

1

Background to the Study

Introduction

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

Background to the Problem

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Land Politics in pre-and Independent Zimbabwe

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Why Agriculture is of Great Significance to Zimbabwe

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

Statement of the Problem

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

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

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

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

Research Questions

The study was informed by the following questions:

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

General Objective

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

Specific Objectives

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

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

Justification of the Study

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

Delimitation of the Investigation

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

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

Limitations of the Investigation

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

Clarification of Concepts

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Method of Investigation

Literature Study

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

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

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

Empirical Investigation

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

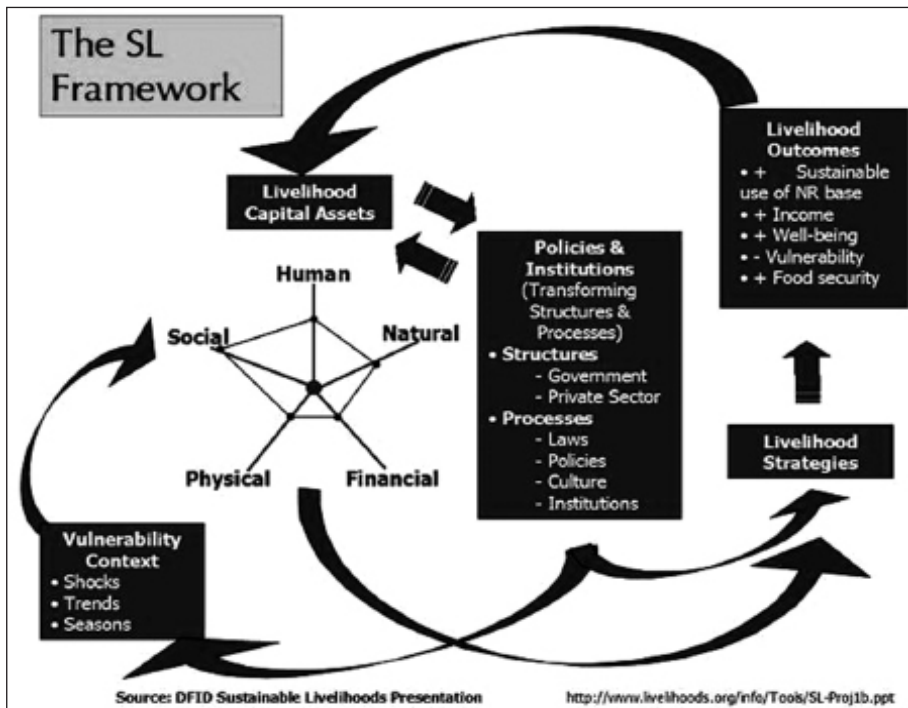
Theoretical Framework

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

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

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

Figure 1.1: The Sustainable Livelihood Framework



Livelihood Resources

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

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

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

Livelihood Strategies

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

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

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

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

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

Some Strengths of the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach

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

Some Weaknesses of the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Organisation of the Book

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

