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Summary, Conclusions and Recommendations

Introduction

This chapter summarises the study, giving an overview of all the six chapters, highlights conclusions arrived at and suggests recommendations. The summary consists of an overview of what each section covered.

Summary of the Study

Background to the Study

The purpose of the study was to compare the Pre-Fast Track phase of the agrarian reforms and the Fast Track Phase, which is referred to as *Jambanja* in this study. Chapter 1 provided a general overview of the study, contextualised it, highlighted current issues in land reform, and illuminated the gap in literature the study intended to fill. The statement of the problem, research questions, objectives, delimitations, and limitations of the study were discussed. Recurrent terms were also defined in the context of this study. The theoretical framework that informed the study was also explained. The chapter concluded by highlighting how the whole study was organised.

Research Method and Design

Chapter 2 discussed research method and design, describing the research site, population and sample. The chapter also explained the sampling procedures and described the research instruments that were used to gather data. Finally, the chapter gave details of the fieldwork and how data were analysed.

Historical Context of Land in Zimbabwe

Chapter 3 highlighted the importance of land as an essential resource for national development in Zimbabwe. An analysis of the role and impact of land among the indigenous people of Zimbabwe since fourth century AD to the present was traced in order to show the centrality of The Land Question (Nothling 1989). The issue of land tenure helps the reader to appreciate how the European settlers parcelled out the best land to themselves whilst the indigenous people were driven to dry, infertile parts of the country. This background helped to lay a foundation of the contrast between the Pre-Fast Track land reform and FTLRP. Trends in history literature show how people in developed and developing countries were moved from rural to urban areas during the industrial revolution. Commercial farms and ranches replaced village life and mechanisation became the new way of agricultural production.

The chapter demonstrated how colonial history of Southern Africa introduced a policy of separate development (Moyana 2002). African men were not allowed to settle permanently in urban areas since these urban centres were designated as European settlements. Africans were supposed to live in rural areas but were also forced to seek employment in urban centres, farms and mines (Hill 2003). The Africans saw their urban, farm and mine settlements as temporary homes. At retirement or when an individual became unemployed he had to migrate back to rural areas.

Evidence of conflicts breaking out amongst the Shona ethnic groups over land from 1400s to the 1900s was also amply demonstrated in the chapter (Nothling 1989). The movement of the Ndebele, into Zimbabwe in the nineteenth century in search of pasture only fuelled more conflicts over land between the Ndebele and the Shona (Cobbing 1979; Nyathi 2000). The arrival of European merchants in search of raw materials led to wars, and in some instances rebellions after the European settlers had used signing of concessions and establishment of land apportionment acts as tools that would deprive the indigenous people of fertile and productive land (Tshuma 1997). In order to formalise their land grab, the settlers surveyed the areas

from which the indigenous blacks had been displaced and placed beacons demarcating farm boundaries thereby producing a property map. Title deeds were given to the occupiers of the property to secure and legalise their tenure (Hill 2003). This process produced two farming sectors, namely the large commercial farming sector for the white settlers and smallholder farming sector for the indigenous blacks.

The chapter also showed that large-scale commercial farming sector was heavily subsidised by the government and was highly mechanised and produced in bulk for local consumption as well as export markets because farmers had title deeds which they could use as collateral for loans and could easily obtain loans from banks (Bautista, Thomas, Muir-Leresche and Lofgren 2002). On the other hand, the communal farming areas were characterised by overcrowding, overgrazing, poor soils and subsistence farming because land was communally owned and it could not be used as collateral for loans. These factors resulted in land degradation and deforestation.

The soliciting of cheap African labour by colonisers through various means was also discussed in the chapter. These included forced labour, a pyramid shaped education system, which ensured drop out at each stage from primary, secondary and university, barring blacks from certain trades and professions. Hut taxes were also introduced and those who could not raise the money were forced to seek employment in white-owned farms, factories and mines (Moyana 2002).

The passing of various land legislations that deprived Africans was also highlighted. The social, economic and political effects of the Land Apportionment Act on the indigenous people were devastating. Immediately after the creation of reserves, the indigenous agricultural production deteriorated (Moyana 2002). By 1943 most of the 38 established reserves were overpopulated and, as a consequence, soil erosion and environmental degradation became widespread in the reserves. The indigenous people lost some of their cattle. African chiefs loyal to the European settlers were appointed. As a result some indigenous people revolted against the settlers (Hughes 2006).

The four different types of land tenure that are characteristic of the Zimbabwean agrarian structure were discussed. These include the freehold full ownership as evidenced by title deeds that specify the area of land owned by an individual. During the colonial period it was mainly the white settler farmers who were allocated these title deeds. The second type of land tenure in Zimbabwe is a leasehold that entitles the owner of the land to sign an

agreement with a lessee under which a tenant is allowed the free enjoyment and use of the land in return of the payment of rent (Moyo 1995). The traditional, customary or communal tenure comprises of land that belongs to the community which decides how land is to be used. The chief is given power to allocate land to groups or individual members of the community. The majority of the indigenous people were allocated land under the customary communal tenure. Since communal land tenure cannot be sold, land held under this tenure system could not be used as collateral. As a result, the majority of the indigenous people could not get loans from banks in order to be effective farmers. The white settlers, on the other hand, had access to numerous loans since they had collateral (Bautista et al 2002).

The chapter also highlighted the effectiveness of the communal tenure system which was used to allocate land on the basis of availability. The African people would move on to occupy vacant land. The resistance to white domination and the growth of African nationalism was born to a certain extent as a result of The Land Question as highlighted by Tshuma (1997). In response, the Rhodesian Front Party led by Ian Smith fought against African representation in parliament and even detained the leadership of the African nationalism. Initially the African nationalists tried to use diplomacy in fighting for African rights. From 1966 to 1979, PF ZAPU and ZANU (PF) waged a guerrilla war to end the white minority rule leading to the Lancaster House Conference of 1979 (Hill 2003). There were serious differences between the British and Patriotic Front regarding land redistribution. The British wanted assurances that land would not be taken from the white settlers by force. Only underutilised land could be acquired for agricultural reasons (Tshuma 1997). The acquiring authority had to pay compensation. The guarantees that the British insisted on were contained in section 16 of the Lancaster House Agreement which sought to prohibit the compulsory acquisition of property (Moyo 1994). The chapter has thus traced the history of land politics in Zimbabwe from pre-colonial period to date.

Land Reform Process in Zimbabwe

Chapter 4 discussed the basis for land reform in Southern Africa in general and Zimbabwe in particular. An understanding of the objectives and aims of agrarian reform programmes is important for one to analyse the rationale. It is interesting to note that many scholars like Moyo, Matondi and Sukuma (2004), Marongwe (2003), Chitsike (2003), Vudzijena (1998), to mention but a few, have identified the objectives of land reform in Zimbabwe but

failed to assess the attainment of each objective. Their focus is on poverty alleviation and they have turned a blind eye on other objectives like the need to promote political stability and acceptable property rights and the restoration of traditional leaders in the management of natural resources.

Resettlement Models

The chapter also discussed the various land reform programmes and their targets. Tshuma (1998) and Lebert (2003) have managed to identify the resettlement targets. These targets were set for each resettlement model. It has clearly explained the 7 resettlement models in Zimbabwe which are:

- Model A, with the objective of relieving pressure in overpopulated areas while at the same time maintaining the social and cultural fabric of the settlers by settling as much as possible households with common origins in the same village.
- The second model, i.e. self-contained units explained in this chapter, has the aim of improving the base for productive agriculture in the peasant farming sector with provision of basic social and infrastructural services.
- Three-tier model is also explained, but this applied only to dry regions of Zimbabwe and is for cattle ranching. The objectives in this model include the need to provide land for commercial grazing with the idea of increasing the communal herd.
- There is also A2 model (Commercial Farm Settlement Scheme) which seeks to increase the participation of black indigenous farmers in commercial farming through the provision of easier access to land and infrastructure on full cost recovery basis. The other objective is to break the gap between white and black commercial farmers and to empower black entrepreneurs in the economy of Zimbabwe.
- Model B farming practice which is focusing on farms suitable for specialised enterprises that can be run as a unit by co-operative groups on business lines. Vudzijena (1998) states that all facilities are used collectively but there are individual stands of 0.5 ha.
- Model C which is involved in intensive resettlement of beneficiaries around a core estate. It is noted by Vudzijena (1998) that the Agricultural and Rural Development Authority (ARDA) and outgrowers run a central core estate. This estate supplies essential services to the settlers such as mechanical draught power, transportation of produce and inputs

in bulk, production of seedlings for specialised crops, crop processing and marketing, to mention but a few. These services are provided to the settlers at a cost.

- Model D which is implemented in the arid regions of southern parts of Zimbabwe. Lebert (2003) states that commercial ranches were purchased next to communal lands. He goes on to mention that livestock is purchased from these neighbouring trust areas and allowed to fatten on the ranch before being sold. The thinking was that communal farmers would be able to reduce grazing pressure on communal lands.

Willing Buyer Willing Seller Principle

Apart from discussing the different types of models, chapter 4 also amply demonstrated how the 1980–1996 land reform programme was to be guided by the Lancaster House Agreement. It explained how the willing buyer willing seller principle was used to acquire land in the early years of independence. It examined the successes and failures of this principle and explained the different amendments to the constitution that were made in a bid to speed up the land reform process. It explained the changes on the constitution like the Communal Act of 1981, Land Acquisition Act of 1985, the 1990 National Land Policy, The Constitutional Amendment Act Number 30 of 1990 and the Land Acquisition Act of 1992. It highlighted that during the period between 1980 and 1997, the land acquisition process was slow and that the government of Zimbabwe purchased land that was deemed unproductive by the sellers. Thus the chapter analysed the problems encountered during this period. It has bridged the gap left by earlier literature that has emphasised political factors as the causes of the Fast Track land reform ignoring the frustrations caused by the ‘willing seller willing buyer’ principle (Tshuma 1997; Marongwe 2003).

The chapter also highlighted the period after 1998 starting with the inception phase of the Fast Track agrarian reform programme, as explained by scholars like Ncube (1998), Chitsike (2003), Sachikonye (2003) and Moyo (2006). This marked Phase 2 of the land reform programme that was precipitated by the grievances of war veterans and the generality of the populace. The chapter highlighted the driving force for this accelerated phase.

Assessment of the First Phase of Land Reform Programme

The chapter analysed the assessment of the first phase of the Land reform programme, i.e. between 1980 and 1997. Lebert (2003) notes that by June 1988 only about 16 per cent of commercial land had been given to indigenous black people. This was an indication that not much was done in this eight-year period after independence in terms of giving land to blacks. However, literature has highlighted that more land was acquired in the first three years of independence when white farmers were leaving the country due to the war (Tshuma 1997; Moyana 2002). The chapter also explained the analysis by the Controller and Auditor General audit of 1993. The report indicated that by 1993, most rural people who were landless benefited. However, available literature failed to look at the objectives of the land reform and assess them one by one. It is important to assess the attainment of all objectives since these have a bearing on economic performance and general living standards.

The Plight of Farm Labourers

It is shown in this chapter that land reform had effects on farm labourers with some losing their jobs while others got employed by the new indigenous farmers. Marongwe (2003) and Sachikonye (2003) mention that workers' livelihoods were destroyed since they lost their jobs. They argue, however, that some labourers got jobs from the new farmers; but their overall assessment is that workers were left worse off. The chapter has also filled the gap in research where literature seemed to condemn the Fast Track Land Reform for leaving out farm workers (only 5 per cent benefited from the land redistribution programme) by discussing the composition of farm labourers and concluding that some of them, by virtue of being non-Zimbabweans, were not entitled to get land under both phases of the land reform programme.

The Impacts of HIV and AIDS

The chapter also highlighted the impact of HIV and AIDS on agriculture and resettlement areas. It should be noted that scholars like Moyo (2004, 2006) have shown that HIV and AIDS has led to loss of labour and productivity. The argument is that there was loss of time during periods of caring for the sick and that resources were being channelled towards purchase of drugs for the sick. However, their analysis was based on agriculture in general where they argued that smallholder farming practices were affected most because they relied on family labour. It is this labour resource that has been affected

by HIV and AIDS and thus there would be loss of labour leading to lower production. Moyo (2006) thus generalised this trend by arguing that in resettlement areas that impact was more marked because the resettlement programme led to conversion of commercial farms to small holdings whose beneficiaries are more vulnerable to HIV and AIDS. Available literature has, however, failed to give empirical evidence from the resettlement areas and this study managed to show the extent of the problem as it is manifested in the resettlement areas without generalising.

Gender and Land Reform in Zimbabwe

Chapter 5 discussed the importance of gender as a concept in any land reform programme. It defined gender as socially constructed roles, relationships and learned behaviours of males and females (Dejene 1997). It also emphasised that gender can also be seen as a household resource and is usually seen as a power relationship between men and women which is characterised by negotiation and conflict. It highlighted how the Zimbabwean land reform has focused on racial injustice instead of gender or social justice. Racial equity eclipsed gender equity such that issues relating to equity on the basis of gender were not considered. Gender, especially women's interests, was not a priority in the land redistribution programme (Gaidzanwa 1994; Jacobs 1996, 2000).

Earlier research on Zimbabwe's post-independence agrarian reforms has mainly focused on the evolution of the land reform programme (Moyo 2000, 2001b, 2003; Moyo and Yeros 2005; Matondi and Munyukwi Hungwe 2006; Marongwe 2003; Rukuni 1994, 2006). These scholars have discussed the different phases of the Zimbabwean land reform which can be divided into four broad phases namely: the market acquisition era informed by the Lancaster House Constitution (1980-1990, phase 1); the structural adjustment era which posed the initial challenge to the market acquisition approach (1990-1997, phase 2); the political and social crisis period informed by the market and state methods (1997-2000); and finally, the Fast Track programme which officially challenged the market acquisition approach and resorted to radical and compulsory acquisition (2000 onwards, phase 4). They argue that the design of particular phases of land reform was influenced by a number of factors like constitutional constraints; the significance of commercial agriculture in the Zimbabwean economy; the dictates of the Bretton Woods institutions; and, changes in the political climate of the newly independent state. Given the principal role that women play in agriculture and in many rural communities of Zimbabwe, the glaring absence of the

gender perspective in earlier research on land reform in Zimbabwe was the compelling reason for weaving in the gender dimension in this study. The chapter has highlighted the critical contributions of women in society and how important it is for current land reform programmes to include the gender dimension.

The chapter has highlighted that both land reform programmes have benefited more men than women. The permits were registered in the names of the household heads that were presumed to be males. This then disadvantaged divorced and unmarried women (Jacobs 1991, 1996, 2000; Gaidzanwa 1994). The chapter has also compared how men and women who benefited in both land reforms fared in terms of agricultural productivity and sustainable management of the environment.

Literature which has discussed women and land reform has mainly focused on the Pre-Fast Track phase. Cheater (1984), Chenaux-Repond (1993), Jacobs (1999, 2000) and Goebel (2005) have discussed the role of women in Sengezi resettlement scheme in Mashonaland East Province. They argue that women generated more income from various agricultural activities which included a cattle beef fattening project. They also concur that women in the Pre-Fast Track resettlement areas had increased chances of owning land upon the death of their husbands; the land permit would be transferred to the name of the surviving widow. They also observed that polygamy was on the increase in the Pre-Fast Track resettlement areas since men wanted to have more women who could be used as beasts of burden in the fields. Goebel (2005) even goes further to argue that women in these polygamous marriages were using husband-taming herbs to get the attention of their men. She portrays marriage as an institution in crisis and that was why women were using these husband-taming herbs. It is wrong to pass judgment on cultural institutions especially if one is an outsider.

The researchers who have discussed the marginalisation of women in accessing basic resources like land have condemned women's oppression as originating in African patriarchy (Goebel 2005; Gaidzanwa 1981, 1988, 1994; Moyo 1995; Mvududu 2000). The chapter has demonstrated that oppression of women as understood today and their subsequent marginalisation did not originate from African patriarchy. In traditional Shona and Ndebele societies, there was no private ownership of land; it was communally owned but individually worked. Men were heads of households and were not fighting women or limiting their access to resources like land because in the traditional society both men and women worked together and formed

a stable unit of production – mhuri/imhuli (family/families). The chapter clearly demonstrated that the advent of colonialism with various Acts like the Land Apportionment Act, Land Husbandry Act and codified customary law, stripped women of the rights and privileges they formerly enjoyed in Shona and Ndebele traditional society.

The chapter also gave Chingarande's (2004, 2008) more detailed overview of gender and land reform in Zimbabwe. It discussed the distribution of land by gender in Zimbabwe's ten provinces. It also highlighted the fact that the objectives of both the first and the second land reforms in Zimbabwe had nothing to do with gender. It draws parallels of women and land reform in countries like South Africa, Mozambique and Tanzania. It applauds the South African land reform for putting legal instruments that would cater for the gender aspect like the Department of Land Affairs' Land Reform Gender Policy. Through this policy, 30 per cent of the redistributed land would be given to women. The Land Reform Gender Policy aims at creating an enabling environment for women to access, own and control valuable resources like land. The chapter demonstrated that noble legal instruments like the Gender Policy Framework policies in South Africa could remain lofty principles which are not accessible to the ordinary person if implementation procedures and mechanisms are not put in place.

The chapter also highlighted how the Fast Track land reform programme has benefited more males than females due to its militant nature. It has also brought to the fore the social, political and transformative impact of the Fast Track land reform programme on the lives of women farmers in Goromonzi and Gweru-Vungu districts of Zimbabwe (Manjengwa and Mazhavidza 2009b). It demonstrated that the Fast Track land reform programme has managed to create new social networks, generate income and improve the livelihoods of women farmers in Kwekwe District in particular and Zimbabwe in general.

Land reform in Africa and other parts of the world can never be fully democratic until it emphasises women's rights. Gender analysis in Zimbabwe shows the inability of formal law to ensure women's rights to land when such laws are socially legitimate and enforceable. If the use of codified customary law and statutory law persists in undermining women's land rights and access, then Zimbabwe is still far from addressing gender issues in land reform. The chapter observed that the chaotic nature of the Fast Track process and the loss of state support for women's equal rights demonstrate that the struggle for women's land rights in Zimbabwe might be more difficult than ever before (Goebel 2005).

Productivity Levels

Literature has also shown that productivity in the resettlement areas, especially in the Fast Track Resettlement areas, has declined. A UN report of 2010 highlighted that due to the lack of planning and access to farm inputs, new farmers failed to maintain the production levels, while other scholars like Moyo (2006) have blamed poor weather and a dwindling economy for reduced productivity. It is interesting to note that scholars do not agree on production levels. Lebert (2003) argues that productivity has declined while, on the other hand, Sachikonye (2003) argues that there was increased production. The present research has managed to distinguish between the two phases of production, i.e. soon after settlement production decreased, but later on it increased as the new farmers got used to the new farming areas and methods.

Conclusions

The conclusions are presented as per the research questions. The following conclusions were arrived at:

- The respondents in both phases were predominantly below the age of 65 years. It was concluded that, all other things being equal, land under both phases could be put to good productive use since most beneficiaries were still in the economically active age group. It was also concluded that in the Pre-Fast Track phase, while the greater percentage of beneficiaries were economically active, there was a greater percentage of the ageing population as compared to the Fast Track phase. Educationally, literacy levels were higher under Fast Track, than under Pre-Fast Track. It can be concluded that this boded well for production, assuming that there is a positive correlation between level of education and farmer productivity. However, the trend could be reversed if the ease with which schooling facilities are being accessed by Fast Track beneficiaries is not addressed. The next generation of people resettled during Fast Track phase could end up having low educational levels than their Pre-Fast Track beneficiaries. The percentage of beneficiaries who indicated that they received some form of agricultural training was viewed as an indication that the government of Zimbabwe placed a lot of importance on farmer skills. This is a positive development, more so if farmer training sessions become an ongoing process.

- The status of occupancy (whether the people tilling the land were beneficiaries – in the sense that they were originally settled in the land or renting) led to the conclusion that contrary to insinuations from the Western world, there was very little renting of land by farmers in both phases. However, the study did not investigate levels of offer acceptance and plot uptake by beneficiaries under Fast Track. During data collection, vast tracts of unoccupied plots were observed under Fast Track. Perhaps there is need to expedite the land audit so that unoccupied land/plots can be reallocated or revert to being state land, so that service facilities such as schools, dip tanks, shops, veterinary centres could be constructed. Related to the above was the issue of the employment sector of beneficiaries. Under both phases, more than 70 per cent of the beneficiaries were full-time farmers. It can also be concluded that there was some job diversification (as encouraged under the sustainable rural livelihoods framework of analysis), as evidenced by some beneficiaries who indicated that they belonged to the civil service or private employment sectors.
- The percentage of beneficiaries who originated from urban centres is higher under Fast Track. It can be concluded that the undercurrents that precipitated this were the push-pull factors. The harsh economic conditions, shrinking economy related to economic sanctions, job losses, and displacements as a result of operation Murambatsvina were part of the push factors. Assuming that beneficiaries were victims of push factors, it can be concluded that beneficiaries were ill-equipped to till the land productively. Some of the beneficiaries could still be holding jobs in urban centres, and only periodically visiting their plots which are manned by some employees. Plots under such management are hardly put to full use. On the other hand, diversification (being gainfully employed) should augur well for agriculture, all other things being equal. Proceeds from formal employment could be used to finance farming operations. There is need to establish production levels of plots owned by beneficiaries who are gainfully employed in the private and public sectors. Very few beneficiaries had children gainfully employed. It can also be concluded that apart from their own meagre resources, beneficiaries had no other sources of funding to finance their farming activities.
- The diverse backgrounds of beneficiaries under both phases indicate that both phases were redistributive in nature. However, the possibility of

partisan land redistribution under Fast Track should not be discounted, owing to the observation that land committees that were charged with the vetting of would-be beneficiaries could have been predominantly appendages of ZANU (PF). Former farm workers also benefited from the land reforms, contrary to some studies conducted on this issue. It should be borne in mind that the agricultural sector used to be one of the highest employers. Therefore, for argument's sake, if 15 per cent of farm workers were resettled, while this may appear insignificant, in real terms, 15 per cent of the farm workers nationally is not just a drop in the ocean.

- The selection process was different under the two phases, with a lot of planning having been devoted to the Pre-Fast Track phase, as evidenced by prior provision of essential services. Professionals were actively involved. On the contrary, it can be concluded that the Fast Track phase had some traces/characteristics of militancy, hence terms such as Jambanja/Chimurenga III. Events which took place could be equated to putting the cart before the horse. Beneficiaries were resettled before the provision of services. Unlike in the Pre-Fast Track, professionals from the Ministry of Lands came on the scene after occupancy of farms by beneficiaries.
- There was an implementation strategy for the Pre-Fast track phase, while there was none for the Fast Track phase. The strategy under Pre-Fast Track was acquiring land first, developing/provision of essential services, identifying the beneficiaries and then settling them. The strategies did not disturb the farming activities of large-scale farmers, since only excess land was given up for resettlement. On the contrary, Fast Track was impromptu, spontaneous, unplanned, and at times violent. Perhaps, it can be concluded that militancy was the strategy. Because of its nature, militancy impacted negatively on commercial farming then. The quality of life of beneficiaries was compromised, since most had difficulties accessing essential services and facilities such as clean drinking water, health facilities, schools, veterinary services, among others. Access to essential agricultural services was used to deduce implementation strategies. Pre-Fast Track beneficiaries accessed most services much easier as compared to Fast Track beneficiaries. Financial support was non-available for beneficiaries under both phases. It was concluded that lack of financial support was limiting agricultural production under both phases, with those under Pre-Fast Track phase failing to buy inputs such as fertiliser and seeds, while Fast Track beneficiaries, apart from failing to buy consumable inputs such as seeds, herbicides and fertilisers, also

failed to mechanise, and hence still relied on animal-drawn implements. Beneficiaries (male and female) under both phases reared cattle and donkeys for draught power, while small stocks were for consumption. Extension services were readily accessible by beneficiaries under both phases. This underscores the seriousness attached by the government of Zimbabwe to the agrarian reform.

- Literature puts the percentage of women who benefited from land reform between 15 per cent and 23 per cent. Views from beneficiaries under the two phases were at variance, with Pre-Fast Track beneficiaries being content with the number of female beneficiaries, while Fast Track beneficiaries thought otherwise. It can be concluded that beneficiaries from the two phases held contrasting views regarding gender, land and property rights. Considering the ratio of women to men in Zimbabwe and the views held by the Fast Track beneficiaries (men and women), it can be concluded that the percentage of women who have benefited from land reform is a far cry from the ideal. From the survey women, tended to lag behind their male counterparts in terms of agricultural training before and after resettlement. It should be borne in mind that training is one of the most important vehicles of empowerment because people are given skills. Therefore in this case, the empowerment process tended to be skewed in favour of males. It can also be concluded that skewed gender relations between males and females, male chauvinism and patriarchy tentacles were still firmly anchored under the Pre-Fast Track phase. In addition, it is implicit that most female beneficiaries under Pre-Fast Track were not aware of their property rights. This illuminated the differences in levels of awareness between female beneficiaries under the two phases.
- It can be concluded that beneficiaries under both phases were aware of the regulations governing the proper use of resources. The implementation of regulations was higher under Pre Fast Track than Fast Track. The implementation of the regulations has not stalled land degradation that was evident in the Pre-Fast Track areas. The conclusions arrived at were that while regulations were being observed, population pressure in the Pre-Fast Track areas led to overstocking and subsequent overgrazing, with new families resettling themselves on land previously designated as grazing areas.
- The situation under the Fast Track was a bit different. The conclusion arrived at was that most of the regulations involving the proper use

of land and its resources were not being implemented. However, the land has not been degraded to the same extent as under the Pre-Fast Track because population pressure on the land was still less. A number of beneficiaries had not yet taken occupation of the land allocated to them. Of those on the land, some were not making full use of it, especially those plots where employees were employed to 'just' take care of the land (place holders), plots that had child-headed families, plots occupied by widows, plots belonging to beneficiaries rendered invalid by HIV/AIDS and old age. This meant that livestock were still having vast stretches of grazing land not being utilised by the beneficiaries. However with time, in the absence of strict implementation and monitoring of beneficiaries' farming activities, environmental and land degradation experienced under Pre-Fast track should not be ruled out under Fast Track, more so with the prevalence of gold panning and tree felling in the Fast Track areas.

- Based on production levels, it can be concluded that beneficiaries under both phases achieved food security at household level. However, production levels (yields) of crops are still lower than those commercial farmers used to produce. This implies that volumes of grain destined for marketing boards are less, jeopardising the country's food security at the macro level. Beneficiary livelihoods seem to be more sustainable under the Fast Track, since production levels are higher, beneficiaries market the surplus. Beneficiaries later use the money obtained to finance some of their daily living expenses.

Recommendations

In Africa most economies are agro-based; therefore there is need for well planned and executed agricultural policies. There is need to differentiate between party politics and the development process of an economy. When a party is elected to power it becomes the government of a nation regardless of party affiliation. It therefore means that the government now represents the interests of every citizen regardless of political affiliation. It is therefore critical for the government to put in place policies that benefit all citizens, especially with regard to access to land since it is the main source of livelihood in most developing countries, Zimbabwe included. Where there are conflicts and disagreements between racial groups within a nation, it is critical to use dialogue as a means of resolving problems. Use of violence and coercion is never a solution but leads to resentment and scares away investors. Governments

need to put in place policies that unite different races so as to promote peace and attract foreign investors. In any economy, the rule of law needs to be observed by all so as to maintain peace and order. The government needs to provide a conducive environment for an agricultural policy through involving all stakeholders at all levels in the planning process. This will help in the provision of services such as dip tanks, clinics, schools, shopping centres and transport networks prior to the resettling of people in the new areas.

Policy makers are encouraged to come up with a deliberate policy to empower women by increasing their access to land. Policy makers should consider the male/female ratio when formulating policies to empower the citizens of Zimbabwe. Currently, the male/female ratio is 100:102 an indication that females are slightly more than males. Therefore, policy formulations should reflect this ratio. Future agrarian reforms should ensure that approximately 40 per cent of the land available for redistribution is set aside for females. We recommend that when such policies are crafted they should be implemented and also the communities should be educated on such principles to change their patriarchal attitudes which always deprive women of important resources like land, water, education, among others.

Policy makers are encouraged to come up with explicit population policies so that the development process may not be reversed by pressure on resources. Indigenous people should be given the authority to look after their own resources. It has been proven that the bottom-up approach is the panacea for effective management of natural resources. Therefore any land reform programme should consider these important principles for the management of local resources. The role of traditional leaders in the management of natural resources in resettlement areas should be strengthened together with indigenous knowledge systems. Indigenous knowledge systems should never be replaced by the modern systems and techniques; instead, these should complement each other.

The importance of a nation's food security is one of the most critical developments that a nation needs to achieve. Under colonialism, Zimbabwe was a net exporter of grain and was known as one of the bread baskets of Africa. Whilst both the Pre Fast Track and Fast Track phases have managed to achieve food security at household level, this cannot be said of the contribution of both phases to national food security. Therefore there is need for farmers to take farming as a business and grow both cash crops and staple crops for the benefit of the nation as a whole. The marketing boards need to design marketing programmes that will make it easier for farmers to sell their produce.

Producer prices should enable the farmer to earn a reasonable return on his/her investment and thereby attract more farmers into cash crop production. Contract farming practices by marketing boards such as COTTCO should not disadvantage farmers in terms of the high input prices and transport costs and low producer prices. Therefore these boards need to work closely with farmers' unions so that fair prices are set, so as to benefit farmers and attract more farmers into cash crop production. It should be noted that white commercial farmers used to produce cash crops in large quantities because they had easy access to cheap loans, a facility which is not available to resettled farmers. The government should come up with a loan facility tailor-made for the benefit of farmers without collateral security and the funding can be sent to banks like Agribank with specific terms and conditions that the farmers should fulfil before getting the loans. At harvest, the marketing boards would liaise with the bank and pay back the loan before giving the farmer the balance to ensure that the loans are recovered. By adequately financing the Grain Marketing Board, government will ensure that farmers are paid on delivery, thus encouraging them to sell their crops to the national boards. Farmers need to be equipped with skills of practising commercial farming. The government also needs to resuscitate cattle production so as to raise the national herd. Both the dairy farmers and beef farmers require re-capitalisation so the national herd can be resuscitated.

Zimbabwe is experiencing erratic rains and therefore farmers need to be trained on the climatic conditions of their areas and on suitable crops for different climates so as to come up with drought-resistant crops. The government of Zimbabwe is strongly encouraged to set aside financial resources which will be closely monitored towards setting up of dams for irrigation purposes. Experience has shown that such programmes have failed because the government was 100 per cent in control of the programmes; hence it is recommended that private contractors be engaged since these have efficient project management and operating systems. Farmers are also strongly recommended to follow closely land use planning schemes so that they know the type of agricultural practice to follow – that is, whether livestock production or crop production.

The current mechanisation programme unfortunately only benefited individuals with close links to those who have high public offices. In the study area no resettled farmer benefited. It should be noted that those who benefited have the capacity and means to mechanise their farming without government assistance and yet the resettled farmers without the capacity were left out. Therefore the government of Zimbabwe is advised to come up with

a mechanisation programme specially designed for the ordinary resettled farmers. However, the resettled farmers need to form cooperatives so as to ensure efficient management and use of the machinery.

Any development and empowering process should recognise that the dependency syndrome created may work against the same process; and hence farmers should not rely on handouts for their farming practices but the cooperatives formed should be monitored by Arex officers so as to ensure that the machinery given is only to give them the initial boost, but with time, they should be able to buy their own equipment. Marketing boards are encouraged to establish small depots in more centralised locations where accessibility will be easy for the resettled farmers.

Any resettlement programme should consider water and sanitation issues. It is recommended that the government of Zimbabwe through the District Development Fund (DDF) should embark on a programme of drilling boreholes in resettlement areas to ensure the supply of safe drinking water. The programme of distributing water purifying tablets should be expanded to include resettlement areas.

The militant nature of the Fast Track Land Reform Programme made it impossible for prior provision of basic social infrastructure like schools, clinics and shops and resettled farmers have to travel long distances to access these basic needs. Therefore government needs to take corrective measures and provide service centres in the resettlement areas. The lesson is that any resettlement programme needs to be well planned and governments in Africa need to uphold this important lesson if a sustainable development process is to be achieved.

Farmers need to be conscientised on the possible sources of income through managing their wildlife resources and lessons from CAMPFIRE programmes can be extended to these resettlement areas. Resettled farmers are encouraged to form fire fighting committees so as to get rid of veld fires. There is therefore need for stringent measures that are strictly enforced.

The range of crops that were grown and classes of livestock that were kept by beneficiaries, under both phases indicate that diversification was limited. Yet according to the Sustainable Rural Livelihoods Framework Analysis (the theoretical framework that informed the study), diversification is one of the strategies to achieve a sustainable livelihood. It is therefore recommended that, while beneficiaries under both phases indicated that land reform impacted their lives positively, diversification may further enhance the sustainability of beneficiaries' livelihoods.

Voluntary testing of one's HIV status is important in order to empower farmers to make informed decisions. Therefore the government needs to set up voluntary testing centres in resettlement areas. It should be noted that while HIV awareness levels are high and the prevalence of HIV and AIDS is also high, indicating that although people have the information there is no behaviour change. It is therefore advised that church organisations expand their programmes into resettlement areas so as to influence behaviour change among believers in the gospel. Moral rectitude can be greatly influenced by religion. Those that are infected need easy access to antiretroviral therapy at affordable costs, and hence the government is encouraged to expand its programmes to the resettlement areas.

Future researches should be focussed on (a) the plight of child-headed households in resettlement areas, (a) the uptake levels of offer acceptance and its impact on food security at national levels, and (c) resettlement and sanitation.

