

**AN INVESTIGATION OF LAND REFORM AND POVERTY ALLEVIATION IN ZIMBABWE,
1990-2010: *THE CASE OF CHIKOMATI AND DUNGWE VILLAGES IN MWENEZI
DISTRICT***

BY

LISTEN YINGI

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree
MASTERS (SOCIOLOGY)

in the

**FACULTY OF HUMANITIES
(School of Social Sciences)**

at the

UNIVERSITY OF LIMPOPO (TURFLOOP CAMPUS)

SUPERVISOR : PROFESSOR SL SITHOLE

SUPERVISOR : PROFESSOR P MOKHAHLANE

CO- SUPERVISOR : Dr. AV DHLIWAYO

March 2014

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DECLARATION

I declare that this dissertation: *An investigation of Land Reform and Poverty Alleviation in Zimbabwe 1990-2010* hereby submitted to the University of Limpopo, for the degree MA in Sociology has not been submitted by me for a degree at this or any other university; that is my work in design and in execution, and that all material contained herein has been duly acknowledged.

.....

Surname, Initials (title)

.....

Date

DEDICATION

I want to humbly dedicate this study to the **Almighty God** for giving me life of which without that nothing was to be accomplished. This study is also dedicated to my beloved **Faith Muregi Yingi** for her untiring support. May God bless her indeed. The study is also dedicated to my brother (**Edwin**) and **sisters** for taking the roles I was supposed to take during my studies. My parents and in-laws were true anchors in times of predicaments, I salute you all. Thank you.

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Abstract

Land reform is one of the heavily contested issues the world over as reflected in the literature discussion. It is an indisputable fact that land is crucial for human survival across cultures, races, gender, and beliefs. The aim of the study was to investigate the impact of land reform on poverty alleviation in Zimbabwe, Mwenezi district in Chikomati and Dungwe villages. The problem which was under investigation was, 'why is poverty seemed not to be alleviated/reduced despite the era of land reform?' The impact of land reform on poverty alleviation was pointed out. The respondents were selected through snowballing (one potential respondent leads to the other respondent) and the data was collected through focus group discussions. The analysis was done through thematic analysis. The research found out that land reform alone cannot alleviate the expected fraction of poverty in any country in general and Zimbabwe in particular. There is need for all sectors of the economy to join hands in order to alleviate poverty, for example, education, health, agriculture, finance, and many more. Swathes of land alone had proved that it is not enough to reduce poverty unless underpinned with other sectors. Rapid reforms are needed in social, economic, and political spheres in order for land reform programme to deliver positive results to the beneficiaries and the whole economy at large. Facts on the ground in Zimbabwe are that mere distribution of land cannot on its own alleviate poverty, but the fact remains that land reform is an irreplaceable arrow in poverty reduction.

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ACCRONYMS

| | |
|----------------|---|
| AIDS | Acquired Immuno Defficiency Syndrome |
| ANC | African National Congress |
| CEDAW | Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women |
| CARP | Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Programme |
| CARL | Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Law |
| ESAP | Economic Structural Adjustment Programme |
| FAO | Food and Agricultural Programme |
| GMB | Grain Marketing Board |
| HIV | Human Immuno-deficiency Virus |
| LR | Land Reform |
| MOZA | Men of Zimbabwe arise |
| PASS | Poverty Assessment Study Survey |
| SIS | Sisters In Islam |
| SSA | Sub-Saharan Africa |
| TAs | Tribal Authorities |
| UNECA | United Nations Economic Report on Africa |
| WOZA | Women of Zimbabwe Arise |
| ZANU PF | Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front |

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Chapter One

Title

**An investigation of Land Reform and Poverty Alleviation in Zimbabwe, 1990-2010:
The case of Chikomati and Dungwe villages in Mwenezi district**

1. Introduction

Land reform is one of the heavily contested issues the world over as reflected in the literature discussion. It is an indisputable fact that land is crucial for residential and agricultural purposes for human survival across cultures, races, and gender. The scarcity of land to the majority has sparked a lot of debates in international and national forums.

1.1. Research Problem

It is not yet established whether the land reform programme has reduced or accelerated poverty levels in Zimbabwe in general and Mwenezi in particular. What is known as of now are opposing views that are not easily harmonized if ever they will be reconciled; consequently, most academic work is biased. It is also not clear as to whether the incomes, nutrition, health and education of different households have improved in the wake of land reform.

Moyo (2000) argues that there are conflicting views on land reform and poverty alleviation in Zimbabwe and the world over. In responding to Moyo's views, Marongwe (2003) asserts that a lot had been written, so many schools of thought emerged to respond to the land reform programme in Zimbabwe, but there seems to be no consensus at all as to whether land reform has/or will alleviate poverty in Zimbabwe.

Land reform in other countries has been carried out successfully and it has registered positive results. Empirical studies in many countries have identified a positive association between access to land and income (Carter, 1999), but the land reform programme in Zimbabwe seems to differ from the above statement.

The purpose of this study is to explore the impact of land reform in Mwenezi district (Chikomati and Dungwe) in Zimbabwe. The poor seem to be much poorer, and the rich have become filthy rich. Since many people have much access to large tracts of land, the study seeks to check poverty level in relation to land access. This study seeks to identify the contributions of land reform in Zimbabwe, in Mwenezi district. Sachikonye and Makumbe (2000) asserts that the formerly strong commercial farming sector was thrown into disarray with the expropriation of white owned land that began in 2000 and the replacement of large efficient farms with the smaller ones which are worked by inexperienced farmers, but Mararike (2003) argues that the smaller portions are the most productive and efficient if well managed and given to the rightful owners. The problem is that there are conflicting views on the same issue.

1.2 Preliminary Literature review

Literature study identifies the following issues as relevant to the land reform and poverty alleviation:

1.2.3 The role of government in land reform

Land reform is a programme best driven by the government and its branches in delivering land to the landless. Smith (2004) asserts that the primary aim of many governments, if not all, is linked to economic growth through redressing the economic

inequalities, and the alleviation of poverty. Land reform is a contested issue in many developing economies since land is believed to spell the means for survival concurrently with quality and standard of life. Moyo (2005) asserts that many rural household livelihoods go hand in glove with land. Many schools of thought emerged to respond to land related issues especially land reform in Zimbabwe. Many communities are in poverty and underdeveloped due to landlessness.

Poverty is believed to be the greatest enemy of development. According to Marongwe (2003), the political impasse that still exists in Zimbabwe has exacerbated the levels of poverty and crippled development. The World Bank (2008) report argues that the poverty in Zimbabwe is described in great panache by looking at the income and consumption of people in different households. Chaumba and Wolmer (2003) assert that there are few pathways out of poverty; there is simply a means of bare survival. This view has faced a lot of criticism especially from a Marxist perspective, which asserts that the owners of the means of production exploit the poor. If the poor are given access to the means of production like land and capital, they can bail themselves from poverty. Chaumba and Wolmer (2003) argue that there is a poverty trap, which is a self-reinforcing mechanism, which causes poverty to persist. The trap becomes cynical and begins to reinforce itself, if steps are not taken to break the cycle. Demands for a poverty-oriented land reform grew in 1997, when the international community rejected land expropriation and the deracialization of commercial farming, in favour of support of small-scale settlers and at least a slow redistributive pace, which dismally failed in Namibia, Swaziland and Zimbabwe.

Access to land is a very crucial factor in the eradication of food insecurity and rural poverty. Karachi (2003) asserts that developing countries cannot achieve the objective of poverty alleviation unless they undertake progressive land reform and achieve growth with equity which is summed up by the two approaches for sustainable and equitable growth, that is, land reform and export led growth. Karachi (2003) is supported by Moyo (2004) who said that land reform was a great thing for a third world country like Zimbabwe to embark on. However, the scheme had been planned too quickly without enough consideration for the huge amount of developmental support that would be required. The parceling-out of land to people who did not have access to it means that there is a huge potential being opened up by the programme, so this programme has great potential for a third world country like Zimbabwe, but the poor farm workers became poorer than before.

Boulding (1968) argues that increasing access to land through land reform programmes is confronted with the economist view that the 'abolition' of poverty can come only from development, not from redistribution. Economists argue that redistribution wastes resources instead of making everyone richer. Among the range of policies being discussed to alleviate poverty, there is now a growing literature recommending improved access to land for the rural poor (Carter 2003). Lipton (1974) is of the view that the primary motivation of land reform is to alleviate poverty by reducing economic inequality, in other words, improved social justice. The poor distribution of productive resources in general, and land in particular, has been identified as one of the root causes of social and economic stagnation in many developing countries.

Ghimire (2001) asserts that access to land leads to access to shelter, food, employment and improved livelihoods, which means that equity is a factor in battling poverty, and that it can increase social welfare. According to Carter (1999) empirical studies in a variety of economies have identified a positive association between access to land and income and consumption. Land is often misallocated, hampering agricultural development and perpetuating rural poverty. Those who have land do not know how to use it most effectively while those who know how to use land do not have it, thereby lowering production (World Bank, 2006). Globally, poverty still does have primarily a rural face. Effective control over productive resources, especially land by the rural poor is very important to their autonomy and capacity to construct a rural livelihood and overcome poverty.

1.2.4 Rural communities, land and poverty

In many agrarian societies, a significant portion of the income of the rural poor still comes from farming and hence access to land is strongly related to the ability to escape poverty (Ghimire, 2001). Moreover, for many rural people, land (and landed property rights) has a multidimensional character. In addition to land being an economic resource, it also has significant political, cultural and social advantages. Therefore, lack of access to /or loss of land can foster social exclusion and diminution of human capabilities, and result in violence and conflict. This research area includes studies on land reform, sustainable land use, land conflicts, and the relation between poverty, land and rural livelihoods. According to Palmer (1990), conflicting statements that oscillate

between militant and rhetoric have aggravated the land crisis, leading to a diplomatic rift between Zimbabwe and British government. The British government insists that it is not opposed to the programme of land reform *per se*, provided that it is done in a manner with the intention of alleviating rural poverty. Many western donors have pledged to support land reform programme that respect the rule of law and benefits the poor, since they believed that poverty and landlessness are intimately married. Hopkins (1996) is of the view that land is at the core of Zimbabwe's problems. According to the survey carried out by the Crop and Food Supply Assessment Mission (CFSAM) in 2007, the findings were that structural decline in national agricultural production over the last 6-7 years was also due to the inability of newly-settled farmers to utilize all the prime land allocated to them in Zimbabwe.

According to the CFSAM, the resettled farmers only cultivated about 25-45% of their total arable land, owing to shortages of tractor or draught power and fertilizers, lack of secure tenure, underinvestment in infrastructure and improvements, funding constraints and lack of incentives. Moyo (1999) asserts that the people often thought that the Zimbabwean farm invasions were government –orchestrated, because it wanted to win elections. In fact, the invasions had social origins. Many poor people, especially in developing economies, depend on natural resources for their social and economic well-being. These are commonly the rural population, and their poverty may be defined by different aspects. Resources such as in agriculture do generate income or secure livelihoods for the poor. If these resources deteriorate through pollution or overuse, the benefits for the poor decrease too.

According to World Bank (2008), three quarters of all poor people still live in rural areas. They are heavily reliant on natural resources for their livelihoods: soil, water, and forests underpin commercial and subsistence. Africa's economic malaise is self-perpetuating, as it engenders more of the disease, warfare mismanagement and corruption that created it in the first place. Makumbe (2000) asserts that land reform introduced the fast track to poverty, the educational quality in the rural periphery farms is very pathetic, which is the direct opposite of the other school which vehemently refute such kind of thinking by arguing that the poor had been empowered through the increased access to the means of production. Makumbe (2000) maintains that land reform is killing not only agriculture but also the once strongest educational system in Africa by introducing the below standard schools to accommodate the children in the farms who had to travel long distances every day. Girl children are the most hit principally because they have to drop out of school to look after the chronically ill parents or guardians.

1.2.5 Gender politics in accessing land

Gender politics play a significant role in accessing and controlling of land in many societies, which means that there is a group of people who have limited access to land. In other words, some groups are denied access and control of land completely especially women (World Bank 2010). The eggs of poverty are promising to hatch successfully given the fact that the young girls are married at a tender age, when the levels of infection by the HIV/AIDS virus are scarily high. This kind of situation welcomes the child in a vicious circle of poverty. Land reform can be used as a vehicle

for rural development, but the intended beneficiaries are the distant third at the same time are being infected and affected by HIV/AIDS. The issue of race and class are very crucial to the discussion of land reform. According to Gowland (2002) women are expected to perform so many roles under conditions of increasing poverty and constraint. With fewer resources at their disposal, women are expected to do more. He further argues that there is need for a renewed focus on land as a crucial resource in rural livelihoods and the appropriate institutions that can contribute to a more equitable access to land through land reform. To buttress the point, Nieuwenhuijze (1982) argues that women's relative lack of control over land is a reflection of unequal rights and opportunities between males and females generally. Many societies have enacted laws that embody the principle of equal rights for land ownership between women and men. Land reform is believed to have benefitted the males far more than the other sex.

One of the most common forms of gender inequality in the developing world is men's disproportionate control of land and real property. In regions where women farm independently of men and produce a majority of food crops, women's claim to land is typically indirect or insecure. In these regions, when husbands die or disappear, wives often lose their access to land or are forced to engage in costly and often unsuccessfully legal battles to retain their rights to it. Robinson (2005) sails in the same boat with Nieuwenhuijze (1982) since he is of the view that women collectively represent an enormous productive potential and often invest their resources in ways that result in better economic and social outcomes than men do.

Women's lack of a secure claim to land has undesirable consequences for development and human well-being as well as for women's own empowerment. Land remains one of

the most valuable resources in both urban and rural economies. In rural areas such as Mwenezi, land is the primary vehicle for generating a livelihood and is a key element to household wealth. Indeed, in some areas of the world, whether rural households have a title to land is a fundamental determinant of whether they are poor. Because land remains an important economic resource, disparities in land rights affect equality, growth and development.

Women's organizations like Women of Zimbabwe Arise (2000) call on states to take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in rural areas by ensuring to these the right to equal treatment in land and agrarian reform as well as in land resettlement schemes. Sachikonye and Makumbe (1999) argue that we cannot talk of poverty alleviation without mentioning land reform. He goes on to say that land reform is the bone and marrow for development and the 'eradication' of rural poverty. Many people are poor principally because they do not have access to productive land. In the Philippines which have one of the longest running and best known land reform programmes, it was a process that has always been stipulated by grassroots reaction.

1.2.6 Land quality, land size and politics

The quality of land, which was acquired through the Britain mediated Lancaster House Agreement of 1979 was poor. In other words, Zimbabwe was sitting on a time bomb, the crowded peasants started to encroach on private land as a true reflection of frustrations from the slow pace of the market assisted land reform. The size of land in the communal areas was very small; this posed a danger on the environment due to

overgrazing and monoculture. Mararike (2003) argues that Zimbabwe has since 1980 been involved in designing and developing a land reform programme that aims to bring about a fair and equitable land dispensation in the country but the problem was money to purchase the land. He continues by stating the persistence of these inequalities set the stage for the nationalist resistance movements in most developing countries. In fact commercial farmers were well capitalized and benefitted from extension, credit, marketing and infrastructural facilities. In contrast, the majority blacks were relegated to mostly inferior, marginal areas of the country, which suffered from low and highly variable rainfall as well as poor social and physical infrastructure.

Moyo (2001) argues that the most common political objective of land reform is to abolish feudal or colonial forms of land ownership, often by taking land away from large landowners and distributing it to the landless peasants. He describes land reform as a deliberate change in the way agricultural land is held or owned. Such transfer of ownership may be with or without consent or compensation.

1.2.7 Decision-making and the poor

Decision-making is very crucial, but the most important part of decision-making is who make a decision. Bernard (2000) asserts no man should comment on poverty unless he is poor too, but the opposite is true in most programmes where those in ivory towers define the poverty of the poor; the people who are outside the situation make decisions. Their poverty is generalized, and the poverty definition is westernized to the extent that

the poor are seen as poorer than they view themselves. Developmentalists who are not poor anyway dictate what the people need to come out of a situation of poverty.

Everything is universalized, forgetting the fact that there is no universal definition. When defining situations in less developed countries, the definition must not be likened to that for most developed economies. According to Mararike (2003), every society does have its own definitions of a situation, which means that societies define themselves. In other words, participation is of paramount importance. The people who are going to benefit from the programme should be widely consulted and involved in crucial decision making in order to avoid statements like 'their programme'.

1.3 Aim of the study:

The aim of this study is to investigate the dynamics of land reform and poverty alleviation in Zimbabwe.

1.3.1 Objectives

The following are the objectives of the study:

- To identify the obstacles to effective land reform and poverty alleviation in Zimbabwe;
- To investigate the impact of land reform on poverty alleviation and;
- To identify problems that undermines poverty alleviation initiatives within the land reform programme.

➤ **1.4 Research Questions:**

In trying to achieve the above aim and objectives, the following research questions were be asked:

1.4.1 Main question:

- What effects did land reform have on poverty alleviation amongst the rural poor?

1.4.2 Sub-questions:

- What are the possibilities of addressing challenges and successes, if any, of the programmes of poverty alleviation and land reform?
- What are the aims and objectives of land reform in relation to poverty alleviation?
- What is the composition of land reform and poverty alleviation?
- What is the level of community involvement in land reform and poverty alleviation?
- Did land reform give birth to good or bad soil quality, increased income, and increased production in the Mwenezi district societies?
- Is there improved nutrition among children and adults in different households?
- Was land equally distributed across gender, the poor, and the powerless?

1.5 Methodology

This section covers all the methods which were employed in this study. It provides explanations about samples, number of people who were contacted, method of data

collection, methods of data analysis and ethical considerations. Methodology is the science of finding out and it includes the logical arrangement of steps in research, sampling, data collection procedures and the measurement approach used. Bailey (1997) asserts that a research methodology includes such factors as how a researcher formulates the hypothesis. It also asks whether the outcome was achieved. The research intends to investigate the impact of land reform and its relationship to poverty alleviation in Mwenezi district.

1.5.1 Research design

The researcher used qualitative research design. Qualitative research is deemed necessary for its ability to produce descriptive information appropriate in the analysis of people's individual and collective social actions, thoughts, and perceptions. Qualitative research methods are often used to gain better understanding of such phenomena as intentionality (from the speech response of the respondent) and meaning (why did this person/group say something and what did it mean to them?). Qualitative research is the examination, analysis and interpretation of observations for the purpose of discovering underlying meanings and patterns of relationships, including classifications of types of phenomena and entities, in a manner that does not involve mathematical models.

1.5.2 Pilot study

A pilot study is a small-scale preliminary study conducted before the main research project in order to check the feasibility or to improve the design of the research. The

researcher did the pilot study informally by asking the respondents to-be the related questions and see how they answered and reacted to the questions posed. This assisted the researcher in modifying the questions and making them simpler before the actual research project. Few problems were encountered, for example, some participants had problems about the way some questions were asked. The researcher then modified the questions accordingly. This saved the researcher's time when it came to the actual research principally because rapport had been built and some questions modified and clarified during the pilot study.

1.5.3 Population

The researcher studied the people who were allocated farms in Dungwe and Chikomati villages in the district of Mwenezi. These were teachers in schools, nurses in clinics and villagers in general in these new farms so the researcher visited such places in the quest for super refined information; it was done with the purpose of selecting a sample from the available new farmers. Mwenezi district has a population of 115 000 people.

1.5.3.1 Sampling method

The sample was divided into groups according to age and gender. Qualitative researchers may take cases based on their availability and this is referred to as convenience or opportunistic sampling (Terreblanche, Durreheim and Painter 2006).

The researcher did this in order to get the views of people in different occupations and how they coping with the new arrangement.

Neuman (1997) argues that purposive sampling is an acceptable kind of sampling for special situations. It is appropriate when the researcher uses it to select unique cases that are especially informative, to select members of a difficult to research population or when the research wants to identify particular types of cases in depth investigations. According to Silverman (in De VOS 2000), in purposive sampling a particular case is chosen because it illustrates some features or processes that are of interest for a particular study. The researcher chose one person and asks the age of that particular potential respondent. That person led the researcher to other potential respondents through a method known as snowballing.

Purposive sampling is a method whereby researchers use their own judgments in selecting the sample. The selection was made with the view of choosing information rich cases (Grinnel 1993). The researcher worked with forty (40) participants from the two villages, that is, Dungwe (10 women and 10 men) and Chikomati (10 women and 10 men).

1.5.4 Data collection

The researcher made use of focus group discussion. The researcher also took time to look into non-governmental and governmental publications prior to land reform to check the income levels, nutrition and poverty levels compared to post land reform. Two languages were used in the collection of data, that is, English and Shona. The

participants who were fluent in Shona, for example, were engaged in Shona. The whole process took three weeks; each group was engaged for two hours in the three-week period.

Focus Group

Focus group is a way of collecting qualitative data, which essentially involves engaging a small number of people in a discussion that 'focused' around a particular topic of set issues. Neumann (2000) asserts that the group discussion is usually based on a series of questions in the focus group schedule, and the researcher generally acts as a moderator for the group, posing the questions, keeping the discussion flowing and group members to participate fully. Undoubtedly, one reason for the contemporary popularity of focus groups in social science research is the flexibility of the research. In this study the research made use of focus group discussions.

First session

This session was used to make appointments with the participants, and also used the same opportunity to unpack the study topic and its purpose. This action was with the aim of establishing trust and building rapport between the respondents and the researcher.

Second session

Six (6) focus group discussions were held by the researcher. Three (3) focus group discussions were done in Dungwe and two were done in Chikomati village. A total

number of forty (40) participants were chosen as stated above. The participants were from two villages, that is, Dungwe and Chikomati. This session was characterised by in-depth discussion of the major themes which emerged as the discussions unfolds.

The third session

The researcher conducted the third session with ten (10) men and ten (10) women from both villages. This was done with the purpose of gaining the views of the respondents while combined from different villages. The same was done with the remaining ten (10) women and ten (10) men from both villages.

Throughout the process of data capturing, probing was used to gain deeper understanding of critical issues and this involved tracking clarification and reflective summary (de Vos 1998). The researcher repeated some of the questions to the participants to make a deeper meaning, ideas and opinions of the participants with terrible exactness. Babbie and Mouton (2001) observe that probes are one of the useful ways to get answers in more depth without biasing the answers. During data collection, there were themes which were much prominent like poverty levels, ownership, and accessibility of the land, HIV/AIDS, markets, government and tribal authorities.

Tape recording discussions

A tape recorder was used during the interviews. The researcher sort permission to use the audio-tape and note-taking during the interviews from the participants themselves.

The focus group proceedings in the research were audio-taped for further and critical analysis as said above.

At the end of the last session, the researcher used the platform to thank all the participants for the effort and their contributions they had put towards the success of the whole study. For the sake of inclusion of many respondents, the researcher carried out informal interviews/engagements to get the views of other people outside the selected sample.

1.5.4.1 Data analysis

The researcher got responses from participants and analysed them to generate meaning through tables, graphs and pie-charts. The researcher took note of the main themes that came up in the discussion with the respondents and use such in the analysis of responses given. When data is analysed by theme, it is called thematic analysis. This type of analysis is highly inductive, that is, the themes emerge from the data and are not imposed upon it by the researcher. In this type of analysis, the data collection and analysis take place simultaneously. Even background reading can form part of the analysis process, especially if it can help to explain an emerging theme. Neumann (2000) asserts that closely connected to thematic analysis is comparative analysis. Using this method, data from different people is compared and contrasted and the process continues until the researcher is satisfied that no new issues are arising. Comparative and thematic analyses are often used in the same project, with the researcher moving backwards and forward between transcripts, memos, notes and the

research literature. The process of thematic analysis consists of reading through textual data, identifying themes in the data, coding those themes and interpreting the structure and content of the themes.

Binswanger and Elgin (1998) asserts that data analysis is a practice in which raw data is ordered and organized so that useful information can be extracted from it. The process of organizing and thinking about data is the key to understanding what the data does and does not contain, hence content data analysis. The researcher interpreted the collected data for drawing conclusions that reflected on the problem under investigation. There are various ways in which people can approach data analysis, and it is notoriously easy to manipulate data during the analysis phase to push certain conclusions or agendas.

Data analysis is also another process of bringing order, structure and meaning to the mass of gathered data (de Vos 2005). Patton (in de Vos 2005) argues as sifting significance from trivia/trash. For this reason, it is important to pay much attention when data analysis is presented and to think critically about the data and the conclusions, which were drawn. Raw data can take a variety of forms, including measurements, survey responses, and observations. In its raw form, this information can be incredibly useful, but also overwhelming.

The data captured from the respondents was analysed using open coding according to Tech's approach as outlined by de Vos (1998). The analysis was done as follows:

- The researcher translated all scripts and some notes from the discussions with the participants.

- All scripts were read carefully in order to get a sense of the whole;
- The researcher also listened to the tapes and translated the discussions into writing;
- The similar categories were identified from different paragraphs; these were synthesized to make meaning of the whole.

1.5.5 Theoretical framework

There are many theories that can be used to support or criticize the approaches to the processes and programmes of land reform and poverty alleviation especially the one that happened in Zimbabwe but one was chosen as the main theory in the investigation. In other words, some theorists argue that the means of production should be owned collectively in order to alleviate poverty and others do not drink from the same cup. For the sake of this investigation, the conflict theory was used in order to better understand the land reform and poverty alleviation programmes in Zimbabwe. For a broader understanding, the Afrocentric theory was referred to but not in depth.

1.5.5.1 Conflict Theory

Karl Marx as the father of conflict theory argues that individuals and groups (social classes) within society have differing amounts of material and non-material resources (the wealthy versus the poor) and that the more powerful groups use their power in order to exploit the groups with less power. Marx makes it clear that classes are based

on resources, the more resources the class has at its disposal, the more powerful and oppressive they become. The owners of the means of production like land (bourgeoisie) and the ones who have to provide their labour because they do not own the means of production (proletariat) were always at war. Given this in mind and the tug of war between the land owners and those seeking to own land in Zimbabwe, the conflict theory was chosen. The Marxist approach which was used by Bond and Manyanya (2002) posits that the history of humanity is all about this conflict, a result of the strong rich exploiting the poor weak'. Bond and Manyanya (2002) assert that society or an organization functions so that each individual participant and its groups struggle to maximize their benefits, which inevitably contributes to social change such as political changes and revolutions. This theory is the most widely used approach, which divides the society into two, that is, the rich (much access to resources) and the poor (limited or no access to the resources for survival except their labour).

This theory is much realistic. There is a never-ending tug of war in different societies today between the "haves" and the "have nots", those with land and those without. Carls (2000) asserts that, 'the 'haves' wants to protect their possessions and fear to lose those possessions despite the way they acquired them and the 'have-nots' are fighting for equality and redistribution of those resources in the hands of the few'. This theory is going to help the researcher to understand the operating relations in the society in assessing the impact of land reform on poverty alleviation.

The theory is mostly applied to explain conflict between social classes, proletariat versus bourgeoisie, and in ideologies, such as capitalism and socialism. While conflict theory describes successfully instances where conflict occurs between groups of

people, for a variety of reasons. Karl Marx claimed that growth and development occur through conflict between opposing parties, cooperation is also a source of healthy growth. It needs to be determined under which situations, any, conflict is necessary to produce change, as compared to those under cooperation and harmony lead to the greatest advances.

Given the views held by different people and organizations, both sides are at war as far as allocation of resources is concerned. This theory evaluates the views of people from different classes, which make up the society, which means that this theory is much more inclusive and realistic. The ongoing conflict the world over is about the unequal access to resources. Other groups (ethnic, race, uneducated, poor, gender, and age) are marginalized and segregated in the process of resource allocation. The researcher will make use of this theory in order to better understand land reform and poverty alleviation in the world in general, and Zimbabwe in particular.

Marx's theory of the state argues that the state should retain all the authority as far as the allocation of resources is concerned. The state should make sure that all the people are recognized, well covered, and given much access to the necessary resources as possible. This approach is fair and it is being practised in many states/economies. However, there are problems associated with this kind of thinking principally because ordinary people are removed from the vicinity, they are only but at the receiving end. Such kind of approaches creates bureaucracies and red tapes. The state can use its state apparatus to clear any resistance from the grassroots, the army or police in order to enforce their views on people. In Toto, the state is the best to lead all the national programs if it is to lead transparently casting its eyes to the poor of the poorest.

1.6 Operation definitions

Land reform

Land reform is a programme, normally led by the government, which seeks to increase access to land to the landless or to people who are on soils, which are unproductive and skeletal. It is done through redressing the inequalities of land from those with much to those with less or nothing. Moyo (1995) argues that land reform simply means restitution of land to African peasantry without precondition.

Poverty

Poverty is an inadequate diet leading to malnutrition, inadequate shelter, health care, education, exposure to environmental risks and powerlessness caused by basic needs unmet (World Bank 2000).

Poverty alleviation

It is a process that seeks to improve the living conditions and standards of people or communities, which are already poor (Moyo, 2000).

Redistribution

Redistribution means moving close to equality in sharing socio-economic resources and services (Moyo, 2000).

Restitution

Restitution means giving back what rightfully belongs to someone or to a community, for example, in this case, giving back land or compensate for the loss suffered (Moyo, 2000).

1.7 Ethical considerations

It is of paramount importance for the researcher to be well versed with the rules that governs research which included:

- The researcher got voluntary *cum* informed consent from the participants without any form of intimidation. The participants were given all the necessary information about the research before they can participate;
- The researcher respected the privacy of the informants, their beliefs, norms and values. The research promised the participants that the information provided will remain private as long as they wish;
- The researcher ensured the anonymity and confidentiality of informants and the information they provide thereof;
- In order to avoid conflicts, the researcher need not criticize the locals openly or try to change the people' s views in order to suit his/her expectations.
- Proper consent must exist between the researcher and the informants;

- The research findings were reported correctly, results were not falsified;
- The researcher abide to the issues which are morally and socially accepted;
- Permission from the chief of the area was sought in order to avoid unnecessary conflicts with the local authorities.

1.8 Significance of the study

Given the increase in landlessness and near-landlessness and poverty in many economies, land reform and poverty alleviation are top priorities in national policies. This study will assist in how land reform should be approached in order to reduce the impact of poverty. The most vulnerable groups will be revealed and their extent of the need for land will be known. The findings can be used by governments in framing policies, which will include all classes and sexes equally in the society. Civic organizations, academia, non-governmental organisations, and sundry interested parties can find the study of paramount importance. The study will also show how important the society's participation is for the success of programmes.

1.9. A brief description of area of the study

The study was done in Dungwe and Chikomati villages in Mwenezi district. The villages are located at the heart of the former white commercial farms. The area is located

between two major rivers, that is, Runde and Mwenezi Rivers which are 40 kilometres apart. Runde River joins Save river in the southern part of Mozambique some few kilometers before the sea, on the other hand Mwenezi river joins Bubi river which later joins Limpopo river before the mouth of the sea.

It is an area of nether lands with annual rainfall ranging from 650-750 millimetres. More than three quarters of the district was under white ownership. The whites were practicing mixed agriculture but much of the land was for cattle and wildlife ranching. The European Community (EU) was getting all its supplies of beef and dairy products from this region given the fact that the animals grew with the natural food other than artificial feeding as in most EU economies. Given the sunny climate of the district, most white people visited the area for recreational activities like boating and troutting.

The Neshuro community was forcefully removed from their ancestral land by the colonial regime a century ago. Authorities of that time resettled the community in skeletal reserves which automatically triggered overgrazing and degradation of the area. Tribal authority is vested in Chief Neshuro, Mr. Z.Z Shoko, thirty two (32) years of age who happens to be the youngest to hold such a revered and greatly honoured position in the history of Neshuro. All local issues are directed to the Chief who most of the time meet the political appointee, the District Administrator for briefing.

There are several languages spoken in these villages, that is, Shona, Shangani, Venda, Ndebele, and English. Some parts of the district speak Sesotho and Kalanga minority though. The nearest towns to these villages are Beitbridge (160Km), Masvingo (120Km), and Chiredzi (137Km). Besides these towns there are townships within the

vicinity like Neshuro township, which is the District Administration Centre, Rutenga (next to a railway line), and Ngundu which is dissected by the National Highway Road (R1 which joins the South African N1). The district is prone to droughts and experiences Low Mean Annual rainfall patterns. The majority of households in Mwenezi District depend on agricultural production. This includes livestock rearing and crop production like cotton, millet, rapoko, nuts, and maize. The low rainfall pattern has created a desire to shift towards livestock farming especially cattle and goats.

1.9.1 The Zimbabwean map showing the location of the area under investigation



The marked area on the Zimbabwean map shows the location of the district and the villages in question, that is, Dungwe and Chikomati.

ORGANISATION OF THE STUDY

Chapter One

General orientation of the study. This chapter provides an overview of the study that includes the introduction, the research problem, aim and objectives of the study, the research questions, the theoretical framework, ethical considerations, and the significance of the study.

Chapter Two

This chapter consists of the literature review on land reform and poverty alleviation in Zimbabwe from 1990-2010 with Dungwe and Chikomati villages in Mwenezi district as case studies.

Chapter Three

This chapter discusses data and analyses the findings of the research. This chapter deals with the presentation, analysis and interpretation of data which was gathered during the field research in order to address the aim and the objectives of the study.

Chapter Four

In this chapter a summary of the findings, conclusions and recommendations have been presented. This chapter provides a synopsis of the major aspects of the study. It gives a comprehensive overview of the study. Finally, conclusions were drawn and recommendations have been provided.

Chapter Two (2)

Literature Review on Land Reform and Poverty Alleviation

This chapter is a review of literature on land reform and poverty alleviation in Zimbabwe, and it covers the historical and present events of the successes and failures of land reform and poverty alleviation in Zimbabwe. Beyond the border experiences will be included for a broader discussion.

2. Introduction

Giving back land to the people is easy to say but more difficult to achieve in practice. Tangible evidence is what happened in Zimbabwe, and what is currently happening in South Africa and Namibia. Land reform and poverty alleviation are recurring themes of enormous consequence in world history. In modern world and in the aftermath of colonialism and industrial revolution, land reform and poverty alleviation have occurred around the world, and Zimbabwe is a good example with the most and the hotly contested approaches in history (Moyo, 2000; Makumbe, 2000). If the need for land is suppressed for a long time, the end result is a powerful revolt or conflict between classes. By the time the bomb bursts, the situation becomes hostile.

2.1. Political and Biblical views on land and people.

The struggle for land is one of the oldest struggles the world over. There are race, ethnic, and gender conflicts over the control of land and its produce. The classes which

have no land are at war with those who own it, which Marx (1848) refers to as “The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles.” Humanity will live with this struggle for eternity as long as land spells people’s livelihood. FAO (2009) notes that people in poor countries are for the most part agrarian and pastoral folk. According to Chaumba (2003) poor countries are the most part biomass-based subsistence economies, in that their rural folk eke out a living from products obtained directly from plants and animals. Given the views above, land is very crucial for the survival of the human race.

2.1.2. International land reform programme experiences

Land reform is an international phenomenon. The following international experiences will be shared:

2.1.3. The case of land reform in Brazil briefly

Brazil is often cited as having one of the highest incidents of rural poverty in Latin America (affecting 73 percent of the rural population), and with marked rural inequalities whereby eighty eight percent (88%) of the land lies with the wealthiest twenty percent (20%) of the rural population, while forty percent (40%) of small farmers retain one percent (1%) of the land (IFAD 1993). Land reform measures introduced so far have not been able to alter this situation.

The poor people had become poorer, with the rural people population being the poorest. Corruption is said to be playing a pivotal role in denying land access to the poor. In the

event of poor people having access to land, the quality of the land is very poor and the rainfall is very erratic in those areas (FAO, 2007). The same was the case of Zimbabwe where the whites occupied the eastern part of the country where rainfall and soil quality are positively promising.

2.1.4. A brief summary of Land reform in the Philippines

The slow pace in the redistribution of land is a case evident around the globe and the problem intensifies in developing economies due to financial constraints. Those with the land try by all means possible not to let it go, so in a way there is a conflict between those with the land and those without it and who desperately need it for their survival. FAO (1997) asserts that the government's slowness in land transfer activities is due to its lack of political will to implement agrarian reform, manifest in operational and legal bottlenecks and in blockades by big landowners who have seats in Congress and posts in the government bureaucracy. As a result, massive agricultural land conversions are being carried out under the government's fast-track industrialization programme. The legal moves by Congress to stop The Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Programme (CARP) include: exemptions of big prawn farms, fish ponds and aquaculture areas from CARP coverage; foreign investors' leasing of private lands for up to 75 years; and the proposed 25-year moratorium on CARP implementation in the Mindanao region.

In the Philippines, as the country was about to celebrate 100 years of independence, the century-old struggle of the small farmers for agrarian rights continues. FAO (1997) posits that the, 'skewed landownership patterns remain unsolved and continue to

plague agriculture. It is estimated that 2.9 million small farms (<5 ha) occupy slightly more than one-half of the total farm area, while only 13 681 medium-sized and large farms (>25 ha) account for eleven and half percent (11.5%) of the total farmland'. In most cases, the farmer-owner relationship is still feudal, and landownership is concentrated among a few who are not so much interested in agricultural sustainability and productivity as is the case of Namibia but in controlling the use of their land and consolidating their political power in the rural areas.

A number of undocumented farmers' testimonies and agrarian cases regarding the plight of the farmers mention harassment and, at times, murder. Those who have been issued land titles were not physically given lands while those who had secured ownership of their farms were not receiving the support and resources that were supposed to enable them to enhance their welfare. Despite the farmers' grave situation, big landowners continue to threaten CARP beneficiaries and explicitly mock the agrarian reform law.

Taken as a whole marginal farmer's tenants and farm workers totaling 10.2 million 70 percent of whom are landless in the Philippines. According to FAO (1997) the Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Law (CARL) was passed in 1988 to change this situation. With an allotment from the Congress of about p 50 billion (US\$1.92 billion), the ten-year law has a remaining balance of p 4.91 billion (US\$0.18 billion) to date. Like in the case of South Africa, however, distribution of land to the tillers is below the expected targets and may not be accomplished during the last soon. After a quarter of a century from 1972 to 1996 the government distributed a cumulative total of 2.56 million ha or sixty percent (60%) of the planned allocation of 4.3 million hectares.

Poverty is believed to be on the rise, the circle which encompasses the poor people is swelling. The world is affected given the fact that land is becoming scarce and infertile concurrently poverty is sky-rocketing, especially in the third world economies which are hardly hit despite all night efforts to reduce it through sundry different proposed ways and programmes. Some scholars are of the view that poverty can be reduced (reducing the number of poor people with a certain target to be met) while others believe in the practical impossibility of poverty eradication (rooting out poverty in the world). Poverty alleviation (making poverty less severe in the world) and poverty reduction are next to the reality while poverty eradication and poverty abatement (abolishing or conquering poverty) are too cosmetic and nightmares. Increasing the access to the means of production, for example, land is believed to alleviate poverty as to be critically reviewed in depth and with terrible exactness from the available literature and theories which are for or against approaches to land reform and poverty alleviation.

2.1.5. Land reform in Namibia

Namibia is one of the Southern African economies that have longstanding political disagreements over land reform. Like Zimbabwe, Namibia has approximately 4,000 commercial farms, the vast majority of them white-owned. The government has announced its intention to buy and redistribute 9.5 million hectares of farmland to 243,000 landless citizens, but there is little evidence that it can afford to do so at market prices given their bleeding financial base. Wittmer (2008) posits that, in 2004, however, President Sam Nujoma announced his intention to expropriate 192 “absentee landlord”

farms-owned mainly by German and South African nationals-which together comprise 2.9 million hectares. Unlike Zimbabwe, Namibia has pledged some form of compensation to farmers who lose their land, but it remains to be seen to what extent. The initial results of Namibia's resettlement programme are similarly discouraging. The Legal Assistance Centre, an NGO based in Namibia, found in late 2005 that "most resettled persons had little or no knowledge of rotational grazing, livestock breeding systems, or financial planning and management skills. This problem draws back the efforts of land reform in most developing states. Instead, they simply continued subsistence farming on the piece of land they had been allocated.

The above situation tells that like most Southern African economies, Namibia inherited a skewed land distribution pattern which calls for a lot of money and time to rectify. Of approximately 69.6 million hectares suitable for agricultural activities, 36.2 million hectares fifty two percent (52%) were in the hands of white farmers in 1990. Some 33.4 million hectares (48 percent) was communal land, where seventy percent (70%) of the population lived (Coetzee, 2005). Namibia is using the willing seller –willing buyer clause which failed in Zimbabwe and it is failing the masses both in Namibia and South Africa because of the high market prices which cripple the efforts of developing countries due to poor financial bases. The long waiting masses put a lot of pressure on the government to redistribute land without delay, but the problem is the system of redistribution which is in operation, that is, the willing seller-willing buyer clause.

The inflated price of the land on the market makes it very hard and difficult for the government to resettle its people given the fact that the pace is so slow and very expensive for a developing country like Namibia. Coetzee (2005) asserts that almost

two decades after independence, Namibia's land reform was working against the demands of the poor because of bureaucratic processes which are slow in the transformation of land ownership and the unclear criteria for expropriation are overshadowing success. The government plans to spend US\$370 million over the next 12 years to acquire 10.3 million hectares of commercial farmland to resettle 6.730 families by 2020. Another 5 million hectares of communal land will be portioned off into small farming units for citizens previously disadvantaged by colonialism and the South Africa's imposition of apartheid policies on the territory.

Wittmer (2008) says that 240 000 applicants are on the list for resettlement, any previously disadvantaged Namibian can apply, rich or poor, but suspicion of corruption is growing given the fact that the list is not made public and given the pace of land reform programme, it will take a generation until land reform is accomplished- at an enormous cost for the sake of peace. Both Namibia and South Africa have trod very delicately around the issue of expropriation, given the experiences of neighbouring Zimbabwe, and both countries place great emphasis on the rule of law.

Despite the slow pace of land reform in Namibia, its constitution provides for property and land expropriation by the state "in the interest of the public, subject to payment of just compensation. For example, in 2005, five white owned farms were expropriated and given to the landless black (Coetzee, 2006). A certain farmer was quoted saying, 'I am no longer making big investments on my farm and I have scaled down maize production'. The commercial farmers argue that, 'we support land reform but the criteria for expropriation must be spelt out clearly and change of ownership does not mean that productivity will drop (Coetzee, 2005). The farms were divided into three to four smaller

portions of minimum 1000 hectares for each family under a 99 year lease but the sad story in Namibia and Zimbabwe too is that the occupants do not have title deeds and, as a result , no collateral to obtain loans for further investments in their farms. About 70 percent of the Namibian population depends on agriculture, mostly subsistence farming in communal areas. The subsistence sector is struggling with the depletion of soil nutrients and degradation due to overgrazing and growing the same type of crop year after year on the same piece of land (monoculture).

Hall and Mengistu (2002) maintain that insufficient political will partially explains the slow pace of redistribution in Namibia and South Africa. In South Africa land reform has never been allocated more than 0.4 percent of the national budget. Since independence in 1990, the Namibia government has transferred 79 farms comprising 461,000 hectares to 3,464 households but has been unable to speed up land reform due to financial constraints, which is the same case truth which crippled the efforts of the South African government in its land reform endeavors.

2.1.6 Land reform in South Africa

Land reform in South Africa has perpetuated statist and bureaucratic approaches to development. There are continuities between failed apartheid-era policies of promoting black commercial farmers in the former “Bantustan” homelands. Thousands of landless South Africans have occupied vacant government land near Johannesburg and the South African government has had to announce plans to implement a land reform

programme of its own, and Namibia has also acted the same way too (Philpott and Butler, 2001).

In South Africa, subsistence farming is mostly restricted to communal lands or former homelands. Up to 2.5 million households subsist in this sector, relegated to farming on thirteen percent (13%) of the available agricultural land. Philpott and Butler (2001) posit that land reform in South Africa has been effectively subordinated to an economic development model that will not ultimately transform land and agriculture along Biblical and ethical lines. The real priorities of land and agricultural reform are being directed away from the interests of the poor.

Land reform is a very difficult and frustrating issue especially in Africa given the fact that those who have the land demand much more than the land is worthy. The case of South Africa where all efforts have been undertaken to attenuate the pain and suffering caused by this issue, farmers who are predominantly white inflate prices and in most cases colluding with the property valuers to inflate their farms at twice or even thrice the market value.

2.1.7 Land restitution in South Africa

The land restitution programme in South Africa calls all individuals and communities which were forcibly removed from their land without any compensation in order to launch claims for the return of their land or for compensation for the loss sustained. A good example is the Makuleke community which was removed to pave way for the Kruger National Park. This programme covers the people or clans which were alienated

from their land in 1913. According to Smith (2000), the process was to be completed before the end of 2006 but up to now nothing much has been achieved. This is an ethical move by the South African government in an attempt to redress the socio-economic injustices created by the colonial regime.

2.1.8 Land redistribution in South Africa

Land redistribution is supposed to be a programme whereby land is shared equally between those who have much with those on poor and little land or nothing at all. The government has to buy land and distribute it to the landless in order to reduce or eradicate the apparent inequalities which were mainly racially created during colonial era. An important objective of the land redistribution is to create a new class of upcoming black commercial farmers with the assistance of the government. The government purchases the land or acquires it through the land acquisition for the purpose of righting the imbalances (Collins, 2003).

Market based land reforms have not enabled sufficient land reform to take place. These land reforms in South Africa and Namibia have led to a reliance on current landowners to determine when, where and at what price land is made available for redistribution which was the same issue in Zimbabwe before the chaotic land reform reached its climax in 2000. The African National Congress government has redistributed a fraction of the target set by the World Bank. Less than one (1%) percent of agricultural land was redistributed in the first five years after 1994, as opposed to the thirty percent (30%) intended by the policymakers (Zondi, 1998).

The South African government need be supported by international community, donor organisations, and the private and public sectors in its present policy of approaching the land issue responsibly and realistically. Simply distributing as much land as possible hastily to as many people as possible will create more problems than it will solve as in the case of Zimbabwe. The idea that the mere redistribution of land will carry enormous prosperity in its wake or alleviate poverty significantly has been proved to be a myth. Minister Thoko Didiza repeatedly stresses the need for other stakeholders to contribute to the implementation of the land reform process. “We challenge the private sector, as well as non-governmental organizations (NGOs), to participate, particularly in building the capacity of the claimant communities who are now the new landowners” (Foreword in the Annual Report of the Commission on Restitution of Land Rights”, 2002/3).

The delays involved in the distribution of land are frustrating the landless that had been waiting for quite a long time to receive back their land which was unfairly taken. According to the Deputy Director-General of Land Affairs, Gilingwe Mayende (2001), “To say our land reform process is based on a willing seller- willing buyer clause is actually a fallacy It is based on a proactive land acquisition strategy, which starts with a negotiated process and can culminate with expropriation.” In the same breath South Africa is trodding carefully in its land expropriation, the same with Namibia in the upholding of human rights and the rule of law.

Like any other Southern African state, for example, Zimbabwe and Namibia, South Africa inherited a skewed land ownership, with the black majority crowded on soils which had little to offer agriculturally. ‘The primary focus of land reform in South Africa is

the historically disadvantaged- those who have been denied access to land and have been disinherited of their land rights' (White Paper on South African Land Policy 1998).

The case of the Makuleke community as alluded above, which is adjacent to the Kruger National Park in the Limpopo Province. This community was forcibly removed from their birthright land. In the same breath, the Balobedu people were also removed from their land to pave way for the ZZZ farming giant. The latter produces tomatoes and beef and owns more than forty percent (40%) of the market share, but it offers meager benefits such as poor clinic services and low salaries for the employees who occupy seasonal menial jobs. Lebert (1999) posits that land reform at a national scale can be deduced that it is a failure, but at a local scale, the benefits can be so great and promising to be greater in the future. The view of Lebert (1999) is faced with a lot of criticism especially by Moyo (2000), and Makumbe (2002) who maintains that many farms which were given to their rightful owners are laying fallow and production is on the negative. Such kind of views were criticised by those who argue that time of ownership must be factored in when measuring production. Like in the case of Zimbabwe, Moyo (1995) asserts that the whites had owned the land for more than 110 years which made them to benefit from economies of scale and the acquired experience over the years.

Land reform should not be based on who is productive but it must be based on equal access to land and human rights (Mararike and Moyo, 2000) However, their views were attacked by the economists who maintain that, if land reform is intended to alleviate poverty, then land must be used productively and create the much needed employment, not for residential purposes only. The slow pace at which land reform programme is moving in South Africa is the same as was in Zimbabwe due to the later

discarded willing seller- willing buyer clause which led to the Land Expropriation Act of 1992 in order to increase the pace.

Mararike and Chivaura (2000) posit that, “the willing seller – willing buyer is the unwanted devil in the land reform processes. If Africans want their land back they must not buy something that is theirs by right”. Namibia has also embedded land expropriation in its constitution recently principally because the willing seller willing buyer will never ever bring land to the landless given the exorbitant prices of the land on the market. The views of Mararike and Moyo (2000) conflict with those of the British government and even those of the World Bank (2008). The British government had previously offered to provide money for land reform but latter said they have no money to do such. The latter maintained that land reform must be done through the market, those who want to sell their land at their own time and price will do so through the market, hence, the direct conflicting response from Mayende (2001) who maintains that the government will force those with swathes of land to share with those who were dispossessed of their land.

2.1.9 The church as a land owner

Several churches which have come to own a significant amount of land are already engaged in a process to develop new strategies for the productive use of their land. It has proved to be an extremely difficult task to ascertain the extent of land owned by the various churches throughout South Africa. According to a survey done by Philpott and Zondi (1998), the land owned by churches amounts to 182 958 hectares. However, as

pointed out by them , the data presented is incomplete, and churches could own a significantly larger amount of land (“Church Land: A Strategic Resource in the War against Poverty”, Report compiled by Graham Philpott and Phumani Zondi, Church Land Programme, 1998). Some churches have recently taken some positive initiatives regarding the land they own. Several conversations have taken place between the Department of Agriculture and the different churches in South Africa, concerning the inclusion of appropriate church land as part of the comprehensive land reform programme.

The church owns swathes of land where it has the farms to feed the desperate and homeless people. A good example is the Methodist church in Johannesburg which caters for the homeless and refugees especially from Somalia and Zimbabwe. As the church engages in the struggle to combat poverty it needs to make all its resources available. “This will include the church’s spirituality that will enable us to perceive the spiritual crisis of our time, and introduce a morality affirming all human life and dignity” (Philpott & Zondi 1998).The land owned by churches in South Africa will also be a necessary and strategic resource as the church join hands with other role players in working towards the ‘eradication’ of poverty.

The market driven approach to land reform has been criticized from both sides of the political spectrum. The high costs of land on the open market and the quality of land led to the government of Zimbabwe to resort to land expropriation and making a law in 1992. While activists condemn market driven approaches as being costly, slow and ultimately incapable of achieving the redistribution aims of land reform. Normally whites who own large tracts of land were vehemently opposed to land redistribution in

Zimbabwe and even in the Southern African countries like South Africa and Namibia, notwithstanding the benevolence in 1999 of a Gauteng land owner Roger Roman who offered his land to a number of resident black families, calling it a 'moral and pragmatic response' or KwaZulu Natal farmer Robin Folwer who facilitated his workers' eventual ownership of their village (Deborah 2007). Expropriation and nationalization of land has both been potentially disruptive to the economy and problematic in that it might lead to prolonged legal battles (Weidman 2003). Nationalisation of key resources in South Africa is a single step away.

2.1.10 The role played by the church in the land reform programme in South Africa

The church in South Africa is concerned with the land reform issue for at least four reasons; which are the history of landownership in South Africa as well as the land reform programme of the government has an ethical, moral aspect, about which the church, as in similar matters, ought to have a responsible view. In addition, the church has a reconciling role to play, given the high conflict potential of the redistribution of land. Thousands of its members, whether they are farmers or residents of rural areas, are directly influenced by land redistribution (Zondi, 1998).

2.2. Background of the land problem in Zimbabwe

When the white people arrived in Dzimbabwe (stone houses) now Zimbabwe, in 1890, land was owned communally with the Chief having all the powers over the land and the

occupants too. The grand objective of the whites led by Cecil John Rhodes in arriving in Zimbabwe (which became Rhodesia, named after Rhodes, and today Zimbabwe) was to look for gold deposits but when their adventure proved fruitless, they turned to agriculture. The whites began to parcel out land that is, expropriating it from the black majority and appropriating it to the white minority (Stoneman and Cliffe, 1989).

Prior to the coming of the whites in 1890, the Ndebele people were a threat to the Shona people (inter-conflict). The cattle, grain, and beautiful daughters of the Shona tribe were taken captive by the Ndebele people. Given this scenario, the Shona people received the whites as a source of protection from the threat of the Ndebele raids. As time went by, in 1896/97, the Shona people realized that they were losing grip over their land to the whites, hence the uprising. The conflict moved from ethnic to race struggles for land. The issue which sparked fire as in 1893 was the issue of land. The conflict was centred on land and its control. In other words, the conflict over land was there even before the colonial era. The Shona people themselves had conflicts over the control of the land and its produce (intra-conflict) (Yeros, 2002, Boudillon, 1989). The gender struggles (conflicts between men and women) were also there but at varying levels as to those of Ndebele and Shona, and minority White and majority Black.

Given the views above, in 1893, the Ndebele people rose against the whites, the core of the conflict was land control. The blacks were defeated and it resulted in much of the black land and cattle taken away. This uprising resulted in the death of Mzilikazi who was the leader of the Ndebele tribe. After three years, in 1896/1897 the uprising erupted again which became known as 'The First Chimurenga' (a fierce fight for land). This time the Shona and the Ndebele fought alongside against the white minority; the

war was very bloody, and still the blacks were defeated. Much land was taken and more cattle were looted.

2.2.1 The enactments of acts by the colonial regime

In 1930, the Land Apportionment Act, (1) was passed which saw the black people removed again from their land to soils which were very skeletal and very marginal. In these areas, the climate was forbidding or allowed agriculture at a limited scale. This led to the creation of the Gwayi and Shangaan reserves specifically for black people. The land which was forcibly acquired had no workers, so the forced labour wave hit on the black communities, men were forced to work very hard and long hours for no payment at all or for meager rewards which is known as *Chibharo* (forced labour). Besides the forced labour issue the colonial masters introduced a tax law where every man has to pay tax. This also forced men to surrender themselves for *Chibharo*. Failure to pay the tax, the sentence was a severe jail term followed by *Chibharo*. This scenario created two classes, the 'working' and landless poor proletariat and the owners of the means of production rich bourgeoisie. This scenario is what Marx called exploitation in his conflict theory.

In 1956, another Act was passed, that is, the Animal Husbandry Act (2) which was meant to limit the number of animals that can be reared by a household and exceeding that number was an offence. The perpetual exploitation of the black people created a fissure for the formation of liberation movements in Africa, for example, the African

National Congress in South Africa (being the oldest), Zanu and Zapu also followed in Rhodesia, which became Zimbabwe in 1980.

The war of liberation is said to have been fought specifically to regain land which was forcibly taken from the black majority, which is commonly known as, 'The second Chimurenga'. The war lasted for more than a decade, which pulled the whole debate to 1979 where the opposing forces (the Smith regime and the Zanu and Zapu parties) called for a ceasefire. The 1979 negotiations gave birth to the agreement known as The Lancaster House Agreement where the British government promised to provide some money for buying land from the white farmers. The agreement spelt that the land would be acquired through the willing seller- willing buyer clause as to be explained in detail.

Right from the start, the aim of the Zimbabwean government through land reform was linked to economic growth and poverty alleviation. Nyika (1996) quoted the then Prime Minister of Zimbabwe, Robert Mugabe saying, 'The purpose of land reform programme is to provide the poor with land for residential and productive purposes in order to improve their livelihoods' which were also the words of former president Thabo Mbeki that the purpose of land reform is to redress the social inequalities created by history. The view of Mugabe is supported by Smith (2000) who postulated that the alienation of black people from their land impacted negatively on their livelihoods and does have far reaching consequences. With this in mind it was necessary to give back land to the landless. For many black people the discriminatory laws of colonial regimes restricted and controlled their access to economic opportunities which Mararike (2000) and Chavunduka (1982) believes that restriction intensified the conflict between the whites and the black people.

The Theological Commission (1998 in Smith (2000) posits that, 'It is widely accepted that land dispossession over many decades contributed to the situation of many people caught up in a cycle of poverty and powerlessness, and that the legacy of discriminatory laws and forced removals has still a negative impact on the living conditions of the majority of black people.

Since biblical times, the land and its accumulation by the few at the expense of the majority has created inequities and discontent, political and social instability. In the Old Testament, the book of Leviticus describes the year of jubilee occurring every fifty years, when accumulations of land were relinquished and distributed to those who had none. The problem of landlessness and near- landless and its relationship to poverty alleviation is not a new phenomenon faced by leaders today. The conflicts over land are as ancient as the beginning of the world which can be evidenced with what also happened between Lot and his uncle Abram in the Bible in Genesis chapter thirteen.

2.2.2 The need for land reform

At a conference on land reform held in 1998 in Harare, Zimbabwe, forty eight (48) countries and international organizations from the donor community unanimously endorsed the need for land reform as being very 'essential' for poverty reduction', economic growth and political stability. Elich (1998) asserted that, 'the intent of land reform in Zimbabwe is not only to redress the injustices of colonial theft, but also to reduce widespread poverty and raise the standard of living, not only for the resettled farmers, but also for the society as a whole.'

Hall and Mengistu (2002) quoted the statement by Nkomo (the then vice president of Zimbabwe) in 1989, 'I do not think we are being unreasonable if we say to you commercial farmers (White farmers), who own the best and the bulk of Zimbabwe's land because of history, should share part of it with the indigenous, displaced and landless blacks who are the majority'. This was a clear warning of land invasions which white commercial farmers did not take seriously. The same warning came from the President of Zimbabwe (Robert Mugabe) in 1997 at the failed to materialize donor conference in 1998.

Moyo (1995), Makumbe (2003), and Hall (2001) posit that there is a wide consensus about the need for reforming tenure systems and relations in order to reduce rural poverty and hunger in developing countries; this is agreed locally, nationally and internationally, however, what differs are the approaches to land reform which different authors propose. In many developing countries, the vast majority of the population consists of near landless, the landless and rural farm workers. Moyo (1995) maintains that land reform is the sole medicine to the cure of poverty. This is not always the case since other authors like Marongwe (2003) argued that land reform is only but a fraction of a package in the alleviation of poverty. Land reform alone can achieve little if not supported by other sectors in achieving the goal of poverty alleviation. Marongwe, Chaumba, and Wolmer (2003) and Makumbe (2000) argue that land reform alone can do very little in solving chronic and abject poverty developing economies are faced with.

The land reform in Zimbabwe officially began in 1979 with the signing of the Lancaster House Agreement, which was an effort to more equitably redistribute land between the historically disenfranchised blacks and the minority- whites who ruled the then Rhodesia

now Zimbabwe from 1890 to 1979. The government's land redistribution is perhaps the most crucial and the most bitterly contested political issue surrounding Zimbabwe today (Moyo, 1995).

Moyo (2001) argues that the most common political objective of land reform is to abolish feudal or colonial forms of land ownership, often by taking land away from large landowners and distributing it to the landless peasants. He describes land reform as a deliberate change in the way agricultural land is held or owned. Such transfer of ownership may be with or without consent or compensation.

Moyo (1995) asserts that, 'the primary focus of land reform is the historically disadvantaged- those who have been denied access to land and have been disinherited of their land rights' but it must be done with respect of property and human rights though very difficult under such circumstances. The major aim of land reform is to make a significant contribution to the alleviation of poverty and social and economic injustices caused by the past colonial regimes' policies in both rural and urban areas. Moyo (1995) and Smith (2000) are supported by Marongwe (2003) who further argues that landlessness breeds poverty, poverty breeds disease and squalor, and that disease leads to death. This means that the need for redressing the social and economic injustices should be taken as a priority and as a matter of urgency for most developing economies.

2.3 The Zimbabwe settlement models

Prior to the perceived as chaotic and most disputed land reform, soon after independence in 1980, Zimbabwe had a record of successful resettlement schemes/ programmes which resulted in the increase in production (commercial agriculture was operating alongside small-scale agriculture) improvement of livelihoods especially nutrition. In a way the big commercial farms were assisting the small scale farmers with technical advice and inputs (Moyo, 1990). There is no single story of land reform in Zimbabwe: the story is mixed - by region, by type of scheme, by settler. In Masvingo province, 1.2 million hectares have been redistributed to around 20,000 households who are mainly subsistent farmers. Across these there is much variation. The models were four in number which are:

2.3.1. The family intensive settlement farming model (Model A)

Lebert (2003) points out that in this model, beneficiaries receive cropping land (5 Ha) as well as access to communal grazing land (of 1Ha or equivalent depending on the agro-ecological region). Land was acquired by the state (usually in the form of large commercial estates) with plots being redistributed to beneficiaries. Tenure (on the part of beneficiaries) was in the form of three annual permits – one for settlement, one for cultivation, and one for grazing. A final point is that settlers (beneficiaries) had to give up their rights to land in the trust/communal areas they came from. The bulk of land reform over eighty percent (80%) in the 1980's and 1990's took place through this model.

The majority of the small scale farmers, more than eighty percent (80%) were settled under this model. De Villiers (1996) asserts that 5 hectares were allocated to a household for crop production and an additional 1 hectare for the homestead. Grazing lands were owned communally and a number of 5 to 20 beasts were allowed. Settlers do not receive title deeds as in the case of Namibia, instead they received permits. De Villiers (1996) asserts that the government allocated land, and model A was the most successful model applied in Zimbabwe's land reform. Marx's theory of the state supports the views above since Marx believed that the state should lead in all programmes. At a national scale the approach is correct but at local scale, beneficiaries are sidelined which leads to the failure of most land reform programmes. Farmers could sell their produce which improved their capital base.

2.3.2. The village settlement with cooperative farming model (Model B)

Model B was designed to take over existing large commercial farms, with farm production then being cooperatively organised (with decision-making through committee). Credit would be accessed by the cooperative, and income allocated either to individual families or allocated for farm development. Approximately 50 of these cooperative schemes were set up, although many subsequently folded.

The government under this model issued a single permit to a group of people/families ranging from 15 to 25 to carry out the activities which were carried out in the commercial farming unit. Given the large number of families, many people were unwilling to participate and cooperate in commercial farming ventures. Bearing in mind the tug of

war in the cooperative setup, conflicts were rampant among the farmers. Power struggles forced the success to be at minimal; some members withdrew while others spent a lot of time sitting in (De Villiers 1996).

2.3.3. Out growers Farmers Model (Model C)

This model, which was not extensively implemented, involved the intensive resettlement of beneficiaries around a core estate. The estate provided settlers with certain services, and settlers in turn provide labour for the estate. Cropping land within this scheme was allocated on an individual basis, with settlers also gaining access to grazing land, which is managed communally. A professional farm manager manages the core estate. This model was not extensively implemented.

Chiunye (2000) asserts that these farmers obtain leases and support services from the estate. It is linked to an existing commercial estate, in other words, they produce the same crop as the big commercial farmers/estate. The estate will buy the produce from these small scale farmers. The crops which are normally produced in this kind of setup are tobacco, sugar-cane and tea.

2.3.4. Schemes for group livestock grazing model (Model D)

Under Model D (which was implemented in the arid south of Zimbabwe), commercial ranches were purchased next to communal land. Livestock was then purchased from these neighbouring trust areas and allowed to fatten on the ranch before being sold.

The thinking was that this would enable communal farmers to reduce grazing pressure on communal lands. This model was not extensively implemented.

This model provides schemes for group livestock grazing by using the state land for providing relief grazing to surrounding villages in the communal villages in the communal areas. The limitations to this model were the quality of land which degraded due to overgrazing and soil infertility. Chiunye (2000) maintains that the increased number of animals sky-rocketed the pressure on the land. The other draw back was the animal diseases like anthrax, foot and mouth which claimed many herds within a short time. Management problems led to the downfall of many schemes in most African economies, Zimbabwe is not an exception.

Agriculture is the backbone of Zimbabwe's economy inasmuch as Zimbabweans remain largely a rural people who derive their livelihood from agriculture and other related rural economic activities. It provides employment and income for sixty to seventy percent (60-70%) of the population, supplies sixty percent (60%) of the raw materials required by the industrial sector and contributes forty percent (40%) of total export earnings. Despite the high level of employment in the sector, it directly contributes only fifteen to nineteen percent (15-19%) to annual GDP, depending on the rainfall pattern (Government of Zimbabwe, 1995), and this is a statistic that understates the true importance and dominance of the agricultural industry. It is generally accepted that when agriculture performs poorly, the rest of the economy suffers.

Zimbabwe has a total land area of over 39 million hectares, of which 33.3 million hectares are used for agricultural purposes. The remaining 6 million hectares have

been reserved for national parks and wildlife, and for urban settlements. The distinguishing characteristic of Zimbabwe agriculture is its dualism, that is, the existence of two major subgroups based on the size of landholdings. The larger group is unsophisticated and comprises about 7.1 million smallholder and communal farmers occupying a total of 21 million hectares. In general, communal and smallholder farmers occupy areas of lower natural potential for agriculture in terms of rainfall, soils and water for irrigation. In addition, these areas are of lower economic potential because of the distances from markets and poor communication and social infrastructure. Until recently, the other group comprised about 4 000 large-scale farmers with very sophisticated production systems and occupies about 11 million hectares of land, primarily located in the areas of high agricultural and economic potential.

Communal and commercial farmers are also distinguished by the fact that the former produce mainly for own consumption, and the latter produce mainly for commerce. The main agricultural products produced by communal farmers are maize (the staple food), groundnuts, other grains, beans, vegetables, meat, milk and fuel wood. Commercial farmers concentrate on cash crops such as tobacco, horticultural products, particularly cut flowers, coffee, maize, groundnuts, sorghum, soya beans, sunflowers, and cattle for slaughter, pigs, goats and sheep. Zimbabwe's principal agricultural exports in descending order include tobacco (sixty percent of total agricultural production), cotton lint (about 10 percent), raw sugar (nine percent), tea and coffee, horticultural products and maize (in non-drought years). Imports of agricultural products are limited mainly to wheat and maize in drought years.

2.4 Land Reform in Zimbabwe

The land reform in Zimbabwe has two phases which are differentiated by timeframes and the experiences through which land was acquired and distributed among the *'landless.'*

2.4.1. Phase one land reform in Zimbabwe

Phase one of the land reform in Zimbabwe was characterized by the willing seller willing buyer where those with land brought it on the market at their own will and at their own price. On the other hand, the government was the potential buyer so that it can resettle its own people as per promise during the war of liberation. The willing seller willing buyer was in operation for ten years. It became a total failure due to lack of finance, and also the land on the market was skeletal and in very arid nether areas of the country.

By 1990 the willing seller - willing buyer clause of the Lancaster House Agreement expired and the Mugabe regime amended the constitution to allow the compulsory acquisition of white owned land. The 1992 Land Acquisition Act (2) which was different from that of the colonial regime provided the government with additional resettlement tools, including the removal of full market price restrictions, limiting the size of farms and introducing a land tax, though the tax was never implemented. Despite the attempts above by the Zimbabwean government, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB) insisted that any land acquired for the land reform programme had to be purchased at full market prices. The Zimbabwean government simply did not have

money for this instead the compulsory acquisition was effected. The Zimbabwean situation was not unique; the same is also crippling the effective land reform in Namibia and South Africa today.

During the period 1990-1997, land distributions were slow in Zimbabwe and Britain accused the Mugabe regime of giving land to its political cronies, instead of the poor landless. Moyo (1995) posits that less than one million hectares (2, 47 million acres) were acquired and less than 20 000 families were resettled during that time. Much of the land acquired during what has become known as 'phase one' or of the land reform programme in Zimbabwe was of very poor quality according to a survey by the Human Rights Watch. Only 19 percent of the almost 3.5 million hectares (8.65 million acres) of resettled land was considered prime.

Land reform as understood by the Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations in 2009 embraces a set of measures which combine effective and planned changes in the land tenure system as an indispensable core with the accompanying rural institutions and service structures necessary to make the whole package a success (Johnson 1980).

After political independence, the Zimbabwe government has undertaken a creditable measure of land redistribution but has yet to achieve a thorough land reform (Bratton in Prosterman (1990) while the first decade of the programme saw significant area of land redistributed to a fair number of people (more than 3 million hectares to over 50 000 households) and impressive levels of agricultural production were achieved by some settlers, there have also been a number of problems (Cousins and Robbins 1993). To

date, the land redistribution programme has fallen short of the transformation of property rights and agricultural production structures due to lack of finances and also a poor health facility. The phase one of the land reform in Zimbabwe has the following characteristics:

2.4.1.2. The willing-seller-willing buyer clause

The willing seller- willing buyer clause laid out in the Lancaster House Constitutional Agreement of 1979 is identified by most analysts (Kinsey 1983; Stoneman and Cliffe 1989; Zinyama 1992; Moyo 1993), as the critical factor that stifled the pace of resettlement in Zimbabwe, and other countries like South Africa and Namibia. Indeed, the government of Zimbabwe often cited this clause as the key culprit prior to its repeal in 1990. For example, leading to the 1995 presidential elections Mugabe sought to remind the electorate when he stated: 'The whites grabbed the land from us. However, we chose to buy this land after independence. Whether the money is there or not, it is time we had the land to resettle the landless people. We cannot go on like this. The white farmers must get this message clearly' (Nyika 1996). The willing seller – willing buyer clause was imposed on Zimbabwe as a way of denying the poor landless access to land because they would not have money to purchase the land with the inflated price.

2.4.1.3. Money and the purchasing of land

According to Moyo (2000) the market driven land reform process limited the potential poverty reduction gains in Zimbabwe in a number of ways. The mechanisms of land transfer, including land acquisition, land prices and the quality of land redistributed, limited the scale of access to land by new beneficiaries, while land concentration persisted. The agricultural support system under the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) policy framework limited the benefits of resettlement and of communal farming in general, while raising the urban demand for unavailable land. Even those smallholders with land realised limited productivity and income gains.

The scarcity of the money to buy the land is the biggest challenge most developing governments are facing today. The slow pace in achieving the desired land reform programme in most developing economies, the constraining factor is money. The use of revenue from these governments (Zimbabwe, Namibia, and South Africa) with a limited tax base for the purchase of land has remained an important source of contention in the region. The violent methods being employed in Zimbabwe are widely contested but on the other hand land invasions were more of an alarm to the whole world that the market-assisted land reform has failed the majority land poor. Hall (2001) asserts that the struggles over land in Southern Africa are not restricted to the Mugabe regime alone, but the struggles are likely to continue unless and until substantial redistribution of land to the poor and landless is achieved. Alternative non-market measures by the state- such as land taxes, expropriation and the right of first refusal in land sales can assist in making land available for redistribution as practiced in Namibia and South Africa.

A critical issue here is that the clause secured a voluntary nature of land transaction between the selling farmer and the buying government. Furthermore, the selling farmer was entitled to be compensated with scarce foreign currency, if conditions warranted, but the sad part of this clause was that over seventy percent (70%) of the land acquired through the market-assisted land reform was agro- ecologically marginal. In purely quantitative terms, the government of Zimbabwe made some impressive accomplishments in its first years of independence. According to Moyo (1995), within a short period of time the government of Zimbabwe purchased about nineteen percent (19%) of the commercial farmland, a favourable comparison with the ten percent (10%) purchased by the Kenyan government after thirty (30) years of independence, thirteen percent (13%) by the South African government over fifteen (15) years of democracy.

Namibia, South Africa and the country in question, Zimbabwe, all faced and are still facing financial woes and bureaucratic predicaments with regards to redressing the colonial injustices with the exception of Zimbabwe which took the 'chaotic controversial path' to land reform. The land issue lies at the heart of economic performance of Zimbabwe both in the past and in the future. Marongwe (2003) asserts that for centuries, landownership has been at the centre of all struggles, revolutions, power and control of the country in both political and economic terms.

The willing seller-willing buyer of the Lancaster House Agreement of 1979 was in place at independence, that is, 1980. There was an uneven distribution of land and water, to the detriment of smallholders. Policy measures were required in order to correct this anomaly. However, there was a stumbling block in the form of the Lancaster House Agreement of 1979, which required that all land be acquired on a "willing buyer willing

seller” basis and that compensation for any land seized was to be denominated in foreign currency.

Skalness and Moyo (1990) argued that, in the Lancaster House Agreement, the British government committed itself to paying half the cost of land resettlement; it stipulated that if land were seized, British funding would be withheld. Thus to some degree, this threat was a sufficient deterrent against rush land nationalisation. This condition of the willing seller- willing buyer benefited the rich white in acquiring more land at the expense of the majority poor black.

The market has proved to be biased towards low quality land. This is evidenced by the United Kingdom’s desire to perpetuate the willing seller-willing buyer clause beyond 1990 which benefit the whites to stay on agro-ecologically favourable soils and climate, but however, this was not tenable from the viewpoint of the Zimbabwean government which was under intensive pressure from the War Veterans Association and the landless majority who had started to encroach on the farms especially the Svosve community on the central eastern part of Zimbabwe.

Clare Short (The Secretary of the new Labour government in 1997) wrote an open letter to the then Zimbabwe minister of agriculture, Kumbirai Kangai, in 1997 in which she said that the United Kingdom did not accept that Britain had a special responsibility to meet the costs of land purchase in Zimbabwe. Notwithstanding the commitments of the Lancaster House Agreement, Short stated that her government was only prepared to support a programme of land reform that was part of a poverty alleviation strategy. The Zimbabwean government and the British government differed on the approach of land

redistribution; the former was calling for land acquisition while the latter believes in the dragging of feet through the market assisted distribution.

Zimbabwe had all its hopes pinned on the Lancaster House Agreement for the provision of money to finance the land redistribution through the willing seller-willing buyer clause. Palmer (1990) posits that the Zimbabwean government effectively tied its hands in relation to agrarian transformation, the willing seller-willing buyer was not going to redress any inequality instead it was going to make issues worse through the dragging of feet. However, the change of British government in 1997 impacted negatively on previous agreements, that is, the Lancaster House Agreement, which crippled the market-led approach to land reform. The Conservative government was replaced by the Labour Party in 1997 which openly said it has no historical responsibility for Zimbabwe land redistribution, based on the grounds that the Labour Party was not of land owning or settler stock, hence the statement below was made by the Labour Party to the ruling Zanu PF government:

“I should make it clear that we do not accept that Britain has a special responsibility to meet the costs of land purchase in Zimbabwe. We are a new government from diverse backgrounds without links to former colonial interests. My own origin is Irish and, as you know, we were colonized, not colonizers. We do, however, recognize the very real issues you face over land reform. We believe that land reform could be an important component of a Zimbabwean programme designed to eliminate poverty. We would be prepared to support a programme of land reform that was part of a poverty eradication strategy but not on any other basis.”

Palmer (1990) argues that the British government has taken such an intimate interest in the land question and whose financial support for the resettlement programme is crucial. It appears determined that, by perpetuating the spirit of the Lancaster House Constitution, it will ensure that the feeble flame of socialism still flickering in Zimbabwe in 1990 would be snuffed out. In other words, it seemed likely that peasants would wait much longer for land reform as long as there is no land available on the market.

Donor support for this programme was poor, and disbursements were relatively small. As a result, land became costly, and since it was purchased under the “willing-seller willing-buyer” rule, it was available mainly in marginal production areas and on an *ad hoc* basis. Moyo (1995) posits that the market mechanisms for land transfer limited the redistributive efforts in various ways. First, landowners led the identification and supply of land available for resettlement, while central government was a reactive buyer choosing land on offer (Moyo, 1995). Until 1996, the amount, quality, location and cost of land acquired for redistribution was driven by landholders rather than the state or the beneficiaries in accordance with their needs and demands. The lowest quality land was offered on the market. Marongwe (2003) argues that land prices grew dramatically throughout the period, spurred also by the growth of demand for land by the growing black elite. Despite the passing of an act in 1985 of the Land Acquisition Act, which gave the government the first option to purchase land that was put on the market, it did not redress the problem of the lack of large blocks of land where planned resettlement would be more feasible.

2.4.1.4. The increased need for land and the market assisted land reform

Since 1998, the land issue has become the most important factor in the agricultural performance of Zimbabwe. This was triggered by a number of both subjective and objective factors. The objective factors include the needs to redress the unequal distribution of land resulting from colonialism and to enhance production potential of communal farmers. The immediate objective of the current land reform is not increased productivity but transfer of landownership which is social justice. As such, success of land reform is, according to its proponents, measured in terms of transfer of ownership in the short term, while increased production is a long-term objective.

This way of acquiring land is practiced in many developing economies as a way of trying to reverse the social and economic injustices which were created by the colonial regimes the world over and Zimbabwe in particular. Under this form of practice, the farm owners as they wish bring their farms on the market, the value is market fixed, and the willing buyer must meet all the costs despite how inflated the price might be. This is what is happening in Namibia and South Africa. The government is usually the biggest buyer with the quest for resettling the landless peasants but the pace is frustratingly slow. Developing economies are usually crippled financially, which leads to a very slow pace of land redistribution.

Such kind of procrastinations normally frustrate the landless people who can revolt through land invasions as happened in Zimbabwe and some parts of South Africa like KwaZulu Natal and Cape Town. Ghimire (2001) posits that, 'there is no sweeping land redistributive measures capable of redressing rural inequality is feasible through the

market mechanism as currently called for by major bi/multilateral development agencies. This approach treats land as merely a commodity, while above all it is a social institution.’ To the majority of the rural poor, land is not only the main source of survival, but also a way of living and maintaining dignity.

2.4.1.5. Peasants; market and the government

It is unlikely that there would ever be sufficient land in the market on a voluntary ‘willing seller-willing buyer basis’ for the majority of the land-aspiring rural poor to gain access to it. Indeed, land markets are highly unfavourable to the poor principally because they do not have collateral, while further opening up economic opportunities for speculators to grab more land for business opportunities while there are those who need land for a mere survival. This is happening wherever a willing seller-willing buyer clause is in operation. Countries like South Africa and Namibia are also good examples of victims of the willing seller-willing buyer system.

It is widely believed that even where the people have been able to acquire land through the market assisted approach mechanisms, for most it has been very difficult to obtain the necessary agricultural inputs and services. Market assisted land reform programmes are launched in tandem with economic adjustment programmes that mean cuts in agricultural subsidies, and in any case poor peasants and the landless are the least favoured groups for credit by formal lending institutions. Ghimire (2001) asserts that, ‘It is true that increased emphasis on the market mechanism has allowed some governments to evade more radical land reform measures, while rural inequalities and poverty are even more visible.’ The Namibian government and the South African

government are more than 80 percent using this market assisted land reform approach, and very little equitable land access had been achieved.

The state has to play a very significant role in delivering land to the people. The state was purchasing land from willing sellers as per Lancaster Agreement. The government made land available to the people selected mainly by its district officials under the direct supervision of the central government officials. This period was unable to redistribute land on any significant scale. Palmer (1990) Zimbabwe tied its own hands through the willing seller -willing buyer clause, the same applies to Namibia and South Africa. In the case of Zimbabwe, the state centred, market-based approach, and compulsory acquisition of land has achieved access to land as shown by the results below according to Moyo (2001) as from 1980 -1999:

Table 1: Land acquired from 1980-1999

| Period | Land acquired (ha) | Annual average |
|---|--------------------|----------------|
| Constitutional constraints 1980-1984 | 2,147,855 | 429,571 |
| Land Acquisition Act 1985 1985-1990 | 447,791 | 74,632 |
| Land Acquisition Act 1992 1992-1997 | 789,645 | 157,929 |
| 1998-end 1999 | 228,839 | 76,279 |
| Total (20 years) | 3,614,130 | 190,217 |

Source **Moyo (2001)**

More land was acquired through what most scholars call the most controversial land reform in the world in the year 2000.

Table 2 below shows the land acquired from 2000 to 2010.

Changes in the national distribution of land from 2000- 2010

| Land category | 2000 | 2010 |
|---------------------------------------|------------------|------------------|
| | Area(million ha) | Area(million ha) |
| Communal areas | 16.4 | 16.4 |
| Old resettlement | 3.5 | 3.5 |
| New resettlement A1 | 0.0 | 4.1 |
| New resettlement A2 | 0.0 | 3.5 |
| Small-scale commercial farms | 1.4 | 1.4 |
| Large scale commercial farms | 11.7 | 3.4 |
| State farms | 0.7 | 0.7 |
| Urban land | 0.3 | 0.3 |
| National parks and forest land | 5.1 | 5.1 |
| Unallocated land | 0.0 | 0.7 |

Source: Derived from various government sources and compiled by the African Institute of Agrarian studies (Ghimire, 2001).

Ghimire (2001) argues that betting on the market mechanism to rectify rural inequality and landlessness in a preconceived manner (without critical inquiry and reflection) is

neither realistic nor benefitting to a vast number of increasingly impoverished rural poor in the developing world.

Cognizance was taken of some land reform experiences in other countries in the world in order to better appreciate the Zimbabwean experiences. Southern African economies have highly uneven access to multilateral and bilateral funding for land reform. Lack of sufficient finance was cited as a key obstacle in Namibia and Zimbabwe, while in South Africa, institutional weaknesses have prevented the Department of Land Affairs from spending its budget and it has even return donor funding that it was not able to use.

The table below according to Jazairy (1992) tries to show the degree of landless people, of which most are found in the developing economies and among the poorest of the poor.

Table 3: Landless people in the developing world

| Country | Number of landless people |
|-------------------------|----------------------------------|
| India | 180 million |
| Pakistan | 24 million |
| Philippines | 12 million |
| Brazil | 8 million |
| 64 developing countries | Over 324 million |

Source: Jazairy (1992)

In Asia, thirty seven percent (37%) and thirty six percent (36%) of the rural households in the Philippines and Indonesia are totally landless. In Africa, there exists a conspicuous land inequality in South Africa and Namibia due to oppressive colonial legacies. In Egypt 29 percent of the rural population is totally landless, while in Morocco 33 percent (FAO 1987). The problem is even more acute when the near-landless population is considered, for example, in Kenya and Lesotho, nearly one third of the rural households cultivate less than 1 hectare (FAO 1987). Even though the original sources and the validity of some of these figures are questionable, the general magnitude of landlessness and near-landlessness is quite apparent. This kind of set-up threatens food security of many rural households.

2.4.2. Phase two of the land reform

This phase is most marked by the abandonment of the willing seller-willing buyer clause which was crafted in 1979 at the Lancaster House Conference. In 1992 the government of Zimbabwe formulated The Compulsory Land Acquisition Act (2) which gave it powers to compulsorily acquire land *'for the majority poor'*. Phase Two of the land reform programme was also epitomized by the reluctance of donors to fund the programme of land reform in Zimbabwe in 1998 September Donors' Conference and the rejection of the constitutional referendum in February 2000 when the government proposed to compulsorily acquire land without compensation. This phase was the most radical and it was characterised by a lot of compulsory acquisitions, evictions and without any compensation.

Market- based reform was the most problematic in most developing countries in particular Zimbabwe for the last two decades since 1980 to 2000. In Zimbabwe, phase one of the land reform programme failed due to the willing seller- willing buyer clause enshrined in the Lancaster House Agreement, and corruption and class interests which saw the bulk of the acquired farms going to party stalwarts and chiefs in government (Lebert, 2001). The negative publicity has largely clouded the real situation and obscured important and valid grievances- primarily the unresolved land issue that underpins much of the structural inequality characteristic of the country; and, in fact, the broader region.

2.4.2.1. The lapse of the 10 year period (1980-1990)

The period 1980-1990 was the unique turning point in Zimbabwe's land reform programme which was much characterized by the change of approach to the land reform programme in Zimbabwe, and much attention was attracted the world over. The government wanted to acquire specific blocks of land in favourable ecological regions by means of compulsory acquisition, that is, with or without money, and with or without compensation (Nyika, 1996:18, quoting Robert Mugabe). Following intensive lobbying by the Commercial Farmers Union of Zimbabwe, the United Kingdom wanted to largely restrict resettlement to less arable agro ecological regions as alluded to above, and areas adjacent to existing communal areas, but their efforts were fruitless as the general masses had started to encroach on the *private* land *illegally* especially in the Svosve commercial farm in the eastern part of Zimbabwe.

2.4.2.2. Compulsory land acquisition

The government saw it fit to introduce a backup to the willing seller-willing buyer failing clause, that is, compulsory acquisition with or without compensation, but at first it was not easy due to legal maneuverings and litigation on the part of large landholders. A true reflection that the willing seller-willing buyer clause is a failure when it comes to land redistribution is revealed through the people encroaching onto private property like in the case of KwaZulu Natal and Cape Town in South Africa. In Zimbabwe, villagers resorted to vigorous protests and land invasions. Lebert in Hall and Mengistu (2002) postulates that, 'the villagers in Svosve communal area in June 1998 occupied Igava Farm vowing to stay on until the government had made a written undertaking to resettle them'. In September 1998 (9-11) at a Donor Conference, the president of Zimbabwe (Robert Mugabe) was quoted saying, 'If we delay in resolving the land needs of our people, they will resettle themselves. It has happened before and it can happen again'. This was not a self-fulfilling prophecy but a description of reality.

Much evidence can be seen in Zimbabwe's compulsory land acquisition statistics. The land to be acquired in this way - comprising 1503 mainly white-owned commercial farms was categorised into derelict or under-used land, land owned by absentee landlords (including members of the British House of Lords), land owned by farmers with more than one property, and land contiguous with communal areas. The government was obviously trying to find a formula that would create the least hostility with the white commercial farmers and their business backers, while still carrying through the necessary land reform as shown below.

Table 4: Land acquired through compulsory land acquisition

| Period | Farms identified | Orders served | Farms acquired |
|--------|------------------|---------------|----------------|
| 1993 | 30 | 10 | 10 |
| 1995 | 100 | 100 | 16 |
| 1997 | 1,471 | 841 | 109 |
| 2000 | 2, 041 | - | 2, 041 |
| 2004 | 640 | - | 640 |
| 2008 | 508 | 10 | 508 |
| Total | 4790 | 961 | 3325 |

(Moyo, 2006; and Scoones, 2010).

The scale and pace of compulsory acquisition (either with market-based compensation for improvements, or compensation for improvements only) has been mixed. Attempts at compulsory acquisition by the state, however, were fairly widespread throughout the 1990s. The recent shift in Zimbabwe towards a more compulsory land acquisition framework is in response to the failures and weaknesses of the market mechanism, the pressure from the landless majority was enough to push the Zimbabwean government to embark on the compulsory acquisition. This is different from the settlement models of Zimbabwe principally because settlement models were not associated with compulsory land acquisition. The settlement models also came before the expiry of the willing seller willing buyer clause. Phase two land acquisition is still going on with the few remaining white farmers losing their land, but the acquisition rate is slow as compared to the period between 2000 and 2007. The compulsory acquisition of land and the fast track land reform gave rise to much of subsistence- peasant agriculture in the country.

2.5 Subsistence Agriculture

Subsistence agriculture became widespread given the fact that land was distributed to the peasant farmers who are subsistence in nature. Subsistence grain growing agriculture (predominantly maize, rapoko, sorghum) first emerged during the Neolithic Revolution when humans began to settle in the Nile, about 10,000 years ago, at the end of the last Ice Age. Egypt during the Commercial agriculture concentrated on cash produces like tobacco, tea, horticultural products, cattle for slaughter and sheep. It was the dominant mode of production in the world till the 1950s when market-based capitalism became widespread after the Second World War Two which called for specialized development.

A larger portion of the population of rural Zimbabwe has come to rely on subsistence agriculture for survival. Subsistence agriculture is also known as sedentary agriculture where the farmers rear animals and grow crops (mixed agriculture) on the same piece of land. These farmers make efforts in maintaining fertility of their land. Subsistence agriculture is meant for survival of the immediate people who are directly involved in the process of farming. This distinguishes subsistence agriculture from commercial agriculture. Subsistence agriculture is self-sufficiency farming in which farmers focus on growing enough food to feed their families. The typical subsistence farm has a range of crops and animals needed by the family to eat and for draught power during the year. Planting decisions are made with an eye toward what the family will need during the coming year, rather than market prices. According to Waters (1993) "Subsistence peasants are people who grow what they eat, build their own houses, and live without regularly making purchases in the marketplace."

Basically, the world is divided into two forms of agriculture, which is, commercial agricultural sector and a traditional, mainly subsistence sector. Overgrazing of land under the subsistence sector is resulting in less palatable plant species becoming established especially in Namibia and Lesotho. On the so-called A1 schemes (smallholder farming), where there is low capital investment and a reliance on local labour and natural environment especially rainfall, settlers have done reasonably well, particularly in the wetter parts of the province.

Households have cleared land, planted crops and invested in new assets, many hiring in labour from nearby communal areas. Sachikonye (1995) asserts that within these new resettlement areas, there has been a rapid socio-economic stratification - some do well while others struggle to the point of producing nothing due to sundry reasons, one of them being the chronic HIV/AIDS pandemic. Some have left, often because of misfortune, ill-health or death (often precipitated by HIV/AIDS as to be articulated) although overall attrition rates have been small. On the A2 schemes - aimed at small-scale commercial agriculture - the economic meltdown of the past few years has prevented substantial capital investment, and new enterprises have been slow to take off.

The period between 1995 and 1999 saw the parcels of land held by peasant households may be too small or too degraded to provide a decent livelihood. People in such households may be described as the 'near-landless'. Their economic needs are entirely the same as those who are landless.

Zimbabwe's land reform has turned more than ninety percent (90%) of the land into subsistence farming which resulted in the export sales plummeting to a negative figure between 2000 and 2008 (Marongwe, 2003; Makumbe, 2000). Makumbe (2000) posits that Zimbabwe has gone primitive by discarding modern farming techniques like commercial agriculture. Subsistence agriculture is predominantly occupied by women, the elderly, and children due to high levels of male migration for wage employment in the urban conurbations. It survives on remittances. Pressure on the countryside from the rapidly growing population and low returns from agriculture have contributed to an Africa wide phenomenon of growing male rural to urban migration which leaves women fully responsible for farming and for meeting their households' immediate needs.

In a predominantly subsistence economy such as Zimbabwe, a households' ability to generate sufficient economic livelihood depends on the environment in which the land exists. Binswanger (1998) posits that land reform is an effective approach to tackle poverty but needs to do so as part of a larger, carefully constructed reform procedure. In other words, the core of land reform is thus a redistribution of property rights in cultivable land.

2.6. Overdependence on the environment

Since agriculture is the 'engine' of Zimbabwe's economic development, overreliance on the natural environment is very precarious, for example, solely relying on natural rainfall can result in a heavy loss in the event of a drought. Alternatively, communities need to use irrigation techniques in order to offset natural disasters. It is also noted that

communities in developing countries that are highly dependent on local natural resources are likely to be vulnerable to effects of climate change (Tandem, 2007). Like other parts of Southern Africa, Zimbabwe has a dry climate with rainfall inadequate or too variable for continuous crop production. Zimbabwe's rainfall decreases from east to west and from north to south and from high to low altitude. Environmental factors can be a threat to the sustainability of land reform programmes, especially the subsistence agricultural sector which solely depend on the natural rainfall for its success. This means that the sector is prone to successive droughts which hit the country frequently. Cook (1993) asserts that the programme identification should be in line with the environmental factors for the reason that it is not every programme that can fit and sustain itself in every environment. Therefore, the misfit of the project and the environment pose a threat to the sustainability of the projects.

Elich in Gowland (2002) asserts that the Zimbabwean government has in place plans to establish 36 irrigation schemes in dry communal and resettlement areas. This would result in increased yields in dry areas, and this allows year round farming. It would also help to limit or delay the loss of farmland due to rising global temperatures. The unfortunate part of the whole programme is that progress on implementing the irrigation schemes is held up by the lack of funds and the limited number of donors.

Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) is primarily a region of subsistence agriculture, with most people growing food for their survival and where possible maintaining small to medium sized herds of livestock (cattle, goats and donkeys). Maize and sorghum are the main crops; along with peas, beans and tomatoes. Food production in the SSA region has been shrinking for years due to erratic rainfall and soil erosion especially Zimbabwe,

Lesotho and Namibia; while HIV prevalence has weakened subsistence farming communities which increases poverty (World Food Programme, 2009). In 2004, Lesotho imported an estimated seventy percent (70%) of its cereal mostly from the neighbouring South Africa. Due to changes in settlements and population growth in the last century, balancing vulnerability and risks in subsistence agriculture is no longer easy. This makes coping with anticipated climate change difficult in southern Africa.

2.7 Commercial Farmers in Zimbabwe

Commercial agriculture was contributing a lot as far as exportation of agricultural products and foreign currency was concerned in Zimbabwe. This sector used to employ huge numbers of dehumanized and exploited people, and production was at its peak.

2.7.1 *Production and Productivity: The colonial system*

Combining high technology with cheap labour, commercial farmers were able to obtain impressive yields of maize, averaging 4.2 metric tonnes per hectare, and to establish market niches in world trade for their high quality, hand picked cotton and tobacco. The commercial agriculture in Zimbabwe generated over a quarter of a million agricultural jobs, almost one third of the workforce employed by the formal sector of the economy in 1999 (Moyo 1999). Alongside with the profitable commercial operations, peasant farmers found it increasingly difficult in eking a livelihood from the overcrowded communal lands up until the year 2000, which Marongwe (2003) labels as 'the year of

chaotic land reform' which increased peasant access to the land concurrently skyrocketing poverty.

Although Zimbabwe does not exclusively depend upon the export of one or two primary products, economic growth has been led by exports and agricultural output remains central to the economy. Bratton (1995) posits that high production in Zimbabwe from agriculture and industry was occurring in an environment marred with unaccountable inequalities. In all countries of Southern Africa, the majority of the population – 65 percent (Zambia), 94 percent (Mozambique), 81 percent (Malawi), and 70 percent Swaziland obtains their livelihoods from the land. Commercial agriculture was the backbone of the Zimbabwean economy; this is so in many Southern African economies.

Moyo (1995) posits that in the Southern African Development Community (SADC), Zimbabwe was responsible for food security. In fact, Zimbabwe was the bread basket of Southern Africa. Production was at its climax, though it was mostly increasing in white owned farms due to advanced technology like the use of chemicals to reduce pests, irrigation, and heavy mechanization cannot be ignored coupled with very cheap labour whereas degradation and poverty were increasingly terrifying in the black overcrowded reserves with skeletal soils. Three quarters (77 percent) of the production by value emanates from commercial land, that is, from the 6 000 white farmers rather than from the 675 000 black peasants in communal areas. Apparent parity in land allocation masked the fact that the European Areas (EAs) had almost twice as much of the better quality soils and one quarter of the population density of the African Areas (AAs).

Due to the underlying inequalities in land allocation the uneven pattern of the agricultural production that emerged historically also survived unaltered, the same applies to Namibia and South Africa, and the black majority is still fighting to get an equal or fair share of the land which is rightfully theirs. In general, white farmers have held much more land than they can productively use; much prime farmland was left fallow. The strong aggregate performance of commercial agriculture disguises the inefficiencies of some white farmers. As alluded to above, whites had much access to credit facilities than black people, for example, in 1990, an average credit line of US\$150 000 and only US\$400 for blacks especially those in Tribal Trust Lands and none to those who did not have collateral security.

The opportunity for white farmers to market their produce was enhanced by the location of transport networks. Land, labour and agricultural policies historically have been tailored to the interests of the settler farmers. This kind of setup disadvantaged blacks at all costs. Some rough estimates indicate that the only fifteen percent (15%) of the 9 million acres of arable land in the EAs was actually cultivated (Robbins, 1994:64). This clearly shows that land is not scarce in Africa generally, and in Zimbabwe particularly, but the predicament is how the land is distributed. Makumbe (2000) asserts that of the 9 million acres which were owned by whites, only 2.1 percent is productively utilized now. He goes on to say that land use and production has degenerated with the advent of land reform.

2.8. Political influence in the land reform programme

The drastic step of 'land grab' is justified on grounds that land distribution will increase food production and ensure food security; improving the living standards of farming families; sustain and expand employment; and improve farming's contribution to the economy (Zimbabwe Standard, June 1998). In November 1997, the government backed its threats by designating for acquisition 1,480 commercial farms including many farms which were highly efficient and profitable, and utilizing their land resources fully (Masiwa, 2004). It was the only option left, to compulsorily acquire land for redistribution (with compensation for improvements) since the failure of the willing seller- willing buyer clause. The government was obviously trying to find a formula that would create the least hostility with the white commercial farmers and their business backers, while still carrying through the necessary land reform.

While no-one denies the operation of political patronage in the allocation of land since 2000, particularly in the high value farms of the Highveld near Harare, the overall pattern is not simply one of elite capture. Across the 16 sites and 400 households (341 under A1, 59 under A2) surveyed in Masvingo, sixty percent (60%) of new settlers were classified as 'ordinary farmers' while the forty percent (40%) is the most complicated one in the highly fertile soils of the high lands. The forty percent (40%) includes the politically connected. This fact cannot be overlooked (Scoones, Marongwe, Mavedzenge, Murimbarimba, Mahenehene, & Sukume, 2010).

These were people who had joined the land invasions from nearby communal areas, and had been allocated land by the District Land Committees under the fast-track

programme. These were not rich, politically-connected elite but poor, rural people in need of land and keen to finally gain the fruits of independence. As one put it, 'Land is what we fought for. Our relatives died for this land... Now we must make use of it'. In terms of socio-economic profile, this group was very similar to those in the communal areas -slightly younger and more educated on average, but equally asset poor. Despite the view above, indeed, the view that land is a shrine in the African culture is widely shared by most African people (Rukuni, 2002).

2.9. Economic Structural Adjustment Programme

Economic Structural Adjustment Program (ESAP) came into play after the abandonment of the willing seller- willing- buyer clause. This was more like giving the market power to determine the price of commodities and services, and the government need to scrap the subsidies. This was not the view from the Zimbabwean government but it was coined by the Britain administration which some economists take ESAP as way to make the Zimbabwean government lose hope over the issue of land reform principally because it would be very expensive. This meant a drastic reduction in subsidies, credit and extension for poorer farmers especially in rural areas (FAO, 1998).

The net effect of ESAP was raising poverty, to the extent that according to the 1998 Zimbabwe Human Reports, it was estimated that 61 percent of Zimbabwean households were poor, and of these forty five percent (45%) were very poor, and the poorest were the landless black majority especially those in the rural areas, the poorest being women due to cultural practices. The experts of the World Bank were promising

that the pain would only be temporary and that the economic benefits would soon be realized but the opposite was true.

Most developing countries have huge debts and are tied in some manner to economic reform designed by large lending institutions. As a result, their priorities have clearly shifted from providing basic social welfare services to servicing foreign debt burdens. ESAP was much felt by the poor people especially in the rural periphery where free services were provided by the government, for example, free education, medication, and highly subsidized transport and plant seed (WHO, 2010). In the urban areas, salaries were slashed and retrenchment was the order of the day, only to further the groaning of the rural population and pressure on resources increased especially land.

2.10. Women in agriculture

The conflict between men and women in accessing land has drawn much attention in many countries and various communities (Wamukonyana, 2006). There is no consensus at all as how the impasse can be settled. Debates regarding gender equality the world over have gained much attention; conventions have been formed in order to bring about fair and equitable access to resources starting with the need for cultural and economic reforms which discriminate against women from birth and other social groups around the globe. The struggle for women to get recognition in social, economic and political arenas is as ancient as Biblical times especially in the book of Numbers 37, where the daughters of Zaroephahad had to fight to get inheritance from their father's assets. This is a clear indication that culture in most cases suppresses women and

denies them opportunities in life especially in the developing countries, and the rural periphery (Gaidzainwa, 1995).

Gender analysis focuses on understanding the relationship between men and women, gender household relations, empowerment, access and control, and participation in decision-making at all levels (Meena, 1992 and Lipinge and Williams, 2000). Gender relations are socially constructed power relations between women and men in society which work mostly against women, and the intensity increases from developed to third world economies. They determine the benefits that women and men can derive from natural resources (Watson, 2006).

Mgugu and Chimonyo in Masiwa (2004) underscore the need to mainstream gender in the land reform process. The government's lack of sensitivity to the need to allocate land to women as individuals is on its own undermining the cause of women. It is advanced that right from the pre-colonial, colonial to post-colonial periods, women have been marginalized in terms of access to and ownership of land in Zimbabwe. They argue that various policies in many countries especially developing economies fall short of mainstreaming gender. For instance, they indicate that there is a glaring absence of the mention and use of terms like equity and justice as instruments that would be used to bring about social justice between men and women.

There is a strong relationship between gender, livelihood and poverty. The subordinate role of women in societies plays a critical role in determining peoples' ability to cope (Wamukonyana and Rukato, 2001; Banda, 2005). The majority of the poor worldwide are women because of the existing gender inequalities. In the context of Southern

Africa, Wamukonya and Rukato (2001) argue that the dependency on natural resources by women for their livelihood has come about due to the limited opportunity that exists for them to forge a decent livelihood. Recognised by Wamukonya and Rukato is the lack of concrete data to enable gender and climate change policy making and planning in Southern Africa, particularly as regards differentiated impacts of climate change in the region.

The social group that needs to be noted here is rural women, especially the uneducated and illiterate, as the majority fall consistently among those most vulnerable and deprived. In all categories of rural poor lacking access to land and its resources-landless indigenous groups, sharecroppers – women are often doubly penalized, first for belonging to these categories, and secondly because of their gender. It is suggested that since the 1970s the number of women living below the poverty line has increased by 50 per cent, in comparison with 30 percent for their male counterparts (FAO, 1996). Despite this high level of poverty and socio-political marginalization of women, and despite the overwhelming contribution of women to agriculture and their responsibility for the household (and often national) food security, the majority of the poor rural women tend to have access to only marginal and least productive land, and are the last to benefit from any legal land titles and services provided by land reform programmes (Jazairy, 1992). Like most developing governments in the world, the Zimbabwean government has policies aimed to empower women, but the problem as in most third world economies, the policies are on paper only, their implementation is the biggest hussle (Gaidzanwa, 1995).

Marongwe (2000) asserts that more women from Swaziland and Zimbabwe have taken over the roles formerly carried out by men in addition to those for which they are traditionally responsible. They do most of the work while men make most of the decisions, even while away for wage employment. According to Gaidzanwa (1995) most Sub-Saharan women can expect to live until 34 years- the lowest life expectancy in the world, due to poverty (worsened by limited access to productive resources), HIV/AIDS, difficult child birth and discrimination in all aspects of life but the fact of the matter is that more women live past this age which means that the previous point of Gaidzanwa (1995) does not hold much water.

In Congo, Namibia, and Zimbabwe, the number of women headed households has increased dramatically. Given the views above, increasing access to social and economic resources to women is of significant importance. Although ninety eight percent (98%) of women are engaged in full time farming activities, with thirty five percent (35%) of smallholdings run by women, only five percent (5%) of Zimbabwean women own land in their own names. Only one member of a household can be appointed as the official beneficiary of land reform, who in most cases is a man, women are losing access through marriage institutions. Despite women's active contribution in countries like Zimbabwe, South Africa, and Namibia twenty to twenty five percent (20-25%) of women are involved in farming activities – they are still culturally and officially seen as non- active economically (Moyo, 1995).

Customary land use practices can determine women's access to land in terms of land use rights or ownership. In Mauritania, under customary law black African women do not have land property rights. In Namibia, rural women continue to gain access to land

through men, and in Zimbabwe, women have no direct access to primary land use rights in the communal areas (Sachikonye, 2005). This therefore suggests that land reform alone cannot end poverty. Cultural barriers such as discrimination of women need to be tackled for effective programmes. While women do have legal rights of access in the freehold land sectors, they generally lack the economic resources to acquire such land. In the Sudan, the majority of subsistence farmers operate under customary tenure in which women are accorded usufruct rights to land (Bullock 1993).

According to Gowland (2000), women are expected to perform so many roles under conditions of increasing poverty and constraint. With fewer resources at their disposal, women are expected to do more. He further argued that there is need for a renewed focus on land as a crucial resource in rural livelihoods and the appropriate institutions that can contribute to a more equitable access to land through land reform. To buttress the point, women's relative lack of control over land is a reflection of unequal rights and opportunities between males and females' generally.

Many societies have enacted laws that embody the principle of equal rights to land ownership between men and women, but the problem remains with the implementation of such laws. The customs that surround women are very forbidding, for example, the Muslim culture which regards women as far much less important; their duty is to bear children and look after men. Such cultural practices are very dehumanizing women do not even have control over the toil of their own hands, they do not own themselves, they are owned by men. In other words, land reform is believed to have benefitted men far more than the other sex. This kind of practice means that poverty is much associated with women and their close dependents children. Under such circumstances, the

success of women is a nightmare, let alone owning land. (Gwako, 1998; and Nieuwenhuijze, 1982).

In regions where women farm independently of men and produce a majority of food crops but women's claim to land is typically indirect or insecure. In some regions, when husbands die or disappear, wives often lose their access to land or are forced to engage in costly and often unsuccessful legal battles to retain their rights to it. Robinson (2005) sails in the same boat with Nieuwenhuijze (1982) since he is of the view that women collectively represent an enormous productive potential and often invest their resources in ways that result in better economic and social outcomes than men do.

Land remains one of the most valuable resources in both urban and rural economies. In rural areas such as Mwenezi, land is the primary vehicle for generating a livelihood and is a key element to household wealth. Given the location of the district, that is, in the rural periphery, it is far removed from other economic activities such that the villagers spend more than ninety percent (90%) of their time working on the land, of which more than 90 percent are women while men are in leisure activities or migrant labourers (Gaidzanwa, 1996).

The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and Women Of Zimbabwe Arise (WOZA) and Sisters In Islam (SIS) are pushing the international and national communities for sexes to be at par in accessing property in their own names especially land. Mukhopadhyay (1998) asserts that women are vehemently refusing to be merely wives, sisters, daughters or widows or any

relationship mediated with men. Positive measures to give priority to women are also essential, as women constitute the majority of the rural poor.

2.10.1. Employment and participation of women in economic life

Women employed in the subsistence sector are regarded as not economically active. This blindness is in addition to ignoring unpaid domestic labour especially in third world economies. The official figures severely underestimate the number of African working women, given the fact that since 1970, women in subsistence agriculture have not been included in workforce figures (Budlender, 1981). In most African countries, women are most likely to be employed in temporary, casual or part-time positions. Such jobs are almost invariably less well paid, less secure and enjoy fewer benefits. Gaidzanwa (1995) argues that patriarchal persecution is less in developed countries than in developing economies especially the African patriarchy.

2.10.2. Women in positions of authority

In many societies especially in the African societies, women are given empty positions (Bouldillon, 1998; Cheater 1995) that is to say, mostly women are given positions but they are not given the necessary power to execute the duties. This is a strong call to governments to reform their policies. Winnie Madikizela-Mandela pointed out that, "The African National Congress (ANC) led government needs to take stock of its own widespread failure to implement its own policies especially those that have an impact on

women". She continued to say that the biggest problem women face is abject poverty precipitated by inequality to resources. Poverty has been feminized and women have to deal with all mushrooming problems of society despite their limited access to the needs to solve those predicaments. Cheater (1995) is supported by Gaidzanwa (1995) who asserts that the Zimbabwean government must know that women's continued inequality cannot be addressed by annual women's day rallies that are aimed at simply 'celebrating women'.

Cheater (1990) maintains that the authority of women is a slice from patriarchal authority. This means that their sphere of influence is regulated by men. Winnie Madikizela-Mandela refuted the opinion that Noluthando Mayende-Sibiya –the woman at the helm of the Ministry for Women, Children and people with disabilities- is a lame duck. "How can she be a lame duck when we do not know to what extent she has been empowered? If she has the powers and was not using them, then she would be a lame duck. But I do not think she has the budget or the power to call on relevant ministries, to me she is not empowered at all". It is time for the ANC to go back to the drawing board and to assess how it will realistically implement policies. According to her, it is not the quantity of women in government that will deliver women's empowerment, it is the quality of women in power that matters (City Press 08 August 2010, Lekgau Mathonsi). In most economies policies that seek to empower women and bring equality to access resources greatly needed for human survival had been drafted but the stumbling block remains with implementation. The policies are on paper not in practice especially in the African continent where the chronic practices of patriarchy are rampant.

FAO (2009) argues that ownership and command over the productive resources is very crucial in making choices regarding livelihoods. However, the skewed access to resources of paramount importance is disadvantaging women than men. Most societies today are championing and blowing the trumpets loud that women need not have total control over property because they are property too. Even the land that is under the control of the state, the institutions that govern that land are populated by men, which gives unquestionable authority to the traditional chiefs and the headsmen- women are drifted away to be the second class citizens mostly responsible for bearing children and caring for the sick (Chavunduka, 1982). Since these areas are managed by traditional authorities, they are most unlikely to entertain women's interests if they contradict traditional practices.

2.10.3. Educated women

Not all women face the same intensity of marginalization as far as accessing economic resources is concerned. The groups of women who have education do have better access to economic resources than their uneducated counterparts. They also know their rights even though they are always persecuted by the patriarchal governments (Gaidzanwa 1995). This is because they have some financial independence; they are not fully dependent on their husbands for survival.

2.10.4. Uneducated women

Women in most developing economies largely remain economically disempowered. These are the women who did not get the chance to acquire formal education such that in the present economic circles, they are regarded as unemployable. They lack the necessary skills for formal employment. Their number increases as one move out of the urban areas into the periphery or the core of the rural areas. The Zimbabwe government's poverty assessment study survey (PASS) reports that structural unemployment for women stands at seventy percent (70%), it becomes worse when the uneducated women are put in the equation. There are very few economic support systems for uneducated women in Zimbabwe. WOZA maintains that very little is being done to empower those who are called the 'uneducated women'. They continue bearing the brunt of the country's economic woes (Shiri, 2001).

This is the most vulnerable group according to Gaidanwa (1995) principally because they (uneducated women) are ignorant of their rights and are fulltime dependent on men and land for their survival. They are at the mess of patriarchal abuse. Cheater (1995) argues that the uneducated rural women get economic recognition through marriage, and if they are divorced, all the benefits are gone. This kind of setup forces women to stick to their marriages despite how abusive they may become. The government of Zimbabwe has since 1980 been involved in designing and developing a land reform programme that aims to bring about a fair and equitable land dispensation in the country but the problem is the same as in Namibia and South Africa, that is, slow implementation of policies by the government thereby leaving the society in the hands of unmerciful patriarchy.

2.11. HIV/AIDS

The HIV/AIDS pandemic is a serious threat to the efforts of land reform and poverty alleviation. The people who are affected and infected are the ones to benefit from the land reform programme. According to World Bank (2006) and FAO (2009) AIDS is the biggest hurdle in alleviating poverty in the world especially in developing economies, the hardest hit countries being Botswana, South Africa, Malawi, Swaziland, and Zimbabwe in descending order of intensity. Even if the people get the land but if they are sick and dying the benefits are not realized at all. HIV/AIDS has become a global pandemic and a threat to human development. According to estimates by UNAIDS (2006) about forty million people were living with HIV by the end of 2006. Some 25 percent of adult population is infected, and most will die in the next 6-10 years.

According to estimates from HIV/AIDS Zimbabwe, by the year 2010 there will be 4.4 million fewer Zimbabweans due to the HIV/AIDS pandemic. Africa is the hardest hit continent especially Southern Africa, accounting for the large part of the global total. Such a scenario affects the efforts of land reform in its quest to alleviate poverty. The beneficiaries of the land reform programme are the ones affected by the pandemic, not forgetting the people who staff the organizations both private and public, which facilitate land reform programmes. In Sub-Saharan Africa, the pandemic has caused the life expectancy to drop from 62 to 47 years (UNAIDS 2006). Given how strong the impact is, the stability of family units and land reform is highly questionable and powerfully destabilised.

Across Southern Africa, between fifteen percent (15%) to thirty-five percent (35%) of adults between 30 to 55 years are HIV positive. Most of them do not know that they are positive, but the vast majority is likely to fall chronically ill and die within the next 5 to 10 years. At least half of the 15 year olds are likely to contract HIV at some point in their lives, so the future impacts are grim. The impacts on land reform and poverty alleviation are negative. Ncube (1999) posits that AIDS affects people being settled, some families are likely to be cut off from reform programmes due to effects of already existing chronic illness, while others will engage in land reform, but will sooner or later fall ill and later die, and their families are likely to lose the recently acquired land, or to get much less benefit from the land that was assumed.

HIV/AIDS poses a number of challenges to women in their nurturing roles being producers of household health and producers of food. Berman (1994) notes that this is a vital social role played by women in many countries, and women do experience improved self-esteem and approval by society, but the fact remains, women are only recognized when they are needed to provide something not for accessing property.

According to Livingstone (2003) while many women embrace their care- giving roles, they are increasingly being expected to perform these roles under conditions of ever increasing poverty and constraint. Where they were once able to divide their time between wide ranges of tasks, they now have to make impossible choices between, spending necessary time and money on agriculture to produce food for the family or looking after a bedridden husband. It is of paramount importance to note that many of these women will take on additional caring work, even beyond what they are expected to perform given the little resources at their disposal especially the uneducated.

On the other hand, AIDS affects people running the institutions that directly or indirectly support land reform, and those which supply essential goods and services or provide markets. Since HIV infection today will only result in visible chronic illness and eventual death several years from now, there is need for people to learn today and anticipate tomorrow. Very roughly, the impacts of AIDS we see today are the result of HIV infections in the mid-1990s. The HIV prevalence of today will be clearly evident in about 5 years or more. This clearly shows that, bad as the situation is now, the worst of the impacts are still to come. The pandemic hemorrhages the efforts of land reform in its attempt to reduce the ever sky-rocketing poverty mostly in the sub-Saharan Africa.

HIV tends to cluster in families. Mullins (2001) is of the view that when one member falls positive, it becomes likelier that another will be infected, especially through transmission between sexual partners. This means that there are families which are much affected than others, instead of focusing on how to increase production; some families are diverting resources to care for the sick.

Using statistics obtained from the South African National HIV Survey (2005) the impact of the pandemic on the economy, that is, agriculture and food security, and education should not be underestimated, this means that the resources both at local and national level are going to be diverted in order to reduce the severity. The legacy of colonial regimes is strongly felt both socially and economically especially in Zimbabwe, and South Africa, where there is high crime rate, low standards of education, unemployment, and widespread poverty; these issues fuel the rising rates of HIV and AIDS.

The literature available is up to date but very conflicting, at one point the literature agrees, but the next point would be riddled with disagreements and this leaves the readers at cross-roads, without an idea as to what has happened on the ground as far as land reform and poverty alleviation is concerned. Hence, the need for empirical findings on the whole debate of land reform and poverty alleviation in Zimbabwe.

Chapter Three

Presentation, Analysis, and Interpretation of empirical findings

3. Introduction

This chapter discusses and analyses the empirical findings of the study. Some of the data is presented in the form of tables, graphs, and pie charts. It was done with the aim of giving more meaning and simplicity to the data. In order to further simplify the data, some of the information is presented in percentages.

The research was exploratory in nature. This was done since there is little information and not much research about the contributions of land reform in alleviating poverty. The research was qualitative in nature, hence qualitative method of data collection in the form of focus group discussions were used.

The respondents were people who live in the farms, directly and partially own the land on which they live. The respondents were forty (40) in number, and they were selected through snowballing method. A potential respondent led to other respondents who were equally informative for the data being sought. The data was gathered through focus group discussions where respondents had to air their views as far as land reform and poverty alleviation were concerned.

The researcher was the facilitator, leading the discussion so that the groups remained focused on the topic of investigation. Both open and closed questions were used in the focus group discussion. This was done purposefully because open ended questions allow the researcher to delve into the respondents' emotions and their inner feelings as

far as the sensitive issue of land reform was concerned. The closed ended questions were also included in the focus group discussions principally because there are other issues like age, employment status which do not need much explanations, this helped by saving the scarce time in the collection of data.

The exercise of data collection lasted for three weeks. The discussions were audio-taped for in depth analysis of data. The researcher listened to tapes in order to further pick the recurring themes of the discussion. The findings are as follows:

3.1 Demographic description of the sample

Most of the household heads in both villages (Dungwe and Chikomati) were active political activists or war veterans. Many war veterans had long dropped their identity and were peasant farmers in the communal areas except a few who were teachers, administrators, and those who rejoined the national army.

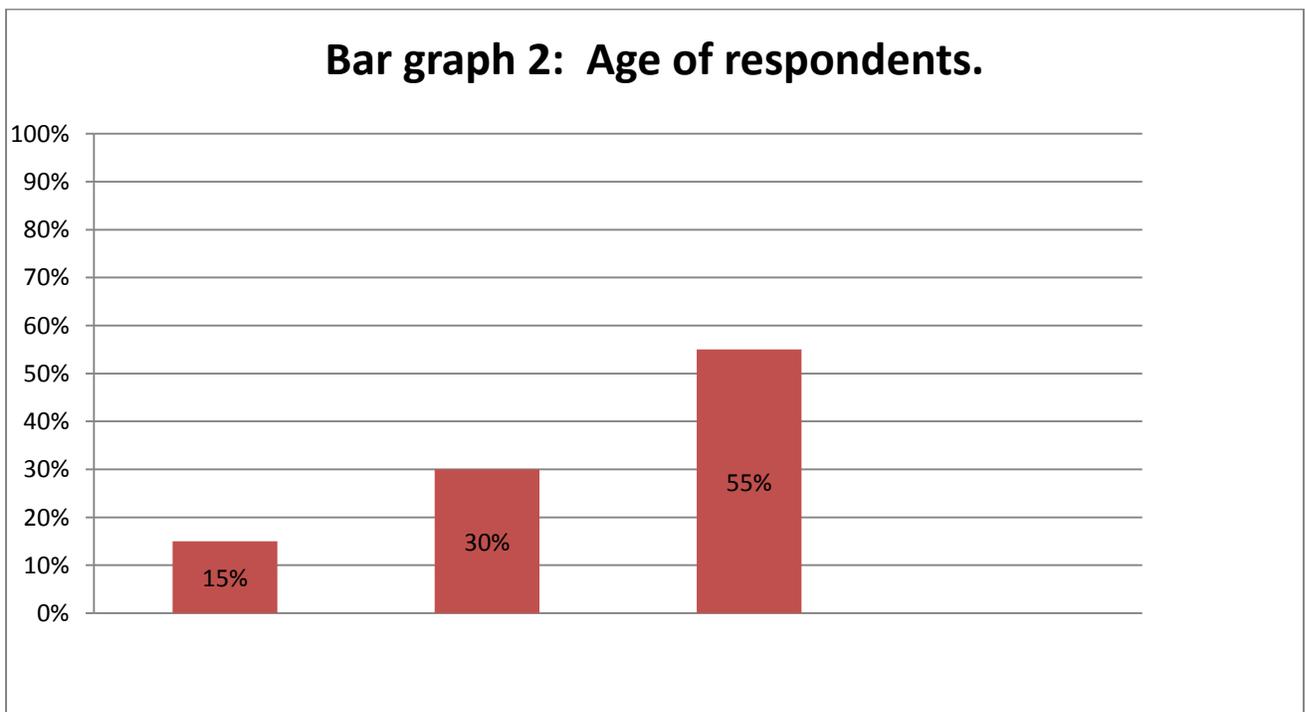
This kind of trend leaves women and children with a lot of work on their shoulders. Most female respondents in the 40-45 age intervals indicated that they see their husbands after a long time. One of the women respondents argued that, nditorimurume pachangu (I am a man during the absence of my husband).

3.1.1 Gender distribution

The sample consisted of forty (40) participants with twenty (20) males and twenty (20) females. The participants were selected through snowballing, that is, the other person leads to the next potential participant. Twenty participants were from Chikomati (ten

male and ten females) and the same applies to Dungwe. In this study, male participants were few in the age group 40-45 totaling thirty percent (30 %). The reason being male migration into towns or the so called greener pastures for wage employment. Most males indicated that they migrate nationally and internationally to countries like South Africa, Mozambique, Botswana, and Namibia. That was the reason why there were more female participants in this age interval. Some men leave their rural areas to local towns like Masvingo or go as far as Bulawayo, Triangle and Harare so as to try their luck of employment chances.

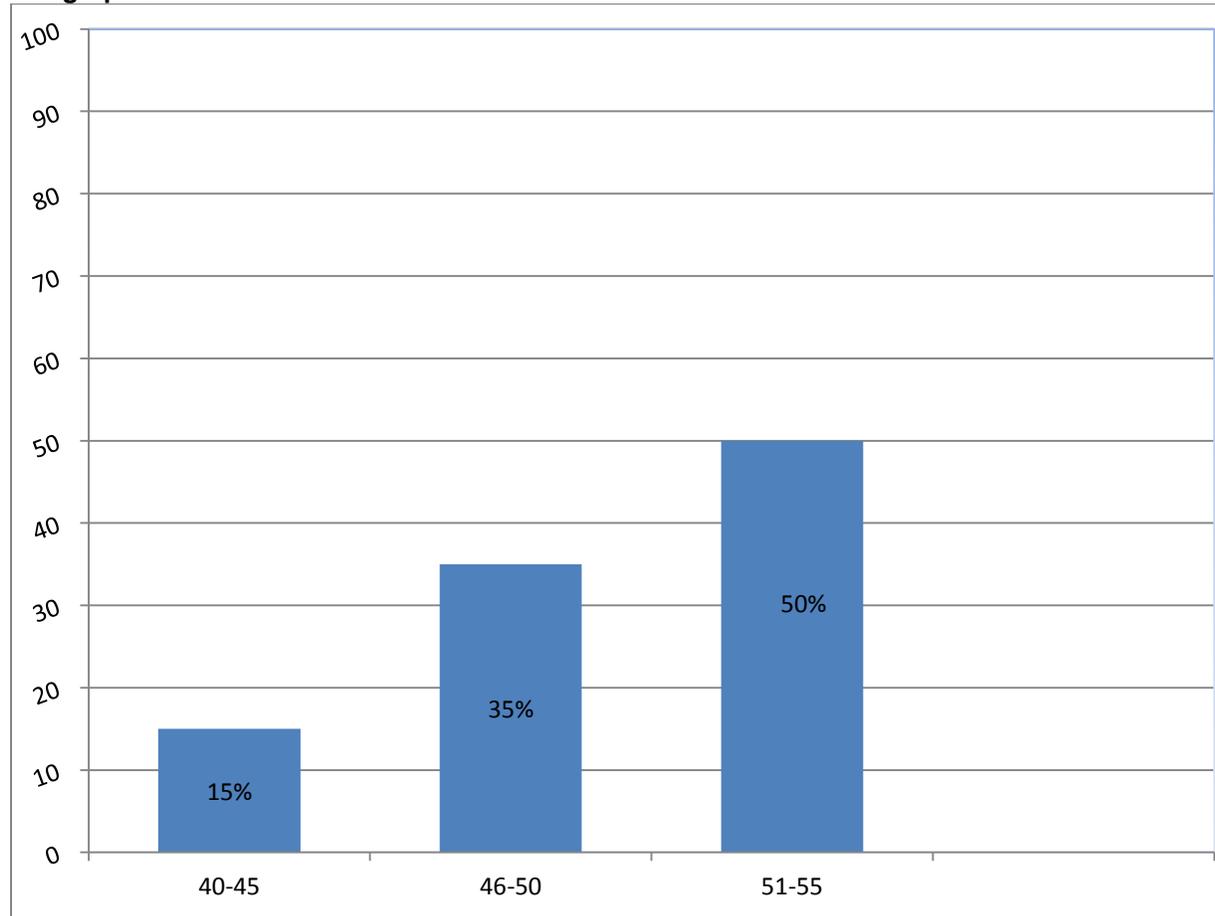
3.1.2 Age



The number of male participants increased with the increase in age. There were very few male respondents in the age range of 40-45 due to high migration in search of jobs in towns. The respondents of the middle age of 46-50 were more as compared to the

fifteen percent (15%) of the 40-45 age groups. The participants in the age range of 51-55 were many due to early retirement, and this means that poverty alleviation becomes very difficult to achieve because of the ageing population. The ageing population can do less as far as working on the land is concerned; this in turn affects negatively the efforts of land reform as a poverty alleviation strategy. Some of the respondents indicated that they retire early because of poor health; this means that the sick are very irrelevant in reducing their poverty through land reform.

Bar graph 3

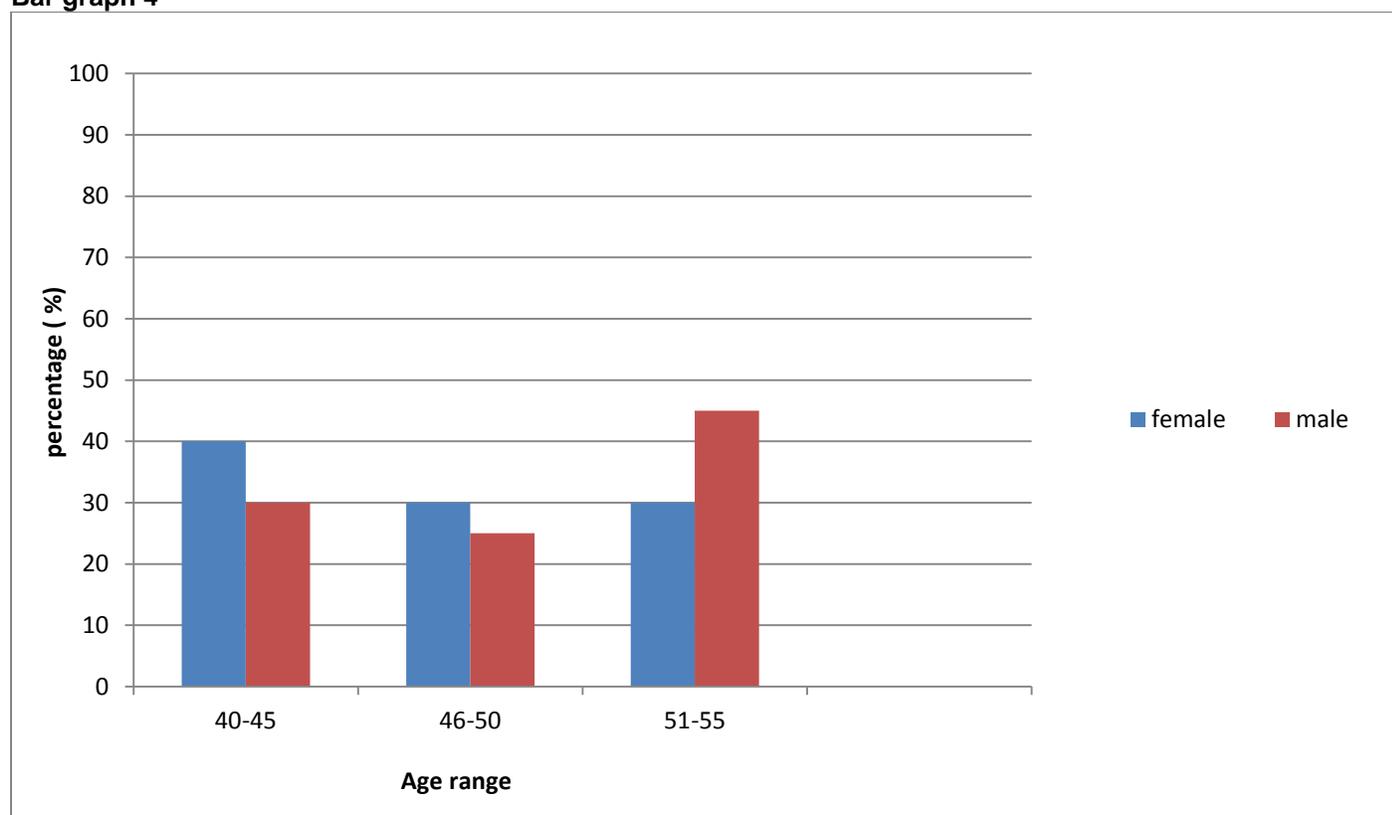


There were more females than males in almost all age ranges. Given the fact that in these two villages women generally have a weaker financial base, they cannot do much

in order to alleviate their poverty. In other words, women are much tied to the land than their male counterparts. All the same, nothing impressive can be expected from an ageing population (Scoones, 2010).

3.1.3 Sex of participants

Bar graph 4



One of the female respondents said her husband sends her some cash to buy the needed inputs like seed and mould board plough parts. The issue of labour is her lookout. This has come to mean that men are much involved in decision making than the implementation part of it which defeats the aim of land reform as a channel to address poverty alleviation. The same point is supported by Gaidzanwa (1996) and

Cheater (1995) who posits that the society is patriarchal and treats women like maids and as servants thereby eroding their contribution towards poverty alleviation.

In the 51-55 age interval there is forty-five percent (45%) of the males. Most males indicated that they preferred early retirement so that they can work for their families while they still have strength. *“Ndinofanirwa kukurumidza kusiya basa kuitira kuti ndiwane nguva yekushandira mhuri yangu ndichinesimba pachinhambo chokuuya kumusha ndasakara kuti pfukuchu”* (I have to retire earlier while strength is still with me in order to contribute greatly to the physical needs of my family than retiring when one is advanced in age). The view above encounter problems principally because most people in the Dungwe and Chikomati villages, their early retirement is precipitated by poor health such that they have little to offer for the family than to add much burden. Their rural homes are like places to retire for death. This is supported by Chavunduka (1982) who asserts that many black people are comfortable to die at their homes after they spend all the years away. This further burdens women who have already a lot of work from the fields since almost all the caring work is socially acceptable to be carried by them. Much time is spend on caring for the sick rather than on farming activities which in turn undermines the effort of land reform as a tool for poverty alleviation.

3.1.4 Name of village

The two villages were engaged in this study namely Chikomati and Dungwe. Beneficiaries from Chikomati village have bigger farms as compared to those in Dungwe village. This has an impact on the reduction of beneficiaries' poverty. The

farmers in Chikomati are able to do more on their pieces of land principally because of the bigger sizes of the land. The researcher noted that poverty levels are lower in Chikomati village as compared to Dungwe village though a very thin line separates the two. The land size which came through land reform had a positive impact on the lives of the farmers in both villages.

3.1.5 Education

Most of the respondents were literate about ninety percent (90%) could read and write. They could remember very well their produce in tonnage for the three to four previous years but the ten percent (10%) was not able to remember very well the main reason for that being lack of formal education. The participants indicated that mostly educated males migrate locally or internationally. This tendency drains the wider community's pool of general knowledge.

Sixty-five percent (65%) of the respondents (26 participants) attend school up to secondary level (form four and form six) and fifteen percent (15 %) of the respondents (6 participants) never attended school. Twelve and half percent (12, 5%) which was five (5) participants were degreed people while seven and half percent (7, 5%) which is three (3) respondents attended a college.

Those farmers who had degrees differed in many respects with those who lack formal education. The way they organized their farm operations was much professional than those who were not educated. The land preparation, the time to acquire seed, and the necessary parts of their plough were in place before the actual planting starts. This

point was supported by FAO (2009) which found out that farmer who have formal education produced more than those who lack formal education; all things being equal.

Summary of occupation and education of respondents

Table 2: The table below summarises the level of education and occupation of the participants.

| Number of respondents | Level of education | Occupation |
|-----------------------|---------------------|--|
| 6 | Never attend school | Two (2) employed and four (4) were not employed |
| 26 | Secondary education | Fourteen (14) employed and twelve (12) unemployed |
| 5 | University | Three (3) were employed while two (2) were retired and self-employed |
| 3 | College | Employed |

Education is of paramount importance in the general life, and more specifically in the alleviation of poverty especially through land reform. Much of the people who are affected by the disease of HIV/AIDS were mainly those who lack formal education, and this adversely affects poverty alleviation through land reform. World Health Organisation (2010) asserts that disease is the worst enemy of development and poverty alleviation.

3.1.6 Occupation

The problem the researcher discovered was with the people who own land but do not stay at their farms, instead they stay in towns. The respondents who had degrees, a

nurse and a teacher seem to be detached from the actual operations of their farms. This kind of scenario undermines the efforts of poverty alleviation through land reform because instead of the owners of the land devoting their time on farming operations, attention is diverted to other non-farming activities, though they contribute greatly financially. On the other hand, Mararike (2000) argues that formal employment is important for the emerging black commercial and peasant farmers for it boosts their financial base in order to increase production.

3.1.7 Marital status

The majority of the respondents, sixty percent (60%) were married. This can be attributed to the fact that Africans especially those in rural areas value marriage. Ember and Ember (1977) states that marriage entails both a sexual and an economic relationship. The economic dependence of most women on men/husband as providers and owners of the land contributes to the wife staying in the marriage no matter how abusive it becomes. Mukhopadhyay (1998) is of the view that, generally, marriage had been cited as one of the institutions which perpetuate poverty and undermines the cause of land reform in alleviating chronic poverty which is supported by the empirical findings in Dungwe and Chikomati villages where most of the relationships which involve women were mediated by men.

Mukhopadhyay (1998) and Cheater (1995) agree that there are other reforms which are necessary and which need to be implemented so as to realize the benefits of land reform as a tool in alleviating poverty. They continued by arguing that the issue of

marriage exposes women such that the benefits of land reform are not realized, if ever they will be; unless structural reforms are effectively implemented.

Table 1: Women’s land ownership in relation to marital status and poverty alleviation.

| Status | Percentage (%) of land ownership |
|----------------------|---|
| Married | 35 % |
| Never married | 20 % |
| Separated | 10% |
| Widowed | 25 % |
| divorced | 10% |

Women indicated that they are a disadvantaged group in accessing crucial resources like land. Out of twenty (20) women from both villages, that is, Dungwe and Chikomati, women shared the same experiences of marginalization. Women who never married constituted twenty percent (20%); widowed constituted twenty five percent (25%); separated constituted ten percent (10%); and divorced women constituted another ten percent (10%) indicated that their fate is much better as compared to those who were married, which was thirty five percent (35%). One of the respondents said that the women who were not married have higher chances of getting land in their own names and they can have full control over the land they own which in turn increases their chances of alleviating their poverty through land reform principally because if the land is

in their rightful names they can do long term investments which in turn reduce their poverty.

One of the separated woman specified that married women are like prisoners to their masters who happens to be their husbands. She continued to say that, "I saw it fit to be independent than to be under the yoke of slavery in the name of marriage". *Kana ndichida murume, iye murume anotouya kwandiri kwete kuti ndiende kwaari, izvi handibati*(Whenever I need a man, he will come to my place not me going to him and stay with him, I will never ever do that).

Generally women who are not married are the educated ones or the ones who have material possessions. The other groups of the unmarried are women who are active in politics. Thirty two (32) respondents, which were eighty percent (80 %) confirmed that they have access to agricultural land. They can plant crops of their choice on the land without any problems. This response came mainly from man and educated women. This was because these people enjoy some autonomy from the cultural beliefs and practices which tend to suppress the other sex (females), but the other twenty percent (20%) murmured that they were culturally and religiously denied access to economic resources which tends to sky-rocket their poverty.

Five (5) of the respondents, which were twelve and half percent (12, 5%) said that they had no access to land at all. One of the respondents was quoted, '*Ndingati ndinemunda pakudini ini ndisinasimba pazvinhu zvandinoshandira*' (how can I say I have land when I cannot control the produce of that land). The respondent was a woman, this means that gender oppression (gender conflict) is still in operation in some

societies where women can use land but do not have power/ control of its produce because the husband is the one in control as to how the produce is to be used or distributed.

Gender oppression tends to be severe on uneducated and unemployed women who have no other means of survival, no economic freedom/independence. To such women marriage is an achievement. This is a big disadvantage principally because despite how abusive and oppressive the marriage union becomes, they are (women) compelled to stay in that marriage, and the payment of *lobola* seals their fate; to such people, land reform adds a lot of work since the acreage becomes bigger little few benefits for the ones who produce who happens to be women and children.

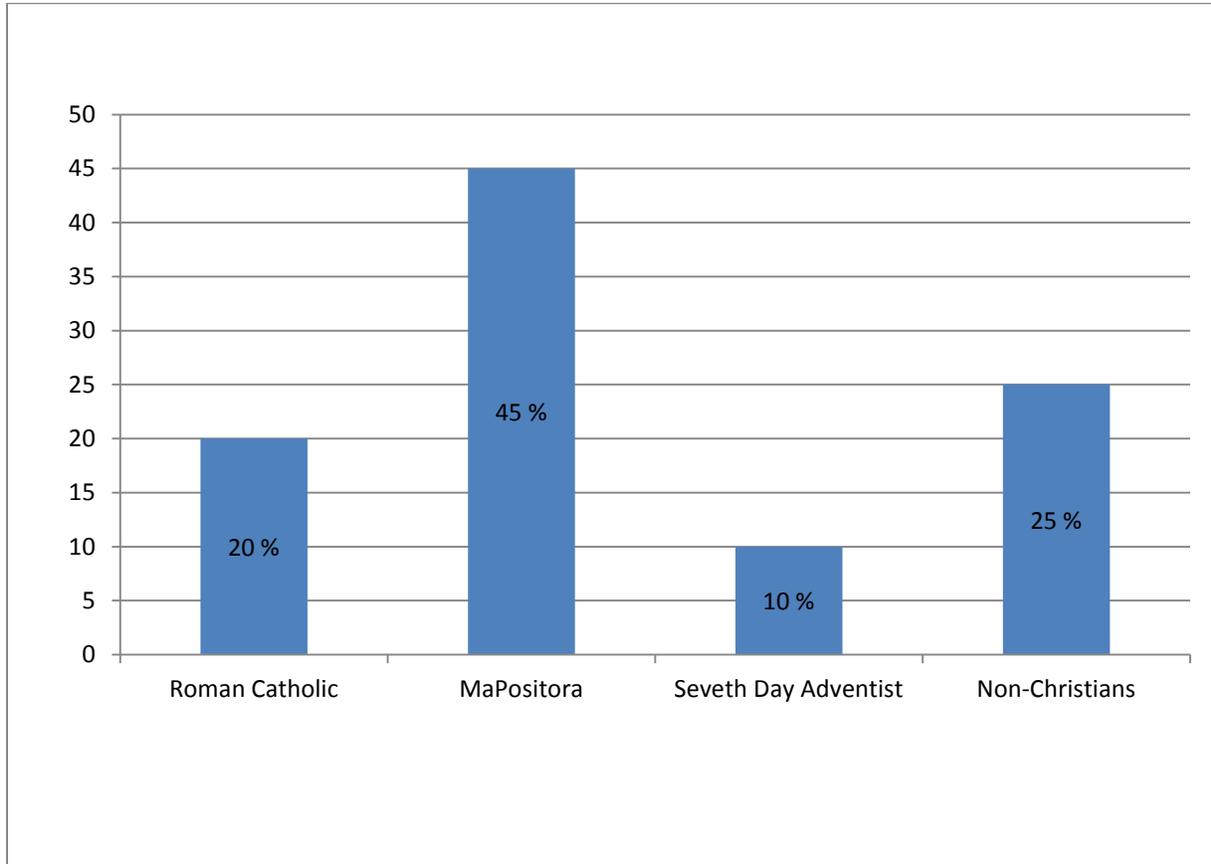
In other words, the poverty of women is perpetuated by marriage and this fate is sealed by *lobola*. '*Usatinyadzisa ikoko*' (Do not bring us shame). These are very strong words so as to make the woman stay in her marriage for the sake of her parents' dignity.

Three (3) respondents, which were seven and a half percent (7.5%), hinted that they have partial access to land. These were the people who provided labour to the owners of land/plots. The owners of the plots had assigned their workers a small portion where he/she produces vegetable for his/her benefit.

Handina munda ini, ndirimusevenzi, panongopera basa ndinotobva pano nemhuri yangu. Asi ndinotongoshingirira kuti basa risapera sezvo ndichiwanawo twanguwo pano (I have no land, I am an employee, if my landlord dismiss me, I have to leave with my family. I have to be very loyal to the landlord since I am also benefiting from the piece of land he gave me).

3.1.8 Religious and Church affiliation

Bar graph 4



There were apparent conflicts over religion and accessing land in both villages. Some religions were considered much stronger than others, for example, the Roman Catholic has both religious and political connections, so this made the members of this denomination to mostly access the prime land. By so doing, the prime goal of alleviating poverty through land reform is automatically defeated. Most of the Christians were women especially the MaPositora. This is attributed to polygamous marriages encouraged in this religion. Despite the suffering some people may go

through, because of the problems encountered in agriculture like frequent droughts, abject poverty despite the swathes of land; religion becomes opium of the people as postulated by Marx (1848).

The twenty percent (20%) of the respondents belonged to the Roman Catholic Church. In this religion, women are valued, but the overall authority remains with men/husband. Three men from this religion said that they can give their wives portions of land to grow their crops so as to avoid unnecessary conflicts involving money matters. The sales from cotton and maize belong to the men (men's crops), and sales from groundnuts and round nuts are for women (mostly women crops).

One woman from the Roman Catholic said that eighty percent (80%) of the beneficiaries of land reform are men who are not always keen to share that land and its proceeds with women on an equal footing. Given the response above, conflicts of ownership was clearly an issue of concern. Out of eight (8) Roman Catholics, five (5) believe that men must control crucial assets like land while the remaining three (3) were opposing this view by saying that women are also able to execute such duties with terrible exactness.

The responses from the participants showed that there are intra-conflicts raging between sexes, that is, between women and men over the control and ownership of land and its produce. The researcher noticed that the conflicts between the sexes were working against the aim of poverty alleviation in the sense that these conflicts leads to break up of families which WHO (2009) believes that family breakups is one of the causes why poverty and HIV/AIDS levels are high especially in third world economies.

Women from MaPositora indicated that their husbands marry many wives. These respondents eighteen (18) indicated that the husband does not work. The wives and children are the ones who work and provide for themselves and their husband and father. One of the man respondent said that a woman cannot own land as long as her husband lives. The women work and eat from their husband's fields. This respondent had thirteen (13) wives. One of the respondents (a woman) said that, *'these men put us at risk of HIV/AIDS due to many sexual partners.'* The money from the sales is distributed among the wives by the husband and the elder wife. Some of that money is set aside for paying *lobola* when the husband takes another wife. This means that land reform can do nothing to alleviate poverty as long as their worldview is still the same; poverty alleviation will remain secondary.

The Seventh-day Adventists were very few, even the respondents were few, four (4) out of forty (40). The respondents from this group believed that the husband and the wife is one thing. They own property collectively. In this group, there was one man and three women. The women indicated that their husbands are fair though not perfect in sharing resources, but they indicated that they are satisfied. Their satisfaction was not complete; hence, there was room for dissatisfaction over the allocation of land and its produce. Women are not satisfied with the way resources are distributed. Their satisfaction is only to avoid unending struggles in society (Bina, 1992; Meer, 1997)

Twenty percent (20%) of the women believe that some religions are not fair on them given the power and authority the husband has over the wife. Sixty percent (60%) of the women also believed that culture and religion are the same in suppressing the cause of women in social, economic, and political spheres, but the remaining twenty

percent (20%) differed from all the rest since they enjoyed their relationship with their husbands, and they said that they shared the benefits satisfactorily. Generally, religion was a disadvantage to many households since the benefits of land reform were not equally distributed.

The respondents from non-Christian group were ten (10). Some believed in Sangomas and they indicated that they use herbs a lot to control men. Out of ten (10) participants six (6) were women while four (4) were men. The six (6) women unanimously agreed that they use husband taming herbs (Mupfuhwira - Shona) to socially and economically control their husbands. This clearly means that social and economic conflicts were rampant, but were kept at a manageable level due to the use of taming herbs. Chavunduka (1982) asserts that the husband taming herbs is a good control of men since it brings the men closer to his family needs. So in a way, poverty can be reduced if the family is united in achieving a goal.

3.1.9 Ethnic and religio-cultural debates.

Ethnicity seems to be taking toll in this research. The respondents were trying by all means possible to protect the status of their ethnic group to the extent that the truth seems sacrificed. This was observed when respondents intentionally dissuade the researcher not to concentrate on other minor opposing ethnic groupings but to regard their statements as final truths, this adversely affect the land reform and poverty alleviation strategies.

3.1.20 Women from Christian families

The chances of women from Christian households to get land in their own names are very minimal due to the beliefs in the Christian circles. Eighty percent (80%) which was sixteen (16) of the men agreed that women or their wives have to get land through them as their husbands. *Vakadzi vedu, pandinorima ndipo pavanorimawo, zvekuti mukadzi aitewo munda wake zvinokonzera muromo uye kutapudza vanhu vanoshanda zvakare zvinopesana nezvatinotenda mumakereke edu.* (They are our wife, where I farm that is where they have to farm also. To own many fields cause unnecessary conflicts and after all labour becomes divided. Above all the issue of a woman getting land while her husband is still alive militates with our beliefs as vaPostora and as Christians in general).

Eighty percent (80 %) of the women accepted that land/property should be owned in the man's name while twenty percent (20%) which was eight (8) opposed man's ownership as very abusive and marginalising women. Most women point fingers to the tribal authorities and to the government as very patriarchal in nature. Women are regarded as second class citizens who have to come after men. This kind of scenario limits the chances of women owning land in their own right and defeats the purpose of land reform as a poverty alleviation measure

Beckmann (1992) asserts that the belief that women should share land on an equal footing with men is now gaining widespread international acceptance but despite the existence of the civil code, Africans prefer customary practices especially regarding family law that the man is the head of the family. There is a conflict between the

government's policies (though playing a lip-service) and cultural practices. Ordinary (often rural) women, most of whom follow cultural practices of land or property ownership indicated that they were at a disadvantage. The women are segregated in almost all aspects of life. This marginalization is perpetuated by the lack of effective policy implementation by the government which is supported by the statement of Winnie-Mandela in the City Press of August 2010, and also WOZA (2000) which purport that women need to be given power in order to acquire resources to alleviate their poverty.

3.2.1 Produce

Eighty percent (80%) of the respondents noted that they have produce to spare but their problem was up to date storage facilities and also marketing of their surplus yields. This was a disadvantage to the farmers principally because their surplus produce can end up rotting or taken by self-proclaimed buyers at very low prices which automatically redress the benefits of land reform). The twenty percent (20%) cited that they at times have a surplus yield depending on the rainfall pattern. If there is less rainfall, surplus yields are not realized at all.

3.2.2 Uses of surplus produce

One of the respondents clearly stated that, *'Ndinotengesa goho rangu kuGMB kana zvimwe zvese zvarambisisa, asi ndikatofunga zvakanaka ndinozvichengetera zvinhu*

zvangu kana kupa vavakidzani uye hama' (I will sell my produce to the GMB when all avenues fail, but if I closely consider all factors; I rather give my neighbours or relatives, except cash crops like cotton, sunflowers which we cannot use for food). The problems normally faced by farmers from different countries are almost the same especially in developing economies. According to the Farmers Weekly of November 2010, farmers in South Africa mostly encounter predicaments with surplus produce especially of maize during the harvest years of 2008, 2009, and 2010. The same applies to Zimbabwe where most of the farmers have surplus produce but no buyers which by the end of it all negatively affects poverty alleviation efforts.

Most of the farmers stated that they keep their surplus produces to cater for unexpected droughts or they sell in order to cover for some day to day expenses, pay school fees, and other levies. From the look of things, farmers were the losers in times of bumper harvest which means that land reform becomes of little benefit to such and poverty cannot be alleviated.

3.2.3 Land ownership

All the farmers indicated that the ninety-nine (99) year lease was granted by the government through the Tribal Authorities (TAs). The respondents stated that they cannot sell the land even though some are selling it informally, but the binding rule is that no one should, under whatever circumstances, sell the land.

Inheritance of the farms is done through the Tribal Authorities (TA). The respondents indicated that they were not happy at all with the ninety-nine (99) year lease, and also the power that the government granted the TAs.

Respondents indicated that they pay a fee to the government through the TAs' office. Going through the records, it was clear that these fees which were being paid were not effectively collected and not properly recorded which led to non-payments by almost fifty-five percent (55%) of the respondents. One of the participants stated that, "*I cannot pay a fee in order to enrich other people, mari hakunakwainomboenda iyi, inongodyiwa tichiona mumabhawa umu asi haungazvibvudzi, chikuru kusangobhadhara mutero wacho*" (The money goes nowhere except in the pockets of the TAs, the government does not get these fees. The best way is not to pay that money). Forty-five percent were the farmers who were paying the fee to the government through the TA's office.

The respondents cited that there is a great strife between the farmers and the TAs. In August 2010 the Chiefs' car was smashed by the angry farmers. The respondents indicated that there are double allocations of land. They indicated that this was a clear indication of day light robbery and corruption, "*How can a piece of land be owned by two or three different people at the same time*"? This made the respondents to lose hope in the TAs and the government itself, hence less investments on the land which breeds poverty for generations to come.

3.2.4 Forms of land ownership

Table 3: The table below shows the preferred form of land ownership by the respondents from the two villages (Dungwe and Chikomati).

| Form of ownership | Those in favour of that ownership in percentage (%) |
|--------------------------------|---|
| Communal ownership through TAs | 1 % |
| Government ownership | 1 % |
| Title deeds | 97% |
| 99 year-lease | 1 % |

Ninety percent (97%) of the respondents recommended title deed land ownership than the ninety nine (99) year lease which is currently in use. The reasons given by many respondents for a title deed ownership was that the owner can develop the land without any fear of eviction one day. The respondents also said that they can borrow from banks using their land as collateral. The most important view that came from the respondents about title deeds ownership was that the owner can do long term investment on the land with full knowledge that land belongs to them.

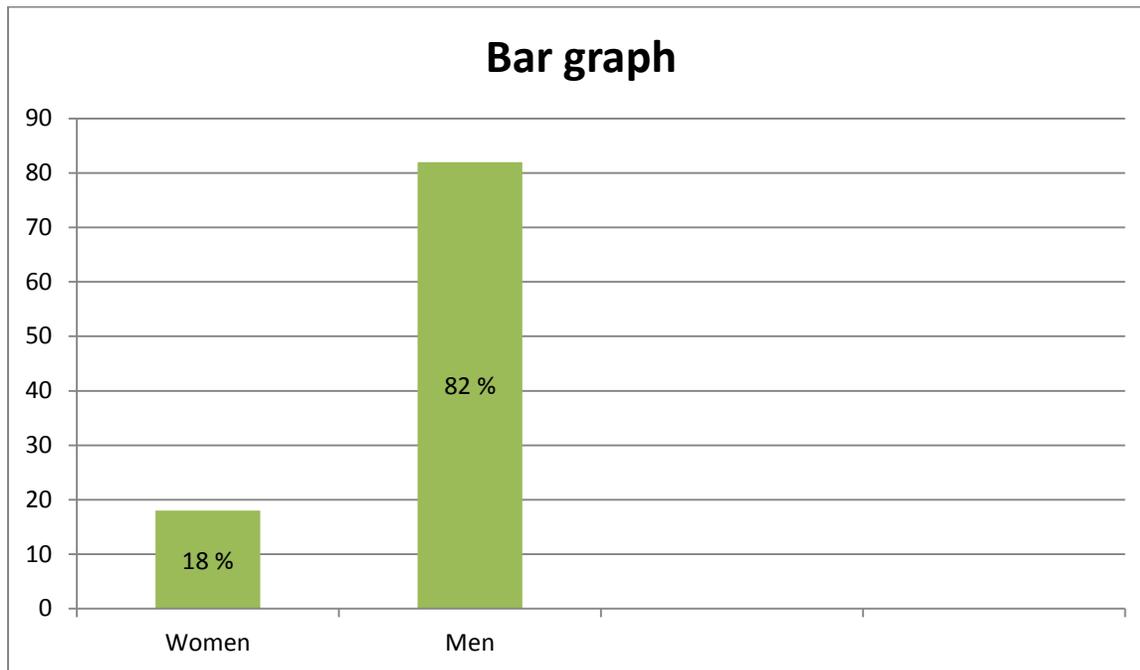
Secure ownership of property is of paramount importance in enhancing production. This can be evidenced by looking to countries with private policy of ownership; these economies have high GDP, for example, United States of America, China, South Korea as compared to North Korea which concentrates on public form of ownership. In countries like Cuba and Tanzania, the reason why the economy failed is attributed to

form of ownership. In the case of Tanzania, the land project of Ujamaa failed due to public form of ownership which the Nyerere government was championing. The USSR failed due to policies of public ownership. In other words, a form of ownership plays a crucial role in the success or failure of a programme.

In Zimbabwe, there are running battles between the farmers and the government over the ownership of the land. According to Collins (2003), title deed form of ownership will give the farmers assurance that they are not going to be evicted which can boost morale of farmers thereby production can take an upward trend. This means that poverty can be reduced significantly.

One of the farmers stated that, "*Kana munda wavawangu pazima ndinogona kuita zvese zvandingada uye kuisa upfumi hwangu pamunda wangu kwenguva refu*" (If the land becomes mine through the title deeds ownership, I can do a lot on the land and I can also do long term investments).

3.2.4.1 Land ownership in Dungwe and Chikomati villages



About eighteen percent (18 %) of the women in Dungwe village own land directly in their own names while eighty two percent (82%) were men. Forty two percent (42%) of the men who own land were absentee land owners. They leave their wives and children on the land while they move to towns or other countries for wage employment, while the fifty six percent (56%) live on their farms but they are not always available as compared to women. Despite the fact that men have a bigger percentage (82%) of land ownership, about ninety percent (90%) of the land is used by women while men who are fulltime on their lands stand at ten percent (10%) but the proceeds were not all that much to say that they can alleviate poverty with a significant percentage because of recurring droughts and poor financial base since the farmers cannot use their land as collateral for borrowing from banks.

Although the women interviewed wanted better land, their immediate concern tended to be tenure security. Problems associated with women's access to land can be broadly divided into structural restrictions linked to the organization of society which have bias towards men since colonial times. The social and legal obstacles affecting women in particular, has added to the exclusion and oppression of women. The national land reform programme has formally identified many of the social problems associated with land access, including those facing women today. Land reform has maintained the customary approach to land which prevents married women from gaining access to land in their own right. Relations between land and tradition are also profoundly concerned with the construction and reconstruction of masculinity.

3.2.5 Allocation of land

The two main models have been at the centre of the process- one focused on small-holder production (so called A1 schemes, either as villagised arrangements or small, self-contained farms) and the other one focused on commercial production at a slightly larger scale (so called A2 farms).

Smaller scale farms focusing on mixed farming, often with low levels of capitalization have increased. Ninety percent (90%) of the respondents postulated that smallholder farming is the one that dominates as postulated by Scoones (2010) who asserts that small scale peasant farming in Masvingo Province had increased with the distribution of land to many people. The cultivation of maize, cotton, nuts and the rearing of animals have increased notably. Although there is much variation between the A1 and the A2,

the average size of new A2 farms is 318 hectares, while A1 family farms is 37 hectares including crop and grazing land. Ten percent (10%) of the respondents who were four (4), three men (3) and one (1) woman believed that the above scenario has resulted in a very different farming sector which is much of peasant agriculture than commercial agriculture, but one that is not without considerable entrepreneurial dynamism and productive potential.

Sixty-nine percent (69%) of the respondents agreed that the majority of the people who have settled on the redistributed land are ordinary people with families to feed. About half of the farmers are from nearby communal areas and approximately a quarter is from the urban areas. The respondents indicated that they had little or very poor land or were unemployed or employed but with poorly-paid jobs. Farm workers made up to thirty-one percent (31%) of the farmers in the A1 villagised sites, with many having taken an active role in the farm invasions. This is in line with the views of Scoones (2010) and The Zimbabwean (2010) which points out that much of the land given to the ordinary people is in arid regions and of average soil fertility but refutes that land distribution was aimed at political cronies of Mugabe. One of the respondents was a former farm worker who happened to have organized and led the farm invasion. Given that in other parts of the country, farm workers were displaced in large numbers, often ending up destitute especially the ones who were from Malawi, Mozambique and Zambia.

Ninety percent (90%) of the respondents were appreciative of the government's 'positive' move in giving them land. The majority of the respondents indicated that they practice both methods of agriculture, that is, crop production and stock farming (mixed

farming). The respondents stated that they do this in order to spread the risk. If one form fails, the other one will succeed and support the failing one. One of the male respondents said, "*Hazvina maturo kuchengetera mazai ose mudendere rimwe* (It is dangerous to keep all the eggs in one basket, if the basket falls, all the eggs can be broken).

More than half of the respondents, fifty one percent (51%) indicated that land reform was not aimed at increasing agricultural production, but the aim of land reform is social justice. Giving back land to the rightful owners is the reason why the war of liberation was fought. One of the respondents stated that *...ivhu nderedu saka tinefaniro yekuripiwa, zvekuti tazorisevenzesei, uye sei, zvekuti tinokohwa zvizhinji here, izvi zvinoonekwa nemwene wechinhu achinge apiwa chinhu chake* (The land is ours and it rightfully belongs to us, so we have the right to get it back, the issue of how we are going to use it or are we producing much, all these things will be to the rightful owner. The bottom line is, the owner need to get back what was captured from her/him without paying anything concurrently without procrastinating the process). Slightly above half (51%), poverty alleviation is of secondary importance; their priority was to get back what is rightfully theirs. This view is supported by Mararike (2003) who believes that land reform is much concerned with redressing the social injustices than the economics of production and poverty alleviation. The views of Mararike (2003) were attacked by Makumbe (2002), WB (2009) who believes that the social, economic and political sectors need not be separated in addressing problems that the society is facing.

The views above divided the participants and a powerful debate erupted. Some of the respondents, forty-nine percent (49%) indicated that land reform made things to get

worse socially, economically and even politically. *“Izvozvi hatichawani mari kumasangano anobatsira nemari akaita sanaInternational Monetary Fund uye World Bank, nyayayose iripaivhu apa. Ngatiregei zvekuvandana apa”* (We are no longer getting assistance from financial organizations like IMF and WB, the reason behind all this is the way we approached the land issue. These big organisations were borrowing the government of Zimbabwe, and by so doing the government then subsidises the farmers with seed, fertilisers, and pesticides. Let us not play a hide and seek game without coming clear with issues that needs immediate attention).

The respondent went on by saying that,... *hakuna munhu asingadi ivhu, uye hakuna munhu asingadi kurima, asi maitirwo azvakaitwa ndiwo anonyangadza* (There is no one who does not need land, whether directly or indirectly, either for residential or agricultural purposes or both. Almost everyone wants to farm either directly or indirectly, but the way and the approach that was taken in the redistribution of land was not pleasing).

These were people who had joined the land invasions from nearby communal areas, and had been allocated land by the District Land Committees under the fast-track programme. These were not rich, neither politically-connected elite but poor, rural people in need of land and keen to finally gain the fruits of their independence. As one put it, “Land is what we fought for. Our relatives died for this land... Now we must get it and make use of it”.

In terms of socio-economic profile, this group was very similar to those in the communal areas - slightly younger and more educated on average, but equally asset poor.

Despite the view above, indeed, the view that land is a shrine in the African culture is widely shared by most African people, but the developing governments are failing to provide a conducive environment in order to improve the lives of the land reform beneficiaries. The hand to mouth kind of life still exists. The findings above are supported by Masiwa (2004) who indicated that land reform in Zimbabwe has reduced the small fraction of poverty as anticipated.

3.3.1 Land access between men and women

Land was allocated unevenly to men and women. In most cases it is men whose names appear on the 'offer letters'. These are permits issued to new farmers by the government. It was the same even if one looks back during the time when the Lancaster House Agreement was in operation, men were given priority in accessing land at the expense of women. The points above is a clear evidenced of the available literature that women are marginalized from most programmes which directly affect their lives, land accessibility being a good example. A survey carried out by the United Nations (2009) showed that the Millennium Development Goals, one of them being the eradication of poverty by 2015, are far from being achieved in third world economies unless intensive reforms are implemented which includes the eradication of marginalization of women in all development circles.

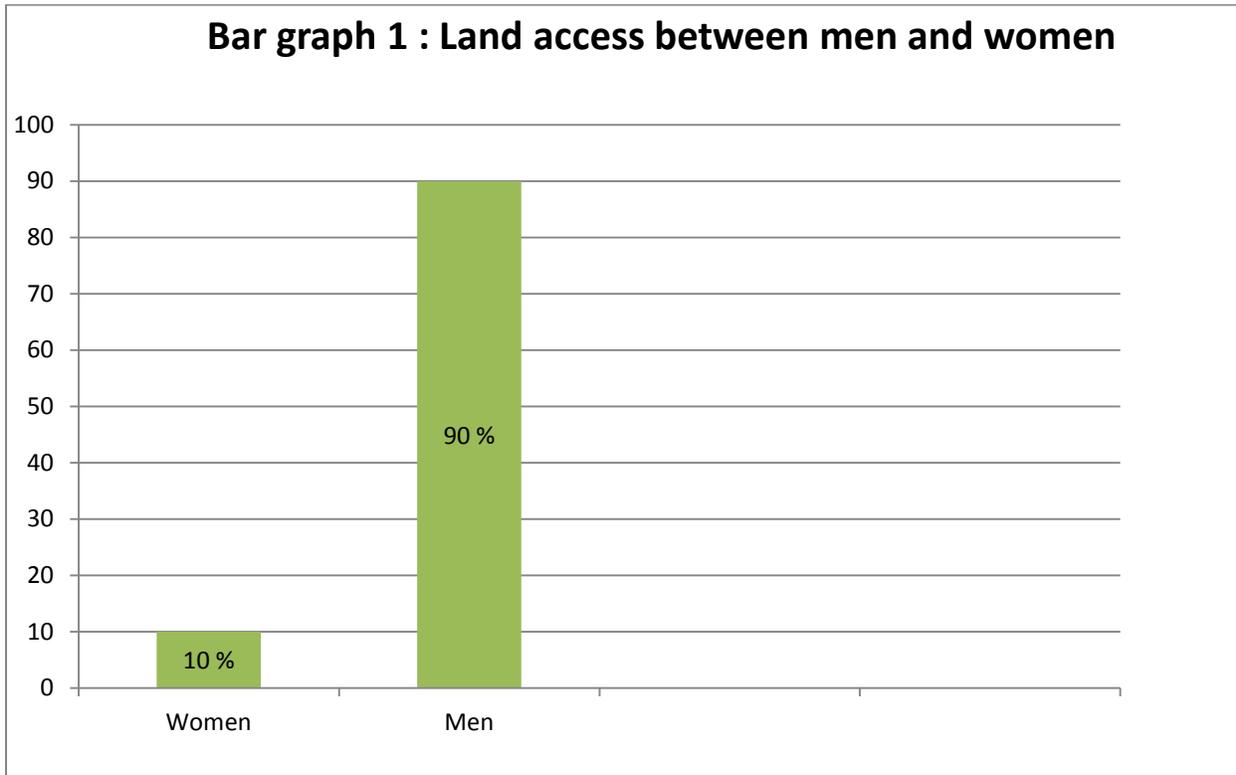
Some of the respondents stated that land distribution was not linked to politics; all people who wanted land could get it despite their political affiliations. Sixty-four percent (64%) of the women argued that if land distribution was not political, then it was

patriarchal because the playground was not level as postulated by radical conflict feminists like Gaidzanwa (1999) and also women organisations like WOZA (while thirty five percent (35%) who were seven (7) women posits that accessing land was apolitical, neither was it patriarchal. The remaining one percent (1%); (1 woman) said she did not have any idea about politics and patriarchy. What she was aware of was that she got land for farming and to feed her own family. *Zvimwe zvinhu ndingazvitsvakirei hangu kana ini ndichiziva kuti ndakanaka?* (Why do I have to be bothered by other things as long as I know that I am fine?)

3.3.2 Land access on different classes

Most women indicated that the government policies which call for equality across classes are on paper only and such policies are not implemented for the benefit of women. So it is better that the government should not talk about them, and leave us to the mercy of patriarchy than making empty promises. City Press (2010) quoted Madikizela Mandela saying that, “the government is to blame on most programmes that fail and excludes women”, on the same note Kabeer (1994) points out that the social relationships are the most culprits in denying women access to economic resources for the betterment of their lives. This tends to undermine poverty alleviation endeavors in most developing economies.

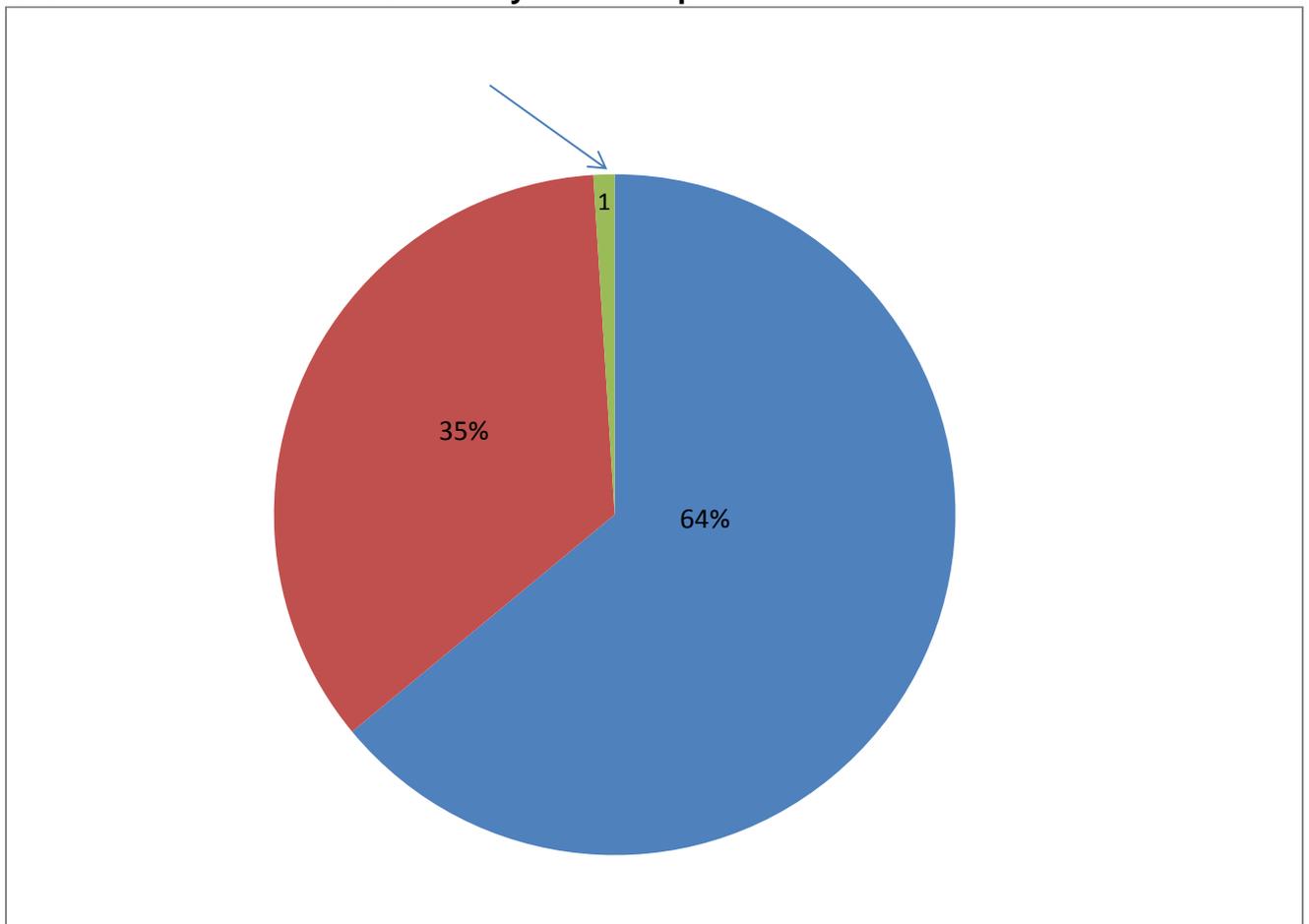
Access to land on gender (ii). Women who own land in their rightful names compared to men in Chikomati and Dungwe villages in percentages (%).



Women have a very small percentage of land ownership. The reasons attributed to this vast inequality were the government and Tribal Authorities' policies of giving first preference to men at the unexplained expense of women. Most women benefited through their husbands, that is, those who were married. The unmarried or widowed and separated women struggled to get access to land in their own names, hence, a very small percentage. Ninety percent (90%) was men ownership as they get support from both cultural practices of TAs and the policies of the government which negatively affect the efforts of land reform as asserted by Gaidzanwa (1999) that TAs and the government are patriarchal in nature.

The view by Sachikonye (2003) that women got their fair share in the whole process of land reform programme does have a lot of loopholes because from the empirical findings at a local scale, only ten percent (10%) of the women got land in their names, but surprisingly Sachikonye (2003) is talking about a fair share of twenty percent (20%) as compared to eighty percent (80%) that of men.

3.3.2.2 Pie chart 1: Summary of the responses in relation to land access.



Key:

Sixty four percent (64%): Respondents who argue that land access was political and patriarchal.

Thirty five percent (35%): Respondents who argue that land access was neither political nor patriarchal.

One percent (1%): No idea about politics and patriarchy in the allocation of land.

3.3.3 Household income before land reform

“Before we got land our household income was very low (between US\$200 and US\$350 per annum) principally because we had nothing to sell due to small land size and soil infertility”. One woman was open enough to state that her annual income was \$240 which is an equivalent of R2000 but now she is getting something between R18 000- R22 000 in the same period. The woman continued to say that before coming to the farms she had three (3) heads of cattle, but now she owns fifteen (15) heads of cattle. The woman indicated that, *“I have no need for a man in my life lest I become a producer not an owner”.*

The respondents unanimously agreed that their household income prior to land reform was very little. Some respondents stated that they had nothing at all due to lack of good land quality. Over and above that, small land sizes contributed to low income levels which automatically fuels poverty as postulated by Mararike (2003).

3.3.4 Impact of land reform on farmers' income

Most participants pointed out that their incomes were not the same as before getting land. Thirty two respondents (32) out of forty (40) respondents indicated that their incomes have increased significantly and their nutrition has changed for the better, though affected by the pattern of rains since their produce depends on the amount of

rainfall received that year. One of the respondents stated that his income has increased fourfold due to increased access to land despite the unfavourable market conditions. Now we can sell cotton (approximately 15-25 bales depending on the season), groundnuts and sunflowers. These sales give us cash which we can use to buy some household needs for the betterment of our nutrition while the eight (8) respondents indicated that they were still struggling to make ends meet. The views by the farmers were correct but the fact of the matter is that poverty is still haunting the greater part of the society of about sixty eight percent (68%) of the society is still struggling while the thirty two percent (32%) were living average lives, not rich though.

Forty nine percent (49 %) of the respondents believed that land has not solved their poverty in any way. The forty nine percent (49 %) respondents (20 participants) indicated that giving people land was not enough. This group argued that HIV/AIDS education is very necessary because one cannot do anything once fallen sick. The land can lay fallow for years principally because the owner is sick, those who are fit are affected emotionally and they spend much of their time and resources caring for the chronically ill. WHO (2008) asserts that disease is adversely affecting development, poverty alleviation being one of the development goals which can be difficult to achieve in Africa given the strong impact of the HIV/AIDS pandemic. The fifty one (51%) percent argued that land reform had done a lot of good in their lives despite the fact that they face some predicaments.

Asset ownership in newly settled areas was higher than the neighbouring communal areas, with new farmers owning more cattle, farm equipment and even cars compared to their counterparts in the old tribal trust lands. Of course, the reality that millions of

peasant farmers only escaped starvation these past 10 years only because international relief agencies were quick to step in with food handouts is also true. As the study pointed confirmed by the empirical findings, land reform in Zimbabwe is a mixed story at the same time very complicated. However, the hope is that the findings of relative prosperity among new farmers in that province are true compared to the communal farmers across the country.

3.3.6 Impact of land reform on productivity

Eighty percent (80%) of the farmers acknowledged that land reform led to increased production of both crops and livestock. Given the increase in pasture land, livestock farmers indicated that their livestock numbers have more than doubled in the first decade. Crop producers also indicated that their harvests had increased remarkably as compared to their time in the communal areas. The farmers cited reasons of increased production to good soil fertility concurrently bigger land sizes.

The views above are supported by Scoones (2010) who indicated that small grains have increased greatly with the advent of land reform. This means that land reform can alleviate poverty since the farmers have their produce to exchange for cash, but the farmers' efforts are brought to the lowest ebb due to low prices on the markets. The prices can fall to the extent that some of the farmers indicated that it would be better to keep the produce or to give the relatives that selling. Given such a scenario, twenty percent (20%) of the respondents argued that land reform does not reduce poverty at all. This becomes a very complicated equation to solve using one or two aspects.

Takatotema munda wedu zvakana chese zvakare unechikafu chinokwanisa kuriritira mhuri yangu gore rose (We have cleared our field, over and above that, the field is very fertile such that I can produce far much more than I used to produce in the communal areas and I can eat from that produce for one or two years).

One of the women said: *Hatitamburi sadza isu, zvekuti kana vanotenga waitenga nemutengo kwawo, taidai tavakure neupenyu* (We do not struggle to get food as long as the rains are good. If ever the buyers were offering good returns, we would have acquired much so far. The problem is that we are duped most of the time by the buyers. In most cases the government is silent about this). This kind of scenario undermines poverty alleviation efforts through land reform because the farmers are robbed of the proceeds which could reduce their chronic poverty.

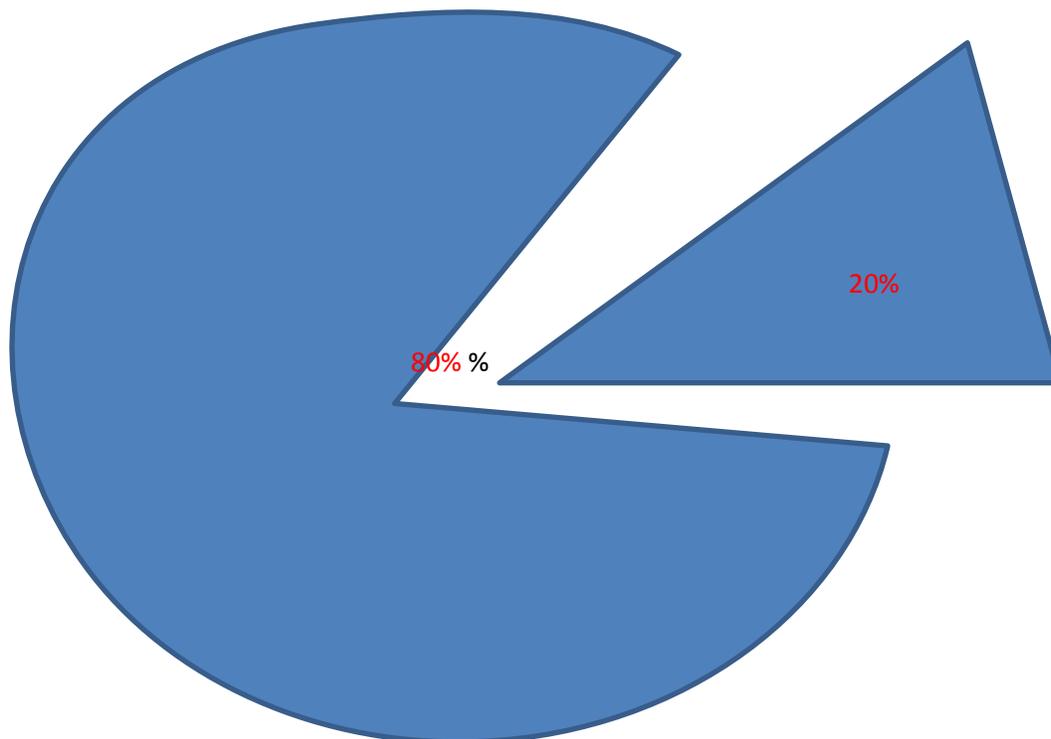
Muminda muno takazvigarirwa zvakana zvedu, vanotaura zvavanotaura ngavataure zvavo, kuruzevha hakuchadzokerwi. Izvozvi ravagumi ramakore, hapana chinochinja (In the farms here we are fine, those who make noise let them do so at their own peril, its 13 years now, we are not going back to the communal areas.)

While no-one denies the operation of political patronage in the allocation of land since 2000, particularly in the high value farms of the Highveld near Harare, and some parts of Mwenezi, the overall pattern is not simply one of elite capture. Across the 16 sites and 400 households (341 under A1, 59 under A2) surveyed in Masvingo, sixty percent (60%) of new settlers were classified as 'ordinary farmers' (The Zimbabwean, 4 November, 2010).

3.3.7 Final say over land produce

Eighty percent (80%) of the women from all religions were not satisfied with the way land and the produce is shared citing male dominance in all circumstances while twenty percent (20%) were much satisfied because they were used to the male dominance and exploitation. Most women tend to normalize the abnormal because it has become normal to them (Bina, 1992; Cheater, 1996; Meer, 1997). Given such a scenario, land reform become less beneficial to other individuals like women, this clearly shows that land alone cannot solve the problem of poverty.

Pie chart 2



3.3.8 Financial assistance?

All respondents indicated that there is no any organisation that assists them with any finance. The respondents cited reasons such as lack of collateral security as one that makes financial organisations not to give the farmers loans. Given the fact that the financial base of most farmers is very poor, nothing impressive can be achieved. This means that farmers cannot acquire the needed inputs in time, if ever they will get them. In a way, lack of finance means that farmers can do little to reduce their poverty, and the contribution of land reform in alleviating poverty is reversed.

3.3.8.1 Challenges faced by farmers in accessing finance

All respondents indicated that the banks turn down their applications for loans and any other financial help. The reason given by the banks was the lack of collateral security. The respondents indicated that financial constraints hinder them to get the needed inputs in time like seed and even labour. *Hatikwanisi kuwana mbeu yedu nezvimwe zvinodiwa nenguva kwayo. Izvi zvinokonzera kuti goho redu ridzikire sezvo tichizononoka kudyara* (We cannot get the inputs in time; and this point is supported by FAO (2009) that this can contribute to reduced yields than expected since it delays planting).

3.3.8.2 Non financial challenges faced by farmers

Migration

More than eighty percent (80%) of the respondents the researcher interacted with indicated openly that they had difficulty coping with the physical labour. One participant said that cotton is his bank that gives him money, but he stated that cotton production strains him when it comes to labour. Given the high levels of male migration to towns and to neighbouring countries, most homesteads are populated by the aged, the sick, children and women. The twenty percent (20%) indicated that male migration helps them through remittances.

One woman respondent stated that most of the land is owned by men but the people who are always found on that land are women. More than eighty percent (80%) of the labourers are women; men migrate to urban areas for formal and non-formal employment. Most women, about sixty percent (60%) said that their husbands or children send them some cash to purchase some needed inputs and household requirements while forty percent (40%) of the women respondents indicated that once men leave their wives at home they get involved with other women and tend to forget their wives. One woman said that their husbands will come back sick and in most cases with nothing which Gaidzanwa (1999) refers to as *Zvichoni*.

The widowed and separated women said that they rely on their children who also migrate to towns. In times of low yields these women indicated that they rely on remittances from their children to meet their needs.

3.3.8.4 HIV/AIDS

Most respondents indicated that there are many diseases that can attack people but the most obvious is HIV/AIDS. The impact of the pandemic on the economy, that is, agriculture and food security, and education should not be underestimated; this means that the resources both at local and national level are going to be diverted in order to reduce the severity of the HIV/AIDS pandemic. Some farmers are said to have left, often because of misfortune, ill-health or death (often precipitated by HIV/AIDS) although overall attrition rates have been small. On the A2 schemes - aimed at small-scale commercial agriculture - the economic meltdown from 2000-2008 has prevented substantial capital investment, and new enterprises have been slow to take off.

3.3.8.5 Water

All the respondents indicated that they have no reliable water sources to supply them and their animals throughout the year. This poses big problems principally because most of the time is spent looking for water to drink and for other domestic chores. *Matsime atinawo anopwa panongotanga kupisa kwezuva zvikuru zuva raGunyana uyeGumiguru. Hurumende haina kuticherera zvibhorani* (The wells we have here go dry in the month of September due to high temperatures. Besides that the water sources are not protected and the water is not treated). This kind of situation accelerates the chances of deadly diseases like cholera.

3.3.9 The emergence of health as a theme for discussion

One of the themes that emerged as the discussion unfolded was health related issue, especially HIV/AIDS. The respondents cited this as a serious matter of concern. One of the respondents said that, “we have to travel long distances in order to get treatment. The male participant stated that one of his neighbours lost a son on the way to the hospital because of a curable disease like malaria. The participants said that their nearest clinic is 30-35 km away. To make matters worse, they do not have transport, for example, cars or taxis servicing their route. They rely on donkey-carts and because it is slow, lives are lost which might have been saved. The participants cited this as one of the challenges they are facing and it affects their level of production as well as living in constant fear of their lives.

The participants from Chikomati village indicated that there is someone with a car but his charges are exorbitant, over and above that the person wants cash before the service is rendered, of which the cash might not be available especially in the case of emergence. All the respondents agreed with a loud voice that, *minda takaiwana chose asi hazvibatsiri kana upenyu hwedu hwuripatambo, hurumende ngaione chokuita nekukasika* (we got the land which is fine but our lives are at risk day by day, the government has to see to it that something is done as a matter of urgency).

One of the respondents said that one woman died due to bleeding. The woman gave birth on the way to the hospital and her bleeding was excessive till she died. The respondent narrated the story with tears flooding her cheeks. This woman called on the government to be more serious with respect to human life. The participants said that,

“we benefitted from the land reform but then if our health is at risk the whole matter is meaningless”.

More than eight-five percent (85%) of the respondents showed deep concern over the fate of their lives. Two women said that, *“our life is in danger; the life of our children is at risk.”* The government needs to consider people as people not as animals. *“How can we live like this?”*

Three (3) of the respondents, one (1) from Dungwe village and two (2) from Chikomati said that they lost five (5) people in Dungwe and fifteen (15) people in Chikomati in 2008 due to cholera outbreak. They said that cholera can be prevented and cured but if responsible entities and persons drag their feet, innocent people will perish which minimizes the benefits of land reform, concurrently escalating the poverty that many are seeking to evade.

Majority of the respondents indicated that many people are spreading the HIV/AIDS unknowingly because they lack health information. One woman from the MaPositora church said that many men sleep around with multiple partners without any protection, she continued by saying that this behavior puts the whole family at risk either directly through infection or indirectly through being affected. The resources are strained, the time to be devoted to agricultural activities is lost to caring for the chronically ill who, most of the time, will eventually die and this leaves most families very vulnerable if the one who died was the chief contributor to the use of the land either directly by working on the land or indirectly through providing money for the purchase of agricultural inputs.

Zimbabwe AIDS Council (2010) confirms that land reform cannot be complete in alleviating poverty if AIDS pandemic is not tackled as an emergency principally because the situation on the ground is denying any sustainability of land reform as a tool to alleviate poverty. Most people know about HIV/AIDS pandemic but they are still to know its impacts in agriculture and land reform. The lack of proper health education stands in the path of fruitful land reform and the alleviation of poverty as supported by WHO (2010), and FAO (2009) that a sick population/farmer is at the risk of becoming very poor. On the same note, Mullins (2001) asserts that AIDS affects the people who are being resettled. Some families are likely to be cut out of the land reform programme due to poor health or effects of already existing illness. Most of the families engaged in land reform, but will sooner or later fall ill and their families will get much less benefits than expected from the land that was assumed.

3.3.10. Irregularities in land allocation

The double allocations which are experienced by the farmers at times are done without the knowledge of the farmers. One respondent stated that she was once served with eviction papers because the land she had occupied belonged to someone but she indicated that she ignored the eviction order. This makes the farmers to live in fear and also continuously fighting legal battles which are costly, instead of concentrating on production, much time is spent on non-productive issues which in turn tend to defeat poverty alleviation through land reform. The other problem which surfaced which the respondents indicated was the lack of proper records.

Most of the respondents argued that the improper recording was intentional from the part of the tribal authorities so as to make money out of the ignorant people and also on the part of the government in order to gain political support as asserted by Makumbe (2002) that the government of Zimbabwe politicized the issue of land reform which automatically defeats the aim of land reform of alleviating poverty.

Thirty two and half percent (32.5%) who were 13 respondents did not agree with the others. The thirty one percent (32.5%) believed that there was some form of nepotism coupled with corruption in the allocation of land; and this defeats poverty alleviation. One of the most repeated stories was that people who were connected to the ruling ZANU PF got much and fertile land was supported by thirteen (13) which was thirty two and a half percent (32.5%) out of forty (40) respondents. The thirteen percent (13%) of the respondents later said that some people have to bribe the tribal authorities and government officials with money or with two to three beasts in order to get the portions of land they wanted while the fifty four and half percent (54.5%) did not agree to some form of corruption and nepotism in the allocation of land. Double allocations were rampant due to non-existent of proper records and this shows that land is not equitably distributed which issue undermines poverty alleviation.

3.3.11. The mixed views of respondents on the approach of land reform and poverty alleviation

Less than half of the respondents (42%) indicated that land reform was good for them but the approach/path that was taken led to a drop in the national agricultural output and

souring international relations especially with money-lending institutions though locally there are some 'positive developments' as far as output is concerned. These respondents were much concerned with the relations between people and nations. These participants stated that, "land reform was supposed to be holistic in its approach since land alone cannot solve all our problems". The fifty eight percent (58%) argued that land reform should be based on social justice than production issues. The same view of social justice to land is supported by Mararike (2000) who believes that for land reform to be very fair it must be based on social justice.

Eighteen percent (18%) of the respondents stated that the approach was both good and bad, that is fifty percent (50%) good and fifty percent (50%) bad. The respondents argued that there are advantages and disadvantages of the approach to land reform. *"If it was not the abandonment of the willing seller willing buyer approach and the adoption of the fast-track land reform, we would not have the land we are possessing now, but it was not good principally because there were some disturbances locally and mostly internationally" as far as production and human rights are concerned.* Makumbe (2002) argues that the approach was totally wrong because it led to suffering of the whole nation, and on the same note WFP (2009) asserts that food security was harmed due to land reform.

Five of the respondents (13%) indicated that they do not know anything about those complex issues of the approach and its outcome to land reform. Eleven respondents (27%) said that they did not see anything wrong with the so called violent approach to land redistribution. They argued that, *"why does one need to buy something that is rightfully yours, the way the land was taken from us is the way it should be repossessed*

from those who captured it". These participants indicated that the land was taken without legal courts so it should be taken back without legal courts. *"It is a painful truth but then it should be understood out there by all people"*. Sixty percent (60%) of the respondents had mixed feelings over the land reform issue; some were standing on the fence, not knowing which side to take given the complex of the matter.

3.3.12 Land rights

In a family of husband and wife, the land rights belong to a man. The wife is given usufruct rights by the husband. Ninety percent (90%) of the women were complaining about such practices while ten percent (10%) indicated that they have land rights. The issue of giving land rights to men only at the expense of women affects land reform programme because the other part become less committed which means that poverty cannot be alleviated in a conflicting environment.

3.3.13 Widows and land access.

Most of the widows could get land after a fierce battle, some of the women indicated that they had to access land through the names of their elder male sons. They indicated that the widowed had to bring the death certificate of their husbands in order to be recognized. The respondents, mainly women, indicated that land reform alone cannot alleviate poverty unless cultural and patriarchal reforms are implemented for the benefit of all people. Despite the fact that the number of widows is increasing in most

countries and Zimbabwe in particular, the number of widows getting land and other crucial resources for survival is dwindling (World Bank, 2008; and Gaidzanwa, 1999).

3.3.14 Disadvantaged groups

The orphans got the land but fairness was not practiced. This group was small and less vocal, and this contributed to them getting less fertile land. This kind of setup work to the disadvantage of the orphans and the alleviation of poverty. Gaidzanwa (1999) postulates that poverty is a created phenomenon which can also be alleviated by the institutions which created it.

3.3.15 The role of the government in setting prices

The participants indicated that the government does very little in protecting the farmers from the unscrupulous dealings of these private buyers. The autonomy exercised by these private buyers leave the farmers with very little benefits of their toil.

3.3.16 The government as the buyer

The government is also a buyer especially of maize and sunflowers through its Grain Marketing Board (GMB) outlets which are scattered across the country. The story is the same; the farmer is at a disadvantage. The farmers indicated that the GMB is the one that gazettes the prices; the farmers have nothing to say over their produce. All the

respondents unanimously agreed that if the price gazetted by the buyers is too low, they withhold their produce as a way to force the buyer to review the offer.

Ninety percent (90%) of the respondents stated that the government is the worst buyer principally because they delay that little payment due to bureaucracies involved. Farmers can wait for two to two and half months without payment which is a big disadvantage to the producers. Most of the respondents indicated that they sell their produce to the GMB as the last resort.

Some of the farmers who delivered grain to the GMB in May 2010, but have still not been paid were expecting payment within three weeks as announced by the Minister of Agriculture, Mechanisation and Irrigation Development, Joseph Made. The delays in payment were due to the board's running out of funds. One of the farmers said that there are farmers with a produce of nearly half a million tonnes but there is no buyer. The farmers are considering exporting their produce to neighbouring countries like Zambia, South Africa, and Botswana but they were discouraged by soaring costs, so they had to wait for the government to release funds to the GMB.

There were other farmers who indicated that they delivered their grain to the GMB in 2002 but had still not been paid due to economic meltdown during that period. The farmers said that they are still waiting for their payment since the Minister of Agriculture and Mechanisation (Joseph Made) and the new Minister of Finance (Tendai Biti) promised to pay immediately. The farmers showed great disappointment.

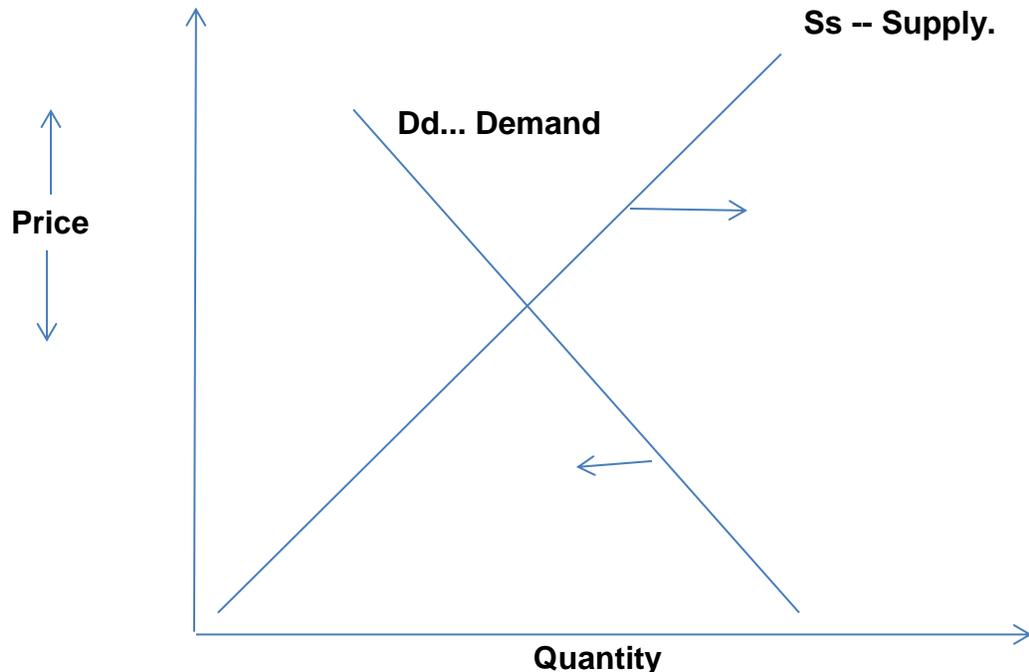
3.3.17. Marketing of the produce

The respondents indicated that they have limited access to proper and formal markets except those who produce cotton. Fourteen (14) out of twenty (20) women stated that they sell their produce (groundnuts, tomatoes and round nuts) locally. They also indicated that people from communal areas are regular buyers of their produce but the buyers are from a weak financial background such that not much was realized from selling such produce; hence, poverty levels remained high there were some positive improvements in household consumption and also some increments in financial status, though not much to say that poverty had been alleviated. In both villages, cotton and maize are men's crops.

The buyers of cotton are always available namely Cotpro, Cotco, and Cargil. Seventy percent (70%) which was twenty eight (28) of the respondents stated out that these private buyers assist farmers with seed and harvesting bags. The buyers will deduct the money when the farmers sell their produce. Thirty percent (30%) of the participants saw this kind of arrangement as limiting the choice of the farmers as far as selecting the buyer with the best price. Scoones (2010) noted that, "even if a bumper harvest is realized especially that of small grains little is gained by the farmers." The farmers' hopes to get much from the harvest are crushed due to a glut on the market which pulls the price to the lowest ebb.

The demand and supply law comes into effect.

3.3.18 Price, demand, and supply



As the supply exceeds demand, automatically the price falls especially on agricultural products, which is a disadvantage to the farmers for they get less proceeds from their harvest, this means that the fraction of poverty to be alleviated will contract.

All respondents from both villages indicated that the buyers are the ones who set the price of the farmers' produce. The farmers just have to give in. All respondents indicated that at times strong conflicts arise between the buyers and farmers over the issue of the price of the farmers' produce. This is a sign of dissatisfaction on the side of the farmers. One of the respondents stated that in the previous year some of the farmers kept their produce vowing that they would not release it up until the buyers offer

a better price. The participants also indicated that the private buyers at times collude to offer a given price range at the disadvantage of the farmers.

3.3.19 Alternative markets

As alluded to above, respondents stated that some produce need neither GMB nor private buyers, for example, maize, groundnuts, round nuts. This means that the farmer has control over pricing of his/her produce. Some of the buyers come from adjacent communal areas; some customers come from urban areas like Harare, Bulawayo, Beitbridge and Masvingo. These buyers purchase the farmers' produce in many ways; for example; cash or kind, some buyers bring clothes, beds, televisions, and radios. The farmer and the buyer will negotiate over the price which satisfies both.

3.3.20 The markets as a problem.

All respondents indicated that markets are a problem which they encounter year after year. If there is a bumper harvest, the prices fall significantly. Farmers stated that they are forced to sell their produce at such low prices because if they do not sell their produce, it will rot or get attacked by weavils which become another loss. Respondents from both villages, ninety eight percent (98%) pointed out that storage of their produce is a big problem.

Given these problems, the farmers are prone to exploitation and embezzlement by the merciless buyers, the government included. The two percent (2%) were the degreed people with employment, and they indicated that they can afford to buy very good chemicals for the protection of their harvest in times of poor market price, but the bottom line is that the markets are not favourable to the farmers such that poverty alleviation is not addressed well.

3.3.21 Animal producers

There are those farmers who produce mainly cattle; the respondents indicated that there are companies which buy from them. These companies are mainly from Masvingo town. Carswell Meats and Montana are good examples. The farmers indicated that they are happy with the way/price these companies buy their animals. The price ranges from US\$350-US\$450 which is an equivalency of R2000-R3000 per head. Local buyers usually need cattle for *lobola* payment especially in the month of December and April. Eighty six percent (86%) of the respondents sell their animals to these buyers except fourteen percent (14%) who sell their animals to relatives as a way of boosting them. In way, a fraction of poverty is reduced and farmers indicated that if buyers of their grain were buying like the stock buyers they would be living a better life. WB (2008) asserts that if the market performs fairly, even the rural poor will be comfortable.

3.3.22 Synoptic summary of empirical findings

Much of the land is still under the control and ownership of men. The problem of hand to mouth kind of life still exists; a very small percentage of poverty was alleviated. Women own and control a very small percentage of land; this points the discussion to gender politics which Gaidzanwa and Cheater (1995) refer to as the creation of reality by men at the expense of women. This kind of scenario perpetuates gendered poverty as well as continued treatment of women as appendages of society.

On the issue of agricultural production, small grains like millet, beans, and rapoko have increased as stated by The Zimbabwean (2010), but the predicament of good markets which include buyers with satisfactory prices still works against farmers at the same time crippling poverty alleviation endeavours.

Most of the respondents were happy that they got land but they seem to murmur as far as the approach of the government to many things as it does not look at the root causes but merely addresses symptoms. Addressing the symptoms means merely postponing the problem than solving it.

Chapter Four (4)

4. Summary, Conclusion, and Recommendations

This chapter summarises the findings of the study and gives the conclusions based on the empirical facts on the ground. This led to the researcher proposing the recommendations that should be implemented in order to achieve the goal of alleviating poverty through land reform. This means that there are areas that need more research in order to come up with a holistic kind of approach in trying to reduce the impact of poverty with much focus on vulnerable individuals and communities.

4.1 Introduction

The land reform in Zimbabwe is one of the most complicated phenomenon, over and above that, it is a mixed story by district or province, and also taking into consideration the natural environment the place falls. Some households are doing exceptionally well with good yields especially in 2004, 2006, and 2009 while others are struggling due to various predicaments, for example, the lack of production inputs like seed and chemicals for the prevention of pesticides especially in cotton, lack of farming knowledge, the sky rocketing HIV/AIDS pandemic, and frequent drought as well (Scoones, 2010).

The view by Scoones (2010) is very true, there are some farmers who are thriving as compared to their previous years in the communal areas (average though) while others

are worse off than before. The impact of HIV/AIDS and other related illnesses cannot be overlooked as supported by the World Bank (2009). The HIV/AIDS pandemic is contributing to the problems of low production in other families due to diverted focus. The pandemic is killing people who have to provide the critically needed physical and professional labour, this results in labour shortage, thereby the purpose of alleviating poverty is continuously defeated (Zimbabwe AIDS Council, 2009). Most families are child headed due to HIV/AIDS; this means that the expected benefits are eroded by this pandemic.

Land reform comes as one of the package in the alleviation of poverty. To say that land reform alone can alleviate poverty has proved to be impossible as in the case of Zimbabwe where the majority got land but poverty levels were not scaled down with the anticipated percentage or fraction. The benefits of land reform cannot be achieved by giving the landless access to land only, and cannot be realised overnight as many developing governments are expecting. It calls for a lot of sacrifice, hardworking and a long time to achieve such goals like poverty alleviation especially in developing economies where capital and technical knowhow is limited and scarce.

4.1 The two way sided Zimbabwean land reform

Zimbabwe's land reform has bad press and publicity the world over. Problems, failures and abuses were identified for sure, as agreed by The Zimbabwean (2010) and Makumbe (2000). Images of chaos, destruction and violence have dominated the coverage, but there is a ray of hope and success. Indeed, these have been part of the

reality and it cannot be disputed-but there have also been successes, which have thus far gone largely unrecorded.

The story is not simply one of collapse and catastrophe. It is much more complicated than the generalised conclusions reached by many authors. The facts on the ground did not match the myths so often perpetuated in wider debate. The Zimbabwean (2010) asserted that the production of small grains has exploded, increasing by hundred and sixty percent (160 %) compared to 1990s averages. Edible dry bean production has expanded even more, up to two hundred and eight two percent (282%); cotton production has increased slightly, up thirteen percent (13%) on average but the problem is where the farmers can sell their produce? This means that the present situation of limited markets militates against the purpose of poverty alleviation.

On the other hand, the idea that mere redistribution of land will carry enormous prosperity in its wake or alleviate poverty “significantly” has been proved to be a myth. Land reform alone is not enough to quench the high levels of chronic and abject poverty in most Third World Economies. There is urgent need for complete economic, political and social reforms in order for land to give its best. Market reforms are very important because even if farmers have a bumper harvest, if the markets are offering unfavourable conditions in terms of very low prices, poverty will still haunt the farmers despite their good harvest. The unopposed fact is that land reform can be tackled effectively only when it is underpinned with other sectors and also with the maintenance of a viable commercial agricultural sector. Random distribution of land can harm the economy than improving it. In many instances, it is the poor who suffer the most. Simply distributing as much land as possible hastily to as many people as possible has

created more problems than solved, for example, ongoing malnutrition in some parts of the country, though other areas are well-off.

The success of white commercial agriculture was achieved through controversial and complex channels and after a long time (more than half a century) of experience, training and research. One of the most controversial channels through which commercial agriculture became successful was through forced labour concurrently very cheap labour coupled with very low interest bank charges on loans. Forced removals, forced labour, long time of research and cheap labour are part and package for the success of white commercial agriculture. This means that black peasant and commercial agriculture, if given enough time and maximum support, can reach the pinnacle of success as achieved by white commercial agriculture. It is too early to blame the land reform in Zimbabwe as a total failure.

The government as the bigger body in the land reform programme need to formulate policies that are racial, class and gender free in order to encompass all groups of its citizens. There are other players like non- governmental organizations, interested parties, and civic organizations, these need to take hands in an effort to achieve and alleviate the most desired fraction of poverty. The people who got land in Zimbabwe and the world over need all the empowerment, capacity building, and technical assistance in order to maneuver.

After political independence, the Zimbabwe government has undertaken measures of land redistribution but has yet to achieve a thorough land reform. Clumsy bureaucracy procedures slow down the pace of land reform implementation like the case of South

Africa and Namibia, to mention but a few. The government of Zimbabwe seems to have acknowledged that land alone can never solve the problems of rural poverty. There can be some increases in production, but that alone does not solve poverty. Poverty is a multifaceted phenomenon which cannot be alleviated through a single approach of land redistribution. There is need for combining all parts or aspects to make a whole. There is no rational redistribution plan that can take all of the steam out of the kettle. Land reform policies have to be always coupled with other policies to create alternative forms of support and employment.

Land reform is a very broad spectrum such that for it to alleviate poverty so many aspects need to be considered. The likes of environmental issues, for example, rainfall patterns should be considered in order to determine the type of agriculture which is most viable in a particular place. The soil quality and the ability and capability of the newly resettled farmers to buy and operate the required machinery in order to start production are of paramount importance. There are places where forestry is the only activity suitable; this means that, priority must be given to people whose interests are in forestry.

Many people are interested in making their stomachs full rather than broad and international standards of life. *Vanhu takasiyana, saka hatingafanani mumaitiro, mumaonero, zvakare mumararamiro* (People are different; we cannot be the same in deeds, perception, and also the way of life). *Ndinongoda kuti dai ndadya ndikaguta, zvimwe handina basa nazvo ini* (I do not mind about many things, so long my stomach is full and my children are playing).

Structural positions such as state policy and laws are gender discriminatory. Access to, and control of economic resources, as well as a focus on how political, economic, and cultural conditions limit women's room to better their lives. The social system subordinates women through mediating their economic rights through institutions of marriage, and by so doing, poverty become a gendered issue.

The policy by the government to equitably distribute the resources between men and women is a major advance as it represents the unusual phenomenon of women having primary rights to agricultural land. The problem is that the policies are not effectively implemented such that over a period of twenty years (20 years), only a small portion of women own land in their own right. Although maintenance laws operate in the context of plural legal systems in Southern Africa, Zimbabwe included, the customary and general laws have taken much precedence and have fused to greater extend.

Principles of traditional law remain an influence on the way people think and the way trials are conducted. In both villages, it was surprising that although women lead the statistics in terms of population, they fall short on societal matters like decision making, resource accessibility or general participation on different programmes. Given the lack of consultation by the government, the locals/villagers are denied their basic human right on aspects relating to their livelihoods especially women.

The traditional flavours that are practiced in these two villages (Dungwe and Chikomati) retain the patriarchy way of accessing land at the expense of women. This kind of practice compels women to engage in complex and dangerous attempts to manage men through the use of husband taming herbs (Cheater and Gaidzanwa, 1996).

Women have responded to the erosion of their rights in ways that appear paradoxical, some undergoing Christian conversion while others use husband taming herbs especially those from non-Christian backgrounds.

4.2 The crucial importance of land

Land reform is surely an irreplaceable arrow in fighting poverty and its consequences. Farming is not merely an occupation but a way of life for most African and Asian people. Indeed, getting land reform right from the outset is of paramount importance in order to achieve the desired goal of alleviating poverty. For this reason, a programme to accelerate land acquisition, intensify land resettlement, and guarantee security of land tenure should be elevated to high priority especially when dealing with the poor of the poorest, access to land can be the foundation in reducing their poverty. All the same, for land reform to register best results, it must be intimately married to other sectors of the economy at the same time weaning corruption and the unscrupulous ways of resource allocation which are rampant in most developing nations (de Soto, 2009).

Three main policy frameworks have affected the performance of agriculture in Zimbabwe in the past two decades. First, there was the “growth with equity programme” pursued by the government between 1980 and 1990. It sought to redress the colonial legacy in favour of communal farmers. Second, there was the “structural adjustment market-oriented reforms”, the Economic Structural Adjustment Program (ESAP), adopted in 1991, which failed to deliver the expected fraction of land completely.

Finally, with more profound implications for the sector, there was the programme of “fast-track land resettlement and redistribution” started in 2000 and currently in progress. No matter how people want to defend the willing seller willing buyer clause or market assisted land reform; the fact remains that it will not achieve equality in addressing the imbalances which were, in most cases, racially created. The unequal starting points and bargaining powers of different groups put the landless at a disadvantage. The market assisted reforms failed in many economies especially in Africa, given the fact that many African governments are bankrupt, “equal distribution through the willing seller and willing buyer” becomes a nightmare.

The agricultural sector has certainly been transformed, and there are major problems in certain villages or areas, but it certainly has not collapsed as is the chorus of many authors. The aggregate figures only tell one side of the story. To get a sense of what is happening in the fields and on the farms, a more local focus is needed. At a national scale, production has plummeted beyond reasonable doubt between 2000 to mid-2004, but at household level coupled with good rain season, production has increased and the nutritional challenges are kept at a minimal between 2005- 2010.

The overall the picture is very complex, but a mere narrative that land reform has been dominated by the grabbing elites is clearly inaccurate. The ordinary people got sixty percent (60%) of the land in Zimbabwe while the elites got forty percent (40%) though it cannot be disputed that the elite got the best and most fertile land. “War veterans, often with an ambivalent attitude to the ruling party hierarchy but not mostly aligned to the opposition, were influential in the allocation of better plots on the A1 self-contained schemes. The A2 schemes are dominated by people who are over forty- five (45), but

often include people with significant experience and connections (The Zimbabwean, 4 November 2010).

Any reform in land holding or tenure will have to be accompanied by a complete overhaul of support services if farmers are to overcome decades of poverty and neglect. Poverty alleviation is never a small and simple matter. This means that poverty alleviation has to be holistic by encompassing the whole human being and her/his environment.

According to the United Nations Economic Report for Africa (UNECA) (2000), Zimbabwe has experienced its worst economic crisis ever for the past 3-4 years (2004-2008), with all macroeconomic fundamentals indicating a continued collapse of the economy. Output growth has decelerated since 1997, with real GDP falling by five and half percent (5.5%) in 2000 and seven and half percent (7.5%) in 2001, mainly because of the poor performance of the agricultural sector. In the same period, the economy faced dangerous crippling foreign exchange shortage, poor weather conditions, negative real interest rates and three-digit inflation of one hundred and twenty percent (120 %). The main cause for this collapse lies in the shocks (land invasions, bad rainfall pattern, and poor economic management) to agriculture, which is the mainstay of the Zimbabwean economy (Scoones 2010). The points above do lack a critical observation of what is happening on the ground, of course problems were apparent but there was no total collapse witnessed.

Indeed, agricultural production declined in volume, and value terms since 2000 when compared to average output during the 1990s. In reality, production fell because of

interrelated factors which include land transfers, sustained droughts and economic isolation, reflecting both and internal and external factors. It is very true that the economy of Zimbabwe has declined with some significant percentages especially in the agricultural sector between 1990 and 2008, but positive growth is starting to be realized in end of 2008 through 2009 to 2010 especially the small grains as supported by Scoones (2010) in the study carried out in Masvingo province, but the increase in production of small grains does not correlate with the decrease in poverty which means that some sectors were not included in the package.

Table 1: The table below summarises the profiles of settler household heads (%).

| | A1 villagised | A1self-contained | Informal | A2 | Total |
|--|---------------|------------------|----------|------|-------|
| Ordinary people from other rural areas | 59.9 | 39.2 | 69.7 | 12.2 | 49.9 |
| Ordinary people from urban areas | 9.4 | 18.9 | 22.6 | 43.8 | 18.3 |
| Civil servants | 12.5 | 28.3 | 3.8 | 26.3 | 16.5 |
| Security services | 3.6 | 5.4 | 3.8 | 1.8 | 3.7 |
| Business people | 3.1 | 8.2 | 0 | 10.5 | 4.8 |
| Former farm worker | 11.5 | 0 | 0 | 5.3 | 6.7 |

Adapted from “The Zimbabwean”, 4th November 2010

Land previously occupied by a single farmer is now used by a highly diverse group of people. A very different social and economic dynamic is unfolding, one that has multiple potentials, as well as challenges.

Land title seems to be very important as expected for farmers. Farmers feel insecure in terms of their ownership. A full title deed and land tenure reform has been identified as one of the driving forces behind effective land reform and poverty alleviation programmes. Small scale farming can produce high returns to land and labour. It is providing livelihoods for rural families and offer employment opportunities. However, farmers need support to anchor them once they get started.

All participants, regardless of political affiliation, social status or level of education agreed that land is needed for the survival of human race; its absence or its quality determines someone's quality and standard of life. In interviews with new settlers, despite the problems they encounter here and there, there is universal acclaim for the resettlement programme: *"Life has remarkably changed for me because I have more land and can produce more than I used to"*, said one; while another observed, *"We are happier here at resettlement. There is more land, stands are larger and there is no overcrowding. We got good yields in 2006. I filled two granaries with sorghum"*.

4.3 Christian views

All Christians from different denominations said that all the land belong to God, therefore, it must be shared equally. The government and tribal authorities were made stewards; hence, no one should sale someone a piece of land. The goal of land reform

is to provide the wider majority of people of all classes with access to land for residential and productive use in order to improve their livelihoods, with particular emphasis on the poor, labour tenants, former farm workers, women and emergent farmers. Given the fact that about sixty percent (60%) of the total population is primarily dependent on agriculture and its related industries, because of this critical role of the broader agricultural sector, a united and prosperous agricultural sector is of vital importance while the forty percent (40%) is involved in industries which cannot be wholly divorced from the agricultural sector.

4.4. Training of farmers

Training is a fundamental prerequisite for success. The farmers need training on areas like financial management, leadership and project management. Without significant improved access to agricultural support services, some farmers will continue to struggle to make productive use of the land available to them. Farmers need assistance to learn where and how to acquire loans and to administer them.

The areas planted to key commercial crops, that is, wheat, tobacco, soya beans and sunflower were the most affected by the land reform saga with outputs substantially reduced between seven and thirty percent due to land transfers. According to Moyo (2004), the land reform displaced the productive producers and replaced them with the new farmers who faced critical production shortages and access constraints, such as shortages of tillage and harvesting machinery, energy supply limitations, and financial resources.

The small grains like maize, rapoko, millet, and nuts have increased in production with the increased peasant farmers given the advent of land reform programme. Government interventions in the input, output, financial and foreign exchange markets have not been adequate to meet the needs, while external factors, including poor weather, and economic isolation, as well as the land transfers themselves led to reduced agricultural production. The major problem lies in the ownership itself, if reform leads to greater security of land ownership, through either formal or informal means, then those that use the land will be better stewards of it.

Of course, there are tangible successes as indicated by the empirical findings like increases in herds/livestock, rising grain production, but these benefits are eroded away principally because other reforms are not fully implemented which range from cultural/religious reforms, and most importantly market, health, and political reforms.

4.5 Recommendations

Based on the findings and conclusions drawn in this study, the researcher recommends that:

1. The government needs to speed up the process of title deeds. Of course the farmers are happy that they got land, but they are not certain and sure to what will happen to them since they have no binding proof that the land belongs to them. Their future hangs in the balance. The future of the farmers is not safeguarded. If reform leads to greater security of land ownership, through either

formal or informal means, then those that use the land will be better stewards of it.

2. It is extremely essential for the government of Zimbabwe and other governments from other countries, to initiate and develop land reform programmes which will benefit all people despite of race, class and education, and political affiliation.
3. The government needs to setup unbiased research department which it (government) must consult timeously especially when engaging on important programmes like land reform for poverty alleviation. This body must be constituted by people who are from different organisations like the civic, academia in order to avoid unbalanced conclusions.
4. The government as the major player in land reform programme, needs to join hands with the private and civil organizations in order to realize the desired benefits of the programme itself. Non- governmental organizations and human rights organizations must be involved in order to have a holistic approach to land reform and poverty alleviation. Given the positive financial background of these non- governmental organizations, their involvement in land reform programme and poverty alleviation can increase the level of success.
5. Maximum participation from the grassroots should be sought prior to implementing programmes that affect the people who are meant for those projects.
6. Given the fact that more than half of the Zimbabwean population is Christian, the church need to be consulted as to how the project should be carried out.

7. The government and the donor community should set up training programmes in order to provide the newly resettled farmers with the technical knowhow and the technical know why.
8. Since it is the duty of the government to improve the quality of life of all people, it has to develop and involve all stakeholders in the programme of land reform and poverty alleviation. The government must be held responsible for this. In order for this to be successful, the government needs to come down to the people and hear what their concerns are, that is, using the bottom up approach which increases participation as stated earlier.
9. Cultural and customary practices which undermine the cause of women, for example, the practice of denying women primary rights of ownership of land must be reformed in order to treat all people with impartiality. Tribal Authorities should encourage fair practices within their areas of influence. Most societies still regard women as second class citizens who have to access resources alongside men. Such kind of practices must be reformed if a holistic approach to land reform and poverty alleviation has to be achieved.
10. Producers should have a say or a role to play over the price of their produce to avoid the conflicts which at times become so strife to the extent of producers keeping their produce until the price is reviewed. To reduce such kind of scenario the government should allow many players in buying the produce from farmers so that they (farmers) can realize the meaningful benefits of their toil.

- 11.** The government must guarantee ownership over the acquired land so that the owners can use their land as collateral when they want to access loans from banks. As of now farmers cannot borrow from banks using their land as collateral principally because the ownership is not clear.
- 12.** The potential of agriculture, as the core livelihood activity for most, will need to be nurtured and enhanced by policy interventions that ensure input supply and wider extension support, both currently sorely lacking. For the drier areas, water control is the key constraint, and investment in small-scale irrigation and water harvesting is unquestionably a major priority for the future. The researcher recommends that the government and the private, civil and donor community assist the newly resettled farmers through subsidizing the inputs like seed, fertilizers, and irrigation equipment.
- 13.** Expertise in key and crucial sectors of the economy need to be increased and boosted in order to solve economic and social problems like poverty.
- 14.** A strong and forceful call is being made to the government to equip the community with knowledge before undertaking projects or programmes that directly affect the peoples' lives.
- 15.** Poor people themselves should take charge of the programmes so that they become owners of such programmes which are intended to alleviate poverty or improve their situations, hence, bottom up approach becomes necessary. This means that supporting agencies like NGOs, Christian Based Organisations and the government should play a facilitating role.

Any future land allocations should be based on the individual's ability and capacity of making optimal use of land. This means that a structured training programme for the farmers by responsible departments and supporting agencies must be put on top of the priority. The most important areas to be covered should include: (1) Financial management

(2) Programme management and,

(3) Marketing strategies.

The farmers need assistance to learn where and how to acquire loans and how to administer them. Finance should be made available to farmers who are unable to qualify for bank loans due to lack of collateral security. This will enable farmers to realise their potential though at a limited scale.

16. Issues of democratization and rule of law need to be solved in the context of the new property rights and their distribution in order to boost farmers and investor confidence.

17. The study also recommends that much research is needed into this field so as to find more ways of reducing poverty through increasing access to resources.

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Appendages

Appendix A: Approval of research proposal: Ethics Research Committee

Appendix B: Approval Letter from the Tribal Authorities

| |
|--|
| CHIEF NESHURO |
| MWENEZI DISTRICT |
| DATE 08-01-2010 |
| SIGN  |

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

The bearer, Listen Jingi ID N^o 54-0727Bm54 has been granted permission to carry out an investigation on Land Reform and Poverty Alleviation in Zimbabwe specifically in Dungwe and Chikomati villages in Mwenezi District.

The study is for academic purposes only

Yours faithfully

P. Shoko p.p Chief Neshuro.

Appendix C

Newspaper cuttings with related study topics

BY IAN SCOONES

One of the most repeated myths about Zimbabwe's land reform is that all the land went to 'Mugabe's cronies'; those with access to elite connections and benefiting from political patronage. This did, of course, happen, and continues to do so. Tackling such extreme excesses of land grabbing through a land audit remains a major challenge. But elite capture is not the whole story of Zimbabwe's land reform; nor indeed the dominant one.

Who got the land?

Who got the land and what is the profile of the new settlers? Our study of 400 households across 16 sites from Masvingo province showed by far the majority of the new settlers are ordinary people. About half of all new settler households are from nearby communal areas and another 18% from urban areas. These are people who had little or very poor land in the communal areas or were unemployed or with poorly-paid jobs and

living in town. The remaining third of household heads was made up of civil servants (16.5% overall, but increasing to around a quarter of all settlers in A1 self-contained and A2 sites), business people (4.8% overall, but again proportionately higher in the A1 self-contained and A2 sites), security service personnel (3.7% overall) and former farm workers (6.7% overall).

Farm workers made up 11.5% of households in the A1 villagised sites, with many taking an active role in the land invasions. In one case a farm worker organised and led the invasion of the farm where he had worked. Given that in other parts of the country, farm workers were displaced in large numbers, often ending up destitute, living in camps on the farms, this is perhaps surprising.

Yet this reflects the extent and nature of labour on the former large-scale farms in Masvingo province. Unlike in the Highveld farms, where large, resident labour forces existed without nearby communal homes, our Masvingo study sites were formerly large-scale ranches where

labour was limited, and workers came, often on a temporary basis, from nearby communal areas.

Across all of these categories are 'war veterans'. As household heads they make up 8.8% of the total population. The category 'war veteran' is however a diverse one. Prior to the land invasions, most were farming in the communal areas, a few were living in town, while some were civil servants, business people and employees in the security services.

'Only 12% of households had a woman named as the land holder'

Appendix D: Informed consent form

| | |
|---|--|
| Research Title An investigation of land reform and poverty alleviation in Zimbabwe 1990-2010: The case of Dungwe and Chikomati villages in Mwenezi district | |
| Researcher's contact details Cell: +263 774 3 444 20 +2774 919 3685 Email: Listenyingi@yahoo.com | |
| I have read and understood the information sheet attached | |
| I agree to participate in this researcher | |
| I understand and agree that the research may be recorded | |
| I understand that the research may be used in future books, journals, reports and conference presentations | |
| I understand that what I say may be quoted as long as I remain anonymous | |
| I understand that I can withdraw my consent and participation from the research at any time without any problems. | |

Appendices

Interview Guide

Section One

The medium of communication will be English and Shona in order to reach all the respondents with the language they are comfortable with.

Personal data

1.1 Age

1.2 Sex Male

Female

1.3 Name of village Dungwe

Chikomati

1.4 Highest educational qualifications Primary

Secondary

University

1.5 Marital status

Single

Married

Divorced

Widowed

1.6 Employment status

Employed

Unemployed

Partially employed

Section Two

Land and produce:

2.1 Do you have yields to spare?

| | |
|-----------------|--|
| At times | |
| Always | |
| Never | |

2.2 How do you use your spare produce?

| | |
|----------------------|--|
| Sell | |
| Store for future use | |
| Give to relatives | |

2.3 Did you encounter problems in getting land?

| | |
|--------------|--|
| All the time | |
| At times | |
| Never | |

2.4 How is the land owned?

| | |
|------------------|--|
| Lease agreement | |
| Government land | |
| Communally owned | |

2.5 How was the land acquired?

| | |
|-------------------------------|--|
| Inheritance | |
| Rented | |
| Given by the Tribal authority | |

Section Three

Land, gender and authority:

- 3.1 Was there an equal distribution of land between the women and men?
- 3.2 According to your observation, how did the people from different classes obtain the land?
- 3.3. How was your household income before you benefited from land reform programme?
- 3.4 How is your household income after you benefited from the land reform programme?
- 3.5. Did land reform have any impact on your lives? Please substantiate your view
- 3.6. What impact did the land reform have on your level of production, explain in detail?
- 3.7. Who has the final say over the produce in the household?
- 3.8. Which organization assists you with finance, if any?
 - 3.8.1 What challenges do you encounter in accessing financial aid for buying seed and other inputs?
- 3.9. How did health affected the programme of land reform and poverty alleviation?
- 3.10. Do you suspect any form of corruption in the allocation of land in the district?
- 3.11. Are women and men both participate in the whole process of land reform?
- 3.12 Who owns the land rights in a family a husband or a wife?

3.13 Are the widows getting access to the land? Please elaborate.

3.14 Did the disadvantaged groups as orphans get access to the land? Please Elaborate

3.15 Which role does the government play in the allocation of land?

3.16 How are Local Tribal Authorities exercising their power in the land reform programme?

3.17. How is the produce sold cum challenges encountered if any?

Thank you for taking part in this study.

Appendix F: Discussion of questions (Shona)

Mibvunzo

Chikamu chokutanga:

1.1 Zera

| |
|--|
| |
|--|

1.1.2 Rupandi

| | |
|---------|--|
| Mukadzi | |
| Murume | |

1.1.3 Zita redunhu

| | |
|-----------|--|
| Dungwe | |
| Chikomati | |

1.1.4 Pamakasvika nedzidzo

| | |
|-----------------------------|--|
| Handina kumboenda kuchikoro | |
| Danho rekutanga | |
| Danho rechipiri | |
| Chikwekwenhero | |

1.1.5 Zverooro

| | |
|------------------------------|--|
| Handina kuroora kana kuroora | |
| Ndakarooro | |
| Takarambana | |
| Ndakafirwa | |

1.1.6 Zvemabasa

| | |
|-----------------------------|--|
| Ndinosevenza | |
| Handisevenzi | |
| Nninosevenza nedzimwe nguva | |

Chikamu chechipiri: Munda nezvegoho

2.1 Munombokohwa kupfurikidza zvamunoda here?

| | |
|----------------|--|
| Nedzimwe nguva | |
| Nguva dzose | |
| Kwete | |

2.2 Goho rinopfurikidza zvamunoda munoita sei naro?

| | |
|-------------------------------|--|
| Tinotengesa | |
| Tinochengetera nguva dzemberi | |
| Tinobatsira hama | |
| Tinoitisa maricho | |

2.3 Munda wenyu makamuwana sei?

| | |
|----------------------|--|
| Ndownhaka | |
| Takapiwa nehurumende | |
| Takapiwa namambo | |

2.4 Munda wenyu wakakura zvakadini?

| | |
|-----------------|--|
| Mukuru kwazvo | |
| Mukuru | |
| Pakati napakati | |
| Mudiki | |

2.5 Munda uyu munoti ndowenyu pakudii?

| | |
|-------------------------------|--|
| Takapiwa nzvumo yekugara | |
| Tinemagwaro anopupura izvozvo | |
| Takaroja | |

Chikamu chechitatu: Rupandi, minda nekuenzanisa

- 3.1** Minda yakagohwa zvakanaka pakati pavarume nevakadzi here?
- 3.2** Maonero enyu, vanhu vanobva mumipanda yakasiyana-siyana vakawanawo chikamu chavo cheivhu here?
- 3.3** Mawaniro amaita mari musati mawana minda naiyevino zvakamira sei?
- 3.4** Nyaya yeminda yakaitwa sei pamaonero enyu?
- 3.5** Nyaya yeminda pana zvayakaita panezvegoho renyu here?
- 3.6** Pakauya minda, upenyu hwenyu hwakashandu nenzira ipi uye sei?
- 3.7** Aneshoko rekupedzisira nezvegoho renyu ndiyani nezvekushandiswa kwaro?
- 3.8.** Masangano api anokubatsirai nemari, kana aripo?
- 3.9** Pane zvibingamupinyi zvamunosangana nazvo pakucheneka mari kumabhanga here?
- 3.10** Kana zviripo zvingagadziriswa sei?
- 3.11** Munofungidzira huori here panyaya yekugohwa kweminda?
- 3.12** Mumhuri yenyu anesimba pamunda ndiyani?
- 3.13** Chirikadzi dzakawanawo minda here? Tsanangura.
- 3.14** Nherera dzakawanawo chikamu paminda here?
- 3.15** Hurumende inechekuita nekupiwa kweminda here?
- 3.16** Madzishe anotaridza sei simba ravo pakugohwa kweivhu?
- 3.17** Munosevenzera minda yenyu yose here?

Ndinokutendai kwazvo nerupandi rwamatora mutsvakurudzo iyi

The pictures below show some of the impacts of land reform and the methods used for production.

The scenario below shows some of the methods used in turning the soil, that is, ox-drawn plough in parts of rural Namibia. The mould board plough, chain and the yoke are used to effectively perform the duty.

Figure 1: Land tillage in Zimbabwe



The picture below shows the large commercial unit that produces potatoes for local and international markets. The small nearby farms also produced the same crop and sale it to the bigger unit. These commercial farms in Zimbabwe used to receive large economies of scale and loans were readily available, cheap labour and readily available transport and markets, guaranteed success. The farm used to highly productive before the advent of land reform. The problems discovered for the plummeting production were financial predicaments and the impact of HIV/AIDS.

Figure 2: Beatrice Potato Farm in Zimbabwe



Most of the subsistent farms are located in semi-arid and very arid regions of the country such that eking a living is very difficult; transport is mostly the donkey-cart as shown by the picture below.

Figure 3: Form of transport for ferrying farm produce from the fields and to the markets in the rural Zimbabwe.



It is very difficult to eke a living in these dry environments given the limited resources associated with subsistence agriculture.

Figure 4: Cassava Production in Cameroon



Adapted from Imbauri Non-Governmental Organisation Research.

The picture above is also a true reflection of a sedentary agriculture where a family grows enough to feed the immediate family with some extra for sale especially vegetables. This form of agriculture is mostly populated by women since most men leave their homes for wage employment, and are involved through remittances and decision making.

Below is a good example of a commercial farm in South Africa of a tea estate at Magoebaskloof near Tzaneen in the Limpopo Province. This farm is now in a controversial state with zero percent (0%) production, all the former workers are unemployed after the land claim by the Magoba people. During its peak period, the tea estate was a major employer in the then Northern Province now Limpopo province. At present the farm is no longer operational; all the equipment is laying idle except the houses the Magoba Tribal Authority is renting out to the people at R150 per room per month.

Figure 5: The former tea giant producer, Sapekoe Tea Estate, Magoebaskloof, RSA

