to working with. The work arrangements are rarely permanent, and it is usually part time work which is usually verbally agreed and is popularly known as *maricho* or *mugwazo*³⁸.

The SMAIAS Household Survey (2013-14) confirmed that there are verbal contracts which are widely used by the farmers. These were the dominant types of contract among the casual

³⁸ "*Mugwazo/maricho* is a term which is derogatory and it is used to describe daily wage work. It is normally associated with the poorest segments of the rural society who participate in it for their survival"

labourers, involving 86 percent of those surveyed.³⁹ There were also seen to be written contracts which were given to seasonal labourers.⁴⁰ The survey noted that 26.3 percent seasonal labourers had written employment contracts. Under the *mugwazo/maricho* system, the worker is given a task and paid according to the agreed terms and conditions. The wage rate received under *mugwazo* during the time of the fieldwork was usually an average of between US\$3 and US\$5 for each task. The payment for each task differs, for example the SMAIAS Household Survey showed that for maize production tasks such as *kusakura* (weeding) and *kuchera makomba* (digging for planting) are pegged at US\$5. This is in contrast to less arduous tasks like the application of fertilizer and planting which are paid US\$3. The wage rate for weeding in maize was US\$5 per 0.25 hectares, while in tobacco it was US\$5 per 0.06 hectares. Over and above weeding, cash crop tasks, such as tobacco and soya beans, had a higher salary (US\$5) than food crops for similar tasks, such as maize (US\$3). Farm workers under the new agrarian structure have labour and contract arrangements which “broaden their social reproduction”. This arrangement is termed “semi-proletarianisation of the labour force” (see Bush and Cliffe 1984, Moyo and Yeros 2005).

FGD participants suggested that there is no harmonious relationship between the farmers and farm workers. They said that with lax labour laws and unclear labour arrangement, unscrupulous farmers take advantage of this to exploit the farm workers by either under paying them or refusing to pay them at times. In Goromonzi, I noted that there is no collective bargaining and wages are determined by negotiations between the employer and employee. The wages are paid either in cash or in kind and this depends on agreement. The SMAIAS Household Survey (2013-2014) according to Chambati (2017:14) found that between 2012-2014, monthly wages for permanent workers⁴¹ had increased from US\$56 to US\$79. This was below the provisions of *Statutory Instrument 116 of 2014*. The Statutory Instrument stipulated the minimum wages for farm labour. A number of workers were seen earning below the statutory minimum wages at 40.5 per cent in 2012, 38.5 per cent in 2013 and 46.5 per cent in 2014. The A2 farm sector had relatively lower proportions of those earning below the minimum

³⁹ It is important to note that in 1992 there was the gazetting of *Statutory Instrument 323*. This Instrument recognized verbal contracts that were given to seasonal as well as permanent and seasonal workers. This has changed and now there is *Statutory Instrument 116 of 2014* which requires written contracts. So many of the farmers were in violation of this instrument.

⁴⁰ “A seasonal worker is an employee who is employed for a period not exceeding six months in any period of twelve months” – *Statutory Instrument 116 of 2014*

⁴¹ A permanent worker is an employee, other than a seasonal worker or contract worker, who is employed on a monthly or weekly basis, having first completed a month probation period on a daily notice basis- *Statutory Instrument 116 of 2014*.

wage (30 percent) compared to the A1 farm sector (53 percent). Some of the participants even alleged that some of the farmers exploited their positions in ZANU (PF) or the security forces to force them to work for them at times for free. I could however not verify this claim but many of the farmworkers whom I interacted with made this allegation and I believe it has merit.

The A1 beneficiaries also had something to say on their relationship with the farmworkers. I had four FGD's with them and some of the issues which they raised included the refusal of farm workers to work for them. They said farm workers had failed to evolve from the mindset that farming was for whites and could not be successfully done by Africans hence they were not willing to support the FTLRP. The farm owners also said that when they were first allocated farms they did not have the knowledge and technical expertise to grow some crops. At this time of need, the former farm workers had failed to support them with some even demanding exorbitant payments for them to assist the beneficiaries of the FTLRP. Some had even temporarily moved with the white farmers to urban areas or neighbouring countries looking after their assets of assisting them to establish their businesses and farming activities. They claimed that these farmworkers had later been abandoned by the white farmers and had returned to the farm compounds. In such circumstances, the farmers said it was difficult for them to have cordial relations with the farm workers as they had shown where their true allegiance lay. The issue of bad relations between farmer and farm workers had reached some alarming levels as exemplified by some farmers in Goromonzi South who have built farm compounds for their workers on their own land shunning the old farm compounds on state land. One of the farmers who has done this VaGweshe (Interview on 18/09/15), said that they had decided to build their own compounds where they provided good conditions for workers as well as well as amenities. He said that the challenge had been that farm workers who reside in the farm compounds refuse to provide them with labour but still want to be assisted with social amenities. They could not control the farm compounds some which have become hazards hence the decision to build proper facilities for their workers. In some instances, he said the farmers did not agree between themselves as some sacrificed to provide amenities for the compounds, but others refused to contribute while benefitting from the compounds in many ways. On this issue, he said:

We had to build our own compound because of the problems these former farm workers were giving us. They live on our land which the government gave us but they do not want to work for us and if they agree to work for us they would want us to pay them large amounts of money and if we fail to do that they steal our crops. They were staying here and we were paying for

water and electricity but they did not want to work for us and they preferred to go and work on other farms. We saw that it was a big problem, so we built our own compounds which house our workers. At the old compound, our workers who came from other places were not getting accommodation because of these people who are too many here and do not want to work for us. We tried evicting them and it did not work so we now have our own compound which we control and provide with good houses, electricity and water. If you decide you no longer want to work for us then you must leave our compound that is clear, our workers know it and it works.

In Goromonzi, landowners built new farm compounds. According to the SMAIAS Household Survey (2013-14) 24.3 percent of the landowners had constructed houses for their permanent workers and families in new farm compounds. No new farm compounds were found among A1 farms and it was only on the ‘capitalist’ A2 farms that there could be found these new compounds with 38.2 percent of the farmers reporting that they had built the new compounds. The number of households in the compounds were significantly less, at times between 10-20. This contrasts with the high number of households which could be found in compounds on LSCF before the FTLRP. The SMAIAS Household Survey also unearthed new dynamics when it comes to the issue of housing of farmworkers. In Goromonzi, it was noted that farmers were opting to provide housing for their permanent employees on their homesteads rather than on the farm compounds. This was practiced by 43.9 percent of the sampled households. It was most prominent in the A1 sector where 80.8 percent of the beneficiaries reported that they were accommodating their employees at their homesteads.

It is important to note that Scoones *et al* (2010:17) observed “...that the post FTLRP has resulted in significant displacement of farm workers from former LSCF’s.” In Goromonzi, during FGD’s the farmworkers reported that while some workers have left, most have remained on the farms. Since most farm compounds remained untouched this has meant that their homes too were not touched in any way hence, they were not displaced. There were however isolated incidents of forced evictions which had forced some farm workers to leave but they said that such cases were not widespread. At Bains Hope farm and Ingwenya farm for example the families that were there prior to the FTLRP can still be found there although there have been some changes in demography.

A Headmaster, Mr Machaya of a local school that has children from the farms and the communal areas had a contribution to make on the farm compounds. In an interview held on 14/09/15 he said that the FTLRP had not changed the farm compounds that much. He said that

the farm compounds had continued being a site for the reproduction of cheap labour. He saw the FTLRP as not having done much to alter the system. He said that the A1 beneficiaries just like their predecessors had continued demanding that the farm compound residents should work for them in return for residency and access to social amenities. To access safe drinking water, electricity, toilets and other basics, farm workers had been forced to work for the land reform beneficiaries for poor remuneration. He said that if one looks at the farm compounds, there is not much development. Conditions remain poor, there is poor sanitation and there are usually no basic social amenities. He bemoaned the situation of children and said their situation had not changed from the time of the LSCF's. He saw the environment in the farm compounds as preventing the development and self-actualization of children in relation to their education. He accused the environment of not being pro-poor child development and said he had seen many bright children failing to develop to their fullest potential. For him, children in the farm compounds are trapped in a vicious cycle which sees them failing to get opportunities and ultimately becoming farm workers too themselves. He concluded by saying that the irony of it all was that some of the conditions which they thought the FTLRP would eradicate were the very same conditions which it was perpetuating.

In the farm compounds in Goromonzi, I discovered that they are a site of social, cultural and class reproduction. This cuts across all the farming communities and is inclusive of new farmer households. For decades' families living in the farm compounds have developed strong friendship and kinship ties which have been cemented by marriages and common areas of origin, culture and traditions. These social and cultural relations are continuously renewing and reshaping themselves. The interconnections between the different families are strengthened through marriages and child births. Beneficiaries of the FTLRP are now becoming part of this network and this an important social dimension of the programme. It is not surprising that in the farm compounds a person can be an uncle to one person, a son to another person, an in-law to another person, a grandchild to another person and a father to another person. Thus, most relations of people in the compounds are based on an individual's parents having come or was invited by a particular individual's parents, thus creating a spider web of relationships based on kinship. Such is the complex nature of relationships in the farming compounds and these relationships play interesting and unique social functions and they are slowly extending to the beneficiaries of the FTLRP.

From my observations and interactions, I noted that the farm compounds are characterised by persons of different religions and cultures especially Christians and the *chewa* and *Nyanja* people who identify with the *nyao* dancers. Cultural traditions and practices are passed from generation to generation in these farming compounds as the people share common origins and customs which are passed down. Thus, it is not surprising to witness different customs and religions being practised by people residing in farming compounds. Some of these practices have their roots in Zambia, Mozambique and Malawi and include burial rites, marriages, and initiation into adulthood, among others. In the farming compounds, there can also be found hierarchies of seniority and social classes which at times stem from age, experience, title on the farm, marital status, economic status and membership of religious and social institutions. These classes are continuously changing and reproducing themselves and are effective tools for social control. Friendship bonds are also very common in the farming compounds which are strengthened especially among the older persons by the brewing, buying and selling of the illicit but cheap home brewed beer popularly known as *kachasu*. The drinking of *kachasu* especially during weekends is important for the purposes of socialisation and the strengthening of social bonds and I saw it occurring on numerous occasions. In addition, I noted that the farm compounds are sites of diverse economic activities and an exchange of goods and services. I saw a number of traders coming in with different commodities to sell to the residents. The residents of the compounds also had different goods which they sold. These include agricultural products which they are given in exchange of their labour, farm inputs which they acquire through different means and products which they acquire from the natural environment.

Citizenship

For social policy, citizenship is an important concept. According to Marshal (1950) citizenship ensures that everyone is treated as a full and equal member of society. Marshal (1950) separated citizenship rights into three, namely civil, political and social rights. This is in a context where Adesina (2007) has argued that citizenship is at the core of social policy which aspires to ensure the quality of life of citizens in a given territory. Kymlicka and Norman (1995: 285) have argued that "...citizenship is essentially a matter of ensuring that everyone is treated as a full and equal member of society." Citizenship inculcates a sense of belonging, equity, social justice and it allows for people to enjoy opportunity and equality and to participate in all social, economic and political processes. It goes hand in hand with institutions and institutional processes which ensure social cohesion (Jenson 1988, Jenson and Phillips 1996).

In the context of farm workers debates have raged on whether there was the violation of farm worker rights during the FTLRP. Questions have arisen on whether there was the infringement or the enhancement of rights and quality of life. I would argue at this point that the impact of the FTLRP has been mixed. As I will show in sections below, the impact of the FTLRP on farm workers has differed from farm to farm. For some farm workers, it can be seen as severely curtailing their rights as citizens. It saw them not being treated equally and did not allow them the space or opportunity to participate socially, economically and politically. In other cases, it opened up opportunities, allowing for participation and accessing of productive resources to a historically marginalised group of citizens (the farmworkers). It contributed to social cohesion and institutions which have enhanced the condition of farm workers allowing them to claim their civil, political and economic rights. I explore the dimensions of the FTLRP and citizenship briefly below. Of note is that the impact of the FTLRP has differed between farms and areas as has been shown by Moyo *et al* (2009) and Mkodzongi (2013). These differences have brought about their own dynamics and dimensions which have had an impact on issues of citizenship for the farm workers.

The FTLRP according to Chambati and Magaramombe (2008) resulted in the dislodgment of over 200 000 farmworkers. Rutherford (2003) and Alexander (2003) have argued that farmworkers were evicted and politically victimised. In 2011, Chambati argued in excess of two thirds of workers former LSCF had remained on the farms. 45 000 farmworkers and 4 000 farm owners have been replaced by 170 000 household. For him this has been a positive development as more households benefited and there are broader livelihood trajectories available for beneficiaries. With these developments' questions arise on the question of citizenship of farm workers and whether their rights were violated. This was in a context when the government of Zimbabwe abruptly amended the citizenship laws of the country in 2001 withdrawing the citizenship rights of people having dual citizenship or those designated as aliens. I personally remember this period, as I also found my rights as a citizen curtailed (due to the fact that both of my parents are of foreign origin) and this affected me and thousands of other Zimbabweans especially those in the farming areas.

Lourenço (2012) has traced this issue of citizenship in Zimbabwe. She says that in 1980, the Lancaster House Constitution allowed for dual citizenship. This changed in 1984 with an amendment to the Zimbabwe Citizenship Act. The law established that no Zimbabwean citizen had a right to be a citizen of another country. They were supposed to renounce it if they had

that citizenship. Only in 2001, did the Zimbabwean government introduce the Citizenship Amendment Act No. 12. It provided for the renunciation of a foreign nationality to be made in accordance with the law of the foreign country concerned. The Registrar General (using his own interpretation) ordered that in order to remain Zimbabwean, any Zimbabwean with a possible claim to foreign citizenship should renounce this potential citizenship.

According to Lourenço (2012 [O]):

The result of the 2001 amendment to the Citizenship Act coupled with the interpretation given by the Registrar-General was that a great parcel of the country's population, including persons born in Zimbabwe, ceased to be citizens of Zimbabwe. Persons whose birth certificates would show that their parents were born elsewhere would be regarded by the Registrar-General's office as aliens, and in order to re-acquire Zimbabwean citizenship, they had to apply to resume their Zimbabwean citizenship – but only after renouncing the nationality of her/his parent's country of origin. In addition to economic and geographic obstacles (such as consulate fees or travelling), in many cases it is simply not possible to renounce the foreign citizenship, either due to prescription of the possibility of claiming such foreign citizenship in the first place, impossibility to produce documentation, or other reasons. Even in the event of a successful and speedy renunciation of foreign citizenship, the process of re-acquisition of Zimbabwean nationality results on nationality by registration, rather than by birth. This is certainly unsatisfactory as the nationality granted represents a weaker bond with the State and it can be more easily taken away.

Several explanations have been given for this law. There is a belief that the rise of the MDC and its perceived backing by LSCF farmers and their workers, saw the ZANU (PF) government amending the law so as to disenfranchise them. The law meant that thousands of Zimbabweans (including me) had to renounce any claim to or foreign citizenship held. During that period, we could not obtain any identity documents or passports and we could not vote or practise any other rights as citizens. Lourenço (2012) calls this a condition of denationalization and I fully agree with her based on my personal experience. Farm workers due to their descent, were most affected. Although the 2013 Constitution made amendments to the issue citizenship, recognising citizenship by birth for those with parents born out of Zimbabwe, challenges still remain for those with dual citizenship or claim to dual citizenship. It was on this background that I explored the issues that touch on citizenship and the rights of farmworkers below.

In terms of citizenship, there were some former farm workers like Kamurandu at Chibvuti farm, Masauso Phiri at Dunstan, Clavin at Buena Vista who still had the old identity cards with the capital A in red indicating that they are aliens (or migrants). All of them are in their 60's and 70's and they did not know their citizenship status as they had not renounced their foreign

claim to citizenship as they were originally from Malawi and Zambia were they were born. While the constitution adopted by Zimbabwe in 2013 has provisions on citizenship, the three have not sought to rectify their citizenship status and they have not voted for years or benefitted from any public programmes since 2000. According to FGD members, the situation of the three is not uncommon in the farming areas and they blame it on the FTLRP. At the FGD participants accused the FTLRP of stigmatising against migrants and their descendants and making farm workers to be treated as second class citizens. This was despite there being a new generation of farm workers born in Zimbabwe who are descendants of the original migrants. They accused the authorities of using the issue of citizenship to disenfranchise them, taking away their right to vote unless they renounced any claim to foreign citizenship (most of which they do not even know they are entitled to or have claimed). They said that it was because of issues of citizenship and negative attitudes towards people of foreign descent that very a few former farm labourers had managed to access land compared to their counterparts from the communal areas. This raises a question on whether the FTLRP ensured equality or it favoured citizens at the expense of ‘aliens’. Further empirical evidence is needed to explore this line of enquiry as there are a lot of differences across the country on the impact which the FTLRP had on land access by the FTLRP and the variables which were at play. On issues to do with citizenship and rights Kamurandu (Interview, 2/11/15) for example did not seem much concerned about these issues. He even seemed content with his current circumstance. He said:

We just live here normally on the farm as we have done for years. I am too old to be bothered to look for new identity cards. I heard that we have to surrender these cards and apply for new ones and some were saying we have to go to Zambia and tell them we don't want to be Zambians then we come back here. Others did it but I cannot travel far and I cannot read and this identity card has never given me a problem. So, I will wait, I heard the people who register will move on the farms giving new documents. So, when they come I will ask them to give me the new ones.

The situation of Kamurandu is not unique only to him but it applies to many residents of the farming areas across Zimbabwe.

I didn't have a rural home here. My parents originally came from Chipata (Zambia) with me when I was just 8 years old. I was one of the lucky few who managed to get a farm here. It has changed my life in many ways and it is especially special for me because I am not from here but I also benefitted. This is my *ruzevha* (rural home), I did not have one before I will die and be buried here. I grow what I want, eat what I want and work when I want. I am no longer relying on wages but there are many ways in which I can make it here on the land (Astito Banda, Interview on 18/11/15).

The quote above by Astito Banda gives us a new dimension on the issue of the FTLRP and citizenship, countering the claims and some of the issues raised in the section above. When I look at all the issues which are raised by all respondents, they show that the FTLRP was multi-dimensional and affected people differently. Astito Banda represents some of the farm workers who benefitted from the FTLRP. Despite their foreign roots and questions arising on citizenship, some farmworkers managed to access land. The land according to him has transformed his life and opened up diverse livelihood opportunities which he never had before. This is one unique outcome of the FTLRP, elevating previously vulnerable people to become landowners. But the number of those who benefitted is very little. At Astito Banda's homestead, I saw that he has really tried to develop the homestead. There is a two-bedroomed brick house, three round huts, a scotch cart, nine head of cattle, numerous chickens and goats among other assets which he has acquired from the proceeds of farming. At the time of the fieldwork, he was targeting at cultivating at least two hectares of tobacco, an increase of 100 percent from the previous season. His case is similar to several other cases which I came across in the district. It gives us another side to the FTLRP which is rarely told but which shows that the FTLRP saw citizens being treated fully and equally as members of society despite their descent. The FTLRP changed a historical condition which they were in. Previously due to their foreign origin and legal status they had been exposed to the exploitative labour regime on the farms. Previously people like Astito Banda did not have a *musha* which they could be identified with. Lack of an identity had made it difficult for them to blend into the local community. Due to this they had faced an identity crisis but the FTLRP had changed this making them part of the society with important social and economic roles. Due to the emergent tri-modal agrarian structure, they are now benefitting from the FTLRP through having a productive resource and a *musha*.

Some former farm workers indicated that they had supported the FTLRP but had not openly done so because of fear of victimization. Janhi for example from Buena Vista farm (Interview 10/10/15), said that they had always lived in fear of the former white farmers. He gave an example of one of the farmers whom he had worked for who would physically assault workers with fists and booted fists even in front of their families. He also spoke of another farmer who when workers were late coming from the compounds at lunch he would make his way there kicking any plates from where workers would be eating their lunch or pots that were cooking on the fire. The same farmer, if workers came late to work would come to the farm compound and drag them from their beds. So, when the FTLRP came, Janhi indicated that they were not

too sympathetic of the white farmers given the cruel behavior of some of the farmers and their parents before them. He also said one needed to look at the assets which farmers workers had acquired after a lifetime of service on the farms. The assets were so little and, in most instances, very old and they were a testimony of years of underpayment and exploitation. He said that they had always been at risk of unemployment and homelessness and their future was always uncertain if they retired or got old. Due to these issues, some of the farmworkers had supported the FTLRP. Janhi also indicated that there were some beneficiaries of the FTLRP who ill-treated and abused workers. This was confirmed in the FGD's where participants said some of the beneficiaries were in the habit of verbally and even physically abusing them or cutting their electricity (if they had any) or water supplies if there were disputes. This practice was said to be especially rampant in the A2 sector and was done mostly by those in the security forces and war veterans. I could not verify this allegation as none of it occurred during the time when I was in the district. But given the high number of respondents who made these allegations I believe that it does occur.

For some of the former and current farmworkers, I noted that the FTLRP had opened opportunities for them. Some farm workers and former farm workers have managed to negotiate land access with beneficiaries of the FTLRP and the arrangements differ between the different parties. The natural resources which were previously a preserve of the LSCF's which have since been opened to the FTLRP beneficiaries have also been opened for the farm workers. Farm workers also participate in both on and off farm activities like casual labour, fishing, craft making (basket and map weaving), petty commodity trading (including reselling of repackaged goods called locally as *tsaona* for those who cannot afford large quantities), selling grass for thatching and firewood and so forth.

The FTLRP has not impacted on all farm workers in the same way, as has been noted by Moyo *et al* (2009). I also observed that in Goromonzi, some of the former farm workers who had skills managed to be allocated land had now become part of the rural elite who are the 'new' farmers. Other farm workers had skills in operating machinery and growing specialized crops. With the FTLRP, they found their skills in demand and they were not exposed to the challenges and risks that come with land reforms. Thus, current and former farm workers in different ways participated in the processes of the FTLRP. The negative side of the FTLRP which I observed in relation to farmworkers and citizenship, is that the FTLRP has created too many workers who work or who rely on part time employment. This has had an impact on their livelihoods

as this form of employment is unreliable and unsecure. The farmers in the face of lax labour laws have so much power and in most instances, they do as they please. Sakala (Interview, 4/10/15) said he has rendered services to an A1 farmer since 2002. He is employed full time and has no job description but does whatever task is at hand on the farm. When there is too much work to be done his employer hires part time labour and it is usually Sakala who has the responsibility of supervising the different activities. Despite working all these years, he does not have any benefits. He does not have any money accruing towards a pension, he has no medical aid or any social insurance. The salary which he receives each month is paid to him directly in cash (but it comes irregularly). Ironically, Sakala still receives a monthly pension from the contributions which he did while he worked for a former white LSCF. He was also contributing to the National Social Security Authority and they were giving him something each month. But with his current employers there was nothing being saved towards when he could no longer work or his family. I noted that this situation is not unique to Sakala alone, many of those who work for the A1 beneficiaries have insecure and poorly paid work without benefits. There is no social insurance or pension system in place and I believe that it is only after some years that the negatives of the current arrangement will become evident. There is now heavy reliance on informal social institutions for support.

While the FTLRP has impacted in many positive ways to some farm workers it has also has its negatives which I will summarise based on my observations and the SMAIAS Household Survey (2013-2014). The FTLRP has opened for farm workers to be able to lease and have free access to land. In Goromonzi I noted that the arrangements are not permanent, the terms and conditions are not written down as it usually a verbal agreement. The SMAIAS Survey noted that the arrangements are seasonal and short term. Farm workers cannot plan beyond the season. In Goromonzi 9.4 percent of farmworkers who had been given access to land by their employers no longer had access to that land after a season. The accommodation of farmworkers is still very heavily linked to employment on the farms. In Goromonzi the SMAIAS Household Survey noted that 83 percent of permanent workers across all the sectors are in this type of arrangement. This has its challenges as alluded to in sections above. In the old farm compounds on A1 farms 40.9 percent reported that they did not have these linkages, and this is due to the farm compounds belonging to the state, so the powers of A1 beneficiaries are limited. The powers of the landowners are limited and dispersed among the many beneficiaries allocated plots on a former LSCF. This contrasts with the old farm compounds on A2 farms. The farm compounds are controlled on these farms by the landowner on whose subdivision the land lies.

The landowners are the ones who enforce residency rights. It is in this context that in Goromonzi, the SMAIAS Household Survey reports that 31 percent of contract workers reported as having received threats of eviction for failure to provide labour on the farms. This was reported from 51 percent of the surveyed farms. This control and intimidation were reported previously by Chambati (2013b) in which he reported that A1 and A2 beneficiaries had conducted employment audits aimed at identifying farm compound residents who were not supplying them with labour. It is these residents who face threats of eviction.

The FTLRP has thus had an impact of farm workers and former farm workers from a citizenship and rights perspective. From the discussion above, it can be seen that there is the continuation of the exploitative labour and tenure arrangements which are a legacy of the FTLRP. This is evidenced by the low wages which employees receive which at times they are even cheated of. The exploitative labour residency system continues on some farms and former and current farmworkers face constant threats of eviction. The new farm compounds have been constructed, not to improve living conditions but to ensure a continues and steady supply of labour, which unfortunately is subject to exploitation.

In the districts studied under the SMAIAS Household Survey, it was seen that women continue being relegated to irregular part time work. It was however noted that there is an improvement in their share of full time labour. The emergence of a new agrarian structure and new opportunities for farmworkers as they are able to avoid and resist exploitation through enhanced labour mobility. The new tenure system has seen beneficiaries of the FTLRP not having as much power on farm workers as at the time of the old LSCF's. The emergent new labour markets also offer opportunities for workers to escape exploitative relations. This contrasts with the old LSCF where farmworkers resisted abuse and exploitation by absconding from work, thefts, strikes and 'voting with their feet' (Rutherford 2001, Tandon 2001).

Lastly in another matter which is not directly related to the issue of citizenship, it is worth noting that while farm workers have been accused of siding with the white farmers during the FTLRP, participants in FGD's said that this was not always the case. They said that there were some farm workers especially those with senior positions who had taken advantage of the chaotic situation at the beginning of the FTLRP to steal assets and livestock from the LSCF's. They even gave names of some who had hidden farm equipment like water pumps at their communal homes another one was said to have taken cattle to his rural home in Muzarabani.

Inputs, small hand tools, irrigation pipes, door frames, window frames, gardening tools, machinery and other equipment were also said to have disappeared in the chaos and were stolen by senior farm workers. When the farmers left, they had not taken everything with them and the senior workers had taken the opportunity to plunder assets and inputs while preventing the junior workers from doing the same. The plundering of assets has had an effect even today. Some of the equipment which was stripped for example from boreholes that provided safe drinking water to farmworkers and irrigation infrastructure has still not been repaired and this has had a negatively impacted on the lives of farming societies.

7.3.12 Education Outcomes of the FTLRP

Katz (2001), Naidu and Ossome (2016) have argued that the accumulation of skills and education are important for social reproduction. They ensure that citizens have the ability and skills necessary to survive in a capitalist economy. The provision of education is not new in the farming areas. Since colonial times these areas have had schools but they were serviced by a few primary and secondary schools. Some of the farms had primary schools and these catered for the children of farmworkers. Most of the education needs for the children of farmworkers were catered for by schools in the communal areas and children usually endured long distances to access these schools (interview with Astito Banda on 18/11/15). With the advent of the FTLRP, the situation has seen an increase in the demands for educational services with the influx of more people. Schools are important sites of social reproduction. In school's children are taught to be academically competent and are taught literacy, life skills, norms, values, etiquette and personal development among other skills. These are aimed at socialising and developing the individual. More importantly schools in the farming areas have become important platforms for cultural exchange, shared equality and appreciation of diversity of people from different backgrounds and ethnic origins who have come to live together due to the FTLRP. The FTLRP, which was not accompanied with a complimentary rolling out of social services has had an impact on the provision of education in the farming areas. This is exemplified by the observations by Mr Machaya, a Headmaster (Interview on 14/09/2015) who said:

The land reform programme resulted in a high influx of children of school going age which necessitated the establishment of satellite schools which would be closely associated and the staff supervised by the nearest school. The satellite schools were established in the resettlement areas and some were farmhouses or other farm buildings which were converted into classrooms or they were makeshift structures which were built to make classrooms. This was necessary to

avoid overcrowding which is already a problem at the established schools and to make sure that pupils did not walk long distances.

This view was collaborated by an Acting Headmaster and a teacher who said:

The FTLRP has resulted in a lot of pressure on school's due to a huge increase in the number of families and children who are in school in this area. This has resulted in a shortage of teaching and learning materials, a shortage of teaching infrastructure. We need more trained personnel to effectively deliver on our mandate but the gains which we have made are being lost due to high enrolments (Interview held with Acting Headmaster on 6/10/15)

Land reform in this area has resulted in an unhealthy situation in which a teacher in a class has more than 50 pupils and in secondary schools you may even have maybe 3 or 4 classes so you can just see the pressure that is there. But schools have no choice they have to enrol all pupils from the surrounding communities and this is compromising the quality of education (Interview with school teacher on 17/09/15).

The educational facilities and resources needed for the delivery of quality education has not been adequate in the district. Officials from the Ministry of Education, Arts Sports and Culture as shown in the quotes above believe that there are challenges delivering education to children in the farming areas. The infrastructure is inadequate. I noted that even though there are some satellite schools in the district, the educational environment and resources available at the schools leaves a lot to be desired. Some of the classes have children of who are of different grades learning in the classroom with a single teacher, some of the schools do not have proper buildings (some are just buildings on the old LSCF's which have been converted into classrooms). Some community members claimed that some of the teachers in these schools are not qualified as teachers. Such a view was provided by an A1 beneficiary Khumalo (Interview, 1/11/15) who said that satellite schools in the new farming areas are staffed by Advanced level graduates or people with non-teaching qualifications who came on a temporary basis. He said that due to the poor housing and working conditions there was a high turnover of teachers. He indicated that communities in the farming areas provide support to these schools including incentives for the teachers, assisting with labour and resources to build the school infrastructure. They did this because it was important for the education of their children. My observations on some of the schools confirmed what was said by Khumalo. I noted that the living and working conditions at some of the schools in the farming areas are quite poor and this brings into question the impact which this has on education of children. In some cases, schools are not close by and children travel long distances to schools. In my study sample, distances to primary and secondary schools were as follows:

- ✓ Primary Schools: 61 (41%) farmers had a primary school close to their farms at a 0-5 km radius. 84 (56%) in the 6-10 km radius, 3 (2%) in the 11-20 km radius and 2 (1%) had primary schools that were 21+ km away from their farms.
- ✓ Secondary Schools: 25 (17%) farmers had a secondary school in a 0-5 km radius, 86 (57%) in the 6-10 km radius, 27 (18%) in the 11-20 km radius and 12 (8%) in the 21+ km radius from their farms.

Due to some distances which were at times very long, some of the farmers had their children residing at their homes or with their kin in the communal areas. Those with the means would send the children to boarding schools and some would rent a hut near the schools so that their children would not have to travel long distances. In the district, I also noted that children of the A1 beneficiaries play productive roles on the farms which they have to balance with their schoolwork. A teacher and headmaster on schools in the farming communities gave insights on the situation of school going children on the farms. They indicated that:

Families usually provide farm labour on the new farms. But there are some farmers who make their children work before they go to school. This impacts negatively on the performance of the children in class (Interview held with schoolteacher on 17/09/15).

The headmaster echoed the same sentiments by saying that:

There are cases of child labour where children have to accomplish certain tasks before they go to school. By the time they go to school they will be tired, some will sleep in class and their performance will be poor. In some cases, children, will not come to school because of farm work and this obviously negatively affects their academic performance (Interview on 14/09/15).

The discussion above was just meant to briefly highlight the impact of the land reform programme on education in the new farming areas. The FTLRP has impacted on the provision of education and this impact just like other dimensions of the FTLRP differs with each farm. One negative outcome is the impact which some productive processes are having on the provision of education. Some farming tasks which children perform on the farms, drain them of their energy. Teachers said they become less attentive in class due to tiredness and this has an adverse effect on their academic performance. Such situations need to be looked at and corrected as they have long term negative impacts on children. Thus, when we look at education in the farming areas we cannot underestimate the role of education in social reproduction at present and in the future. Schools are sites of socialisation and they impact on socialisation and

the reproduction of labour. It is at schools that skills are imparted, and children are developed intellectually and their paths for the future are crafted. If children are not developed at an early age it has an impact on their future, the careers which they will take and, in some instances, the social class in which they will be a part of. While the FTLRP has had positive impacts other issues like the rolling out of social services and infrastructure like schools is an area which is lagging behind which needs to be urgently looked at.

7.3.13 The Role of Families on A1 farms

Family members have different roles which they perform on A1 farms. Respondents in the study highlighted some of the tasks which family members undertake on the farms. They said:

Family members provide labour on the farm as well as looking after livestock and supervising casual labour (Mai Chipu, Interview-10/10/15).

Taruvinga (Interview, 20/10/15) on family labour said:

My family here help during weeding and harvesting, and they are there to protect crops from baboons.

They cook for the casual labourers, they provide labour for weeding and harvesting and at times they are involved in selling (Mai Chimuka, Interview- 18/09/15)

The quotations above by the farmers summarise some of the contributions which families make at the farms. One of the major contributions which families provide which is raised by the farmers and by participants in FGD's was that families contribute their labour on the farms. The major labour tasks on the farms include digging, planting, weeding, harvesting, herding cattle, feeding livestock among other tasks. With the low levels of mechanization on A1 farms, most of these tasks are done by hand. Wild animals like warthogs, baboons, monkeys threaten agricultural crops especially those with fields bordering the forests. It is the responsibility of household members especially children to make sure they chase away these animals during the day. They also have to be on the lookout to see that domestic animals do not stray into the fields. Household members do not only provide labour, some of the farmers indicated that they assist them with planning on the agricultural activities to be undertaken. They also participate in the marketing and sale of agricultural products both on and off the farm and some who have the means co-finance agricultural activities.

In my study sample, I noted that the average family size is eight. Families comprise of both the nuclear as well as the extended family. The FTLRP has enabled some households to provide a home for members of the extended family and this is one common thing which I noted in the study sample. The 150 farmers had 1 238 family members. The 150 A1 beneficiaries had 140 spouses (120 were married to only one person while nine had more than one spouse). There were 948 dependents of which 502 were their biological children while 446 were extended family members. Respondents indicated that when they first came to the farming areas the family size was 739. There has been an increase of 499 persons. The dependents of the farmers was thus 948 of which 485 (51 percent) are females and 463 (49 percent) are male. In these households if they are male headed, it is the male head who usually makes the major decisions on production activities and income use. The same applies for female headed households where the women household heads make the major decisions.

Participants in the FGD's said that dependents of A1 beneficiaries provide labour on the farms and this is part of the household chores which are not paid. In some isolated cases (like seven in my study sample), they said that A1 beneficiaries provide incentives to dependents for the labour which they provide but this is not a common practice. From the three households which I resided with, with Baba and Mai Tanatswa's household, with the Mafukidze household and the Machokoto household, I noted that labour provision is one of the major responsibilities of dependants. Everyone in the household has a role to play. Male children when they are not at school or those who have finished school, usually perform menial duties at the homestead which include herding cattle, weeding, harvesting, watering crops, collecting manure, going to the grinding mill among other tasks. During the fieldwork, I remember classifying these duties as being masculine in nature. This was in contrast to tasks performed by girls which included cooking, cleaning, harvesting, weeding, and so forthing water, looking for firewood, child care among other duties. But whether one is male or female they work in the family fields and everyone contributes to agricultural production.

These duties which the family performs at the household levels are geared towards the reproduction of the family. The duties of family members contribute to the daily reproduction and survival of the family. I observed that A1 households are a functioning unit in which every family member has a role to play and a contribution to the wellbeing of the family. Every chore and duty which family members undertake plays important functions for the family. Some of the duties are even critical for the survival and wellbeing of the family for example watering

the family garden. If one neglects the duty of watering the garden, this can impact on household food as well as income which is generated from the buying and selling of vegetables. The same applies to weeding the fields and feeding chickens especially broilers. The different roles which household members play on A1 farms are important for social reproduction.

7.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, I provided data which shows the reproduction outcomes of the FTLRP and it has also shown that land reform has social protection outcomes (*ex-ante*). I have shown that there are different families in the resettlement areas who are not a homogeneous group. There can be found labourers who provide their services to the beneficiaries of the FTLRP. These workers reside either in farm compounds or nearby communal areas with arrangements differing in areas and on farms. In the farm areas, there can be found the old and new farm compounds which have different dynamics and impact, but which are sites of social and cultural reproduction. The FTLRP is shown as having created a new labour structure. A consequence of this has been the semi-proletarianisation of labour. It has also had an impact of citizenship which has had an effect on people's rights. In the chapter, I showed that due to the FTLRP most of the beneficiaries now have access to reliable shelter. They have houses which they have built, and they do not pay accommodation costs. This is closely related to the concept of the *musha/ekhaya* which I have shown as having functional and symbolic meaning to the families and serving important reproduction and social protection functions. Resettled families have brought with them practices and ways of life which have been adapted to suit the farming areas, enhancing their lives. These practices and ways of life are rarely acknowledged in mainstream literature on the FTLRP and I would argue that they serve important social policy functions. They are the *bindu*, the *dura*, family fields given to women, traditional agricultural practices and so forth. Livestock have also been shown as a form of social insurance with inputs given to poor households serving as a form of social transfer. In the chapter, I looked at the gender and education outcomes of the FTLRP, as well as the roles which are played by families.

The chapter has been important in showing the diverse ways in which families who benefitted from the FTLRP manage risks, shocks, stresses, challenges and inequalities as well as reproduce themselves. From the empirical evidence gathered in the district, I can argue that there can be seen holistic approaches and distinct actions of protection, prevention, promotion and transformation. This is an essential attribute of the transformative social policy framework approach. We are also able to see different dimensions of biological reproduction, daily

reproduction, the different activities necessary for everyday survival, labour and labour markets and the roles of women. Women can be seen balancing out their reproductive and caring roles and these are some of the protection and reproduction dimensions of land reform which were explored in the chapter.

CHAPTER EIGHT: CONCLUSION

8.1 Introduction

The thesis has explored the social policy dimensions of the FTLRP. It has shown that while there has been acrimonious debate on the FTLRP focusing on the manner, implementation and immediate impact of the FTLRP, the debate has shifted with focus now on outcomes. It is with this new focus in mind, that this thesis makes a contribution to knowledge showing the social policy dimensions as well as some unexplored outcomes of the FTLRP. It has shown that while scholars have used different analytical and epistemological approaches to analyse the FTLRP (with the main ones being the political economy, livelihoods, neo-patrimonial and rights-based approaches), they have unearthed some outcomes which can be classified as social policy outcomes. These outcomes are not presented as such. But if one analyses them, one is able to contextualise them within the dimensions found under the transformative social policy conceptual framework. This thesis used these works as a foundation and point of reference in unearthing the social policy outcomes of the FTLRP.

In this concluding chapter, I briefly consolidate the findings and arguments presented in this thesis. I highlight the major issues raised in relation to the four functions of the transformative social policy conceptual framework. I will show how the thesis has contributed to knowledge on social policy and land reform which is one of the missing areas in the work on land reform and social policy. I will do this with reference to the impact which the FTLRP has had on the welfare and wellbeing of beneficiaries. I will also present on the theoretical contribution of the thesis. Lastly, I will present some policy related recommendations which I think are of relevance in the future in enhancing the welfare and wellbeing of beneficiaries of the FTLRP. I will use some of my observations in Goromonzi as the basis of these recommendations. I am hopeful that the issues which I will touch on in this chapter will summarise issues raised in this thesis and will show that the FTLRP has transformed the lives of beneficiaries. I am also hopeful it will contribute to literature and debates on the FTLRP as well as on land reform as a social policy tool that can contribute to inclusive development in the global south.

8.2 Contribution of Thesis to Knowledge

8.2.1 Land Reform as a Social Policy Tool

Research done on the FTLRP by Scoones *et al* (2010, 2015), Moyo *et al* (2009), Mutopo (2011), Mkodzongi (2013), Murisa (2009), James (2015), Matondi (2012) and others have

shown the social policy dimensions of the FTLRP although this is not presented as such. If one interrogates the literature, one can argue that it demonstrates some social policy dimensions of the FTLRP. While the FTLRP was not undertaken with the full awareness that it was addressing social policy outcomes, literature shows that there are discernible social policy outcomes of the programme. This thesis has been important in presenting the land reform programme as a social policy tool. This has been in a context where there has been ‘thin’, literature on the nexus between land reform and social policy tool. As has been shown in chapters one and three, this has been due to the domination of social policy literature by the OECD scholars. A consequence of this has been that literature has had an OECD bias (Mkandawire 2007). In relation to countries in the global south, land and agrarian reforms have failed to be acknowledged as a social policy instrument that is relevant which is also an instrument for inclusive development. This has been due to the OECD bias which has seen social policy losing its ‘wider vision’ and being dominated by reductionist and residual social policies which provide protection *ex-post* rather than *ex-ante* (Adesina 2015, Yi and Kim 2015, Noyoo 2016, Yi 2013).

8.2.2 Land Reform and Production

The issue of production has been one of the critical issues which has been fiercely contested by academics on the FTLRP. The FTLRP has been accused of undermining agricultural productivity and compromising food security (see Richardson 2005, Bond 2008, Hellicker 2011, Alexander 2003, Cliff *et al* 2011). The argument has been countered by other academics who have argued that when we look at agricultural production within the context of the FTLRP, we should look at other variables which have impacted on productive activities in the agricultural sector (see Binswanger-Mkhize and Moyo 2012, Mkodzongi 2013, Murisa 2009, Scoones 2017b, Moyo *et al* 2009, Matondi 2012 and James 2015).

In this thesis, I extensively explored the production outcomes of the FTLRP, providing insights and production patterns of A1 farmers. I looked at production levels of the farmers from national to district levels in order to get insights on how they have fared over the past years. A1 beneficiaries of the FTLRP can be seen as contributing in different ways to crops like maize, tobacco, cotton and small grains. Even though production levels for some of the beneficiaries are low, they are managing to produce enough to feed the family for a year. Others are even managing to sell surplus from their productive activities and the thesis has shown that they are using the income from agriculture to invest in productive assets. These assets have enhanced

their productive potentials. I have also argued that in as much as production levels by the farmers are low, the blame should not fall squarely on the farmers but there are a lot of variables which need to be taken into consideration. These include challenges in accessing credit, financial constraints, inadequate input provision, late disbursement of free inputs, inadequate budget of the agricultural ministry, unpredictable and erratic weather patterns among other factors. These issues are ignored by critics of the FTLRP when they look at agricultural production. Closely related to the issue of agricultural production I looked at the issue of agricultural marketing with reference to the district under study. Just like Scoones *et al* (2010, 2015), Moyo *et al* (2009), Matondi (2012), Njaya (2015) and Mutopo (2011, 2014) this thesis has shown that there has emerged a commercialised farm production system in which the farmers participate at different levels. There have emerged a variegated market chain comprising of producers, input suppliers, transporters, wholesalers, distributors, middlemen and other players. The relationship which they have ranges from the local to the national and there can be seen to have emerged patterns of accumulation from below which have enhanced the welfare and wellbeing of beneficiaries of the FTLRP.

8.2.3 The Tri-modal Agrarian Structure and Redistribution Outcomes

This thesis has confirmed the argument presented by Binswanger-Mkhize and Moyo (2012) and Moyo (2011) that the FTLRP has seen the emergence of a tri-modal agrarian structure which replaced a largely racially skewed colonial bi-modal agrarian structure. This issue touches on the debates that the FTLRP programme was not redistributive. It is accused of benefitting a small political elite who were connected with ruling party and critics see it being synonymous with patronage, cronyism and state capture (Scoones 2017b, Zamchiya 2011, Scoones *et al* 2010). The thesis confirms that there has emerged a tri-modal agrarian structure and indeed it comprises of a differentiated peasantry, small and medium capitalist farmers. It also saw a number of private and public plantations being preserved. The thesis has demonstrated that the FTLRP, if looked at from a social policy perspective has had redistributive outcomes. At a national level, the FTLRP has seen 180 000 farmers benefitting from the land reform. In Goromonzi, at district level, there can now be found 2 822 A1 farmers and 846 A2 farmers. These small farms came from 126 former LSCFs. The beneficiaries can be seen as originated from different areas, mainly from the communal areas. The FTLRP benefitted people from diverse backgrounds. These included civil servants, war veterans, peasants, former farm workers and so forth. This confirms the findings made elsewhere for example by Moyo *et al* (2009) in the six districts, and Scoones *et al* (2010) in Masvingo.

The thesis also shows that in as much as the FTLRP benefitted beneficiaries, it has also granted secondary access to land to other people. These include kin, dependants of beneficiaries and former or current farm workers. The emergence of a tri-modal agrarian structure has thus had widespread impacts. It has allowed a previously disadvantaged and vulnerable majority to have access to a productive resource – the land. This has also entailed the accessing of natural resources which were previously enclosed and a preserve for the LSCF. Access to these resources has been shown to allow for livelihood diversity and accumulation. Beneficiaries now have access to a variety of diverse livelihood activities and social support systems which are essential in their day to day living and which they are using to improve their standards of living. Beneficiaries were seen to be engaging in different activities. These include gold panning, gathering honey and wild fruits for sell, collecting and selling firewood, making and selling peanut butter and cooking oil, collecting and selling pit and river sand. They are also operating tuckshops and small businesses and engaging in fishing, craft making (basket and map weaving), petty commodity trading (including reselling of repackaged goods called locally as *tsaona* for those who cannot afford large quantities), selling grass for thatching, catching and selling *mbeva* (mice) and *ishwa* (termite alate) among other activities. The emergent tri-modal agrarian structure has in different ways enhanced the productive and reproductive capacities of beneficiaries. This is the objective of transformative social policy (Yi and Kim 2015).

8.2.4 Social Protection Outcomes

The thesis has shown that the FTLRP and the emergence of the tri-modal agrarian structure have contributed to social protection. The thesis has demonstrated that the FTLRP has provided an alternative dimension of dealing with vulnerability, managing risks and dealing with the “vagaries of the market” and it has done it within the confines of the transformative social policy conceptual framework. It has shown that land reform is an alternative transformative social policy instrument which has yielded positive outcomes if juxtaposed with the predominantly residual models of social policy which have been dominant in the global south. These models have used a residual welfare approach centred on short term, stop gap welfare measure in which families and the economy are at the centre of providing social protection. These measures are usually based on means testing. In Goromonzi, the thesis has shown that by having access to land, beneficiaries are protected from exogenous factors like droughts and economic crisis. Access to land has allowed beneficiaries to diversify their livelihoods and it

has increased their opportunities and capabilities. Specific social protection outcomes of the FTLRP have been the following:

The Musha/Ekhaya: This is one of the significant social protection outcomes of the FTLRP. The focus of scholars has been excessively on issues of production, ignoring some of the smaller and life changing impacts of the FTLRP like the creation of the *musha*. The aim behind the creation of the A1 models was decongestion of the communal areas by giving people land. Having been allocated land, beneficiaries have made their A1 farms to function as the *musha*. The *musha* serves multiple purposes which include production, protection and reproduction. The *musha* has now become a place where the previously landless (farm workers and the poor landless peasants and urbanites) now have a place which they call their home. It is a place of refuge for family members in instances of destitution. It is a place where the vulnerable are sheltered by their kin and it has become a place of burial for family members. It functions as a place where the family gathers in good and bad times. By having the *musha*, family members have access to productive land, some use it to access free inputs, it allows for access to natural resources, it provides shelter and it allows for economic diversification and accumulation. This has resulted in enhancement of their productive capacities as well as family wellbeing.

Shelter: The thesis has shown that the FTLRP has been the means through which some socio-economic and cultural rights have been realised (Sacco 2008). The FTLRP, nationally and in Goromonzi in the A1 and A2 sectors has been shown as providing land to beneficiaries in which they are able to build their own houses. The houses serve a social protection function ensuring dignity and sustainable family life, personal safety and security as well as protection. Investments running into millions of dollars have been made on shelter on the farms and the majority of A1 beneficiaries have managed to build and improve their houses. Those who previously did not have housing now have. Those who were renting houses are now able to save and to deploy that income elsewhere in the household. Access to shelter has strengthened the capabilities and resilience of beneficiaries. They are able to manage risks and are protected from vulnerabilities that come from lack of shelter.

The Dura (Granary): the FTLRP has seen the adoption of the *dura* system from the communal areas. The *dura* is a grain storage system that has always existed in traditional African societies (Tapela 2008). The *dura* is a symbol of indigenous rural livelihood sustenance and it is useful for post-harvest storage. The *dura* just like livestock has become a foundation for rural

household livelihoods as well as societal wealth and food security. The *dura* can be seen operating on most A1 households in Goromonzi. It functions to provide social protection from risks and shocks which families and communities face. It is in the *dura* that the household's grain is stored, managed and protected. The amount of grain in the *dura* determines whether the family has enough grain which will last it for the year. The *dura* is important for post-harvest food storage and management. If the grains are not protected, they may be attacked by pests or other elements resulting in loss and the effort and resources used by the farmers to produce for that season would be in vain. It is from the *dura* that assistance is provided to the vulnerable and kin who may face food challenges. While the LSCF had granaries to store agricultural produce, the *dura* is slightly different as it has been adopted in its entirety from the communal areas serving the same functions which it did in those areas but adapted for the A1 farms.

Livestock as Social Insurance: In the thesis, I have shown that livestock are an important safety net. This confirms the observation by Devereux (2009) that livestock are an important coping strategy which households dispose of when it faces vulnerability. The ZimVac Rapid Assessment Report (2016) in rural districts in Zimbabwe also cements this argument that livestock are indeed important as a coping strategy which the family disposes of to meet its needs. If the situation worsens, and after disposing of some assets the household can even go on to sell its last breeding stock. Despite the importance of livestock for social protection, the mainstream literature on social policy rarely gives it attention. This is despite the importance of livestock in the global south. In Goromonzi, I showed that households rely on cattle and other livestock as a safety net from precarity. Households do realise that livestock are important as a store of wealth and are a tool for social protection. Consequently, significant investments are made on livestock (these include purchasing livestock, ensuring they get the best care and investments in facilities for livestock). During tough times, livestock are slaughtered or sold to meet household needs. These can range from food, school fees, medical expenses, purchase of assets or the income realised is ploughed into agricultural production activities. Livestock can be exchanged with grain or other assets. The exchange with grain is quite common during times of drought when cash is not of much use and farmers will be facing loss if animals die. Fortunately for Goromonzi it has favourable agro-ecological conditions and favourable climatic conditions and does not experience droughts. If there are droughts in other parts of the country, the effects in Goromonzi are usually minimal. The thesis is able to show that in rural

households, livestock are a form of social insurance and they an important tool for social protection allowing them to cope with risks, stresses and shocks.

Social Transfers: In this thesis, I presented the argument that the free agricultural inputs which are given to the poor peasants are now functioning as a form of social transfer. These inputs have become a channel through which efforts are being made to build social resilience as well as to manage risks. This is in a context where from a transformative social policy viewpoint, there has been the argument that social transfers strengthen individual and social resilience as well as capabilities which empower the weak and vulnerable (Yi 2013, 2015). I have shown in chapter seven that since A1 beneficiaries cannot benefit from the HSCT Scheme due to them having acquired land, the provision of inputs serves as an alternative. The free inputs given to A1 and communal farmers especially through the Presidential Input Scheme have become a means of empowerment contributing to enhancing the productive capacities of the farmers. In this way, it serves a protection function *ex-ante*. The programme is still new and not much work has been done to analyse it empirically hence one cannot really come up with concrete evidence on how it has impacted and transformed the lives of poor peasants. This is a line of enquiry that can be pursued in the future.

Communal and Farming Area Linkages: Communal and farming area linkages have been shown as existing and having an impact on social protection and reproduction. Some beneficiaries of the FTLRP have continued holding to their homes in the communal areas and many have families and kin who are resident there. These connections and linkages serve several functions. They allow for the spreading and management of risks which stem from crop failure, eviction, natural disasters and other misfortunes. The linkages also allow the beneficiaries to access social service available in both areas and they practice traditions like *kuronzera* (cattle loaning). The communal areas are a source of cheap and free inputs, safe drinking water and sources of some food and income generating opportunities. The linkages between the two areas have been shown as allowing families to be able to manage risks, to recover from risks, they provide platforms for asset building and lastly, they present opportunities for diverse coping strategies.

8.3 Social Reproduction in the Resettlement Areas

This thesis has looked at the social reproduction dimensions of the FTLRP and I have touched on some of the issues in the section above. In exploring the social the social reproduction

outcomes, this thesis looked at issues of labour on the farms, the impact of the FTLRP on women as well as on current and former farm workers and the farm compound and its contemporary roles. The thesis also looked at the education outcomes, the role of families on the farms and the issue of citizenship in relevance to farm workers. The thesis was able to show that there are different forms of labour on the farm with different tasks being undertaken by full time, hired and family labour and each has its rules of employment and rewards. The farm compound in particular is seen as continuing to play an important role on the farms despite some contestations and controversies. It continues to be an important labour pool for both skilled and unskilled labour. The relationship between farm compound residents are variable from between farms and areas. Despite contentious and issues of citizenship which have seen farm compound residents being disenfranchised and having their rights taken away, the farm compounds are sites of social, cultural and class reproduction. This thesis also looked at the gender dimensions of the FTLRP in the context of works by other scholars on this subject. The aim was to see the gender dimensions of the FTLRP, particularly its impact on women as opposed to men and whether it has impacted on their capabilities and empowered them.

The thesis showed that the roles of women differ from farm to farm and household to household. In Goromonzi it was seen that the FTLRP has had an impact on women in relation to their reproductive roles, productive roles as well as care work. Women perform the different tasks that are expected of them in a context where there are severe challenges and constraints for most of them in accessing basic social services especially medical facilities, safe drinking water sources and sanitation facilities. This has different impacts on women. The FTLRP has also brought about new dimensions in intra-household relations and the division of labour within households. This is reflected by decisions made on family fields, agricultural production activities and decisions on the use of household income. This differs between male headed and female headed households. There can be seen to be the allocation of fields for women and at times a garden. These are exclusively cultivated by women and they grow 'women's crops' which receive less support and are not as high paying as 'men's crops'. In contrast, 'men's crops' receive high allocations of inputs and family labour. They are also given preference over women's crops with women sometimes paying less attention to their crops to focus on men's crops. Decision making in male headed households on agricultural production, marketing and income use is usually dominated by men. Overallly the thesis shows that when it comes to women, some cases show women as having been empowered, they have ownership of

productive resources, diverse income channels and decision making especially for female headed households.

The FTLRP has impacted on the provision of education. The greatest challenge is that the available infrastructure is not adequate or of good enough quality to cater for the needs of school going children on the farms. It has been reported in the thesis that there are inadequate teachers, teaching materials and a shortage of infrastructure on schools in the farming areas. In some satellite school's teachers are not fully qualified and children of different grades are housed in a single classroom. The facilities are just not enough and this is seen as compromising educational quality. This situation has seen children travelling to far off places mainly in the communal areas where there are schools. Some rent accommodation near schools while other A1 beneficiaries have taken their children to boarding schools. All these scenarios have an impact on the household and household income and they raise child protection concerns. The other social reproduction dimension is that family members (both the nuclear and extended family) have a role to play on the farms. They provide labour which is often considered to be part of the household chores. In most households, there is a distinct division between tasks performed by boys and girls although there is much overlap. Some of the tasks include weeding, harvesting, herding cattle, feeding livestock, childcare, cooking, washing cleaning, fetching water, selling produce and so forth.

For A1 beneficiaries, the FTLRP having access to land as provided them with multiple social reproduction strategies. As observed by Moyo *et al* (2009), those with the land now have an option of disengaging from the labour markets and using the land for their survival. Having land is also seen as a strategy which beneficiaries can use to negotiate for better wages. Lastly Moyo *et al* (2009) argue that it (land) has been used to mobilise resources for example through renting it out to farmworkers and other people in need of land, commodifying some of the resources on the land. This is evident in the study in Goromonzi and has been shown in the previous chapters.

8.4 Theoretical Implications of the Research

This thesis has been important in contributing to empirical evidence on the outcomes of the FTLRP in Zimbabwe. In a small way, it has also contributed to debates on land reform (although this was not the focus of the thesis), smallholder agriculture and the impacts and dynamics surrounding the emergent tri-modal agrarian structure. The thesis has also been

important in contributing to social policy literature. Literature on social policy has been accused of having an OECD bias. OECD scholars have been accused of reducing social policy to social safety nets and social assistance which has been residual and oriented towards welfare provision. There has been a conceptual malaise and a neo-liberal bias which has resulted in the mono tasking of social policy and a focus on *ex-post* rather than *ex-ante* interventions (Mkandawire 2005, Holzman and Kozel 2007, Adesina 2007, Koehler 2011). This thesis has introduced the transformative social policy conceptual framework and its broader functions. As a social policy, land reform can be used to transform livelihoods and enhance the welfare and wellbeing of communities in the global south. The thesis shows that theoretically we can use the transformative theoretical framework as a conceptual and evaluative tool to assess the social dimensions of the land reform programme. With this approach, the thesis has demonstrated that empirically, the FTLRP has realised four tasks of social policy which were under scrutiny. It has also confirmed that there is a synergetic association between the economic and social policies and it has been demonstrated in this thesis that one has an impact on the other. For example, the current state of the economy of Zimbabwe was seen affecting production and social protection. There were calls for more transfers from the economy to fund social policies and this highlights the interlinkage between the two which are hard to separate.

8.5 Recommendations

Efforts are currently in place to improve agriculture in Zimbabwe after over a decade and a half since the FTLRP commenced. Through the Zimbabwe Agricultural Investment Plan (ZAIP) 2013-2018, the government of Zimbabwe has put in recommendations aimed at improving agriculture. This has been in conjunction with the setting up of a Land Commission in Zimbabwe whose core responsibility has been to conduct periodic audits of agricultural land, to ensure fair compensation of acquired land, to limit the amount of land which is held by an individual person among other functions. In this section I present some recommendations to improve agricultural production. The recommendations are mainly policy related.

8.5.1 The Land Audit

The issue of a land audit of the FTLRP is one of the outstanding issues which has dragged on for years. The Zimbabwe Agricultural Investment Plan (2013-2018) recommends there is need for the land audit to be finalised and during the fieldwork it was noted as being an issue which needs urgent attention. There is also need for a comprehensive national database of land owners and farm sizes. The land audit will establish the land which is being underutilised.

There is seen to be a need for a land audit to restore confidence in farm land ownership and the rationalisation of vacant and abandoned land. In Goromonzi, both the beneficiaries of the FTLRP and authorities do acknowledge that the audit is important as there are many discrepancies in land utilisation, size and multiple ownership especially in the A2 sector. On some farms, the fields look so derelict that they have not been cultivated for years. There is need for rationalisation of land sizes so that farmers have land which they can manage and are able to pay requisite taxes which will be channelled towards infrastructural development and social service provision. This is lacking in the farming areas. Some formal and informal audits of the land have been conducted since 2000 but they have not been much which has come out from them. I believe political interference and deep-rooted political interests will always be an impediment to the land audit but it is one of the long overdue processes which needs to be done. This perspective is also advocated for by Moyo *et al* (2016) who argues that for the FTLRP to reach its fullest potential, there is need for a systematic regularisation and audit exercise in all land areas in Zimbabwe. They see this as allowing for the generation of scientific and empirical evidence that can be used as a basis for making policies and innovations to secure land tenure. In addition to the land audit and based on my observations and experience in Goromonzi, I believe that there is also a need to look at the educational levels of the farmers and to see how best to match their level of education with relevant skills training and capacity development.

8.5.2 Tenure Security and Collateral

The study noted that tenure security and collateral are some of the issues which are having negative effects on the farmers as well as levels of agricultural productivity. It is recommended that there be the issuance of documents that provide security of tenure while they are bankable and acceptable by agricultural financing institutions. In Goromonzi, I noted that farmers live in constant fear of eviction. While tenure documents are there, there is always this cloud of uncertainty. The situation of some farmers being evicted or forcibly relocated does not help issues either. Lack of security of tenure discourages beneficiaries from making investments or using other assets which they may have as collateral to access the much-needed financial credit for their farming operations. The tenure system needs to be revisited so that is favourable, transferable and acceptable as collateral for loans. There is need to make the farm land leasehold into marketable title deeds which are secure and acceptable as collateral. The institutional structure should also be revisited with decentralised land administration structures

being strengthened to deal with issues of evictions and boundary disputes. Up-to-date records of landholdings and ownership also need to be readily available at the local levels.

8.5.3 Agricultural Extension Services

Agricultural extension services are the bedrock for increased output and the maximised utilisation of farmland. From my observations in Goromonzi I believe that this is an area which greatly needs improvement. Agricultural extension and livestock officers during the study indicated that they face numerous challenges and for land beneficiaries, this has had implications on their productive activities. These range from poor remuneration, lack of resources to undertake their duties, they face transport as well as accommodation challenges. These officers need increased support and the limited fiscal support to the agricultural ministry has in turn seen them receiving limited support. Extension services are critical in the agricultural sector as they provide farmers with the knowledge and skills that are necessary for increased productivity. They are also portals for information and facilitate for farmers to participate in a liberalised commodity market. There is need to increase funding for agricultural support systems. With the economic challenges facing the country, there is need to explore alternative funding mechanisms. The extension officers as well as the farmers need continuous training on new farming skills as well as contemporary farming methods. There is also the need to strengthen the co-ordination and quality control of the different delivery channels for extension services. These are currently being provided in an uncoordinated manner by private and public institutions and NGO's.

There is also the need to strengthen the linkage between the farmers, the extension services and research. This is important as it will increase knowledge and access to the latest technologies which increase agricultural production. Appropriate training material, communication equipment, transport and other training tools need to be availed to the extension services. Other departments like the Natural Resources Department and agencies like the Environmental Management Agency and Forestry Commission need more support and a heavy presence in the district so as to encourage sustainable natural resource use. Law enforcement needs to be strengthened especially when it comes to the fisheries, forestry and wildlife as exploitation levels in some areas are very high. While the FTLRP has opened up opportunities for livelihood diversification through natural resource exploitation, some of the communities in the farming areas are using these resources in an unsustainable manner. Some of the beneficiaries do not adapt sustainable natural resource management practices as they practise agriculture and this

impacts on environmental degradation and reduction in productivity and incomes. In addition to the above, I noted that there is need to create systems in which there is exchange of knowledge and experience between the farmers. There is also need for trainings on conservation farming and post-harvest management as some of the agricultural produce gets unnecessarily spoilt and lost as was indicated by the agricultural extension workers and farmers impacting on social protection.

8.5.4 Agricultural Finance Services

As has been shown in this thesis, farmers across all the sectors face challenges accessing agricultural support. This is due to tenure insecurity and lack of collateral. If agricultural support is available, it is usually short term. The funds which farmers access are usually for agricultural inputs. Farmers are in a cycle of seeking finance to purchase inputs each season. When agricultural finance is available it is usually at a high cost with exorbitant interest rates and this makes it unviable. The ZAIP (2013-2018) recognises this challenge and it argues for the mobilisation of international and national finance as well as rural savings which will fund agriculture. If this is done, farmers will be able to access this credit at cheaper rates and use it for agricultural purposes. It is recommended that incentives and education to reduce high credit defaults by farmers be in place. The strengthening of tax issues and incentives by the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe on credit investments by financial providers is also recommended as a way to deal with lack of finance in agriculture.

8.5.5 Increasing Food Supply and Reducing Food Insecurity

While farmers in the study sample and in the farming areas of Goromonzi in general have been shown as being food secure, more can be done to ensure food security on the farms. The provision of free and subsidised inputs has been seen as one of the ways which ensures social protection by minimising risks and as a mitigation strategy. Proper and adequate mechanisms need to be put in place to specifically target poor households and provide them with subsidised inputs and services. As it stands a lot of issues are at play in accessing inputs and these usually centre around political issues. Poor households need not only to access free or subsidised inputs but they also need to be supported so that they can manage to produce. As it stands, households are given inputs and there is little follow up with support or extension services. Inputs need to be provided timeously so that poor households are able to prepare in time and there is no negative impact on productivity. If inputs arrive late, this results in a decrease in the production

realised. Poor households also need training in post-harvest management and storage and as a precautionary measure.

8.5.6 Improving the Situation of Women Farmers

For women farmers who benefitted from the FTLRP, it is recommended that there is need for robust research which produces scientific and empirically grounded evidence that can be used for assessing, monitoring and evaluating women's land status. During the study it was noted that this is an area which is deficient and in need of attention and action. Empirical evidence gathered from such an exercise needs to be used to inform and support government policy aimed at securing women's land tenure. It is also recommended for there to be policy coherence and consistency as well as political will. This is a necessary pre-condition for successful policy implementation. Gender needs to be mainstreamed in all land governance processes and institutions. Regulations to govern property transactions need to be clarified in the application and interpretation of succession and divorce laws where land is held outside freehold tenure. There is also the need for greater access for women to information and administration, governance and dispute resolution mechanisms in state and non-state institutions. Increased representation of women in these governance and land administration institutions is also seen as being desirable. Lastly for women greater participation in state and non-state organisations in the planning on land redistribution and administrative programmes are critical initiatives which can improve women in agriculture in Zimbabwe.

8.5.7 Improving the Situation of Farm Workers and the Issue of Citizenship

The thesis has shown that for some former and current farm workers, the FTLRP has brought about many challenges. These range from fewer employment opportunities, exploitative and poor working conditions, insecure labour tenancy systems, political victimisation, inadequate social services among other issues. The weakening of the labour unions on the farms after the FTLRP, the acquisition of farms by the political elite (who are seemingly untouchable), the reconfiguration of institutions at a local level have all combined and negatively affected former and current farm workers, their families and some residents of farming communities. This has been worsened by the perceived alliance which was said to exist between this group and their former white employers in which they were accused of working to stop the FTLRP process and supporting the MDC which was seen as being anti land reform. In the background of such acrimonious relationships many former and current farm workers are labelled as 'aliens' with their citizenship either being revoked or their rights as citizens severely curtailed.

For the welfare of current and former farm workers to improve, it is important for the powers of labour unions to be restored (or their interventions respected) and the labour courts be independent and allowed to undertake their work without interference. Labour unions need to be able to represent the interests of workers without political interference as has been witnessed in the past few years. They need to be able to represent workers who experience unfair labour practices and advocate to fair remuneration and safe working conditions. The remuneration and conditions on the farms continues to be a challenge, it is imperative that the National Employment Council for the Agricultural Industry (which comprises of the Commercial Farmers Union (CFU), Zimbabwe Tobacco Association (ZTA), Zimbabwe Commercial Farmers Union (ZCFU), Zimbabwe Farmers Union (ZFU) and Zimbabwe Agricultural Employers Organisation (ZAEO) on the employers side and General Agriculture and Plantation Workers Union of Zimbabwe (GAPWUZ) and Horticultural General Agriculture and Plantation Workers Union of Zimbabwe (HGAPWUZ) for the workers) relook at how best they can come up favourable employment conditions for workers. The minimum wages and conditions which they set during the annual collective bargaining process need to take into consideration the country's ever worsening economic challenges and the historical advantages which farm workers have faced. The State also needs to be more active in protecting the tenancy rights of these farm workers (designating farm compounds to be on state land is not enough), ensuring access to social services (as there is a serious gap in accessing amenities and services with the departure of the former white farmers) and ensuring that this group has access to pensions and benefits which are due to them. Programmes like the public works programmes, input schemes and social welfare assistance also need to be provided to this group as they have a right to it if they qualify by virtue of their citizenship. Over the years several Statutory Instruments have come out which protect farm workers, but enforcement has not been very effective. There is need for relevant authorities and stakeholders to play a role to ensure enforcement of these laws so as to protect current and former farmworkers as well as their families.

Some of the challenges which farm residents face stem from the issue of citizenship. While some of the former farm workers have managed to become part of the agrarian elite, some of them as well as their families face several challenges, and this has been worsened by the politicisation of the citizenship issue. Some of the respondents in this study were seen as having challenges with their identity documents and citizenship status. Due to the numerous challenges

which they face, some are excluded from public works programmes, they are alienated from the wider community and on daily basis, they are inhibited from exercising their rights as citizens or benefitting from public programmes. This group of people has contributed immensely to the countrys development (in the farming sector) and as such they need due recognition and restoration of their citizenship rights. Implementation of the constitutional provisions of 2013 by the government and the Registrar Generals Office in particular has been lacking. It is important that the constitutional provisions to be respected and fully implemented so that the former and current farmworkers and their descendants enjoy the rights which they are entitled to by virtue of their citizenship. According to the Constitution (Chapter 3, Section 36 and 43), a person can be a citizen of Zimbabwe provided they were born in the country, if either of their parents are Zimbabwean citizens or if their grandparents are citizens by birth or descent. In addition, a person can be entitled to citizenship through continuation or restoration of citizenship. The administrative challenges which people face in regularising their citizenship which include exorbitant costs (these range between US\$40 and US\$5 000), centralised offices and lack of information need to be dealt with urgently so that the citizenship challenges which people face are effectively dealt with. In addition, registration requirements need to be looked at and relaxed if possible and outreaches undertaken into the farming areas to document and regularise the citizenship of farm area residents.

8.6 Prospects for Future Research

In this thesis, I attempted to avoid some contentious political issues on the FTLRP, but in some instances I had to refer to them as I noted that they transcend the FTLRP narrative. It is worth noting that as the FTLRP was a political process, and any academic inquiry on the programme is often confronted with difficult political questions. I noted that this is a reality that any scholar has to deal with when conducting research on the FTLRP. Having looked at the FTLRP for a number of years, I believe that the political questions that have plagued the FTLRP deserve further empirical enquiry now almost two decades after the inception of the programme. The variegated complexities that shroud the role of the political elite and institutions in rural Zimbabwe still need further empirical enquiry. In addition, the impact of the closure of the resettlement areas to some actors who include opposition political parties and some civil society organisations is needed as I believe that in a truly democratic society, they have important developmental roles to play. In this thesis, I felt that there were a lot of overlaps in the FTLRP political narrative and for future research, the production of a literature review that explores these overlaps can be of importance to scholarship on the FTLRP. As I presented my

findings, I noted that despite the different ideological and analytical frameworks used by scholars to interrogate the FTLRP, these overlaps exist and this thesis is no exception. When it comes to the variegated and complex roles of political authorities, political party affiliation and the politics of patronage not only are there areas of convergence, but some issues are still unclear. This is in a context where over the years there have been a lot of socio-economic and political transitions at a local and national level and these have had an impact on the resettlement areas. This presents gaps in knowledge which would be of interest for future research. Additional research can be built from this thesis which due to space and context constraints has not adequately looked at. From a transformative social policy perspective, a deeper comparative exploration (which is literature based) is needed on the nexus between land reform and social policy. An analysis between this thesis and the work of Chung (2014) could be of interest. In addition, a study on farm infrastructure and investment as well as agricultural value chains using the transformative social policy conceptual framework can be of immense scholarly and policy making value. The last area which I believe could be of interest for future research is on the link between documentation by beneficiaries and how it is linked with access to finance and asset accumulation. Such a study would be useful in unearthing some of the dynamics that have the FTLRP particularly from a productive and social reproductive dimension. This area and other areas present prospects for future post-thesis research.

8.7 Conclusion

The thesis has explored the social policy dimensions of the FTLRP. Focusing on four functions of the transformative social policy framework, it has shown that there are discernible production, redistribution, social protection and reproduction outcomes. These have transformed the lives of beneficiaries, their families and communities. A major outcome of the FTLRP has been that it redistributed land to 150 000 A1 farmers and 30 000 A2 farmers. This was land which was previously held by 6 000 farmers. This is an unequivocal outcome of the FTLRP. It has had far reaching implications which have included availing a productive resource to beneficiaries, enhancing their productive capacities, reducing vulnerability and destitution, availing diverse socio-economic opportunities among others. This thesis in exploring Zimbabwe's land reform using the transformative social policy conceptual framework is among the first to use this dimension and there are a lot of issues which still need refinement, further research and clarification. Despite this, I believe it has gone a long way in outlining the social policy outcomes of the FTLRP and future research and studies will build on this foundation. The thesis however shows that redistributive land reform is prophylactic, providing

social protection (*ex-ante*) and is an instrument which functions to enhance production, redistribution and reproduction while ensuring some measure of social cohesion.

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