

Fast Track Land Reform Programme and Women in Goromonzi District, Zimbabwe

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by
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This thesis is dedicated to all my family, who have always supported, encouraged and believed in me in all my endeavours.

Abstract

From the year 2000, land became the key signifier for tackling the unfinished business of the decolonisation process in Zimbabwe, notably by rectifying the racially-based land injustices of the past through land redistribution. This took the form of the Fast Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP). However, the racialised character and focus of the FTLRP tended to mask or at least downplay important gender dimensions to land in Zimbabwe. Colonial and post-colonial Zimbabwe (up to 2000) had instigated, propagated and reproduced land ownership, control and access along a distinctively patriarchal basis which left women either totally excluded or incorporated in an oppressive manner. This patriarchal structuring of the land question was rooted in institutions, practices and discourses.

Although a burgeoning number of studies have been undertaken on the FTLRP, few have had a distinctively gender focus in seeking to identify, examine and assess the effect of the programme on patriarchal relations and the socio-economic livelihoods of rural women. This thesis makes a contribution to filling this lacuna by offering an empirically-rich study of land redistribution in one particular district in Zimbabwe, namely, Goromonzi District. This entails a focus on women on A1 resettlement farms in the district (and specifically women who came from nearby customary areas) and on women who continue to live in customary areas in the district. My thesis concludes that the FTLRP is seriously flawed in terms of addressing and tackling the patriarchal structures that underpin the Zimbabwean land question.

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Acronyms

ADA	Agriculture Development Authority
AGRITEX	Agricultural Research and Extension Services
AIAS	African Institute for Agrarian Studies
ANC	African National Congress
ARDA	Agriculture and Rural Development Authority
AREX	Agriculture Research Extension
BSAC	British South Africa Company
CAs	Communal Areas
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women
CFU	Commercial Farmers Union
CoS	Committee of Seven
DA	District Administrator
DDF	District Development Fund
DLC	District Land Committee
EMA	Environmental Management Authority
ESAP	Economic Structural Adjustment Programme
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations
FCZ	Forestry Commission of Zimbabwe
FGDs	Focus Group Discussions
FTLRP	Fast Track Land Reform Programme
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GoZ	Government of Zimbabwe
GRDC	Goromonzi Rural District Council
IRP	Intensive Resettlement Programme
LAMA	Legal Age of Majority Act
LONRHO	London and Rhodesian Mining and Land Company
LRRP 1	Land Reform and Resettlement Programme (Phase 1)
LRRP 2	Land Reform and Resettlement Programme (Phase 2)
LSCF	Large Scale Commercial Farming
MDC	Movement for Democratic Change

MoL	Ministry of Lands
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
NLHA	Native Land Husbandry Act
PLRC	Presidential Land Review Committee
RAs	Resettlement Areas
RDC	Rural District Council
SABC	South African Broadcasting Corporation
SPSS	Statistical Package for Social Scientists
SSCF	Small Scale Commercial Farming
TTLs	Tribal Trust Lands
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Emergency Fund
VIDCO	Village Development Committee
WADCO	Ward Development Committee
WLLG	Women and Land Lobby Group
WLWRSA	Women's Land and Water Rights in Southern Africa
WLZ	Women and Land in Zimbabwe
WW1	World War 1
ZANU-PF	Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front
ZESA	Zimbabwe Electricity Supply Authority
ZRP	Zimbabwe Republic Police
ZWRCN	Zimbabwe Women Resource Centre Network

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Chapter 1: Introduction and Methodology

1.1 Introduction

In the year 2001, the government of Zimbabwe launched the large-scale Fast Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP) as part of its ongoing Land Reform and Resettlement Programme (LRRP) which began in 1997. The FTLRP emerged as a direct result of the land occupation movement that began in February 2000. The motive behind the FTLRP, as propagated by the ruling party, was to address the racially-skewed land distribution pattern inherited at independence in 1980. Prior to 2000, land redistribution had occurred on an insignificant scale such that, by the late 1990s, Zimbabwe retained its colonial dualistic agrarian structure consisting of white commercial farm areas and black customary areas.

The FTLRP has undoubtedly significantly addressed the racially-based land injustices which emerged and were consolidated under colonialism and which were perpetuated during the first two decades of independence. However, crucial questions arise around other (unresolved) dimensions to the land question in Zimbabwe. One significant dimension is gender, in that women's relationship to land has been mediated through men. Though less overt than the racial structuring of land relations in colonial Zimbabwe, patriarchy was intrinsic to colonial land dispossession and became embedded in the resultant agrarian structure. Historically, 'race' was invariably articulated as the key signifier for land in Zimbabwe and fast track over the past decade has sought to undermine the racial agrarian system. The pertinent question therefore becomes: has fast track addressed in any significant manner the patriarchal basis of land relations in contemporary Zimbabwe?

A burgeoning number of broad overviews and specific case studies have been undertaken on the FTLRP, but few have had a distinctively gender focus in seeking to identify, examine and assess the effect of the programme on patriarchal relations and the socio-economic livelihoods of rural women in Zimbabwe. This thesis seeks to address this lacuna by offering an empirically-rich gendered study of land redistribution in one particular district in Zimbabwe, namely, Goromonzi District near the capital city of Harare. This entails a focus on women on the new A1 resettlement farms in the district (and specifically women who came from nearby customary areas) and on women who continue to live in the long-

established customary areas in the district. The thesis concludes that the FTLRP is seriously flawed in terms of addressing and tackling the patriarchal structures that underpin the Zimbabwean land question.

This introductory chapter is divided into three main sections. The first section covers the significance of land in relation to women. The second section sets out the research methodology underlying the thesis. And the chapter ends by providing an overview of the remainder of the thesis.

1.2 Women and Land in Zimbabwe

Post-colonial Zimbabwe (until the year 2000) was characterized by many struggles around land, including dispersed squatter movements and land occupations as well as a range of internal and external pressures seeking to either facilitate land reform or to halt it. During the first two decades of independence, significant land reform did not take place such that the agrarian social structure in Zimbabwe remained dualistic – with large-scale white commercial farms on the one hand, and small-scale black farming restricted to infertile customary areas. However, in the year 2000, a massive wave of land occupations began which has led to a fundamental restructuring of the agrarian landscape through the fast track land reform process. Because of fast track, most white commercial farms have been subdivided into small plots which are now farmed by black smallholders (called A1 farmers); many of the A1 farmers came from the long-standing customary areas and often retain linkages to these areas.

Most of the academic accounts of fast track do not address questions about women and gender in the reform process. This is despite the central role of women historically in agriculture and food security in the country and the clear differential relationship to land along gender lines in terms of land possession, control and access; in other words, patriarchy is regularly ignored in understanding agrarian structures and land reform processes. This tendency effectively to marginalize conceptually the landed interests of women through gender-blind analyses was evident though long before fast track (Goebel, 1999a). As Kersby states of the 1990s: ‘Unfortunately, debates about imminent land tenure reform are constructed around issues of race and economic efficiency, leaving those related to gender as a largely unanalyzed set of assumptions’ (Kersby, 1999:38-39). Insofar as fast track reform has not articulated and pursued questions about patriarchal structuring of land relations, it has

served as a basis for social exclusion rather than – as the ZANU-PF government claims – inclusion (Worby, 2001).

The then Women and Land Lobby Group (WLLG) – now Women and Land in Zimbabwe (WLZ) – was formed in 1998 by Zimbabwean women activists with passion and commitment to the land issue. Since its formation, it has lobbied government to include women's interests in the design and implementation of land reform, and along with other allied groups it has made some inroads in improving women's formal rights to land as stated in policy documents. However, current fast track practices continue to privilege men as primary recipients and possessors of resettlement land, and the emerging role of traditional authorities in the land reform process (specifically on A1 farms) will likely marginalize women even further. The contradiction between customary law, practices and discourses on the one hand and modernist individual formal rights on the other represents a complex battleground for women and land in Zimbabwe and indeed beyond (Goebel, 2005).

The marginalization of women's perspectives, interests and needs in Zimbabwe's land reform has occurred throughout the post-colonial period. To give one example, the 1993 Land Tenure Commission was appointed by the President of Zimbabwe to investigate key issues pertinent to all land categories in Zimbabwe. Though it did not have a gender brief, to its credit the commission consulted women and took reports from women's organizations (ZWRCN, 1994a). In its final recommendations, however, the Commission almost entirely ignored women's views and interests. There was certainly no consideration of gender justice in terms of access to land, of undoing inequality in the intra-household distribution of the benefits of land, or of undercutting the gendered division of labour in agriculture. Its recommendations on privatization of tenure and the granting of title deeds, if implemented, may have deepened women's insecurity in both customary areas and resettlement land (Chenau-Repond ed., 1996).

Indeed, as the independence period moved on, any provision for agrarian justice for the rural peasantry (both men and women) increasingly was put onto the back burner and played second fiddle to issues of 'productivity' and 'efficiency' in the political discourse on land reform in Zimbabwe. This is seen, for example, in the change in selection criteria for resettlement farmers. In the beginning, the landless, the land-short and returning war refugees

were prioritized as land recipients (Wekwete, 1991; Zinyama, 1991). By the mid-1980s, the government was already proclaiming that resettlement land was underutilized in terms of crops under cultivation and agricultural productivity, and hence new settlers were to demonstrate agricultural skills by holding a 'Master Farmer' certificate. This land reform measure effectively ruled out the vast majority of customary farmers and served to deepen social class differentiation in the countryside (Moyo, 1996). This 'productivist' paradigm (involving an emphasis on productivity at the expense of rectifying historical injustices) failed to tackle the most glaring dimensions of the land question in Zimbabwe, including the gender dimension. The key point though is that even if agrarian justice had been pursued vigorously by focusing mainly on the landless and the land-short, this alone (rectifying racial injustices) would not have addressed the patriarchal relations embedded in land relations in Zimbabwe.

In making such claims, existing analyses of women and land in Zimbabwe are predominantly 'structuralist'. Quite rightly, the focus is on patriarchy as an interlocking set of structures, practices and discourses that marginalise, disadvantage and subordinate women in agrarian spaces. Such analyses are crucial, but they often lead to arguments that overplay the constraining influence of patriarchal domination and fail to identify the spaces and ways in which women manoeuvre 'within' patriarchal structures and discourses to minimize the effects of patriarchy (without necessarily challenging patriarchy). A more 'strategic' perspective therefore is also required to bring to the fore the agency of rural women in opening up social spaces in which they can lessen their oppression and improve their livelihoods. This point is important for my thesis, because although fast track land reform has overall simply reproduced (albeit in new forms) patriarchy and land in Zimbabwe, opportunities have arisen for women to 'make the best out of a bad situation'.

1.3 Research Methodology

1.3.1 Research Significance and Research Goals

The burgeoning literature on fast track land reform does not sufficiently address the gender dimension of land and land reform in Zimbabwe. My thesis seeks to fill a conceptual and evidential gap in the prevailing fast track literature by investigating the relations between patriarchal domination and fast track. That is the singular significance of the research. The thesis seeks to overcome two specific limitations currently marking the literature on fast track

reform in Zimbabwe: first of all the limited focus on patriarchy as a system of domination that structures land relations; and secondly the near exclusive focus on events and processes on resettled farms without considering the linkages between resettled farms and customary areas and the position of women in both areas.

The main goal of the study is to identify, understand and explain the impacts of FTLRP on relations of patriarchy and the socio-economic livelihoods of women in Goromonzi District.

The secondary goals include:

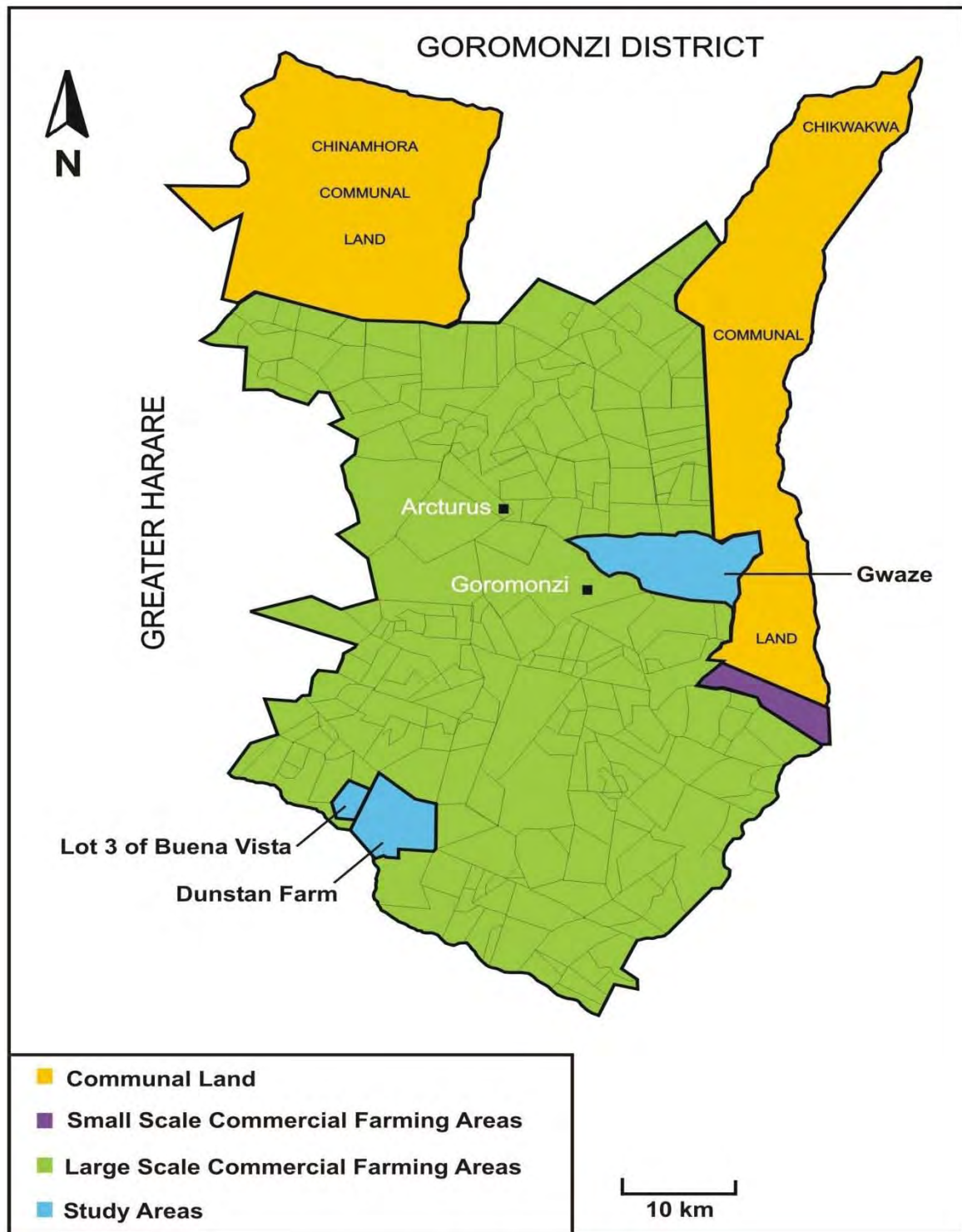
1. To identify, understand and explain impacts of the FTLRP on patriarchy and women's livelihoods on A1 farms in Goromonzi District (including women accessing land through a male, and women who obtained land in their own right).
2. To identify and assess the effects of FTLRP on women (in terms of patriarchy and livelihoods) who remain within customary areas in Goromonzi District, particularly given that A1 plots under land reform were designed to decongest customary areas and might thereby open up possibilities for marginalised women (including divorced and single women).
3. To compare the status of women in A1 plots versus customary areas in Goromonzi District with specific reference to patriarchy and livelihoods.

1.3.2 Research Design

This section focuses on the research design underpinning my study. It encompasses the research plan, the target population, the sampling procedure, the selection of the study area, instruments for data collection, and finally the analysis of data. The challenges encountered during the data collection period that potentially could have compromised the validity of the study are also discussed.

To carry out the field study, my supervisor facilitated my attachment to the African Institute for Agrarian Studies (AIAS), Harare, which had conducted previous research a few years earlier (in 2005 and 2006) in Goromonzi District as part of a nation-wide survey. Undoubtedly, AIAS is the premier agrarian research institute in Zimbabwe (under the leadership of Professor Sam Moyo); and I was engaged as a Research Associate during my research period. Figure 1.1 below shows my specific study sites in Goromonzi.

Figure 1.1 Location of Study Areas in Goromonzi



Source L. Chakona, December 2010.

Goromonzi District, as the empirical site for the thesis, is one of nine districts in Mashonaland East Province. It is a district located 32 kilometres southeast of the country's

capital of Harare. Goromonzi District has the highest population in the province, with 13,68% (154,262 people) of the province's population. Of this district population, 96,16% reside in rural areas (Mashonaland East Provincial Census Report, 2002:18). Goromonzi covers an area totalling 2,459 square kilometres or 254,072 hectares. I selected Goromonzi District because it has long-established customary areas and new fast track A1 farms close to each other, and because existing research, for example theses by Marongwe (2008), Murisa (2010) and Jowah (2010), indicates that there has been significant movement from customary areas to fast track farms in Goromonzi. Goromonzi is also quite unusual in that there were no resettlement farms in the district prior to fast track reform. The field work was carried out in three study areas: two contiguous A1 farms (Dunstan and Lot 3 of Buena Vista) and the nearby Gwaze Communal Area. I randomly selected the two A1 farms from a list of A1 farms provided by the District Land Committee in Goromonzi.

Both quantitative and qualitative research was used during my research (Maanen, 1979; Adams, 1985; Patton, 1990; Nachmias, 1996; Fielding, 2003; Mouton, 2002) and four specific techniques were pursued: the administration of a survey questionnaire, focus group discussions with farmers, in-depth interviews with key informants and simple observation.

Sampling of respondents for a household questionnaire involved purposive and snowball sampling, with the focus primarily on women. In the case of the A1 farms (Dunstan and Lot 3 of Buena Vista) the target sample was primarily women who had moved from communal areas (either from within the district or from elsewhere in the province). In the case of Gwaze communal area, purposive sampling involved the targeting of mainly women. Selecting women from the A1 farms and the customary area were necessary for comparative purposes. In each of Dunstan, Lot 3 of Buena Vista and Gwaze, 25 households (selecting 20 women and 5 men) formed part of the survey. While women were the focus of my study, gathering evidence from men was crucial to identify the pervasiveness of patriarchal worldviews.

The survey questionnaire entailed quantitative research. The structured questionnaire (Appendix 3) involved the gathering of evidence at household level. This included empirical evidence on the impact of fast track land reform on women in A1 (small-scale) farms and customary areas, in terms of both their living conditions and the relationships between men and women (insofar as these affect women's relationship to land). Questions dealt with,

amongst other issues, the major beneficiaries of land reform, the demographics of A1 and customary households, land tenure, resources available to resettled households, as well as social relations that are developing in resettlement areas. All this was critical in trying to assess whether fast track has in any way and to any extent undermined the existence of patriarchy in rural Zimbabwe.

In terms of more qualitative research, focus group discussions (Appendix 2) were conducted in both the A1 and customary areas. Two focus group discussions disaggregated by gender (one with men, and one with women), each consisting of between six and eight people, were conducted per each research site, using a specific guide to facilitate the discussion. Gender-based group discussions allowed for the articulation of gendered conceptions of patriarchy in both sets of sites; and disaggregation was designed in particular to ensure that women would express their views without hindrance. The focus of the discussions was on the experiences, opinions and attitudes of women with regards to patriarchy and land under FTLRP.

In addition, there were in-depth interviews with key informants in both the resettled farms and in the customary area (Appendix 1). Key informants included village heads for A1 farms, selected members of the governing Committee of Seven (CoS) (for A1 farms), agricultural extension officers for all the study sites, selected members of the District Land Committee, the District Administrator, the chief for Gwaze customary area and ‘agrarianists’ at AIAS (See table in Appendix 1 for list of key informants). Direct observation was extensively used especially to identify the socio-economic quality of life in relation to the livelihood initiatives of A1 and customary farmers (such as numbers of livestock), and thereby verify empirical evidence collected using the other research methods.

Besides the four fieldwork research techniques, I also made extensive use of primary documentation about fast track land reform and gender in Zimbabwe. This included documentation from government authorities like the Ministry of Gender, Ministry of Agriculture and district land offices, and NGOs which focus on women such as Zimbabwe Women’s Resource Centre Network (ZWRCN), Women’s Land and Water Rights in Southern Africa (WLW RSA) and Women and Land in Zimbabwe (WLZ). I also had access to the raw data from the only nation-wide fieldwork on fast track land reform, which was done by the African Institute for Agrarian Studies in 2005-2006.

The field data, once collected, were interpreted and analysed using (in the case of the survey questionnaire) the data analysis software programme called *Statistical Package for Social Scientists* (SPSS v16) and, for the more qualitative research techniques, standard thematic identification, coding and analysis. The latter qualitative analysis took precedence and it led to a more inductive form of interpretation and analysis that allowed space for the evidence (primarily the voices and subjective experiences of rural women) to breathe and speak to the researcher. In other words, themes emerged from the evidence rather than being imposed by the researcher in a pre-determined fashion.

Before data collection with farmers and key informants, all necessary ethical considerations were taken into account and promises made that the information gathered was to be solely used by the researcher for academic purposes.

1.3.3 Challenges faced in the Field

There were specific challenges in undertaking this fieldwork, and it required great caution given the political sensitivity of land reform in contemporary Zimbabwe and the political contestations that continue to mark the entire country as a whole (including speculation of an impending national election in 2011) and the countryside in particular. Even though I entered the field under the auspices of the AIAS, certain protocols had to be followed to ensure access to the study sites in Goromonzi. Seeking authority from the district and local government offices was not an easy task. This entailed many discussions with the District Administrator and A1 farm representatives which led the district authorities to write letters to the two farm village heads and the ward councillors authorising the undertaking of the survey. The letters specified the objectives of the study and also that I was working under AIAS. I had a research team comprising of five people – two research assistants, two data analysts and myself. The research took six months including planning, implementation, and data collection and analysis (from October 2010 to March 2011).

The atmosphere on the A1 farms was tense. For instance, because of talk of impending elections, the local ZANU-PF leadership suspected that the research team was on a Movement for Democratic Change (MDC, the opposition party) campaign mission. Some A1 farmers were also suspicious; though explained as academic research, the researchers were

considered by these farmers as sent by the government, 'the whites' or the MDC. As one respondent claimed: "*Ndimika vekumaUniversity kwatsviriridza MDC*" ("You are the ones from the universities where the MDC is gaining a stronghold"). This undoubtedly impacted on the research process, though the nature and extent of the impact is not entirely clear.

In Gwaze customary area, there was poor cooperation by some of the villages' leadership. At first it seemed that the leadership was making a deliberate effort to frustrate the research team so that they would leave because of the strict levels of approval and demands they made. The ward development committee chair initially referred the team back to the ward councillor who referred the team back to the development committee chair who then referred the team back to the village chairpersons who then authorised the team to talk to the people in the villages. At one time the councillor had proposed that we seek authority from the Goromonzi District Administrator and Member of Parliament.

To add further legitimacy to the study, I had to hire the AREX (agricultural extension) officer based at Dunstan as a research assistant. This allowed the research to proceed relatively smoothly in the farms and the communal area, as the AREX officer facilitated the link for Lot 3 of Buena Vista and Gwaze Communal Area. This research assistant was also responsible for community mobilisation for focus group discussions and the survey, and assisted in data collection, specifically completing the questionnaire.

The latter stage of the research was delayed though by a two-week Presidential Input Programme in February 2011 where farmers were given inputs for farming. We had no option except to 'down tools' as we were warned not to become mixed up with political issues. This was in fact a helpful instruction from the AREX officer to avoid unnecessary clashes with political processes. Engagement of the extension officer was in fact a blessing for the team in this regard, as we were given day-to-day updates about any upcoming political events and happenings in the field, which we sought to avoid at all costs.

In the early part of the research, respondents were dragging their feet in cooperating. They alluded to the fact that they were being over-researched and were not receiving remuneration for information supplied to researchers. Of late some NGOs have paid respondents for giving evidence, such that some women in the research sites demanded money for providing

information. This vividly brings to the fore that the research process is a social process and that, as a form of social interaction, research invariably shapes and impacts on the evidence documented. In the data analysis stage, I sought to be particularly sensitive to this to prevent any distortion of the evidence.

1.4 Thesis Outline

The following chapter (Chapter 2) provides the conceptual framing for the thesis by discussing patriarchy and land, with a specific focus on Zimbabwe. It emphasises that, broadly speaking, women's access to land is mediated through men and this is reinforced through patriarchal practices and discourses (including customary laws and the chieftainship system). Chapter 3 analyses land and land reform in Zimbabwe during the colonial period and the post-colonial period (prior to fast track) with particular emphasis on women. It shows that state initiatives in the twenty years after independence in 1980 had limited impact on the patriarchal relations embedded in post-colonial land relations. Chapter 4 provides an overview of gender and fast track in Zimbabwe from the year 2000 to date and suggests that significant racial redress of land imbalances has in large part been at the expense of addressing land and gender.

The following three chapters look specifically at Goromonzi District. Chapter 5 is a background chapter on Goromonzi, and considers land patterns, agrarian structure and agricultural activities in the district both before and subsequent to fast track reform. Chapters 6 and 7 involve discussions of the three research sites (Dunstan, Buena Vista and Gwaze) and are based in large part on my original field research. These two chapters, in their own way, provide evidence on the impact of the FTLRP on relations of patriarchy, land and the socio-economic livelihoods of women who continue to live in customary areas and those in resettlement areas. Chapter 6 looks at women and land, and Chapter 7 examines women and livelihoods. Although fast track restructuring across these sites in Goromonzi has not undercut patriarchy, women in Goromonzi may have space to 'negotiate' the terms of their ongoing subordination. The final chapter (Chapter 8) draws together the conceptual framing and the empirical evidence in making some final comments on the relationship between land and gender with reference to fast track land reform in contemporary Zimbabwe.

Chapter Two: Patriarchy, Land and Zimbabwe

2.1 Introduction

The analytical framework within which this specific study is located is patriarchy and land. This chapter provides a conceptual understanding of patriarchy and land, with particular emphasis on Zimbabwe. As such, the chapter brings to the fore the critical theme that animates the thesis as a whole – namely, the centrality of gender to agrarian spaces in the context of Zimbabwean land reform and specifically the Fast Track Land Reform Programme.

The chapter is divided into three main sections. The first section examines patriarchy as a complex system of practices, discourses and institutional forms which leads to the domination of women in modern-day societies. In the second section, I consider the ways in which patriarchy structures the lives and livelihoods of rural women in relation to land ownership, control and access. The third main section discusses in particular gender and land in Zimbabwe, and provides a useful backdrop to more specific discussions in Chapters 3 and 4 (which focus on land questions in colonial and post-colonial Zimbabwe).

As a terminological note to this thesis, the term “women” is used in two ways. Firstly, it denotes “women in general” as a counterpoint to “men in general”. This is not to argue that there are no substantive differences between groups of women but rather to point to the glaring fact that women (in general) are disadvantaged when compared to men (in general) because of structures of patriarchy. “Women” though is not a homogeneous group and women differ significantly in terms of, for example, ‘race’, class, religion, education, marital status, and location (rural or urban). How particular groupings of women slot into the prevailing patriarchal social structure is conditional on these other identities and statuses. Secondly, then, “women” refers more specifically in this study to poor rural Black African women living on A1 farms and in customary areas in contemporary Zimbabwe. In this regard, land becomes an important signifier for identifying the social location of these women and the challenges they face as poor rural women.

2.2 Patriarchy and Patriarchal Societies

Like poverty and other social conditions, patriarchy is highly multi-dimensional and can be defined in a range of ways. It can be delimited for instance as a social system in which the father or eldest male is the head of the household (having dominion over women and children), or as a system of government by males involving dominance of men over women in social or cultural systems. The term ‘patriarch’, understood traditionally as ‘the father’ or ‘chief of a clan’, captures the dominant position of men in society and the social inequalities that exist between men and women.

Historically, the term patriarchy was used to refer to autocratic rule by the male head of a family. By contrast, in the modern world, it more broadly refers to social systems in which power is primarily held by adult men. A patriarchy (from the ancient Greek *patriarches*) was a society where power was held by and passed down through the elder males. Modern historians and sociologists describe a “patriarchal society” as a society where men hold the positions of power in different institutional spheres: heads of the family unit, leaders of social groups, bosses in the workplace and the elites of government (Moghadam, 2004). The word “patriarchal” (as an adjective) describes a general social structure in which men have power over women.

While the term patriarchy generally refers to ‘structure’, the term is regularly used to highlight ‘meaning’ in describing societal attitudes. Hence, it is argued that ‘institutions are very persistent and may last, with little change, into a period in which attitudes have altered considerably since the institutions were devised’ (Moyo, 2000: 29). Taylor (1998) uses the word “patrist” (as opposed to “matrist”) to identify the inter-subjective meanings that position men and women discursively. The patrist assertion that the patriarchal system of authority was the original and universal system of social organization invariably leads to the establishment of corresponding socio-economic structures of patriarchy; and these structures reinforce patrist discourses and ideologies.

Feminist theorists of differing persuasions observe that a patriarchal society entails a systematic bias against women, which is regularly constructed, pursued and defended (though not invariably) in a conscious manner by male-led groups. Women’s suffrage and human rights movements have helped to diversify gender roles and diffuse power between genders,

but this has taken place within the confines of existing patriarchal systems (Pateman, 1989). The prospect of authentic equality within modern patriarchal systems is highly dubious. Hence, the increasing prevalence in many parts of the world of (for example) female leaders in different institutional spaces do not by necessity undercut patriarchy. In this respect, of significance is the ongoing way that hegemonic ideas in society perceive women in power as an exception to a collectively held view of women's (almost innate) "role" in society. The oppression of women is systemic and structural, emanating from the underlying bias of a patriarchal society. As a result, a patriarchal society consists of a male-dominated power structure throughout organised society which is manifested in individual relationships on an everyday basis. At the same time, patriarchal structures cannot be crudely reduced to other forms of structural inequality, notably class and 'race' – patriarchy has its own social logic irreducible to other logics.

In terms of legitimizing patriarchal practices, social realities and situations become defined from a male perspective. Women are presented with an interpretation of the world made by men and a history of the world defined and determined by men and their agency. Consistent with this ideological interpellation of gendered conditions, patriarchal societies may be democratically constituted and rely on (seemingly unbiased) legal-rational modes of organization. Any claims against patriarchy result in hegemonic groups holding contempt for women and for their efforts to emancipate themselves (in fact, often discrediting their efforts to organize and resist). When necessary, though, patriarchal systems may deploy authoritarian practices to sustain male domination. Patriarchy is therefore enforced in a variety of forceful ways, including intimidation of women through violence, sexual assault and other forms of harassment.

Patriarchy then is a gendered power system (built upon inequalities and domination) that becomes incorporated into bodily forms as masculinity and femininity. It is a network of social, political and economic relationships involving men dominating and controlling female labour, reproduction and sexuality as well as defining women's identity, status, privileges and rights in a society. At the same time, not all patriarchal systems are the same – there is both historical and spatial variation such that patriarchal systems are highly contingent and localised. In this light, Stichter and Parpart (1988) note certain limitations of the concept of patriarchy *per se*. These include its supposedly universalistic character, its purported

autonomy in relation to broader socio-economic systems, and its lack of specificity about types, variations or degrees of patriarchy. They claim that patriarchy, as a cultural-political system, is sometimes understood devoid of any recognition of the shifting material-economic systems that breathe life into specific forms of patriarchy. This is not a reductionist argument about the relationship between patriarchy and economy. But certainly the origins of patriarchy are deeply rooted in men's control over women's labour in both the site of social reproduction (notably the domestic arena including housework and child care) and the site of economic production. Indeed, women's relation to the means of production differs from men's since it is regularly mediated through marriage.

Thompson (2002) argues that Western feminists have struggled within their own societies against attempts that minimise and downplay patriarchy by defining feminism as a bourgeois deviation or as simply a cultural manifestation which will easily alter with the transformation of structures of production. The political question they have had to confront on a regular basis is whether economic change or gender change should take priority, or how to construct strategies that incorporate both modes of change. Many radical feminists note that African women in particular face a double struggle, of economic exploitation on the one hand and patriarchy on the other. Poor African women carry an even more severe (triple) burden deriving from their blackness, their gender and their class location.

African women themselves have long recognised these difficulties and have struggled to free themselves from both colonial and patriarchal oppression. In recent years, they have had to contend with allegations that feminism is ultimately a Western onslaught on African values and is merely the latest rendition of Western cultural imperialism. Western patriarchal conceptions and practices were historically imposed on African societies under colonialism. But this imposition served in many ways to confirm, reinforce or alter prevailing pre-colonial gender relations. Prevailing patriarchal practices cannot simply be read-off from historical forms of patriarchy as they continue to be made anew under post-colonial conditions in the context of economic restructuring and political struggles.

Central to this thesis is the role played by patriarchy in structuring productive and domestic labour in agrarian sites, and in undermining women's rights to land and other natural resources. To a massive extent, control over land is seen as part of the male identity, domain

and space in Africa. Patriarchy and its effects on women's access to and possession of land is a dominant feature of the African rural landscape. Patriarchy does not exclude women from land. Rather, it is highly selective in terms of the type and extent of land rights that women may enjoy. The next section considers this more fully.

2.3 Patriarchy, Land and Gender

A major source of gender discrimination throughout Africa is in the agrarian sphere (Moyo, 2004), particularly given the dominance of agriculture in national economies and the role of women in agriculture. Women for example in Sub-Saharan Africa dominate the smallholder sector and account for more than three-quarters of the food produced in the region (Saito, 1994). Women are critical to the agricultural economy but they enjoy limited land rights (Lumumba, 2003). Overall, women hold a peripheral position with regard to control and access to agricultural land, especially in the dynamic context of land reforms and agricultural growth (Moyo, 1995). For instance, in Kenya, less than 4% of rural women have title deeds to land registered in their names compared to 7% in Uganda and 10% in Tanzania.

Unequal gender relations in land control are deeply intertwined with class, 'racial' and ethnic stratification. For instance, ethnic (and racial) political mobilisation for economic dominance in Africa has often distinctly gendered patterns, which are not well documented – this is largely because discourses on ethnicity and race in the context of land questions tend to be underdeveloped in relation to the gender dimensions of the inequalities and repression that accompany ethnic and racial differentiation processes. For instance, 'ethnicity has been implicitly recognised until now as strictly a matter involving men because, according to the patriarchal model, men transmitted only their identity to their offspring' (Moyo, 2004: 85). In addition, men as the main wage earners in colonial society were seen as the main source of transmitting class position to other men, despite the evidence of the actual proletarianisation of women (Jewssiewicki, 1989). African women were assumed to only transmit a legal status of 'Native', the basis of which lay in race.

Land and agrarian relations have a significant gender dimension and affect the social citizenship status of men and women. As Alston (1994) argues, the problems facing women in controlling and accessing land in Africa are monumental. Indeed, gender relations can be examined through the different ways in which men and women are treated in terms of land

ownership, possession and access. Land therefore plays an important role in the wider subordination of women in Africa under the influence of patriarchal structures and practices. Citizenship fault lines are systematically structured according to gender relations and the relationship of men and women as mediated by land (Moyo, 1995). Hence, underpinning unequal and discriminatory patterns and structures of land distribution, land tenure and land use are land questions focusing on gender.

A key land question (if not the key land question) in Africa is the inadequacy of women's access to and control of land as constrained by various customary and patriarchal social relations. In general, women's land tenure (where women hold land) is extremely insecure, while women provide labour for farming under severely exploitative relations in terms of both production and reproduction. The major source of the unequal land distribution and tenure problem is undoubtedly the ongoing dominance of patriarchy, including customary land tenure systems (that privilege men's access to land) and local authority structures (in the form of chieftainships). Such perverse social relations, also characteristic in different forms within pre-colonial African society, were contrived during colonial and post-colonial times by male-dominated central and local states in Africa (Bierema, 2003).

Unequal gender relations in land control and use have – if anything – deepened over time. These relations have deprived women of their land rights in many parts of the continent, reduced the extent and quality of the land rights that they hold, and failed to cater for new forms of land rights and the growing land needs of women (Lerner, 1986). There is increasing evidence of women calling and craving for land that they can call their own (unmediated by men) as the basis for rural livelihoods. Women's existing land rights are insecure and inadequate despite their ascribed roles as critical agricultural labourers and producers, their effectively compelled role as custodians of reproducing children as well as their status as guarantors of family livelihoods in rural areas (often in the absence of a significant male presence because of the male migrant labour system). Women are regularly excluded from the products of their own labour and from the benefits of the control of land, such that the social and economic costs of not recognising the rights of women to land and property are significant (Cheater, 1981; Moyo, 2004; Tsikata, 2001).

2.3.1 Customary Systems

In agrarian settings, households are key production and investment sites for both subsistence and market production. Intra-household relations in conjunction with the existence of both customary and formal law systems impact significantly on gender relations (Lastarria-Cornihel, 2002). Often there is a blurry distinction between customary and formal systems, but these are both manipulated by powerful groups in the allocation and use of land, leading to unequal gender outcomes with regard to land access and social citizenship. Certainly, key concerns for women are the male-dominated local land administration processes managed by de-centralised state bodies, traditional chieftainship authorities and local committee structures, leading in particular to unfair and discriminatory land allocation procedures.

Customary tenure is found throughout much of Africa, including in Zimbabwe. There is general agreement that customary land tenure discriminates against women. However, why this is so, the ways in which such discrimination occurs, and therefore the most effective solutions for overcoming it are in dispute (Tsikata, 2001). Historical and anthropological work on women's interests in land in both patrilineal and matrilineal groups (in pre-colonial times) has sought, among other things, to demonstrate that women did have some access under customary land tenure, and that this has been eroded by the processes of agrarian change and codification (and re-working) of customary law under colonial conditions (with it being reproduced in many cases in post-colonial Africa). Women have contested this erosion of their interests in various ways including engaging in everyday practices of resistance and, less commonly, by recourse to legal processes.

In customary (pre-colonial) societies in Africa, the concept of citizenship or membership was differentiated along ethnic, lineage, gender and age lines. Colonial taxation systems conferred citizenship on male adults through taxes and re-enforced gendered land rights in this way. In this dispensation, full members of the community (namely, men) have direct and secure rights to common land and natural resources (the commons) and to long-term exclusive control over specific pieces of land. Allocation of land generally involves men (by men and for men), particularly after reaching a certain age or after marriage. Women who marry into the community have only use rights to land allocated to them by their husbands. This denial reflects women's social citizenship status: they may be denied citizenship completely, or may be considered minors, transients or second-class citizens. Related to this denial of property

rights is the corollary that those who cannot own property themselves become the property of others (Meade and Pamela, 1998). This secondary location in agrarian communities impacts on social equity as evidenced by constraints placed on women's rights and practices – including women's inability to enter into binding contracts (a husband or male relative must sign her contracts) and to participate in the public arena, and their vulnerability in dealing with public officials.

The structures and mechanisms which shape these unequal gender relations are well-known. Patriarchy, patriliney and the extended family structure are the most distinctive features of most customary regimes since they also define who belongs to the community and who has full membership as social citizens. Patriarchy, as noted, implies that all significant land rights and powers are vested in (senior) males; while patriliney means that, for purposes of succession, men are the medium through which land-based property and status are passed on. The deprivation of women's rights (control and use) through customary procedures on land inheritance and property distribution after divorce is one of the most widely contested issues between women on the one hand and the state and patriarchal institutions more broadly on the other (Tsikata, 2001). Yet men remain central heirs and holders of land rights particularly in patrilineal communities under customary land tenure regimes, as well as in more 'modern' formalised property relations.

However, within the logic of customary societies, the extended family and the land tenure regime have provided individuals – notably women – with some (at least informal) land rights in terms of access, leading to varying degrees of security, material support and protection. At the same time, in many parts of Africa, customary social networks have been under attack due to the processes of post-colonial marketisation and privatisation (of tenure) as well as land concentration (Lastarria-Cornhiel, 2002). In this sense, a fluctuating mix of customary tenure regime and market privatisation undermines women's land rights.

There is evidence that in some places customary tenure systems are breaking down or '[d]eteriorating, as corrupt administrators and developers on the one hand and widening divisions within communities on the other hand, fail to enforce accountable land rights' (Cross, 1997: 159). In this context, access to land by unauthorised and informal occupations or movements provides women (often single, widowed or divorced women) with the

opportunity to meet a variety of household needs, including those that may not be socially identified as being the responsibility of women (Bryceson, 1995). The centrality though of customary tenure and concomitant chieftainships in defining patterns of gender inequities in land control cannot be underestimated (Cross et al, 1996). It is for this reason that advocacy and lobbying for women's land rights in the form of freehold or leasehold tenure is intended to achieve the wider goal of releasing women from the shackles of traditional authority structures. Yet, private titling may simply enhance land concentration and marginalise disadvantaged members of local communities, including women.

2.3.2 Ongoing Land Challenges for Women – African Examples

The social structures which influence oppressive gender relations (in terms of land tenure, and access to and control of land) need to be understood in the dynamic context of the underlying land questions facing Africa today. As noted, there are clear signs of processes of land concentration and the marginalisation of the land rights of rural communities, and these processes affect the scope and security of women's land rights. Growing land alienation and the attendant scarcity of arable lands, the enclosure of large tracts of land for large-scale commercial agricultural, mining and resource extraction purposes (often entailing significant foreign investment), and increased marketisation of land rights tend to disproportionately marginalise the rights of women. Struggles to reverse these patterns of unequal land rights confront complex resistance from central and local state structures, while most of the visible popular land reform movements in Africa tend themselves to be male-dominated and patriarchal in focus. Recent struggles around land have occurred in many parts of Africa, of which Zimbabwe is the most dramatic (Moyo and Yeros, 2005).

The attempt to modernise or replace customary tenure systems in order to stimulate market-driven economic activities through private land property, in countries such as Kenya and Uganda in the 1950s and 1960s (and then in other African countries in the 1980s), has had far-reaching negative effects on gender relations and land (Moyo, 2004). Formalisation of land rights and private titling have ostensibly been promoted to protect and indeed enhance a person's secure access to (and control of) land and to benefit them through access to credit, agricultural resources and services. The expected positive development effects include increased agricultural production and consequently higher income for smallholder families through improved access to factor markets (Feder et al, 1988). In theory these benefits can

accrue to women if they become land titleholders, hence the strong thrust of many women's land advocacy organisations (particularly NGOs) towards demands for land tilting. In practice, evidence clearly suggests that women are regularly disadvantaged by private titling and market mechanisms.

Specific examples from African countries provide a good sense of some of the ongoing challenges faced by women and certain state initiatives to rectify these problems. According to Adepoju (1997), in the Nigerian context, women still suffer discriminatory practices especially under customary law in matters pertaining to ownership of property and inheritance. Although women under statutory law have ownership and inheritance rights, under customary law these rights are not upheld. It is almost universal in Nigerian customary law that widows have no right to inheritance. One reason for this is that there is no concept of co-ownership of property by couples in traditional Nigerian culture, the presumption being that all substantial property, including land, belongs to the husband. Indeed, the woman herself is virtually considered a form of property.

In Mozambique, in the transition from a socialist to a market-based economy, discourses on land centred around two issues: how to encourage private investment into rural areas and how to protect the rights of customary occupiers of communal land. Mozambique's Land Law of 1997 was aimed at both protecting the customary rights of existing occupiers on communal land and clarifying and strengthening the rights of private companies and individuals wishing to acquire access to land for commercial purposes. Lahiff (2003:54) stresses, however, that this process has not fundamentally changed the highly unequal and dualistic nature of property relations in the country and, equally importantly, has not provided significant material benefits to the rural population, of which the greatest number are women.

The land policy of Tanzania accords all citizens equal and equitable access to land. The policy has a 'women's access to land' section which explains how customary law generally accords inferior land rights to women, making women's access to land indirect and insecure. The village councils that allocate land have been guided by customary law and continue to discriminate against women by giving land to heads of households who are in most cases men. To rectify this situation, a policy was drafted which states that, in order to enhance and guarantee women's access to land and security of tenure, women will be entitled to acquire

land in their own right, not only through purchase but also through allocation (Toulman and Quan et al, 2000).

Kalabamu (2006) argues that, in the case of Botswana, the weakening of traditional patriarchal structures, attitudes and practices is a result of women's self-empowerment, economic transformations and the replacement of chieftainship with democratic institutions. However, in contemporary Botswana, despite the apparent weakening of colonial institutions and attitudes, there have emerged new forms of female subordination, which require vigilance and constant exposure. One of the ways of ensuring that women are not excluded from accessing and owning land and other agrarian resources in general is to ensure that there is a legal framework which is responsive to the needs of women and challenges patriarchal rule.

Box 2.1 Land and Gender in Selected Countries

Some of the specific legal and land policy provisions meant to improve the status of women in certain countries in relation to land include the following:

- The Ugandan Constitution includes a commitment to gender equality and affirmative action (Ovenji-Odida, 1999); South Africa's constitution provides for equal treatment of men and women;
- According to Yacouba (1999), equal rights of access to natural resources without discrimination by sex or social origin are provided for in Niger under provisions of the Rural Code;
- In Malawi, legislation allows women to register land independently of men (Ouedraogo and Toulmin 1999);
- The Mozambican Land Act in 1997 enshrines the rights of both men and women to use and benefit from land (Quadros 1999);
- Women's rights to land are provided for in the National Land Policy for Tanzania;
- In Zimbabwe, policy provides for the joint registration of land in resettlement schemes between husband and wife; and
- The Communal Land Bill of Namibia provides for women to be represented in Land Boards, which are expected to be responsible for the survey and registration of approved forms of land title in their jurisdictional areas.

Colonialism and racial imbalances in relation to access to land has guided the land reform programmes in most African countries (specifically in ex-settler societies). In this regard, there have been numerous efforts at distributing land in countries throughout the continent, though not necessarily in dramatic ways (Chingarande, 2004). Land reform exists in countries such as Mozambique, Kenya and South Africa, but females fare poorly in these land re-allocation exercises (Lahiff, 2003:54). Hence, compared to racial imbalances, a much less

common theme in land reform measures is tackling the gender imbalances, although Box 2.1 outlines certain key initiatives in various nations (see also Hilhorst, 2000).

For instance, in the case of the South African land reform programme adopted by the African National Congress (ANC), the aim has been to redistribute a substantial proportion of agricultural land to emerging black farmers, to restore land rights lost under previous regimes and to secure the tenure rights of occupants of both communal and privately-owned land. South Africa is a crucial test of the market-based (or market-assisted) land reform policies advocated by multilateral bodies such as the World Bank, the Food and Agricultural Organisations (FAO) of the United Nations as well as various 'Western' governments. Indications in South Africa (as elsewhere in the continent) are that the reform initiative is not being particularly successful in tackling gender oppression (Riedinger et al, 2001; El-Ghonemy, 2001; Bernstein, 2002).

Market-based approaches to land reform in fact have a tendency to disadvantage women because they are built upon power relations that exclude and marginalise. The Land Policy White Paper of 1997 in South Africa acknowledges the existing discrimination against women under many types of tenure systems and it suggests a number of ways to enable women to achieve fair and equitable benefits. The South African Department of Land Affairs has also produced a Land Reform Gender Policy Framework aimed at creating an enabling environment for women to access, own, control, use and manage land as well as having access to credit for productive use of the land.

Zimbabwe is seen as an exceptional case in Southern Africa (and Africa more generally), as it has succeeded in putting radical land reform back on the political agenda. Radical distribution of land has remained a staple of the Zimbabwean political discourse since long before independence in 1980 (Palmer, 1977; Moyo, 1995) and it has been implemented through land occupations and the Fast Track Land Reform Programme over the past decade. This thesis seeks to assess the effects of fast track on gendered imbalances in land. In order to properly contextualise this, in the next section I discuss gender, women and land in Zimbabwe.

2.4 Women, Gender and Land in Zimbabwe

As attempted most explicitly by Sylvester (1995, 2000) many scholars of women and gender in Zimbabwe have investigated how women are located, defined, differentiated and shaped by dominant discourses, practices and ideologies; as well as how they have used their agency to shape their identities and social spaces in colonial and post-colonial times. In this respect, as Goebel (2005: 33) puts it, Zimbabwe is ‘undeniably divided into two groups, one called “women” and another called “men”, with prescribed roles, rules of conduct and norms of relations between the two sexes’. Boys and girls from an early age go through the socialisation process that produces and codes – as natural – gendered divisions of labour, access to economic and cultural resources, identities, roles, hierarchies of privilege, heterosexual marriage and childbearing (McFadden, 1996; Zinanga, 1996). This emphasises the widely acceptable understanding of gender as entailing socially constructed roles between men and women that are deeply rooted in Zimbabwean cultures.

According to Goebel (2005), in her study of women and land in Zimbabwe, marital status and the way that the family mediates access to economic resources (land included), status and justice emerges over and over again in the work of scholars of gender. This is because there are gendered categories with clear rigidities and consistencies that are especially salient to shaping women’s experiences (Goebel, 2002a). This is however not to imply that women are a homogeneous group whose experiences can merely be assumed or asserted. Rather, as Rutherford (2001: 150) highlights, the prevalence of gendered experiences suggests that there are modes of power that sustain “women” as a category – including varieties of marriage, and social practices that inform the administration and policies of the “state”.

For Sylvester (1995), this gendered regime involves discourses of knowledge and power, practices, laws, customs, social relations and ideologies that contribute to the differentiation of experience along gendered lines. And this runs through all regimes of truth in both colonial and post-colonial times in ways that disadvantage women:

Viewed benignly, the gender regime “merely” enforces a commonplace designation of two major types of people – men and women. But this designation is rarely benign in its effects on people classified as women. Moreover the regime of gender, despite many historical permutations and challenges – not the least by women guerrillas during Zimbabwe’s liberation struggle – continues to be openly advocated in the sense that

many people defend “traditional” body-based gender distinctions as a true way of identifying people and designating their social places (Sylvester 2000: 86).

There is a strong justification for focusing on gender as a central site of struggle for rural women in Zimbabwe. In addition, though, other categories like class, ethnicity, race, lineage and totem are powerful forces in shaping women’s experiences. At times, the gendered structuring of society can be challenged. In this regard, Lindgren (2001) provides a fascinating account of conflicts which erupted over the installation of a female chief in Matabeleland in the mid-1990s. This particular example shows how membership in one social category (first-born child of a chief) can successfully undermine another social category (woman) and, in so doing, disrupt the usual script for women in special cases.

Rather than simply being a Western feminist imposition on African social conditions, a focus on gender emerges as a legitimate focus in fieldwork studies in rural Zimbabwe. It is gender structuring that complicates women’s position vis-à-vis land rights in Zimbabwe, leading to contestations over women’s identities, positions and entitlements as read through complex cultural meanings and social practices (Goebel, 2005). In Zimbabwe, the relations between land and culture are profoundly about the construction and reconstruction of masculinity (Kesby, 1999). Men and masculinity requires positioning women as outsiders in relation to land (notably in patrilocal settlements), just as it leads to distancing women from their children through constructing children as belonging to the patrilineage. Therefore, in claiming primary rights to land, women create distinctly ‘regime-defying identities’ for themselves (Sylvester, 2000: 88). Historically, culturally, and within current ‘regimes of truth’, women claiming land in their own right in Zimbabwe means stepping out of place due to patriarchy.

Goebel (2005:35) notes that it has become a truism that (in societies such as Zimbabwe that are historically hoe-cultivating) women are the main farmers but their subordinate cultural and social position often curtails their abilities to farm as productively as possible. In situations where rural-to-urban migration by men prevails, subsistence farming by women is difficult because husbands do not always support their wives; in fact, the urban migrants frequently become involved in expensive extra-marital affairs. African ‘peasant’ women farmers, therefore, may occupy a contradictory position – on the one hand, autonomy by way

of *de facto* female headship in the household and, on the other, dependency and vulnerability with regard to male earnings and the prevailing gender ideologies that condone the supremacy of male authority even in male absence. In communal areas in Zimbabwe, there are many cases of women being beaten by their husbands after making key decisions about farming without the husband's authorisation.

Schmidt (1992a) documents the gendered struggles over production in the African reserves (or communal areas) in Zimbabwe's colonial history. Although women had been the backbone of peasant agricultural production before colonial interference, male absence through the migrant labour system left women with an increasingly high farm burden, but not necessarily with decision-making authority over farm production. In the early 1900s, an increasingly harsh patriarchal ideology among African men (supported by chiefs) together with colonial measures (for example the introduction of passes for women in the 1920s), led to strict control over women's movement away from rural homesteads.

Another colonial practice in support of confining women in reserves was to hire men as domestic workers in urban centres; this subverted the "natural" association of women with domestic work and served the cause of creating a specifically male-waged workforce (Schmidt, 1992a, 1992b; Hansen, 1992; Jeater, 1993; McCulloch, 2000). In the 1930s, in order to stabilise the rural Black workforce, the colonial powers encouraged men to bring their wives to live with them on commercial farms (Amanor-Wilks, 1996). There was an increase in female labour in the commercial farms, as casual female labour became more popular and often preferable to permanent male workers.

While women have always been among the migrants to town (attempting to flee poverty or patriarchal control in the reserves), the dominant migration pattern under colonial conditions remained one of mobile men who maintained a home in the communal area, presided over by a wife or wives (Goebel, 2005: 36). In Zimbabwe, women's lack of primary land rights in customary areas was historically underpinned by the definition of their legal status as minors and the dual legal system (customary and civil law) that placed most African women under the dictates of customary law in the colonial period (Stewart et al, 1990; Maboreke, 1991).

After independence, in 1982 the new government instituted the Legal Age of Majority Act (LAMA) which gave women majority status at the age of eighteen. Despite the provisions of LAMA, customary law still dominated legal practice in communal areas throughout the 1980s (Maboreke, 1991; Stewart, 1992). This meant that women did not gain access to communal area land in their own right, and the practice of assigning land mainly to married men continued (Chimedza, 1988). A clear example of the patriarchal nature of the post-colonial state is in citizenship policy as expressed in the 1984 Citizenship Act. Zimbabwean men who marry foreign women can transfer their citizenship to their wives, but women who marry foreign men cannot transfer such rights to their husbands or children and also face the diminishment of their own citizenship rights (McFadden, 2002b). This notion of citizenship reflects patrilineal patterns common in Shona culture, where a man stays within his patrilineal family upon marriage while a woman acquires obligations to her husband's family upon marriage.

Rural women's lives in Zimbabwe have been distinctively tied to the land, but this relationship to the land has historically been mediated through male entitlement and control – involving the institution of marriage and the allocative powers of mostly traditional authorities. As cited earlier, Rutherford (2001) notes that the gendered aspect of land allocation appears remarkably consistent (cutting across colonial and post-colonial Zimbabwe) and is marked by rigidities, becoming one of those 'modes of power that sustain "women" as a category'. Securing land rights for women in Zimbabwe, and in Africa more broadly, is a common talking point in the literature on land (Razavi, 2002; Gray and Kavane, 1999), as this is seen as central to improving both women's livelihoods and food security more generally (Razavi, 2002: 16).

2.5 Conclusion

In summary, women's relationship to land is problematic and tenuous in a context where African patriarchies exist and sometimes have hardened (Msimang, 2002). My study has a particular focus on land reform and more specifically land redistribution. In specific relation to land reform programmes, Sachikonye (2004) observes a trend in Africa in which the needs and interests of women are ignored largely because of patriarchal traditions, and this only deepens their marginalisation and vulnerability. Mgugu (Mgugu and Chimonyo, 2000; Mgugu, 2002) highlights this same trend in relation to the Southern African region. Land

reform seeks to alter the distribution of the bundle of different rights attached to land (Putzel, 1992), including the right to possess, use, manage, earn an income from, lend, transfer and sell, as well as to pass on these rights to others. Any progressive land reform would need to address the existence of patriarchy as a complex system of structures, practices and discourses, and to redistribute rights in a manner that would rectify the current exclusion of women from the bundle of land rights. The following chapter considers the relationship between land reform and gender in colonial Zimbabwe (pre-1980) and in post-colonial Zimbabwe (during the 1980s and 1990s).

Chapter 3: Land Reform in Pre-Fast Track Zimbabwe

3.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a discussion of land reform and gender in Zimbabwe historically, with particular emphasis on the colonial period and the post-colonial period up to the land occupations and fast track starting in the year 2000. The chapter is divided into three main sections. The next section (section two) traces land and gender with specific reference to the colonial period (until independence in 1980). Given that the thesis focuses on post-2000 developments, special attention is given in the following section (section three) to Zimbabwean land reform and redistribution programmes subsequent to independence (until 1999), together with the evolution of post-independence resettlement models. Questions around land access and allocation with regard to gender are also explored in this section, in terms of both resettlement and customary areas. The last section (section four) briefly highlights some important legislative changes until 1999 with particular emphasis on customary areas. Chapters three and four offer, respectively, historical and contemporary overviews of land and gender in Zimbabwe, and hence provide necessary contextualisation for my specific study (from chapter five through to chapter seven) of gender and fast track in Goromonzi District.

First though, to set the stage for the ensuing discussion, I provide briefly certain land and gender statistics for Zimbabwe. In Zimbabwe, agriculture remains the backbone of the economy contributing to over 45% of the country's Gross Domestic Product (GDP). Women constitute 52% of the population (with the country's population estimated at about 12,6 million). Women are the majority of the farmers in Zimbabwe and they contribute immensely to the agricultural labour force; yet they very rarely control land for agriculture (Chingarande, 2008). In fact, the contribution of women to agricultural activities is effectively undermined discursively by the regular and standard association in Zimbabwe of 'farmer' with the male gender; with both the colonial and post-colonial state effectively targeting males as farmers. This marginalisation of women might explain the many harvest suicides in Zimbabwe. For instance, in 1997, 153 women committed suicide in Gokwe district because their husbands ('the farmers') had squandered all the money from farm proceeds (Human Development Report, 1998).

It is highly significant to note that about 86% of the women living in rural areas depend on land as their main source of livelihood and sustenance (Chambati, 2007). According to government sources (GoZ, 2001c), 70% of rural women's labour involves farming (activities such as land preparation, planting, weeding, crop protection, harvesting and post-harvest management); in addition, they are the primary managers of homes in the communal areas and resettlement farms. The same government source also acknowledges that 26% of women who received land through fast track land reform did so in their own right and not through marriage. In this regard, the 2003 Presidential Land Review Committee (PLRC) reveals that 18% of the A1 model smallholder farmers and 12% of the A2 commercial farmer beneficiaries were women (PLRC, 2003).

3.2 Land and Gender under Colonialism

This section provides an overview of land and gender in Zimbabwe during the colonial period. During this period, the overall mandate of the colonial government was to enforce policies and directives of land appropriation, including relocating the majority African population to designated Tribal Trust Lands (TTLs) (now called communal areas) especially in the more arid agro-ecological regions IV and V. These TTLs effectively became *kumusha/emakhaya* (rural homesteads) for the dispossessed African population (Chitsike, 2003).

The first significant colonial land occupations occurred in 1890 and subsequent dispossession has historically been cast in black-white racial relations. Thus, most historical accounts of dispossession speak in general terms about the expropriation of land and cattle from the indigenous people without any reference to the gendered dimension of dispossession. This is not accidental if only because a gendered discourse about land is, relatively speaking, a recent development. At one level, a gender-insensitive examination of colonial land dispossession may be justified by the fact that the dominant signifier of dispossession was indeed race rather than gender. However, an analysis of various colonial proclamations on land would reveal that land allocation and re-allocation had all the trappings of "patriarchy" whereby women (and children) were subsumed under male headship.

There were a series of policy and programmatic instruments which affected the land alienation process. The pioneer in this process was the Land Commission of 1894, which

created Native reserves for the Ndebele people. This commission was then followed by the Southern Rhodesia Order in Council of 1898 – after the first *Chimurenga* (Uprising) of 1896 – which stipulated that:

The British South Africa Company (BSAC) shall from time to time assign to the natives inhabiting Southern Rhodesia land sufficient for their occupation, whether as tribes, or portions of tribes, and suitable for their agricultural and pastoral requirements, including in all cases a fair and equitable proportion of springs or permanent water (Palmer, 1977:87).

Zimbabwe, unlike its southern neighbour South Africa, did not have vast mineral deposits. White settlers hence turned to agriculture eventually making the sector an engine to the country's overall economic development. The BSAC had been formed to buy concessions from the British crown and this formed the basis of the subsequent land grabbing by the settlers. As the take-over of land progressed, white settlers crowded the black majority population into the TTLs. The African population received small, largely infertile tracts of land while expropriated land in the hands of white farmers was extensive and fertile.

3.2.1 Land Policies before 1980

During the colonial period, there were challenges to the land dispossession. As a result, colonial land laws gave legal backing to colonial land expropriation. Many communities resisted and were most often confronted with brute force. The forced removals and land dispossession eventually sowed the seeds for the liberation struggle (Chitsike, 2003). Land contestation became the central source of conflict during colonial times and has steadily remained so in contemporary post-independence Zimbabwe.

There were three main pieces of legislation that were put in place to guide the process of land acquisition, including where and by whom. These pieces of legislation resulted in a dual system of land ownership involving the mass expropriation of prime agricultural land by the colonial settlers and the subsequent marginalization of black people into reserves now known as communal areas. The three policies are as follows.

Firstly, in 1930, a piece of legislation (the Land Apportionment Act) formalised the separation of land between blacks and whites. This Act was a result of the Morris Carter

Commission of 1925. The Land Apportionment Act excluded Africans from that half of the country that contained the best farming land, despite the fact that Africans constituted over 95% of the population. Their confinement to the poorest land accomplished the objective of forcing Africans into the labour market. Thus Africans were forced to work for subsistence wages on white farms, mines and factories in virtual servitude. Overall, the result was further movement of indigenous people into marginal lands where conditions were not favourable for farming. Secondly, under the Land Husbandry Act of 1951, the intention was to change land use practices and ownership tenure norms. This entailed the enforcement of private ownership of land, destocking and modernist conservation practices in pursuit of white interests. Thirdly, the Land Tenure Act of 1969 was enacted as an adjustment to the 1930 Act. This new act facilitated further the racial division of land, resulting in the movement of more indigenous people out of white areas (Moyo, 1986). The motive was to divide land more equally between minority whites and majority blacks, but with the white minority still owning vast tracts of land at the expense of the dispossessed African population crowded into infertile reserves. This Act entrenched the dual agrarian structure, and it resulted in Chief Rekayi Tangwena of Gairezi (and his people in Manicaland Province) demonstrating and showing resistance against its inception.

The overall objective of the land policies was to dispossess the African population so that white settlers could dominate agricultural production, an activity that hitherto was dominated by the African population. Colonial land policies dispossessed the majority African population and distributed expropriated land to white settlers, including as compensation for fighting during the second imperialist war (known as World War II). State resources and inputs were also channelled to these white settlers to subsidise agricultural production under colonialism, as a strategy to stimulate economic growth and industrialisation in the country. Other government support services exclusively for white farming communities included agricultural education and training, agricultural extension services, facilitating access to markets and infrastructural development.

It is therefore the case that the development and success of white agriculture during the colonial era was due to high levels of state commitment to the racially-based policy and legal frameworks, together with the support services put in place by successive colonial governments on behalf of the white farming community. This support and commitment to the

development of the agricultural sector, at least to the large-scale commercial farming sector, also involved mutually advantageous relations with other sectors of the economy controlled by whites, leading to the enhanced development of these sectors. It was against this background that the new post-colonial government sought to address the racially-skewed historical imbalances and inequalities in land ownership through land redistribution.

3.2.2 The Impact of the Colonial Policies on the African Population

Black people lost their land to whites in the 1890s and this was subsequently consolidated in the 20th century. The acquisition of pre-colonial customary land for redistribution as large-scale commercial farms to whites formed part of the colonisation process. This resulted in blacks losing land and serving for instance as farm labourers on commercial farms where they worked long hours earning meagre salaries. This therefore marked the birth of the black proletariat population in then Southern Rhodesia. Blacks were resettled in low rainfall areas which came to be known as communal areas, where traditional leaders (as reconstructed by colonial authorities) controlled access to land.

The process of dispossession and the emergence of white commercial agricultural production meant that the African population had to be forcibly removed from their arable and productive ancestral land to arid and semi-arid ecological regions, especially those now falling under regions IV and V. Regions IV and V were/are regions characterised by low soil fertility and water scarcity. The land available was exceedingly limited given the size of the large displaced indigenous population. The communal areas became increasingly over-congested with significant population growth on already diminishing fertile land. In 1978 the government of Rhodesia (under pressure from the civil war) indicated that it was going to set aside 4 million hectares for the resettlement of displaced black families.

3.2.3 Commercial Farms

Successive settler governments gave political and material assistance to white settlers who wanted to venture into large-scale commercial agriculture. The assistance included free to cheap agricultural land, and assistance in agricultural development (such as the construction of dams, weirs and irrigation canals). In terms of financial assistance, subsidies were set in place and white farmers were assured of access to bank loans.

By 1979, white commercial farmers dominated the agrarian economy, producing 75% of the total agricultural output and 96% of total agricultural sales, and providing a quarter of a million agricultural jobs (amounting to a third of the total workforce employed in the whole formal sector by independence in 1980) (Masiwa, 2004: 3). Masiwa (2004) also notes that about 4,500 large-scale commercial farmers owned about 15.5 million hectares (i.e. 39% of total land in the country). In contrast, one million farming households (constituting more than 70% of the population) in communal areas possessed (under customary law) only 16 million hectares.

During the colonial period, male black farmers who demonstrated potential to farm and held a Master Farmers Certificate were often allocated pieces of land, ranging between 70 and 500 hectares. By all accounts the original beneficiaries performed well (Chitsike, 2003). Over three decades down the line, children and then grandchildren (who themselves may not be farmers in their own right) of the original farmers had taken over the farms. These master farmer allocations were originally known as Purchase Areas and they resulted in the creation of what is now normally called the small-scale commercial farming sector.

3.2.4 Colonial Policies and Women

Arguing from a gender perspective, it is imperative to note that indigenous resistance to supplying labour for the colonisers' farms and mines through maintaining or increasing agricultural production by peasant farmers presupposed more labour inputs (in the absence of more contemporary technological inputs, agrochemicals and machinery). This entailed increasing demand for the use of female labour (within the family), which was cheap, readily available and therefore subject to exploitation. This patriarchal-based exploitation continued throughout the colonial period (and into the post-colonial era) as more males left the overcrowded customary areas (mainly temporarily and contractually) to seek formal employment, which was one of the rationales behind land alienation.

Customary law during the colonial period, based on patriarchy, ensured that women accessed land through a male (who effectively acted as their guardian) and above all the head of the household, whether as a husband if married or the father if single. This reinforced pre-colonial relations as, traditionally among Shona and Ndebele people, women obtained land for farming through their marriage ties as wives in patrilineal communities. Unmarried and

divorced women who returned to their agnatic patrilineages were allocated some pieces of land in their mother's fields to grow crops (Gaidzanwa, 1981). It was therefore difficult for women under colonialism to access land directly without the mediation of a man.

Whereas the position of married women was hampered by male-dominated land possession, the situation of divorced, unmarried, separated, widowed and abandoned women was worse in terms of accessing resources including land in their own right (Chingarande, 2004). Even land reform policy in post-independence Zimbabwe has tended to neglect land tenure rights and land access for women in 'special' circumstances (such as divorcees and widows). If land titles go only to men, or if only men are named as beneficiaries in land reform, the position of the divorced, widowed, separated and abandoned women becomes particularly tenuous (Henderson and Hansen, 1995:24). Overall, female-headed households in rural areas under colonial conditions were significantly disadvantaged compared to male-headed households.

3.3 The Post-Independence Period from 1980-1999

In the years leading up to independence, the growing black population in the communal areas could hardly eke out a living on the generally poor soils and regions of low rainfall. At the same time, the Second *Chimurenga* (the armed struggle that started in the early 1970s) moved from the towns into the villages and communal areas, involving peasant communities in the national uprising. The Second *Chimurenga* culminated in the Lancaster House Conference in 1979, which led to the birth of the Republic of Zimbabwe on 18 April 1980. The colonial land policies and practices were the main causes of the liberation struggle. During the struggle, land equality and equity were central issues in the liberation war discourse. Thus, at independence, the new government was forced to consider redistributing land as a way of transferring land from the minority commercial farmers to the majority African population.

At independence in 1980, Zimbabwe inherited a dual economy characterised by a highly skewed pattern of land distribution and white minority control over the country's land and water resources. The small minority of white large-scale commercial farmers owned and farmed most of the better agricultural land, while the majority black population survived in customary areas. This inherited dual structure of land possession was a result of various pieces of legislation introduced during the colonial era which resulted in mass expropriation

of prime agricultural land by the colonial settlers and the subsequent marginalisation of black people into communal areas. The new government was faced with the mammoth challenge and dilemma of redistributing land without necessarily compromising agricultural production.

Immediately after 1980, the Government of Zimbabwe (GoZ) made significant headway in redistributing land to the black majority population. The land question seemingly took precedence in state policies and the government established the Intensive Resettlement Programme (IRP) to address three main concerns: unequal and inequitable land distribution, insecurity of tenure, and sustainable and sub-optimal land use (GoZ, 1998). The government embarked on land reform processes that resulted in the creation of resettlement schemes, which comprised four different models. Some of the settlements were meant to give land to the landless or to people with unproductive land. Other settlements were allocated solely for commercial agricultural production. The rationale was to primarily resettle people displaced by the war, the landless, the poor, the unemployed and the destitute. The land was acquired for black people from the white commercial farmers under the “willing-buyer willing-seller” scheme. During this early period, there were many state ministries actively involved in resettlement efforts due to the mammoth tasks at hand (Moyo, 2004: 120). Included were the following ministries: Agriculture, Local Government, Health, Transport, Education, Construction and Social Welfare.

At first sight, these initiatives all seemed consistent with the new government’s socialist-oriented development programme that emphasised equity and social justice, ensuring the relocation of the indigenous population onto more productive lands (GoZ, 2000). But these efforts had substantially stalled by the mid-1980s. And it was only in the late 1990s that the GoZ sought to re-accelerate the snails-pace land reform and resettlement programme. This included a joint government-donor initiative that would kick off with a two-year implementation phase involving pilot experimentation (with new models of land reform and resettlement).

The period from 1980 to 1996 falls under what is known as the Zimbabwean state’s Land Reform and Resettlement Programme Phase 1 (LRRP 1) (Moyo et al, 2008). This phase incorporated the first ten years after independence during which the Lancaster House Agreement was in effect, and the more recent period of the Economic Structural Adjustment

Programme (ESAP) launched in 1991. Due to the fact that both the Lancaster House Agreement and ESAP entailed significant global pressure on the post-colonial state (including pressures for a market-driven land reform process), land reform in Zimbabwe has been to a great extent externally-driven (Mbaya, 2001). Phase 1 had distinct biases towards global trajectories (although also consistent with the interests of local white and black agricultural capital). This explains in large part the failure of the Zimbabwean state to pursue a more vigorous resettlement programme.

At the same time, the efforts at this time by women Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) reflected the significance given by women to the struggle for land in Zimbabwe, but their failure to articulate a clear vision and agenda made it possible for the government to pursue a half-hearted and fragmented approach to women's equality on land issues (Chari, 1999). In the end, the first phase of the land reform and redistribution programme (which ended in 1997/98) heavily ignored the needs of women. In this respect, President Mugabe is quoted as saying in 1994 about the second-class status of women in marriage: 'If women want property, they should not get married' (quoted in Cheater and Gaidzanwa, 1996:200). Further to that, then Vice-President Musika spoke about the state's hesitancy in addressing the gender dimension of land reform: 'I would have my head cut off by men if I give women land; men would turn against the government' (quoted in WLLG, 2001). Clearly, besides the demands of global market forces and local agricultural capital interests, patriarchal structures, practices and discourses played a significant role in undermining a progressive land reform process during the first two decades of independence.

3.3.1 Phase 1 Resettlement Programme

In the following discussion, I consider a range of resettlement models that arose during the 1980s and 1990s under the GoZ's Phase 1 resettlement programme (which officially ended in 1997). From 1980-1996, there were four main types of resettlement model schemes (as outlined by Moyo, 1995: 96-89). As a legal instrument, the state relied on the Rural Land Act for purposes of resettling people under these early resettlement models (Ncube and Nkiwane, 1994:151). The criteria and principles governing allocation and granting of resettlement land were never specified in any law and neither were the rights and obligations of resettled people set out (Ncube et al, 1997: 56).

Initially, resettlement was based on a rehabilitative policy that targeted returning refugees and families displaced by the war; in addition, land-short and landless peasants became beneficiaries. Over the years, there was a shift towards efficiency and productivity concerns, such that rural inhabitants with proven agricultural experience and training were increasingly targeted. The type and degree of state planning, including post-settlement support, varied over the years.

3.3.1.1 1980-1984 Initiatives

Three key models (models A, B and C) were initiated in the immediate years after independence. Model A is described by Moyo (1995:183) as a 'nucleus village settlement bounded by individual arable holdings and communal grazing lands'. Each settler was given a residential stand measuring 2,500 square metres. Each family also received five hectares of arable land for crops (in agro-ecological regions I and II). Settlers in drier regions received more hectares of arable land. In regions I and II, each family was allowed to keep from 5 to 15 livestock units on 20 hectares of land while those in the drier regions were allowed to keep up to 200 units on more extensive pieces of grazing land. The schemes were provided with access roads linking all villages with a rural service centre at which government service staff (agricultural extension and resettlement officers, and health and education workers) were based. Infrastructure was provided ranging from schools, clinics, feeder roads, boreholes and marketing depots. Agricultural research and extension officers were also available to give technical advice on cropping and other services.

Grazing, woodlots, water points and services were communal, and tenure was in the form of permits of occupation. In terms of land tenure provisions, three permits were given (one permit for residence, another for cultivation and the other one for pasturing livestock). Initial permits were granted for a five-year term by the state ministry in charge of resettlement (the Ministry of Land, Resettlement and Rural Development). The ministry had powers to terminate all permits without reason, as long as compensation was paid.

Female heads of households could have land tenure permits in their own right, and widows in particular were given priority in terms of accessing permits. A survey of Model A married couples shows however that 98 percent of resettlement permits given for crop and grazing lands were held by husbands against a mere two percent by wives (Gaidzanwa, 1988). In the

case of divorce, a married female settler would lose any right to stay on the Model A scheme. In communal areas, where traditional authorities had great influence over land allocation, research by a women's network suggests that widows and divorcees were even more frequently denied access to land (ZWRCN, 1998). These circumstances reflect a broader problem in terms of access to land and related resources by women. Evidence for instance from 1997 shows that in Zimbabwe as a whole about 75 percent of registered land owners were male, 20 percent of the farms were jointly owned by men and women and below 4 percent of land were 'owned' (possessed in fact) by black women (Moyo, 1998).

Under the Model A scheme, the planning process was bureaucratic and slow, to such an extent that in some schemes people were settled while the planning process was still underway. Between 1982 and 1984, the GoZ decided to pursue a parallel Accelerated Resettlement Programme where settlers were emplaced on farms where there was no infrastructure at all. This programme did not perform well, and after 1984 the government started revisiting these schemes for the purpose of providing infrastructure. The early 'A' schemes suffered from invasion by squatters, and the subdivision of arable plots occurred as the population increased.

The model B scheme was designed for cooperatives involving membership of between 50 to 200 members living in a village and using farm lands and infrastructure collectively. All adults including women were allowed to be members. Settlers were required to register as a cooperative and profits were to be shared amongst all cooperative members. Members in the cooperative were allowed to own livestock on an individual basis as well as operate home gardens on 0.5 hectares of land (Moyo, 1995). Preference in terms of beneficiaries was given mostly to ex-combatants and ex-farm workers. The scheme was for ex-commercial farms where the infrastructure was assumed to be already there and intact (for example irrigation infrastructure) as the expectations were that the land would be used optimally for agricultural activities. Credit was given collectively and necessary farm equipment supplied by government. Recommended land use was for intensive high value enterprises or irrigated crops, horticulture, piggery and poultry.

There were certain constraints placed on the farmers. For instance, cooperatives were prohibited by law from erecting buildings without the consent of the relevant state minister,

and they were not allowed to engage in commercial or industrial operations or to cut down indigenous trees on the land. Despite the fact that most of these 'B' farms had sophisticated irrigation and other farming equipment, the co-operative model failed. As a result, many of the original cooperative members deserted the schemes and those who remained did not have the required skills to run such sophisticated enterprises.

The model C scheme was based on individual settler plots with land averaging 10 hectares in size (i.e. the homesteads were not in village settlements). Land used by the settlers was near a core estate owned by the state, for example, the Agricultural Development Authority (ADA) now the Agricultural and Rural Development Authority (ARDA). ADA gave the following services to the settlers as long as they produced 'a common crop with the estate' (Chambati, 2007:24) – research and training expertise, credit, input supplies and marketing services. Women were excluded from the training programmes as they did not have land in their own names. These schemes, patterned on the nucleus concept with a core commercial estate and/or processing facility on the one hand and settler out-growers on the other, were introduced in order to involve small producers directly in more complex and technically demanding farm enterprises such as tobacco and dairy production.

Overall, many early settlers came from villages in customary areas. The villages and wards from where families had been trans-located to resettlement schemes had to be re-planned and re-organised. Customary area re-organisation was to precede parallel to the resettlement process. Most wards were so heavily congested that when the families which were offered resettlement plots were trans-located, there was no elbow room created to warrant re-organisation.

3.3.1.2 1985-1995 Changes

The revised 1985 'Intensive Resettlement Policies and Procedures' added a fourth model: Model D and slightly altered A, B and C models. As time went on, beneficiaries for models A, B, and C had to qualify by possessing Master Farmer certificates, owning farm implements and not being gainfully employed elsewhere. Agricultural performance of the original three models was marginally higher after 1985 compared to the first five years. For Model A, the only modification was the addition of the common field (or *Zunde* in Shona) and an irrigation sub-model where settlers were allocated 0,5 to 2 hectares of arable land.

Productivity on the A schemes was generally higher than in communal or customary areas. Under Model B, there occurred the addition of a game management component to the model design. Performance though only improved marginally after 1985. In fact, many cooperative members started demarcating individual plots.

Model D was a pilot livestock model of the resettlement programme for agro-ecological regions IV and V in the drier areas of Matabeleland. As part of the model, there was access to grazing lands by households in nearby customary areas. Access to the lands for each customary community rotated every 3-4 years to allow communal area grazing lands to recover from overgrazing pressures. Communities were supposed to contribute to the required upkeep and running costs such as managing ranch lands. Moyo (1995: 88) states that 'less than three such schemes have been tested successfully particularly in Matabeleland South'. Under Model D, 3,414 settlers were settled by 1993 on 260,000 hectares of ranch land and 4,000 more were pending resettlement. This model was also reviewed to allow various communities to suggest ways to better access ranch lands. Models A, B and C were not acceptable to (or at least not suitable for) the people of Matabeleland. Model D was in large part a failure.

Subsequent to these four models, there were other models put in place. Notably was the Three Tier Model, which superseded Model D. The land in these schemes was divided as follows: the first tier comprised residential and arable land, and social services; the second tier was where benefitting households kept five livestock units for day-to-day use; and the third tier was a grazing area for commercial purposes. This model was popular in Matabeleland South Province and the agricultural performance was reasonable.

3.3.1.3 1995-1999 Shifts

In 1995 the government cabinet approved the recommendations of the 1994 Land Tenure Commission that the Model A design be changed from villagised to self-contained plots. Also, the unsuccessful Model B scheme was to be re-planned and re-demarcated into self-contained plots. The three-tier model remained unchanged, and no new land was allocated under the old cooperative (B) model or model C.

The ‘A’ scheme was reshaped with the clear programme objective of decongesting overpopulated and overstocked villages in customary areas. Any self-contained plots were reclassified as small-scale commercial schemes and therefore fell outside the resettlement programme. In addition to these changes, a tenant scheme was promoted. Under this scheme, large-scale commercial farms were subdivided into medium-sized farms, which were then leased out to beneficiaries (Chatora, 2003). Government support for the scheme though was minimal and persistent non-performers were evicted. The three-tier model did not produce any resounding successes.

Table 3.1: Resettlement Models up to 1999

No.	Model Scheme	Beneficiaries	Comments
1	Pre-independence Large Scale Commercial Settlement Scheme	White settlers with interest in farming, Successful commercial farmers. Government support was strong	Most beneficiaries became successful.
2	Small Scale Commercial Farm Settlement Scheme	Black peasant-experienced farmers with certificates in farming.	The original farmers performed very well.
3	Model C	Qualifying peasant farmers.	Performed fairly well.
4	Tenant Scheme	Black Zimbabweans with assets and /or money and/or training in agriculture.	Did not perform too well. Government support was too little.
5	Earlier Model A	The destitute and returning refugees.	Beneficiaries were and are no longer destitute. From owning nothing they are now peasant farmers of sorts.
6	Later Model A	Qualifying peasant farmers.	Most beneficiaries enjoyed better quality of life. They could have done more with government support.
7	Three Tier Model	Overgrazed the lands.	Performance not too impressive.
8	Model B	Ex-farm workers and landless peasants, preferably with some experience in farming.	Failed.
9	Model D	Overgrazed wards.	Remained at pilot scheme level. Performed badly.

Source: GoZ, 2001.

The performance of the land reform programme and resettlement models from 1980 up to 1999 is summarised and ranked in Table 3.1 above. Ranks are determined by the performance

of each model in terms of agricultural efficiency and productivity (hence from a 'productivist' perspective rather than from a 'redistributive' perspective).

The pre-independence large-scale commercial settlement arrangement (which was carried through on a massive scale up until the year 2000) is ranked number one in terms of crop and livestock production, efficiency and effectiveness. This ranking reflects the extensive and consistent (racially-based) support given to white farmers over a number of decades. After 1980, under the redistributive land reform process, black farmers receiving land particularly through models A and C did reasonably well (certainly in comparison to customary farmers).

3.3.2 Women in Resettlement and Customary Areas

The existing evidence shows that, in practice, women in both resettlement and customary areas remained under the domination of patriarchy despite any official pronouncements, policies or programmes to the contrary. In the case of women in resettlement areas, the practice in the early and mid-1980s was generally to give preference to landless married men with dependents, with tenure permits being issued in the name of the man. Women could be allocated resettlement land in their own right and in their own names only if they were widowed, divorced or simply unmarried (in all cases, with dependents) (Ncube et al, 1997:57). As a result, large numbers of women were excluded from being allocated land in their own right and in practice very few women were allocated land as widows, divorcees or unmarried mothers. When a family qualified for resettlement, the permit was almost always issued in the name of the husband. In the case of divorce, it was the wife who lost access to the land for which she and her husband had jointly qualified (mainly because of the operation of the traditional patrilocal system). Ncube et al (1997) interviewed a resettlement officer who confirmed that, as resettlement officers, they advised divorcing wives to look for land elsewhere (meaning that they have to qualify anew for a resettlement plot).

A study carried out by Ncube et al (1997) in Matebeleland in Nyozani resettlement scheme shows that the main beneficiaries of this scheme were married men. Out of sixty families resettled, only three were widows who were allocated land in their own right while no divorced or unmarried mothers were allocated any land. Under this arrangement, women did not have primary land rights but only usufructural rights. A study by Zvobgo et al (1994) indicates that despite the fact that government settlement policy stated that not just men but

also women with dependents qualified for permits in their own right, 87% of permit holders were men. To add to this, all male permit holders were married while almost all women permit holders were widowed or unmarried. Overall, on model A farms, the bulk of permits were issued to men as heads of households (GoZ, 2001).

The new policy in force from the early 1990s brought to the fore the significance of productivity and farming skills in identifying resettlement beneficiaries, as evidenced by the possession of a Master Farmer Certificate as well as secondary level education for resettled farmers. The emphasis on secondary education prejudiced a number of rural women who only had a primary school education and – who because of farming and domestic commitments – never had the time to attend the regular training workshops required for receiving a Master Farmer Certificate. Thus, while this ‘productivist’ policy might seem gender-neutral (officially favouring married people of either sex) in practice it favoured men.

At the same time, women in customary areas had entitlement to land primarily through marriage. Women's lack of formal land rights in these areas was historically underpinned by the definition of their legal status as minors, and the dual legal system (common law and customary law) that placed most African women under the dictates of customary law in the colonial period (Stewart, Ncube, Maboreke and Armstrong, 1990; Maboreke, 1991). Although soon after independence women began to enjoy majority status at 18 years of age (through the provisions of the Legal Age of Majority Act of 1982), customary law still dominated legal practice in communal areas (Stewart, 1992). Women were rarely allocated land in their own right, although some divorced women would be granted fields after returning to their natal home (ZWRCN, 1994). Upon the death of a husband, a widow did not gain entitlement to the land in customary law, but only kept it in trust for the male heir (usually the eldest son).

3.4 Policies and Legal Frameworks Post-Independence

Given the dominance of white large scale commercial farms in the Zimbabwean countryside, it is clear that policy interventions were deemed necessary to redistribute land and resources to marginalised social groups in Zimbabwe to enable them to improve their livelihoods. There were indeed several land-related policies and legal frameworks (including those related to the resettlement models described above) that were put in place between 1980 and 1999 to

address land-related issues – including gender disparities around access to and control over land.

Historically, the policies and frameworks range from the Lancaster House Agreement of 1979 to the Fast Track Land Reform Programme in 2000 (discussed in the following chapter). The early policy and legal instruments to address the land question were done through the new post-independence Zimbabwe Constitution of 1980. The Constitution stipulated that no landed property could be acquired compulsorily except under very stringent conditions, including immediate and sufficient compensation. This effectively meant that land would be acquired in practice on a “willing-buyer willing-seller” basis. This provision limited the government’s choice of land used for resettlement (because it was contingent on what was on offer on the market) and it also inhibited government purchases because of limited state funds for market-priced land. Consequently, much of the land it acquired was in semi-arid regions.

While the government was engaged in resettlement programmes through the various models (in part to decongest customary areas), it also sought to address customary areas more directly. In this regard, the Communal Land Act of 1982 was a major legal constraint to women’s access to land because customary law took precedence in defining the relationship between land and women. In 1984, changes were made to the 1982 Communal Act (with respect to Section 23) whereby the district councils – as the local state authority covering communal areas – would be required to prepare a land use plan for each village in communal areas and would issue a settlement permit to the head of each household in the village. Section 24(4) of the Communal Land Act after adjustments regulates that each settlement permit shall bear the names of both spouses. Further, unmarried women who are heads of household, widows and girls who head child-headed households can also have permits in their names. This was a positive step in terms of gender equity as there is a growing population of female-headed households as well as orphan-headed households in customary areas. It was also part of a process initiated by the state in the early independence years of undercutting the authority of chiefs in rural areas, a process that was reversed in the 1990s. The reformed Communal Land Act is a clear recognition of the changing family form in Zimbabwe, but in practice the patriarchal character of land relations remains firmly

entrenched in customary lands. In this respect, Moyo notes that on the whole ‘localities tend to ignore legislative changes’ (Moyo, 2004: 117).

In 1988, a Rural District Councils Act was enacted to amalgamate the previously segregated white large-scale commercial farm rural councils with communal area district councils. The state’s administrative control increased over land and natural resource allocation as a result of the new act. Amongst other things, the act provided for ‘further powers to the new councils to protect commonly used or held lands from being damaged by individuals’ and ‘to collect compensation for any damages’ to resources (for example, cutting trees indiscriminately) (Moyo, 2004: 117). However, there continued to be some tension between council structures and the more explicitly patriarchal system of chieftainships that constantly asserted their authority over customary lands. At national level, the Land Acquisition Act of 1985 was enacted in the spirit of the “willing-buyer willing-seller” programme. The right of first refusal was given to the state for all private land offered on the market.

3.5 Conclusion

Given the above analysis, one can conclude that the struggle for land was a major cause for the Second *Chimurenga* (or war for liberation) in Rhodesia in the 1970s and that the land question became critical to Zimbabwe in the post-independence era. Land dispossession in the colonial period had a negative effect on the African population broadly as they were crowded into marginalised customary areas. This had a spill-over effect in the post-independence era as the Zimbabwean government failed for over twenty years to tackle the land question in an assertive and significant way. More specifically, because of patriarchal structures and practices in both the colonial and post-colonial periods (up to the year 1999), rural women became severely marginalised in terms of land access. In post-independence Zimbabwe, the issue of land was dominated by discourses about redressing past racially-based (and not gender-based) injustices in land through land redistribution (Goebel, 2005). In terms of the resettlement models outlined, there was no concerted effort to formulate and implement policies and programmes for ensuring gender and land equity. Any seemingly progressive initiative at state policy level was undermined by actually-existing patriarchal practices such that men continued to mediate the relationship between women and land. This was true in the cases of both the resettlement areas and the customary areas. This chapter therefore provides a significant basis and foundation for examining land reforms in fast track

Zimbabwe (since the year 2000), to understand if the fast track land reform programme has facilitated the un-gendering of the land question in contemporary Zimbabwe. At a broad national level, this is considered in the following chapter.

Chapter 4: Land Reform in Contemporary Zimbabwe

4.1 Introduction

The overall objective of this chapter is to provide an account of fast track land reform in Zimbabwe from its inception to date. Fast track must be understood in terms of the failures of land reform historically and in relation to the political crisis that emerged in the 1990s. Certainly, the FTLRP is a manifestation and eruption of problems that have been simmering during the 1980s and 1990s. The history of land reform was detailed in the previous chapter, and the current crisis is discussed in this chapter. The chapter is divided into two main sections. The next section discusses the various dimensions of the FTLRP; and the following section (section three) looks at the FTLRP with specific relation to women and the challenges they face on the new redistributed farms and in the long-standing customary areas. The latter section sets the stage for the more specific focus on women and land in Goromonzi District covered in chapters 5, 6 and 7.

4.2 Fast Track Land Reform

There were numerous amendments to both the constitution and the Land Acquisition Act during the 1980s and 1990s that sought to increase the amount of land for resettlement and to facilitate land reform more broadly. During the Lancaster House Conference, the former colonial power was not forthcoming in providing significant funds for land acquisition despite the verbal agreements that were made. Between 1980 and 1999 the government managed to acquire only 3,5 million hectares of land and resettled 71,000 households only. The communal areas remained congested, overstocked and overgrazed. Hence, for the majority of Zimbabweans residing in rural areas, there had been no significant changes in accessing quality land and in improving their agrarian livelihoods. Pressure was mounting on a beleaguered government to accelerate its land reform programme.

In the year 1999, the government appointed a commission to look into the drafting of a radically new constitution (GoZ, 2001). The eventual draft constitution included provisions relating to the compulsory acquisition of land for resettlement and the onus was also placed for providing compensation for acquired farms on the former colonial power. The government would no longer be obliged to pay compensation for the acquired land except for infrastructural improvements. A referendum was held in February 2000 to allow people either to reject or accept the drafted constitution. The verdict of the majority of Zimbabweans was

to reject the draft constitution, primarily because there were concerns that it centralised power in the presidency.

This took place in the context of enmity between the ruling ZANU-PF party and the opposition Movement for Democratic Change. This enmity was intensified during the Parliamentary Elections which were held in June 2000. The end result was mounting pressure – notably from the war veterans’ movement – on ZANU-PF to deliver on the land question, particularly because it was now twenty long years subsequent to gaining independence. Shortly after the results to the referendum were announced, war veterans of the Second *Chimurenga* began invading white-owned farms in spontaneous demonstrations which soon had the support of the government (Chitsike, 2003).

In the previous couple of years (1998 and 1999), sporadic invasions of commercial farms by communal and other farmers took place, which the ZANU-PF government on the whole denounced as illegal. The nation-wide land occupations starting in early 2000, which led initially to arrests and detentions of occupiers, was soon legitimised by the government, and regularised and normalised through the FTLRP. Initially, white farmers were told to co-exist with the newly emerging “settlers” but it became clear that these farmers were to be removed and their farms taken over completely by the settlers. This rural dynamic spread throughout the country during 2000 and into 2001. In this context, the ruling party adopted the slogan “Land is Economy and the Economy is Land”.

The government put in place emergency legislation to protect the new settlers from eviction. Any occupiers would only be moved once alternative land had been identified for resettling them. After the June 2000 elections, the President appointed what was referred to as a War Cabinet whose major thrust was to see the completion of the land reform exercise (now dubbed the Third *Chimurenga* or war of liberation). What then followed was a comprehensive and holistic approach towards acquisition of commercial farms that were quickly subdivided in the main into small, medium and large self-contained units. The existing owners (i.e. commercial farmers) were given a time limit (according to a revised Land Acquisition Act) to vacate their land. Individual Zimbabweans with a serious intent to farm were invited to submit applications for land to the Ministry of Lands, Agriculture and

Rural Resettlement; before being considered for allocation of a farm plot, they were required to submit sound and succinct project proposals.

This drastic exercise in Zimbabwe led to mixed feelings within the international community. On the one hand there was recognition from the world's marginalised communities that land redistribution was necessary for rectifying racial injustices. In this regard, Worby (2001:478) notes that the farm invasions have precipitated the widespread erosion or effective collapse of freehold property forms that have underpinned the racialised distribution of land and the consolidation of large-scale capitalist agriculture for over a century. On the other hand, there has been widespread and acrimonious condemnation from other sections of the international community who sympathise with those perceived to be at the losing end of the exercise. Critical questions have arisen sometimes around the timing of the exercise (starting before the critical June 2000 elections), with the claim that any prospect for orderly and planned land reform was sacrificed on the altar of political expediency.

Fast track is said to have involved the 'first radical shift in agrarian property rights in the post Cold War world' (Moyo and Yeros, 2005a:3). In its own way, fast track became the solution to the land issue that the government had been haltingly seeking since 1980. In fact, in 2005, just five years after the beginning of the Third Chimurenga, the government of Zimbabwe was so buoyed by the extent of redistribution that it declared that the land question had been finally resolved. Launched on 15 July 2000, the fast track programme has become a watershed event in the history of Zimbabwe as it radicalised the land reform process. Officially, it is known as the Accelerated Land Reform and Resettlement Implementation Plan. It forms part of the Land Reform and Resettlement Programme, Phase 2 (1998), although it undercuts the more collaborative partnership arrangement (including joint state and civil society initiatives) embodied in the Inception Phase Framework/Plan of 1999-2000.

The main objectives of the fast track programme were to ensure food security, decongest communal areas and decrease pressure on land, increase employment and ease existing political pressure. It is significant that the objectives of fast track land reform do not include the resettlement specifically of women, although fast track documents indicate that women were to receive 20 per cent of the land. The fast track objectives were to be implemented in the following way:

- Begin by acquiring 841 farms (2,1 million hectares) which had previously been designated and contested by white commercial farmers;
- To follow this up by other acquisitions in tranches, involving the redistribution of up to 5 million hectares over three to five years;
- Acquire for resettlement 125,000 hectares per province; and
- Resettle 30,000 families on the 125,000 hectares per province.

There are two main categories of resettlement farms under fast track, namely, A1 and A2. A2 farms are commercially-focused farms which have been taken over by one resettled farmer (as a complete unit) or have been subdivided into smaller commercially-viable units amongst a number of A2 farmers. A1 farms are in the main subsistence farms which have been divided into a large number of arable units (often around 6 hectares per household) along with a homestead and common grazing land.

4.3 Women and Fast Track

Goebel (2005:145) highlights that land and fast track have been reduced, in competing discursive arguments, to volatile racial and class struggles. This emphasis on class and race is clear from the prevailing literature, which is largely critical of fast track. The GoZ, in evicting white commercial farmers, has officially articulated the view that the redistribution of land serves the interests of the black peasantry. Certain critics of fast track, such as Raftopoulos (2002) and McFadden (2002a) argue that the process was about the takeover of Zimbabwe's main economic asset (i.e. agricultural land) by the country's ZANU-PF political elite. Another critic, Moore (2001), situates the 'land grab' within a more economic framework; this involves an argument about stalled primitive accumulation brought on by the colonial and post-colonial structural impediments to economic development.

At one level, fast track is a fundamental departure from previous philosophies, practices and procedures for acquiring land and resettling people in Zimbabwe. It certainly is a dramatic shift from the government's policy of constitution-based and market-led reforms (Chitsike, 2003). But the critical question for this study is the relationship between fast track and the restructuring of patriarchy and land. Alone, racial and class restructuring of agrarian relations do not invariably entail gender restructuring. The discussion in this section seeks to highlight the position of women on both A1 farms and in customary areas in the light of fast track.

The Land Reform and Resettlement Programme (Phase 2), from 1998, specifies that the selection of beneficiaries should seek to include special groups (for example women) and it refers to the need for poverty alleviation, particularly given that 75% of rural women live in poverty. The ensuing Inception Phase document makes reference to gender, targeting women as a special group, and seeking to mainstream gender throughout the land redistribution process. The fast track implementation plan does not specify any of this, and the policy documents and legislation setting out the basis of the fast track programme do not address gender issues in any sustained manner. In October 2000, though, the government stated that it would ensure a 20% quota for women to benefit from the programme. Interestingly, the Utete Report (2003) – a government-initiated audit of fast track – recommended a 40% quota allocation, especially for A1 peasant farmers.

Compared to land resettlement programmes that took place soon after independence, it seems that there has been a reduction in the number of female beneficiaries of land. It is estimated that, for schemes previous to fast track, 25% of the beneficiaries were women (Jacobs, 1989, 1998). Under fast track, actual female beneficiaries are close to but do not reach the target of 20% of the total (WLLG & ZWRCN, 2007). In large part, the problem emanates from targeting families/households as units without addressing the prevailing property relations and rights within the family or household (i.e. the intra-household gender relations). In terms of fast track beneficiaries, the selection process was undertaken primarily by the Rural District Councils (RDCs) and District Land Committees (DLCs); although many informal processes also were important. The patriarchal character of these institutions (at least in terms of being male-dominated) disadvantaged women in the selection process. Issues of sexual harassment, sexual favours and gender violence against women were also visible. Some accounts indicate that women seeking allocation of a plot under the fast track scheme have been forced to exchange sexual favours to get on the redistribution lists and that war veterans and ZANU-PF militia members raped women in the course of the land occupations (Human Rights Watch, 2001; Goebel, 2007; Chingarande, 2008).

It is important to give statistics of land allocation by gender in Zimbabwe in order to give a clear and authenticated conclusion that, despite variations in belief systems and practices across rural Zimbabwe, women throughout the country did not benefit sufficiently from the fast track exercise. Overall, male-headed households benefitted most from FTLRP. Despite

government commitment to addressing gender inequality in land distribution, women (whose rights to land in customary areas are weak) also failed to benefit proportionately from the fast track process (Chingarande, 2004). Table 4.1 shows allocation patterns by gender by province in Zimbabwe, for both A1 and A2 farms.

Table 4.1: Summary of Allocation Patterns by Gender per Province

Province	No of Males	Model A1		Model A2			
		No of Females	%	No of Males	%	No of Females	%
Midlands	14,800	3,198	82	338	18	17	5
Masvingo	19,026	3,644	84	709	16	64	8
Mash Central	12,986	1,770	88	1,469	12	215	13
Mash West	12,782	5,270	81	1,777	19	226	11
Mash East	12,967	3,992	76	-	24	-	-
Mat South	7,754	1,169	87	215	13	56	21
Mat North	7,919	1,490	84	574	16	121	17
Manicaland	9,572	2,190	82	961	18	97	9
Total	106,986	22,723	82	6,043	18	796	12

Source: The Herald, 29 October 2003: 10.

Available evidence on statistics from all provinces indicates that, for both models A1 and A2, women did not benefit from the FTLRP exercise compared to men. Model A2 is a commercial resettlement scheme, comprising small, medium and large-scale commercial resettlement. For model A2, the percentage is low for females in all provinces due to the fact that women in most cases do not have the necessary resources to be regarded as collateral in order to qualify for land allocation under this model. Model A1 was intended for landless people (officially with both villagised and self-contained variants) and women seemingly stood a better chance to qualify under this model. Countrywide, then, one can safely conclude that the available statistics indicate that the number of females who were allocated land under fast track was low. Female-headed households that benefited under model A1 constituted only 18% while women beneficiaries under Model A2 constituted only 12%. Available

statistics do not show whether households headed by women that were allocated land are *de jure* or *de facto* headed by women. In terms of rights to possession and access, women are marginalised in both models.

The Zimbabwean state has historically tended to reinforce patriarchy in relation to land, and this seemingly remains the case under fast track. Historically, as noted in the previous chapter, men have been the central holders and heirs of land rights in both communal and (early) resettlement areas. Access to land in customary areas has not been easily conferred on single, married and divorced women, though customary law prevailing in these areas does not totally preclude this. Although women who (on a *de jure* basis) headed households in the early resettlement areas could access land and be given permits of occupancy, their married counterparts still in large part had to access land through their husbands (with no clear security of tenure should their husbands die).

Occupancy of contemporary A1 resettlement plots is likewise based on a permit system (involving an offer letter) that is still marked by uncertainties. Female-headed households have possession of plots in their own right and, at least formally, plots occupied by married couples are held jointly in both their names. But this joint arrangement is optional rather than obligatory. Quite often, married men who obtained an A1 plot through the formal application channels have retained the plot in their name only. Action Aid (2008) reveals for instance that a significant number of female heads of households (on A1 farms) who currently have control over land are in fact widows who initially accessed land through their deceased spouses.

The sources of this gendered inequity in land allocation under fast track relate to a number of constraints faced by women in applying for land, including bureaucratic constraints, gender biases amongst selection structures (which compromise mainly men), lack of information on the process, and poor mobilisation of women's activist organisations around the issue of applications (Moyo, 2007). The 2003 Utete Commission report in fact emphasises that the marginalisation of women during the implementation of FTLRP is related in particular to the preponderance of men in relevant decision-making structures (PLRC, 2003). It goes on to argue that the allocation of land on A1 farms (involving the issuing of user permits) often directly involved the District Administrator, who followed the recommendation of the village head and headman (in customary areas) or the local councillor. In most cases these people are

men who are the custodians of culture and tradition, which they interpret as prohibiting women's 'ownership' of land allowing only secondary rights of access.

Indeed, throughout Zimbabwe, a significant minority of A1 plot-holders have moved from customary areas, including A1 households headed by women. In these customary areas, during the colonial period and beyond (including the fast track period), the system of patriarchy has structured landholdings and land access (Blackwells, 2003). Many unmarried women (single, divorced or widowed) from customary areas sought to escape the patriarchal confines of the customary system (including the chieftainship system as the protector of patriarchal traditions) by seeking land during fast track on A1 farms. This is because, on A1 farms, women can more easily possess land either in their own right or jointly as 'owners' of plots. However, chieftainship arrangements are now emerging on A1 farms (including the appointment of headman by chiefs, though not on a hereditary basis) and this may have negative implications for women on these farms (Murisa, 2011).

4.3.1 Disadvantages for Women

There are a range of disadvantages that women experience in both A1 farms and customary areas. Women's general lack of control over land has since 1980 led to their exclusion from credit and marketing facilities. Women in fast track resettlement areas (as for women in customary areas) generally lack access to credit facilities. Women lack collateral security and hence are not regularly considered when it comes to borrowing money for buying, for instance, agricultural inputs. This of course reflects the fact that women's control over land is often tenuous, which also detrimentally affects women in terms of marketing of produce and utilization of farm benefits (Chingarande, 2004; ZWRCN, 2007). In relation to the question of credit, though, it is important to note that men-headed households on A1 farms (and in customary areas) also have some difficulty accessing formal credit facilities because of the permit system in place. But women generally have greater difficulties.

An early position paper by Women and Land Lobby Group (WLLG, 2000) – a local NGO focusing on gender and land – shows that the lack of basic infrastructure (including schooling and health facilities) on A1 fast track farms (due to inadequate post-settlement support) would have more of a negative impact on women than on men. For example, where there are no grinding mills on the farm or nearby, women would need to resort to manual preparation

of ground foodstuffs. With reference to boreholes and access to water (particularly in the context of ongoing disruptions of electrical supply since 2000), women as collectors of water would be burdened with further arduous work. In terms of ensuring the sinking of more boreholes on these farms, the government has a measly implementation record of borehole drilling since independence; it was therefore not clear how government would achieve implementation at a much higher rate in such a short space of time under fast track (Chingarande, 2004). The end result is a heavy burden for women for A1 farming households (Sachikonye, 2004).

This relates to the issue of care work, especially given the sexual division of labour prevalent in Zimbabwean society. Time-use or time-allocation with regard to (care-work) household tasks is critical in mediating gender relations at both individual and household levels and these also affect how women on A1 farms allocate their time (Chingarande, 2004). Previous research, for instance by Chambati (2007), on rural communities in Zimbabwe has shown that women do more work compared to men in relation to both economic production (in the fields) and care-work (or social reproduction). It is this flexibility and double-bind of doing reproductive and productive work that is central to understanding current gender and land issues.

Table 4.2 Care Work Time Allocation by Gender

<i>Activity</i>	<i>Percentage of women respondents who carried out the activity</i>	<i>Percentage of male respondents who carried out the activity</i>
Collecting firewood	61.7	38.2
Collecting water for drinking & bathing	76.6	17.4
Feed family	75.6	8.9
Child care	78.4	11.4
Wash clothes	84.6	6.3
Iron clothes	85.6	9.8
Prepare food	83.8	8.3
Look after the sick	74.2	17.5

Source: ZWRCN, 2007.

Table 4.2, from a 2007 study by ZWRCN (2007) in three rural districts (Makoni, Bubi and Chikomba), shows that there are clear differences between women and men in resettlement areas when it comes to issues relating to the sexual division of labour. The table shows that

no less than 61.7% of women are actively involved in a range of domestic (social reproduction) chores like looking after the sick and feeding the family, compared to as little as 6.3% in the case of men. Men feature mostly in wood collection but most of them use scotch carts or wheel barrows while women collect firewood bundles that they carry on their heads. These trends regarding care work and the division of labour in families and households, which arise because of patriarchal domination and socialization which define domestic chores as women's work, also remain prevalent in customary areas.

Women in both customary areas and A1 farms are also engaged heavily and directly in agricultural activities (despite often having limited decision-making power with respect to these activities and the benefits accruing from them). Women spend an average of 16 hours a day in cultivation, childcare and household chores. This is the case in both A1 and customary areas. Shona customary practice allows a women direct access to a part of the household's land, in the form of a field set aside specifically for their use and control. Such a field is known as *tseu*, which is solely used for women's crops like groundnuts and round nuts. However, such access is entirely at the discretion of the husband and can be withdrawn at any time for any reason. Besides agriculture, evidence from a baseline survey conducted in 2006 by AIAS in six districts in Zimbabwe under fast track show that women on A1 farms are highly engaged in a range of income-generating activities and they are sometimes earning a living independently of their husbands; this trend does not appear in customary areas, where women are often reliant on remittances from husbands working elsewhere (AIAS, 2006).

4.3.2 Status of Women in Zimbabwe

Zimbabwe continues to be a strongly patriarchal society. This is evident from patriarchal systems embedded in customary areas and the broader patriarchal practices and discourses that exist. It is questionable whether any progressive national legislation that has been enacted in post-independent Zimbabwe has had any impact on the marginalized status and realities of rural women. In fact, many problems affecting women in Zimbabwe emanate from flaws in government legislation.

The post-colonial Zimbabwean state has accepted the principle of gender equality, as the Constitution of Zimbabwe states that in principle all people are equal before the law. This, however, has tended to specifically contradict Section 23.2 in the very same constitution – for a long time, this section allowed for discrimination against women on the basis of customary

law and tradition. One example will illustrate this. In April 1999, the Supreme Court ruled (in *Magaya vs. Magaya*) that a woman could not inherit land from her deceased father. The judges claimed that the nature of 'African society' relegates women to a lesser status, especially in the home. According to the court, a woman should not be considered an adult within the family but only as a "junior male." Under the law, a widow retains rights to land upon the death of her husband but in practice this does not always take place. While undoing gender biases has been part of the Zimbabwe government's legislative programme, as seen in areas such as access to education and affirmative action (WLLG, 2002), insufficient attention has been given to redressing gender inequality in land and agrarian relations.

Zimbabwe has ratified the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) but has not taken any significant action in terms of implementing the clauses of the convention on the ground. At the same time, Zimbabwe launched a National Gender Policy in 2001 that articulates gender mainstreaming in all sectors of the economy (including land and agriculture). In this regard, challenges often arise because Zimbabwe still operates under a dual system of law. There is, at times, a contradiction between 'Western' common law and customary law with regards to women's rights in land. The Zimbabwean state does not recognise women as full social citizens – they do not have equal rights to land and they are not seen as modern producers in their own right. Certainly, where traditional authorities exist, women are unlikely to achieve primary rights to land (Goebel, 2005). The continued rule of traditional authorities raises serious questions about the role of the state in trying to vehemently support women's struggle for land.

The tension and conflict between the official state commitment to gender equality on the one hand and reluctance to alienate traditionalist structures of rural government on the other, is often played out in a way that undermines the gender commitment. This may render women in communal areas worse off than their counterparts on ex-commercial farms (i.e. in resettlement areas). This is because of the fact that communal land is administered under the Traditional Leaders Act and the Communal Land Act, which result in women being particularly vulnerable in these areas.

4.4 Conclusion

In the context of the discussion in this chapter, the critical questions become: has fast track land reform simply reproduced existing structures of patriarchy in relation to women and land?; has it overtly challenged these structures in any way?; or, if not, has it at least inadvertently undercut specific dimensions of land and patriarchy in rural Zimbabwe? While equitable land redistribution and the undermining of the racialised agrarian structure through fast track in Zimbabwe are progressive and laudable processes, they seemingly occurred by simultaneously reproducing existing gender-based practises and institutions which are highly discriminatory (Jacobs, 2003). Moyo et al (2005) in fact argue that, overall, women were severely prejudiced during the post-2000 land distribution programme.

As with several other African governments, Zimbabwe has embarked on a significant land reform programme to redress colonial racial imbalances in access to land. However, gender imbalances have been brushed aside in the process through at times deliberately taking a blind eye to the existence and impact of patriarchy on women's relationship to land. At a macro-level, FTLRP has in the main simply perpetuated the existing structures of patriarchy. Certainly, the evidence presented in this chapter is highly suggestive of the following: that patriarchy (and the chieftainship system) remains alive and well in customary areas, and fast track resettlement areas are infused with patriarchal practices. In many ways, then, the current location of women in the agrarian social system in Zimbabwe represents a reproduction of their location in the 1980s and 1990s prior to fast track (and indeed has its roots in pre-independent colonial Zimbabwe) – as outlined in the previous chapter.

Whether one looks at women's access to land in Zimbabwe from a historical perspective or from the viewpoint of contemporary configurations, one point emerges clearly from this and the previous chapter: patriarchy as a complex system of structures, practices and discourses is not necessarily overcome by restructuring agrarian relations of production (even when pursued and accomplished in a radical fashion). Patriarchy has its own rationalities and logics which cannot be reduced to either racial or class logics, and undermining patriarchy can never be a simple by-product of tackling other rationalities. Patriarchy continues to haunt the Zimbabwean countryside and to impact negatively on the lives and livelihoods of millions of Zimbabwean women – in both resettlement and customary areas. Any genuine land and agrarian reform must consciously and explicitly tackle patriarchy in all its manifestations.

The Zimbabwean government's land reform policies, including fast track, have been largely gender insensitive. The dominant themes have been a combination of state formation, class interests, racial restructuring – not gender. The government has subsumed gender issues beneath prevailing discourses of (an often conservative) nationalism and nation-building, sustainability and sovereignty, and productivity and efficiency. While the state has at times formalised women's rights through common law, it at the same time has demobilised women's rights by courting customary practices.

Systemically, rural women in Zimbabwe live under patriarchal domination. Fast track land reform has not substantially challenged this and in certain ways is reproducing it, albeit in new forms. However, no matter how hegemonic, no system of domination entails absolute or complete domination. The next three chapters examine women and land under fast track in Goromonzi District specifically. Certainly, these chapters emphasise the prevalence of patriarchy as a local system (or structure) in the district (which affects women in both resettlement and customary areas), and this is a crucial emphasis. But the significance of female agency must not be ignored. Within the structures of patriarchy, women often have some room to manoeuvre as they seek (to their advantage) to exploit the gaps and crevices in the patriarchal system of domination. In other words, micro-level strategies operate within the confines of macro-level structures, as women in both customary and resettlement areas try to bring dignity to their humble existence.

Chapter 5: Goromonzi District and FTLRP

5.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses Goromonzi District in relation to the fast track reform programme, but with necessary historical details. My specific case studies (the two A1 farms and the one customary area) are covered in chapters 6 and 7. This chapter is divided into three main sections. The next section (section two) is a situational analysis of Goromonzi, including its history and main economic activities. The following section (section three) of the chapter discusses the question of land tenure and land use in the district. This also entails discussions on land problems encountered by communal farmers and land occupations in the district. The last section (section 4) provides an overview of existing structures that govern land issues in the district. The discussion of Goromonzi relies quite extensively on other recent theses on Goromonzi (Jawah, 2010; Marimira, 2010; Murisa, 2010; Marongwe, 2008) that – like my thesis – is based on hands-on experience of FTLRP in the district.

5.2 Situational Analysis: Goromonzi District

Goromonzi District is one of nine districts in Mashonaland East Province, and is largely rural (see Figure 5.1). The other districts in the province are Chikomba, Murehwa, Mutoko, Hwedza, Marondera, Mudzi, Seke and Uzumba Maramba Pfungwe. Its geographical location is bordered by Marondera to the east, Harare to the west, Manyame to the south, and Murehwa and Domboshava to the north. It is a district located around 32 kilometres southeast of the country's capital Harare, between the towns of Ruwa and Marondera. Mashonaland East Province has a population of 1,127,413 and Goromonzi is the district with the highest population in the province (13, 68%). Of this population, 96, 16% reside in rural areas with the remainder (3, 84%) residing in urban areas (Mashonaland East Provincial Census Report, 2002:18). Goromonzi covers an area totalling approximately 2,459 square kilometres or 254,072 hectares. The 2002 Census in Goromonzi district revealed that the district has 77,509 males and 78,251 females living in rural areas. Urban-based males and urban-based females total 10,867 and 11,171 individuals respectively (Central Statistical Office, 2002). Overall, 49.7% of the population are males and 50.3% are females.

Figure 5.1: Location of Goromonzi District in Mashonaland East Province in Zimbabwe



Source: L. Chakona, December, 2010.

The district had 21 rural wards in 2001 but this was increased to 26 as a result of delineations prior to the 2008 Presidential elections – in the process, some urban wards were combined with rural ones in a bid to neutralise the urban bias towards the opposition parties (Murisa, 2010). There are 9 additional wards which fall within or form Ruwa Urban. Due to its proximity to Harare, Goromonzi District enjoys and absorbs the effects of urban development. This is because the Harare Combination Master Plan, which guides the city’s development, extends to the outskirts (to as far as Goromonzi Administrative Centre which is more than 40 kilometres away from the city centre).

5.2.1 Historical Context of Goromonzi District

Goromonzi District has evolved from what was originally known as Salisbury District in the colonial period. According to Palmer (1977: 265), due to the fact that it was located near and around the capital of Rhodesia and with high agricultural potential, the district had ‘been

nearly all pegged as farms as early as 1897'. It had a total of 9 reserves at the point of its creation, namely, Chikwaka, Musana, Chinamhora, Jeta, Kunzwi, Musungu, Nalire, Seki and Gwebi (Marongwe, 2008). Chinyika reserve was formed around 1909 while adjustments to the other reserves were made by the Native Commissioner. By 1941, Salisbury District had 4 Native Purchase Areas and these were Muda, Marirangwe, Shangure and No. 4; with European land (in the form of commercial farming) occupying more than two-thirds of the district.

In later years, the district was split into several districts, one being Goromonzi. There are three main chieftainships existing in Goromonzi, namely, Chinamhora, Rusike and Chikwaka, with the latter in charge and control of the greatest portion. Chief Chinamhora is of the Soko-Murewa totem and Chief Chikwaka is of the Nzou-Samanyangatotem (Marongwe, 2008). The original home of the *Vashawasha* people was the greater part of Goromonzi, which is still the case today. They are part of the *Zezeru Shona* dialect under Chief Chinamhora's jurisdiction. The *Vashawasha* people are believed to have originated from Ethiopia, making them part of the Bantu tribes. They settled in the Chishawasha area which, in the *Zezeru* language, means 'country of the *Vashawasha* people' (Vambe, 1972). Because of conflict, the *Vashawasha* settlement in the district resulted in the displacement of the *Rozvi-Shonas* who had to migrate elsewhere, while those who remained behind were absorbed by the *Vashawasha* society. These displacements led to the splitting of the *Vashawasha* people into several groups and, in a sense, paved the way for later displacements enacted by and for white farmers.

The *Vashawasha* people in fact became the first casualties of land grabbing by the colonial Pioneer Column, because of their close proximity to white supremacy which had been established in Fort Salisbury (Marongwe, 2008). Prior to occupation by whites, the territory of the Chishawasha people stretched from the eastern bank of the Mukuvisi River to the western bank of the Mapfeni River (not more than 30 miles away), and near Marondera (formerly Marandellas) in the south-west to near Mazowe in the north (more than 40 miles away). After colonisation, the fertile land of the Chishawasha area was given to Father Hartmann, a Jesuit Priest who had acted as a Chaplain to the Roman Catholic members of the Pioneer Column who then proceeded to establish a mission station called St Ignatius of Loyola Mission.

Following colonial settlement, the *Vashawasha* people had white neighbours who then introduced trespass laws, which became the main basis for protecting white freehold property in rural areas (Marongwe, 2008). Before, communities were free to walk to and from surrounding places that included Goromonzi, Makumbe, Murehwa and beyond, without hindrance. Most of what constitutes Harare today originally belonged to Chief Chinamhora in the pre-colonial period. What is now known as Epworth, Mabvuku, Tafara, Borrowdale, Chisipiti, Zimre, Ruwa and Glenlorne (either in or near Harare) used to be Chief Chinamhora's land. This at times has raised the spectre of land restitution claims (Moore 2005, 2002; Matless, 1992). In addition, as Marongwe (2002) observes, white farmers who were known for mistreating their labourers or had conflict-ridden relationships with their communal neighbours had their farms targeted during the recent occupations and fast track restructuring.

5.2.2 The Economic Situation in Goromonzi

Historically, Goromonzi is well-known for agriculture (both communal and commercial), mining, tourism and urban development (Marongwe, 2008:175). Of these sectors, commercial agriculture and tourism were most affected by FTLRP. Subsistence farming in the communal areas has been based on an average plot size of 3-4 acres per household or about 1.5 hectares (GRDC, 2000). Up to the year 2000 there were no irrigation schemes in the communal lands, so residents depended on rain-fed agriculture. In addition to the absence of irrigation schemes in customary areas, all the main dams in the district were private dams situated in the large-scale commercial farms.

Until 1999, the economy and a significant percentage of all formal employment in Goromonzi were based on commercial farms that grew flowers and gourmet vegetables in greenhouses for export to Europe. These commercial farms are no longer operational due to the fast track land programme. Traditional farmers work on smallholdings in customary areas growing maize, pumpkins and other crops. *Vlei* cultivation has been quite common – *vleis* are areas that are saturated with surface or ground water frequently or for long enough periods to support vegetation typically adapted to such conditions (Snyder, 1995). In communal areas close to Harare, as in Goromonzi, *vlei* use is predominantly in the form of small-scale commercial vegetable gardens (Adams et al, 1997). These gardens are recognised as a

valuable resource, which have played an important role in smallholder household food security in Zimbabwe, especially in seasons of low rainfall when crop production on sandy soil is poor (Kundlande et al, 1992). The district has been an important supplier for vegetables to the main market in Harare called Mbare Msika.

There was a significant dairy farming project in Chikwaka, a development initiative that was embarked upon by a total of 348 commercial farmers. Of this number, 209 farmers were active in the project itself and a further 118 were delivering milk to Juru Growth Point which was set strategically to receive the milk from the farmers. According to a Goromonzi Rural District Council Report (GRDC, 2000: 20), marketing was done through the establishment of milk centres for collection, testing and bulking, with transportation to Dairy Zimbabwe Limited (DZL) in Harare. 70% of the milk produced in Chikwaka was sent to DZL and 30% was sold to individuals, schools and other institutions from the centres.

There is a private company by the name of London and Rhodesian Mining and Land Company (LONRHO) in Acturus which is a major player in the mining of gold, serving as an important economic activity in the district. Subsidiary mining activities exist in Chinyika, Green Mamba, Umtenje, Regent, Ceylon, and Genesis Mines. According to GRDC (2000), it was estimated that Acturus and Gladstone Mines produced more than 50 kg of gold per month from underground mining; however, the contribution of the mining sector, measured in infrastructural, financial or development terms, in the district was minimal. Marongwe (2008:176) argues that this is because ‘mining settlements are associated with the development of illegal settlements that surround them’.

Domboshava rock art was a major tourist destination in the district, with the national museums taking an active role in attracting tourists to the rock paintings. There were other tourist attractions, including Mermaids Pool and the Ewanrigg Botanical Gardens along the Shamva road. Along with these, there were recreational facilities that were private and that included the Enterprise Golf, Ruwa Country and Goromonzi Country Clubs – which were important social centres for white commercial farmers.

5.3 Land Tenure and Land-Use in Goromonzi District

Historically, land in the district has been under pressure from industry, commerce, residential development and agriculture. Prior to fast track, the major land tenure and land-use categories in the district were customary, large-scale commercial farms (LSCF), small-scale commercial farms (SSCF) and state lands (see Table 5.1 and Figure 5.2). Pre-fast track the district had 257 commercial farms, and there were no resettlement farms until fast track (Marongwe, 2003: 4). The four main customary lands are Chinamhora Communal Lands, Chikwaka Communal Lands, Chishawasha Communal Lands and Chinyika Communal Lands.

Table 5.1 Land Tenure and Land Use Categories in Goromonzi (pre-FTLRP Period)

Land–Use Category	Size (in ha)	% of Total
Communal Lands	90 437	34%
LSCF	155 437	58%
Recreational Parks	1 500	1%
SSCF	13135	5%
State Lands	5 812	2%
Total	266 321	100%

Source: Ministry of Lands, Agriculture and Rural Resettlement, 1996.

The main crops grown by commercial farmers were maize, tobacco, soya beans, seed maize, paprika and flowers, with smaller plots used for horticultural purposes. According to Weiner, Moyo and O’Keefe (1985), the state was concerned that acquiring land for resettlement in Goromonzi would jeopardize the efficiency and effectiveness of LSCF. But Goromonzi commercial farms were noted for the under-utilisation of productive land. Marongwe (2008: 183) notes for instance in the 1981/82 agricultural season, out of a total of 179,771 hectares under the LSCF, only 25,927 hectares (representing 14.4% of the total) were being utilised.

In the pre-FTLRP period, Goromonzi was diverse in terms of its agricultural activities. As highlighted in the GRDC Socio-Economic Study of 1996, land use in the LSCF was highly mixed (GRDC, 1996) (see also Murisa, 2010; Marimira, 2010; Jowah, 2010). Livestock rearing was the major activity, occupying about 60% of the total land that was gazetted for agricultural production. This was followed by 25% of the farmers involved in horticulture, mainly producing beans, peas and flowers – this land-use though only covered 1,2% of the

commercial farm land given the minimal land demands of this particular land use and the intensity in production.

It was also estimated that 24% of the farmers were growing major crops like maize (seed and grain) as well as tobacco. In a process of further diversification in land use, commercial farmers in the district also branched into wildlife rearing (Moyo, 2000). In particular, 6.45% of the commercial farmers were involved in wildlife production and this involved 7.17% of their land (Moyo, 2000; Reed 2001, 2000). The table below (Table 5.2) shows land use on the commercial farms in the pre-FTLRP period.

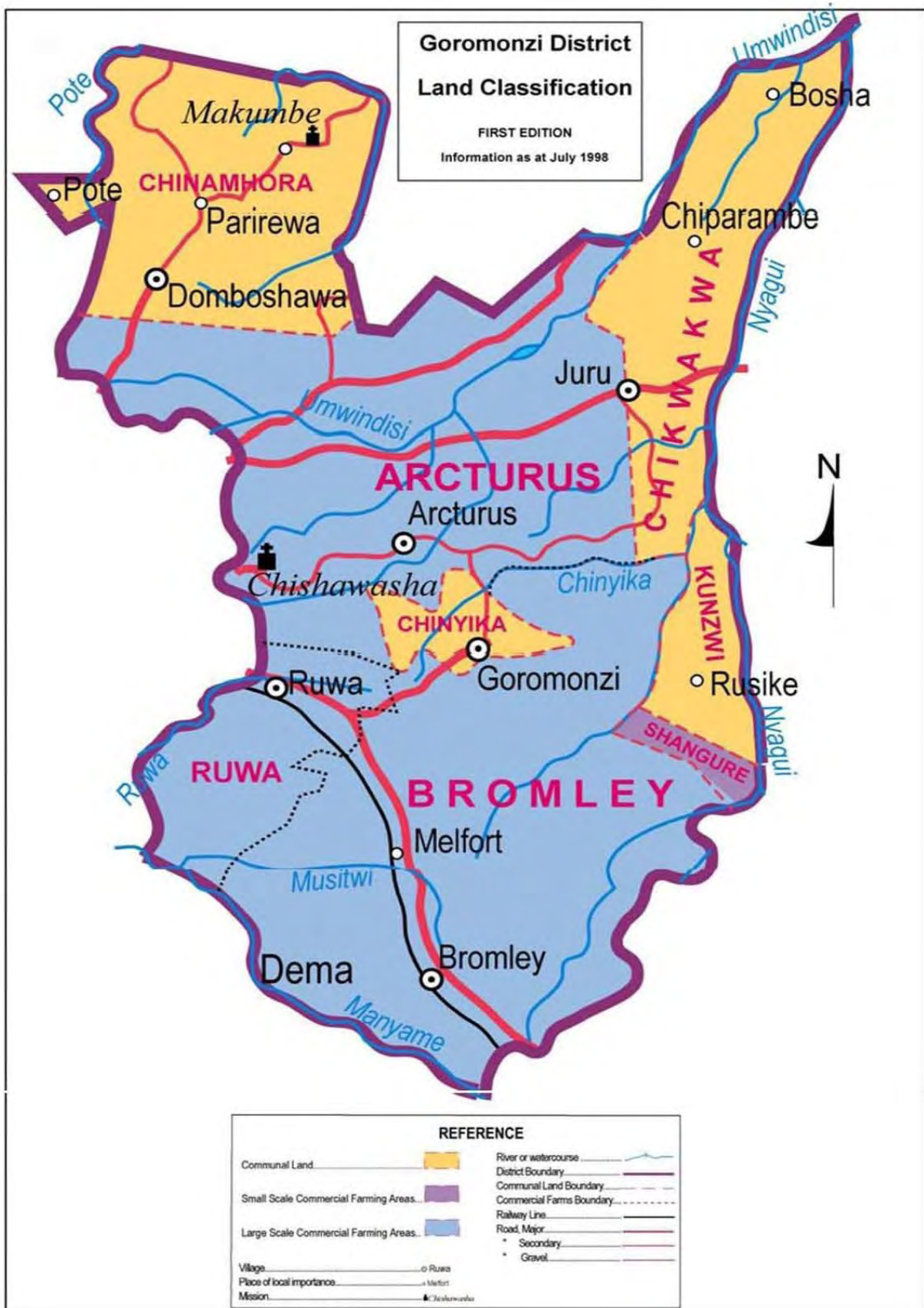
Table 5.2: Land Use Trends on Commercial Farms in Goromonzi (pre-FTLRP Period)

Farming Activity	No. of farmers	%	Hectares Involved	%
Crop Farming	22	23.26	5453	27.80
Livestock	29	31.18	11 718	59.75
Ostrich	2	2.15	-	-
Wildlife	6	6.45	1407	7.17
Horticulture	23	24.73	225	1.15
Others	11	11.83	809	4.13
Total	93	100.00	19612	100.00

Source: Extracted from GRDC Rural Master Plan, 2001.

From data contained in the GRDC Report of 2000, a significant minority of the commercial farmers (49.2%) used borehole water for their farming activities, 32.8% had access to dams for watering crops, and a further 18% relied on water from local rivers (Marongwe, 2008). Marongwe (2008) highlights that, by the year 2000, there were no dams owned by the Ministry of Water Resources and Energy Development in the district. In fact, farmers were supposed to pool resources together and construct their own dams. A typical example under this initiative was Gilnockie Dam.

Figure 5.2: Land Classification in Goromonzi (Communal, LSCF and SSCF)



Source: Marongwe, 2008.

5.3.1 Land Problems faced by Communal Farmers in Goromonzi District

Land problems in Goromonzi district are attributed to many factors. The existence of squatter settlements in the district has been an ongoing problem. Marongwe (2008:184) notes this in reviewing the minutes of the Goromonzi Rural District Council – illegal settlements, including residing along river banks and the sale of communal land, are a constant refrain in the minutes. In addition, developmental projects (notably dam construction) have led to the displacement of people. The squatter camps were a result of the fact that, for 20 years, no farm had been acquired for resettlement because of the district's unofficial status as an economic hub for the LSCF. Communal residents in Goromonzi did not benefit from the land reform programme throughout the 1980s and 1990s, and this resulted in a number of residents on their own accord opting to either occupy commercial farms or grazing lands in communal areas.

According to the GRDC (GRDC, 2000: 26), the proximity of communal lands (mainly Chikwaka, Chinamhora and Chinyika) to Harare resulted in people from Harare seeking land for residential purposes. This, along with former farm workers from the LSCF (both inside and beyond Goromonzi) vying for rural livelihoods, contributed to ever-increasing population pressure on land in the district. Many people were moving into the district in search of rural homes (GRDC, 2000: 14). There were 1,000 applications made to the GRDC for land in the period between 1980 and 2000. Overall, 69% of the migrants were originally from the district including communal farmers and 31% were from Harare, surrounding farms and other districts.

The ongoing problem of squatters proved to be a major challenge for the Goromonzi District Council. During the meeting held on the 17th June 1999 at its Ruwa offices (Marongwe, 2008), deep concern was expressed about the many invasions into the established grazing schemes, as well as paddock fencing being destroyed and in extreme cases stolen. The stance by the council though was highly mixed. For instance, the Council meeting of the 17th February 2000 (Marongwe, 2008) mentioned that there is a need to regularise the illegal settlers in the district, excluding those settled on grazing areas in customary areas. There were many cases where Council allowed people to settle in grazing areas, including at Yafelli Village in Chinyika ward. As a way of responding to the critical land shortage, Murape ward (which no longer had grazing or arable land) was declared a residential area (Marongwe,

2008: 186). Some of the people in the district were playing double standards, selling land at the same time as approaching the council seeking resettlement land. As the new wave of land occupations (from early 2000) were progressing and reaching their peak, GRDC resolved that all squatters were to be evicted by the 31st July 2000.

According to records from the GRDC, in the 1990s traditional authorities and council staff were involved in the illegal allocation of land. Council staff was in fact encouraging more people to seek refuge in the district. This is supported in particular by the GRDC meeting (Minutes of the Agriculture, Natural Resources and Conservation Committee) on 13th August 1999 which emphasised the need for conservation of natural resources – in this case land (Marongwe, 2008: 84). From the meeting it becomes clear that the District Administrator (DA) was involved in giving chiefs and headmen the power to allocate land illegally, thereby adding further fuel to the squatter problems. Nepotism did not spare the chiefs and headmen as they were reported to be allocating land to their sons. Alongside this there were also increasing rates of land sales (the same meeting reported the case of a father who sold his land and left his children stranded).

5.3.2 Land Occupations and New Tenure Patterns in Goromonzi District

The main reason why the district did not experience resettlement prior to 2000 was the agricultural fertility of the area. In a sense it was declared as an area suitable primarily for LSCF (including horticulture, beef, maize, dairy, soya beans) with irrigation infrastructure which supported intensive agriculture. Declaring the district a no-go zone for resettlement was based on the government's demonstrated commitment to maintaining the interests of commercial farming in the 1980-2000 period, as discussed in chapter 3 (Tshuma, 1997; Selby, 2006). However, according to Sadomba (2008), this privileged status was threatened by the 1997-1998 land occupations when nearly 20 farms were occupied by communities from Chikwaka Communal Lands. The occupations even continued after a High Court Order initiated by government and leading to evictions, with the Zimbabwe Republic Police (ZRP) raiding the farms and removing the occupiers (Sadomba, 2008: 106). Nevertheless, in 2000, land occupations (like all other districts countrywide) occurred on farms in Goromonzi District.

The land occupations which were pronounced in the year 2000 (dubbed the Third *Chimurenga*) have been discussed in the preceding chapter. In the case of Goromonzi, by March 2000, already 16 large-scale commercial farms had been occupied in the district, and the numbers kept on increasing as the invasions intensified (Marongwe, 2008). In these occupations, war veterans were on all the farms and their numbers varied from 1 to 15 (see Table 5.3 below). Given the declared position of war veterans on land (following the rejection of the draft constitution) and their critical role in organising and maintaining the occupations (Chaumba et al, 2003), it is evident that the land occupations in Goromonzi District (as elsewhere in the country) were politically-driven. It is also notable that, due to the fact that Goromonzi is close to Harare, urban dwellers were also involved in the occupations in search of land, as were the cases of Caledonia and Chishawasha farms. For these farms, pressure was in particular from Mabvuku, Tafara, Ruwa, and Zimre among other nearby residential suburbs.

Table 5.3 Land Occupations in Goromonzi as at May 2000

Name of Farm	Area (Ha)	No of Peasants	No of War Veterans	% of War Veterans
Osibi	592	65	5	6.6
Devonia	914	0	8	100.0
Atlanda of Meadows	546	30	10	25
Remari	**	18	2	10
Mt. Shanon Estate	572	15	5	25
Chipfumbi North	623	10	5	33.3
Riseholm	499	5	2	28.5
Woodford	698	13	2	13.3
Chabweno	677	9	1	10
Chibvuti	1069	35	1	2.8
Rumani of Borrowdale Estate	483	0	5	100
Umri Isur	2624	0	5	100
Rudolphia	**	0	5	100
Mt. Olimbus	2848	20	6	23
Munhenga	611	50	15	23
Colga	941	15	5	25
Melfort Estate	1473	120	6	4.7
Woodlack	**	0	5	100
Riversiege	**	0	5	100
Fordyce of Melfort Estate	1279	0	5	100
Total	16449	405	103	930.2

Marongwe: 2008, adapted from various War Veterans Association Documents. NB ** means figures not known.

In the district, under FTLRP, 243 of the district's 257 farms were gazetted for resettlement, and 14 farms were left un-gazetted. According to a state commission report (PLRC, 2003), 70 farms were de-listed for other reasons. Overall, 43% of the land went to the A1 schemes and 57% of the land in the district was redistributed under the A2 model. This went contrary to government's intentions, in which 60% of redistributed land was supposed to be for A1 farmers and 40% for the A2 farms.

FTLRP in the district has resulted in a new agrarian structure in the light of both A1 and A2 farms. Pre-fast track, the district had four categories of commercial farms, namely, small-scale, medium-scale, large-scale and peri-urban commercial farms; in addition, there were customary farms. Post-fast track, the district consists of the following: only 1% of the land now belongs to the LSCF, 14% to medium-scale and small-scale commercial farming, 9% to peri-urban farming, 47% to small-scale farming in communal lands and 29% to the A1 model (Marongwe, 2008).

For the A1 model, a total of 33,933 hectares were allocated from 49 former commercial farms resulting in more than 1,800 new plots created. The average was 10 hectares for small plots and 47 hectares for bigger plots. New plots were generally larger than in the old resettlement period of 1980-1999, where an average settler got 5 hectares of arable land in relation to the villagised model. Under the A1 model, the spatial distribution of the farms allocated seems to have been influenced by the proximity of the farm to the surrounding communal areas which are Seke, Chikwaka, Musana, Chinamhora, Gwaze and Rusike.

5.4 Existing Structures of Land Governance

All the standard local government structures and authorities exist in Goromonzi District, notably on the resettlement farms. Like elsewhere, land governance has been based on patriarchal structures with the concomitant biases against women. At local farm level the prominent structures in Goromonzi include the Committee of Seven (CoS), war veterans association, ZANU-PF, AREX (extension officers), the village head (who represents traditional leadership) and the district land committee. Data collected from the two A1 study sites (Dunstan Farm and Lot 3 of Buena Vista) indicate that most of the governing structures that were formed during the time of the farm invasions are still functional like AREX (formally known as AGRITEX), Committee of Seven (with one member responsible for

gender issues) and the village heads, though the levels of efficiency and effectiveness of some structures may have weakened over time. Certain structures have in fact gone through a process of metamorphosis and have become more organised and legitimate, replacing more informal bodies that were formed during the invasions (Marimira, 2010).

Traditional leadership has changed over time especially in how it governs land issues in resettlement areas. Unlike in communal areas where it has a mandate to give land, in resettlement areas it is more involved in solving disputes with regards to land and settlers¹. The changes are linked to trying to impose traditional structures on the settlers and to legitimising these structures. In the case of war veterans, a 2003 study (not conducted specifically in Goromonzi) discovered that this prominent group of land invaders was highly esteemed, since they are the ones who pushed the land redistribution agenda forward through the farm invasions (Sadomba, 2008). Results from discussions with a number of A1 settlers at Dunstan and Buena Vista farms indicate a shift in the way in which war veteran structures are perceived in terms of their effectiveness and usefulness – their influence has declined (see also Marimira, 2010; Marongwe, 2008).

These issues and changes were evidenced at local farm level, while at district level the structures (like the district land committee) that were formed have remained in force – but their visibility and effectiveness at local levels has been reduced due to a myriad of reasons.² The reasons cited during the key informant interviews ranged from the reduced number of land-related disputes to fewer new allocations; hence the Goromonzi district land committee has minimized its trips to settlers' farms. It was also mentioned that the general economic hardships in Zimbabwe have paralysed most if not all government departments to the extent that there has been no fuel, travel and subsistence budgets to the resettlement areas. Hence, institutional support from the supply side (i.e. the government) is ineffective and inefficient, since government structures are in a state of financial crisis. A similar tendency was also experienced during the 1980s resettlement phase of the land redistribution process (Goebel, 1996).

¹ Interview with Mrs Mposi AREX Officer for Lot 3 of Buena Vista Farm, December 2010.

² Interview with Mr Mposi AREX Officer for Dunstan Farm, December 2010.

At district level, government institutions that were identified included: District Administrator (DA), District Land Committee (DLC), Ministry of Education, Veterinary Department, Forestry Commission, Goromonzi Rural District Council (GRDC), Ministry of Health and Child Welfare, Grain Marketing Board (GMB), District Development Fund (DDF) and traditional leaders mainly chiefs and headmen. The extent of devolution of state power under fast track land reform in Goromonzi is not significant, with minimal levels of devolution within a range of government departments. Some government departments such as the Ministry of Health and Child Welfare, Forestry Commission and the District Development Fund only devolved responsibilities without apportioning the local level structures the authority that comes along with responsibilities.

There is no clearly defined scalar chain of command, which defines the order in which authority and power is delegated from top management to everyone at lower ranks. Seemingly, this trend has continued from the land redistribution process that was implemented in the early to mid 1980s (Mutizwa-Mangiza, 1989).³ Generally speaking, the land administration system in Zimbabwe (including within customary areas) has been highly politicised and centralised despite the existence of local level land administration structures like village heads and ward councillors. The level of devolution of power has been regularly limited to resolving petty land-related and social conflicts (Chavhunduka and Jacobs, 2003; Matondi, 2001).

5.4.1 The Office of the District Administrator (DA)

Respondents in the study sites (Dunstan and Lot 3 of Buena Vista A1 farms, and Gwaze Communal Area) were very familiar with the functions of the office of the DA. They were asked about the services that they are receiving from the DA's office, the levels of interaction and how the settlers were obtaining the services from the DA; they were also asked to rank the effectiveness and efficiency of service delivery and trace any changes since they moved into the farms. Generally, the settlers have a reasonable understanding of the services that are on offer by the DA's office, citing services such as land allocation (though this is no longer common), solving land disputes, and facilitating and securing agricultural inputs for distribution. However, it is worthy to note that the role of the DA is interlinked with the responsibilities of the DLC, and respondents found it difficult to differentiate between the

³Interview with Mrs Matipano AREX Officer for Gwaze Communal Area, December 2010.

two since the DA is the chairperson of the DLC. All the land duties of the DA are in fact executed within the defined parameters and mandate of the DLC.

The resettlement and customary farmers were also asked about the services received and how they obtain these services from the DA. From the survey results, it shows that the DA personally visits the farmers and the visits are mainly related to settling land disputes. For example, in Dunstan, 59% of the respondents mentioned that the DA visited them for specifically land disputes, while the respective figures for Lot 3 of Buena Vista and Gwaze Communal Area are 22% and 19%. This could mean that there are more land-related disputes in Dunstan than in Lot 3 of Buena Vista hence more visits to Dunstan. The cited reason why the visits are low in the communal area is because the chiefs play a more authoritative role in the customary areas (CAs) compared to the resettlement areas (RAs). Eleven per cent of the respondents in Dunstan and 22% in Lot 3 of Buena Vista indicated that they visited the DA in order to access services.

It also came out in the focus group discussions that, in the land administrative structures, women constitute only ten per cent of those employees in positions of influence⁴. These structures include GoZ land officials at national and district level offices, including National Land Board members, provincial and district land committees, traditional leaderships and the DAs. This underrepresentation of women in land administration boards is coupled with the absence of legally enforceable statutes to ensure equitable land access and land tenure for women.

5.4.2 The District Land Committee (DLC)

Directly linked to the DA's office is the DLC in Goromonzi. The DLCs were set up by government to spearhead resettlement activities in the district. The objective of the committee is land identification, land demarcation, beneficiary identification and selection of settlers, land allocation, settling land disputes, distributing inputs and monitoring progress on the farms. Overall, 30% of the respondents in both farms indicated that the DLC is responsible for land allocation, 35% of the settlers highlighted that it is responsible for sourcing and distributing agricultural inputs, and 32% indicated that the DLC is involved in solving land

⁴FGDs in Dunstan Farm, March 2011.

disputes (see also Marimira 2010 though her Goromonzi figures are different than mine). Only 1% indicated that the DLC is responsible for development projects. During focus group discussions (FGDs) participants accused the DLC members of being corrupt. One settler in Dunstan Farm indicated that she was allocated a residential stand only in 2001 but was not given any arable land. She was given the arable plot in February 2007 after some members who were in the DLC were relieved of their duties by the new DA (after allegations of irregularities in land allocations). The land she has been allocated was taken away from a new settler who had not come to Dunstan to take up his plot.

5.4.3 Agricultural Research and Extension Services (AREX)

Fieldwork results show that AREX officers are within the reach of the settlers. There is one AREX Officer for each of the study areas. For Dunstan, the officer resides on the farm. However for Lot 3 the officer resides in Dunstan because she is the wife to Dunstan’s AREX Officer. Since Lot 3 is next to Dunstan she carries out every day visits to Lot 3 for extension work. In Gwaze communal area, the officer resides in the area and she operates from the GDC offices where all meetings with customary farmers in relation to agriculture are carried out. According to the FGDs carried out in the two farms, in the early years (from 2001 to 2003) the farms had no extension officers and they had to seek services directly from GDC (Marimira, 2010). The extension officers are providing technical know-how and offer farming courses with the aim of increasing production. The majority of the farmers in both RAs and the CA acknowledge that the extension workers are serving their purpose and that their expertise is of significant use despite the fact that they lack agricultural inputs.

Table 5.4 AREX/Farmer Ratio

Study Area	AREX Farmer ratio
Dunstan	1: 129
Lot 3 of Buena Vista	1: 49
Gwaze	1: 132

Source: Based on interviews with key informants, December 2010⁵.

⁵Interviews with Mrs Matipano, AREX Officer for Gwaze, Mr Mposi AREX Officer for Dunstan and Mrs Mposi AREX Officer for Lot 3 of Buena Vista, December 2010.

Table 5.4 highlights though that there is a need to recruit more extension workers especially for Dunstan and Gwaze given that the ideal AREX/farmer ratio should be 1:50. This is necessary so as to improve contact between farmers and the AREX officer, thereby having a positive impact on agricultural productivity in the long run.

5.5 Conclusion

This chapter provided an introduction to Goromonzi district in which my three case studies (the two A1 farms and one customary area) are situated. It was highlighted that, prior to fast track, there were no resettlement farms in the district because the government (in terms of its 'productivist' perspective) viewed the district as a critical site of agricultural productivity. Most commercial farms were expropriated under fast track, but the percentage of these farms converted into A1 farms (for small-scale farming) is significantly below the national average. The implication though is that the farms being used by A1 plot holders are highly suitable for intensive agricultural production, and have great agricultural potential compared to customary areas in the district. Though Goromonzi District is located near to Harare and many A1 and A2 farms consist of large numbers of former urban dwellers, numerous plot-holders on A1 farms in Goromonzi come from customary areas (including women-headed households). The governing structures in Goromonzi District, in both customary areas and on A1 farms, are similar to those found elsewhere in Zimbabwe – these have a strong patriarchal thrust with chieftainships being particularly pronounced in customary areas but also infiltrating the A1 farms through the headmen system. The purpose of the next two chapters is to focus more specifically on my three case studies, with particular emphasis on a comparative analysis of women on Dunstan and Lot 3 of Buena Vista farms (notably women moving from customary areas) and women in Gwaze customary area.

Chapter 6: Women and Land at Dunstan, Lot 3 of Buena Vista and Gwaze

6.1 Introduction

This and the following chapter discuss more specifically my research findings about land, livelihoods and gender in Goromonzi District in the light of fast track reform. Both chapters focus on the lived experiences of farmers, and are in large part based on farmers' stories and testimonies from focus group discussions, household questionnaires and in-depth interviews with key informants. There are emerging themes and patterns pertinent to rural women under fast track conditions. Generally speaking, women in the study areas (both in the resettlement and customary areas) are at the bottom of the social ladder. Certainly, my fieldwork in Goromonzi demonstrates that there is a chasm between any grand claims about the results of fast track reform and the social realities on the ground for rural women (although it may be that fast track has opened up opportunities for limited numbers of women).

Broadly speaking, the current chapter focuses on women and land, and the following chapter on women and livelihoods. In both cases, a comparative analysis between resettlement areas and customary areas is offered. This chapter is divided into four main sections. The next (second) section discusses the three study areas (or case studies) including their historical background. In the following (third) section, I discuss the movement of people onto the two A1 farms, highlighting the significant proportion which came from customary areas. This is important as my study is concerned with women on A1 farms who emanate from customary areas rather than from urban centres. The fourth section considers questions about land patterns, land tenure and land access with specific relation to women (in Dunstan, Buena Vista and Gwaze). This provides an initial comparative examination of women on resettlement farms and customary areas, in the context of fast track. The fifth section pursues this line of reasoning by looking specifically at traditional authorities (notably in relation to Gwaze).

6.2 Case Studies

While debates in Zimbabwe on the land question and fast track (in the form of land redistribution) have been ongoing, gender has not received proper attention. Further, often the

focus is exclusively on the resettlement areas without considering the relationship between fast track and the customary areas (specifically the status of women and land in customary areas, as an important topic of investigation – Cheater, 1990). My case studies, from a gender-sensitive perspective, provide a comparative analysis of communal areas and A1 farms. In this section I briefly outline the two A1 farms and the one communal area that form the basis of my research in Goromonzi District.

6.2.1 Dunstan Farm

In ward 22 of Goromonzi District, Dunstan Farm is approximately 4,5 kilometres off the Harare-Mutare road. The farm is located close to Epworth, which is a Harare squatter settlement to the west of the farm. To the south of the farm is Seke Communal Lands and Chitungwiza (a sprawling township in Harare). Dunstan farm was established in 1902 and was owned by the Calinan family ever since (see Murisa, 2010). According to a report from the Ministry of Lands (2009), the farm was operated as Dunstan Estate Private Limited. The farm is approximately 6,000 hectares and from the early 1950s to the late 1980s the original farm was expanded through the acquisition of neighbouring farms, namely, Fordyce, Dinhiri, Xanadu, Glen Avon, Danab, Banana Grove and Brooke Mead.

In the late 1980s the farm was subdivided to the boundaries of the farms that had been purchased up until the 1980s. The Calinan family retained ownership of the original Dunstan; and portions of Xanadu and Brooke Mead were registered under the name of Calinan MSM with the Deeds Office (Murisa, 2010). The other farms which had made up the estate (Banana Grove, Fordyce, Dinhiri and Glen Avon) were incorporated into different nearby large-scale commercial farms. However this arrangement of incorporating farms was not authenticated and recorded at the Deeds Office. In 1992, Lesley Calinan's son (Michael) took over the running and management of Dunstan farm. In the following year, Michael Calinan subdivided Xanadu Farm and gave a portion of the farm to his brother-in-law Mr Hutchins (who was one of the farm managers) and retained 3,200 hectares as part of Dunstan Farm. At his death in 1993, the grandson took over the farm.⁶

⁶Interview with Mr Everisto Mposi, AREX Officer at Dunstan, February 2011.

Over the years, the farm experienced diversification in terms of agricultural activities. Activities on the farm included cattle ranching, tobacco, wheat, maize, groundnuts, roundnuts and soya beans. There is a river (Muswiti) that runs through the farm from Lot 3 of Buena Vista which provides a source of water for domestic purposes and irrigation. According to Murisa (2010), prior to fast track resettlement the farm had 3,000 head of cattle which in the 1990s was mostly exported to the European Union and South Africa. Approximately 250 hectares were used for cropping purposes, with 80 hectares of this being devoted to growing tobacco (which was sold at local auction floors). During winter, an average of 50 hectares was used for growing wheat which was mostly sold to the Grain Marketing Board (GMB). Maize was grown on 100 hectares during summer and also sold to the GMB; in addition, some maize was processed into feedstock for cattle and some was kept for staff rations. In the 1990s, the farm was well-known for horticulture involving greenhouses covering four hectares. The targeted market was Holland.

There were approximately 220 full-time farm workers on the farm who were engaged in various work activities: 80 were involved in crop production, 120 in horticultural activities and the remaining 20 were responsible for looking after livestock. All these workers were accommodated at the farm compound. In peak periods, more than 100 casual labourers were hired for planting, weeding and harvesting. These were mostly drawn from the nearby Seke Communal Lands (Murisa, 2010). This was noted during my field research, which commenced during the planting season in late 2010. Many people were flocking in from Seke seeking temporary agricultural work in exchange for maize and other commodities.

There were four tobacco barns, three silage tanks, two dip tanks, two storage sheds, four blocks of greenhouses and two storerooms for cattle feed. There were three farm houses surrounded by electric fencing. There was also a double storey building once reputed to be the most beautiful house in Mashonaland East. But I noted in visiting the house that although in the past it was majestic it was now dilapidated. One side of this house is now being used as a primary school and the remaining rooms are used as staff quarters. The tobacco barns are used as primary school blocks, and they are in a terrible condition. The school has been named Dunstan Primary School (or *Muswiti* in Shona, the name of the river passing through the farm). Although well known in the past for greenhouses, there are no longer greenhouses except one visible at the AREX officer's homestead on the farm.

Actual A1 settlement on the farm commenced in 2001 but previous invasions had taken place in 1998. In early 2009, the farm had 116 settlers who were settled in four villages (Marimira, 2009). According to a survey conducted by Marongwe (from 2005 to 2008), the farm had 115 settlers (Marongwe, 2008). In 2001, the settlers totalled 110 (Marimira, 2003). There are now 129 settler households. The increase in the number of settlers shows that additional settlers were allocated plots in the area after 2001/2002. The settlers in the main moved from customary areas or originated from Epworth, Ruwa and Chitungwiza (including war veterans).

6.2.2 Lot 3 of Buena Vista

Lot 3 of Buena Vista is part of a group of farms that used to be known as Raymondale Farms. From 1979 to 1990, Raymond Evans managed to convince neighbouring farm owners to sell their farms to him – these farms included Old Windsor, Lots 1, 2 and 3 of Buena Vista, Harveysdale and Dagbreek. Evans owned five farms by 1985 which totalled approximately 4,000 hectares and which he named Raymondale Farms. By then, tobacco and dairy cattle ranching were the major activities. The farm was then sold to a private company, Anchor Yeast, which registered the new owners as a charitable organisation called the SAR Foundation (Murisa, 2010). In addition to tobacco, there emerged the production of paprika for export and the production of maize which was mainly donated to charitable organisations.

From my focus group discussions, I learnt that the combined farm was later sold to Arthur Harley, a large-scale commercial farmer who also owned Taga Estate in Beatrice (approximately 50 kilometres south-east of Harare along the Harare-Masvingo highway). In 1997 and 1998 the farm owner sold most of the farms but retained Lots 1 and 3 of Buena Vista Farm. Government records show that Lot 3 of Buena Vista is 533 hectares and is owned by Decayon Enterprises (GoZ, 2001c). Murisa (2010) notes that, besides ownership of the farms, Harley was also a shareholder in High-Veld (a paprika processing and export company jointly owned by local paprika famers), and in 2003 he established Mega Pack Cigarettes, a tobacco processing company. It is purported that the owner had been in ‘good books’ with ZANU-PF elites, especially the former governor of Harare whose family was residing in the United States during the time of the occupations⁷.

⁷ Informal interviews with war veterans and farm workers at Lot 3 farm, December 2010.

The core agricultural activities at specifically Lot 3 of Buena Vista included the growing of paprika, tobacco, maize and wheat under irrigation⁸. Paprika was grown, from 1993, on 80 hectares and was mostly exported to Spain through Hi-Veld. Prior to the introduction of paprika, the farm was well known for tobacco growing (averaging an output of 80 to 100 tonnes every year). As well, 40 hectares were set aside for maize growing and (as with Dunstan) maize was also used for dairy cattle feeding (with the cattle kept at Mara Estate belonging to the same owner). The Muswiti River has its source in the farm, and the farm was also serviced by a dam with a capacity to irrigate approximately 350 hectares of land. Wheat was grown in winter under irrigation on an average of 100 hectares annually and this was mostly sold to the GMB.

Prior to FTLRP, on Lot 3, there were 12 tractors with ploughs, disc harrows, ridgers, three 125 horse power water pumps, irrigation equipment, two tobacco barns, grading sheds, storage facilities, cattle pens, two dip tanks and a farm workshop. There was a farm worker compound accommodating close to 200 households, but the number of farm workers employed on a full-time basis varied from around 80 to 150 at any given time. Instead of receiving money, farm workers were regularly given payment in kind (20 kg bag of maize meal, 2 litres cooking oil, and 2 kg salt per month), and a beast was slaughtered every four months with all farm workers sharing the meat equally.

6.2.3 Gwaze Communal Area

Gwaze Communal Area is one of the oldest long-standing reserves in Goromonzi District. It is situated about 13 kilometres off the Harare-Mutare highway (towards the north-east). The type of settlement in Gwaze is linear; houses are built following the main road towards the Goromonzi District office. However, from within the village the settlement is clustered. The communal area has a total number of 132 households. The headman is Skipper Africa who falls under Chief Chikwaka. Of the 132 households, approximately 65 (or about one-half) are female-headed⁹.

The area falls within Natural Region II and receives an average rainfall between 400-600mm per year. The soils were once rich reddish soils but now, because of congestion and

⁸Interview with Mrs Mposi, AREX Officer for Lots 1,2 and 3 of Buena Vista, December 2010.

⁹Interview with Extension Officer for Gwaze, Mrs Matipano, October 2010.

overgrazing in the area, they are poor and exhausted. Crops grown are only for subsistence purposes and what residents produce is insufficient to last them through to the next agricultural season. In the main, they grow maize, sorghum, round nuts, groundnuts, millet and wheat. They also keep livestock (including cattle, pigs, goats and sheep) as sources of meat. There are currently no agricultural surpluses for sale as a livelihood strategy, unlike what happened they claim in the past. Women as defenders of their families have resorted to coping strategies by reducing expenditure including on meals. They speak for instance about having only two meals per day, which in their terms is called ‘one-zero-one’ (1-0-1): this means one meal in the morning, no meal at lunch time and another meal in the evening¹⁰. There is also evidence of extreme (0-0-1) cases, that is, households living in such poverty that there is only one meal a day, in the evening.

6.3 People’s Movement onto the Resettlement Farms

It is significant to note that the large number of customary areas in the district, as well as the district’s proximity to nearby urban settlements such as Mabvuku, Tafara, Epworth and Chitungwiza (all part of Harare), significantly shaped the pattern of farm invasions, occupations and resettlement in Goromonzi (Marongwe, 2008; Marimira, 2010). In Zimbabwe, land occupations began in February 2000 and in April 2000 war veterans based in Mashonaland East Province held a meeting in Ruwa (Murisa, 2010). The agenda for the meeting was primarily to map out the invasions of farms by war veterans in Goromonzi District. Members of the public were invited to ensuing night meetings in order to discuss the programme of land occupations that had been agreed upon at the national war veterans’ association meeting in Harare previously. This section briefly discusses the occupations of Dunstan and Lot 3 of Buena Vista farms.

6.3.1 Dunstan Farm

In May 2000 war veterans organised themselves in a bid to invade Lot 2 of Buena Vista¹¹. Following this, there was a stoppage of farm operations at Dunstan together with those in the nearby farms. This group of war veterans under the leadership of a local veteran (Mr Choto, now the headman or *sabhuku* for Villages 2 and 3 in Dunstan Farm) gave the farm owner a week’s notice to leave the farm; failure to do so would result in him losing the farm and all

¹⁰Based on FGDs conducted at Gwaze Communal Area, February 2011.

¹¹Based on interviews with Mr Choto, local war veteran leader and the headman for Villages 2 and 3 in Dunstan Farm, December 2010 and February 2011.

assets on it. Lot 2 farm was later used as a base camp from which to organise the occupation of surrounding farms which included Lot 3 of Buena Vista, Xanadu and Dunstan.

It was during the same period that ZANU-PF structures in Seke, Gwaze, Chinamhora and Chinyika communal areas mobilised members of the party to participate in land occupations that had begun in nearby Goromonzi farms¹². Those interested in land organised themselves and worked hand-in-hand with the leadership of the local war veterans already on the ground in Goromonzi. Some of the would-be land occupiers managed to hire buses to take them to the farms while others simply walked onto the farms. For instance, a group comprising approximately 60 men and women walked from nearby communal lands. The farm workers at Dunstan supported the war veterans because they claimed that the farm owner was ill-treating them in terms of working conditions.

According to Mr Choto, a group of war veterans approached the farm owner about their intentions to occupy a portion of the farm. The farm owner refused and reported (to the local police in Goromonzi) the war veterans' intentions to invade his farm. The police only sought to ensure that the farm owner and war veterans would shun violence, and encouraged them to sit and reach consensus on the way forward. However, this did not take place, and the war veterans insisted on obtaining a portion of the farm. The police advised the farm owner that expelling the war veterans was not a good idea as it would lead to a "third *chimurenga*". At the same time, efforts to negotiate with the leaders of the occupation were fruitless. The war veterans threatened to take over the entire farm if any further delays took place, and the farm owner then decided to pack and remove his moveable equipment accompanied by the police. The group, after the departure of the farm owner, divided the land into subdivisions or plots for more than 120 occupiers. Agricultural activities soon began (later in 2000) but with limited support from the government in terms of inputs.

In 2001, the District Administrator's Office, officials from the Ministry of Lands (MoL) and AREX officers (operating under the auspices of the FTLRP) came to Dunstan to peg A1 plots and the number of plots were reduced to 115 (Murisa, 2010). Twenty-six of the original land occupiers had left the farm between the time of occupations and official pegging, some citing

¹² Interview with former ZANU-PF Political Commissar, Seke branch, December 2010.

the uncertainty of the acquisition process and others having to return to their urban jobs. There are now 129 households resettled on the farm and most of the beneficiaries have offer letters from government. For those without offer letters, they are not concerned about eviction because they consider themselves secure at Dunstan despite the lack of official recognition¹³. Dunstan Farm, which falls under Chief Rusike, has four villages (1, 2, 3 and 4), and more than half of the 129 households are *de jure* or *de facto* female-headed. Mr Choto is the headman for villages 2 and 3, and Mr Chitsva is the headman for villages 1 and 4. Close to 100 households have moved from communal areas and now have their homes in Dunstan.

Besides farming, families at Dunstan (specifically women) are engaged in other income-generating activities so as to supplement their income. Seke Communal Lands serve as a source of labour for nearby A1 farms, and acts as a market for products from the farms as well. Of the 220 former farm workers based at Dunstan, none were allocated land even though they were part of the invasions supporting war veterans.¹⁴ They are engaged in a variety of activities which include providing labour for A1 farmers who are alleged to be underpaying them. They are also involved in other survival strategies like fishing in Muswiti River, and collecting grass for thatching and firewood for sale in Harare and Chitungwiza.

6.3.2 Lot 3 of Buena Vista Farm

The base camp of the war veterans was first established in Lot 2 of Buena Vista in a bid to making it easier for invading other farms. In November 2000, a group of nine war veterans approached farm workers on Lot 3 who were preparing land for growing tobacco and advised them that they should cease operations; instead, the farm would be used for maize production. The war veterans (coming from different places) went ahead and planted maize on the already prepared land. The war veterans accompanied by a few farm workers from Dunstan set a fire at the centre of the farm worker compound where they threatened to sing the whole night and cause violence if any objection to their commands were forthcoming. Waiting for the farm owner, the war veterans' team under the leadership of the Tagarika Farm group leader danced to *Chimurenga* songs and chanted ZANU-PF slogans¹⁵.

The then farm owner of Lot 3, Arthur Harley, on his arrival that November night was advised of the war veterans' invasion of his farm. The farm owner tried to evict the war veterans and

¹³ Interview with the AREX Officer Dunstan, December 2010.

¹⁴ Interview with Mr Everisto Mposi, AREX Officer for Dunstan, December 2010.

¹⁵ Interview with Mrs Mposi, AREX Officer for Lot 3 of Buena Vista, December 2010.

chaos occurred throughout the whole night. “You hear him,” said the war veterans’ leader, “he thinks he is the one who will be able to stop this *hondo yeminda* [third *chimurenga*]”. The case was different from Dunstan where the farm workers rose up against their boss; at Lot 3, because of for instance reasonable and fair rations, farm workers fought on behalf of their boss (Murisa, 2010). During that night farm workers attacked war veterans with spears, axes, catapults and rocks all in the name of driving them out. For the farm workers it was double jeopardy because they knew that once the farm was taken over they were going to suffer as they had nowhere to go. As one of the farm workers was quoted as saying:

Everyone is tired of war vets. If they come with violence, we will make violence. We are not scared now, to die is no problem. The white man can go. He got his passport, everything. Me? Where can I go? To the bush? (Eliot a farm worker quoted by Raath 2000, in Murisa, 2010).

The war veterans reported the case to the police and 26 farm workers were arrested for injuring four war veterans. While arrests were taking place, the war veterans called for reinforcements from their colleagues who had already occupied neighbouring farms in Wards 18 and 19 of Goromonzi (Murisa, 2010).

The issue later intensified to the extent that the Minister of Local Government became involved. After a week, he advised the war veterans to move off the farm as it was not designated for resettlement. This appeared to fall on deaf ears as the war veterans went to the Goromonzi Rural District Council to verify whether the farm was originally listed in 1997. The District Council informed them that the farm was designated for compulsory acquisition (because of multiple farm ownership by the current owner). They (the war veterans) then approached the Minister and demanded he allocate them another farm or else they would invade his (the Minister’s) own farm.¹⁶

The war veterans continued threatening the farm owner with death and with taking over his farm and property. The leader of the war veterans mobilised their fellow war veterans from nearby farms and their numbers rose from 9 to approximately 20. They gathered at the farm owner’s house singing *chimurenga* songs throughout the night. Operations at the farm were brought to a halt. It is alleged that on the third day the farm owner left very early in the

¹⁶ Interview with war veterans settled at Lot 3 of Buena Vista, December 2010.

morning and returned in the company of the police together with the former Minister of Finance to collect his moveable property, leaving only one pump behind. The former farm owner moved to Kadiki pig farm near Ruwa.

A call for land by the veteran leadership began, trying to attract others interested in land after allocating plots to those who were part of the occupations. The majority of those who were given land were from the nearby communal areas like Gwaze, Chinyika, Seke and Chinamhora. However a significant number came from Epworth, Mabvuku and Tafara (low-income residential areas in Harare). There were nine former farm worker beneficiaries who had refused to co-operate with the farm owner and collaborated with the land occupiers despite instructions to the contrary from the farm owner (FGDs, January 2011). These nine were ‘sell-outs’ who allegedly were responsible for providing intelligence information to the war veteran leadership.

The former farm owner’s house was invaded by the base commander of the Committee of Seven (or farm level authority) who took up residence in it. A1 plots were issued to 41 households comprising of 6 hectares of arable land and 15 hectares for grazing (which formed part of the common grazing area). In 2001, the A1 plots were officially pegged by officials from the MoL and extension officers, and all the 41 beneficiaries were issued with offer letters (Murisa, 2010). However, at Lot 3 of Buena Vista the number of households has risen to a total of 48 households, with 25 being either *de jure* or *de facto* female-headed households.¹⁷

Households in the two A1 farms (Dunstan and Lot 3) have a sense of permanence in the resettlement areas, and said they would only leave if forced to do so by government, albeit with some resistance. Their permanence they felt was only guaranteed though by the continued dominance of ZANU-PF in party politics. At the same time, many households who came from communal areas maintained their former homes just in case eviction took place.

6.4 Land Patterns, Beneficiaries and Gender

This section discusses access to and distribution of land in the A1 resettlement schemes (Lot 3 of Buena Vista and Dunstan) as a result of fast track, as well as the comparable situation in

¹⁷ Interview with Mrs Mposi, AREX Officer for Lot 3 of Buena Vista, February 2011.

Gwaze Communal Area. This involves considering land sizes allocated, the origins of land beneficiaries, land tenure and the gendered character of land access.

6.4.1 Land Sizes Allocated and Distributed

As outlined in Chapter 4, one of the major objectives of “fast track” was to ensure that there was equity in the resettlement process, and a critical criterion used was an egalitarian redistribution of land in terms of plot sizes. The baseline survey conducted by AIAS in 2006 stresses that land planners developed guidelines of viable farm sizes on the basis of agro-ecological zones and model type.

According to interviews with key informants, plot size determination on A1 farms in Goromonzi was guided in part by considerations of viability of plot size; these considerations included the adequacy of land to enable a competent person to derive a livelihood from working the land, or an income adequate to ensure a reasonable standard of living for the person and his (or her) entire household. However, controversy has existed in determining what a reasonable standard of living would mean or requires. Normally, though, a reasonable standard of living would enable the household to provide for its own consumption needs, retain some of the proceeds in “reserve” in case of droughts, and allow for the selling of excess to obtain cash to purchase basic food and non-food items that are not locally produced. Overall, this would entail household food security.

Government (GoZ, 2000) planning guidelines state that A1 households were to be allocated plot sizes ranging from 5 to 7 hectares in wetter regions, and 10 arable hectares and at least 30 grazing hectares in the drier regions (Sukume et al, 2004). The AREX officer for Dunstan indicates that the size of arable land per farmer is 5-6 hectares and that the grazing land allocation is 15 hectares (at both Dunstan and Lot 3 of Buena Vista). The DA of Goromonzi notes that the amount of land allocated tallies, at least generally, with the agro-ecological zone within which the district falls (namely, agro-ecological region 2b). The AREX officer further alluded to the claim that the planning guidelines took into account the social and political dimensions which required a sufficient number of beneficiaries to be accommodated under the FTLRP so as to ease the congestion in the communal areas. The guidelines for planning are presented in Table 6.1 below.

Table 6.1: Farm-Size Guidelines for Resettlement

Natural Region	A1 Farm Size (ha)		
	Arable	Grazing	Total
1	5	7	12
2a	5	10	15
2b	5	15	20
3	10	20	30
4	10	30	40
5	10	60	70

Source: Department of Lands, 2001.

The DA highlighted that, in many specific instances, planners accommodated more beneficiaries than provided for in the guidelines. However, even though there is evidence of allocating plots that are smaller than the guidelines (established prior to embarking on land redistribution), the average hectares per household at Dunstan and Lot 3 are still larger – according to the extension officer at Gwaze – than those prevailing in communal areas¹⁸.

6.4.2 Land Access Approaches

The process of formal land allocations was staggered over time in relation to both schemes (A1 and A2) (AIAS, 2006). From around February 2000 to May 2001, land access was mainly through occupations beginning with the A1 scheme. This is the same trend observed in Goromonzi District (as highlighted in the previous chapter on how people moved onto the farms). Empirical evidence in fact shows that nearly all farms in Goromonzi (including Dunstan and Lot 3) were taken through occupations. The formal Government land acquisition process only accelerated at the end of 2000 when 3,000 farms were gazetted, and as reflected in legislation in May 2001 preventing (at least formally) further occupations.

Table 6.2 (below) shows that the scale of land access through occupations is quite significant. In other words, war veterans used their violent strategy of moving commercial farmers off their farms to engage in a form of self-allocation of land. This pattern of illegal occupation is clear in Goromonzi, as nearly all current A1 plot holders (96%) occupied Lot 3 of Buena Vista and 92% arrived at Dunstan based on occupying the farm. The formally-allocated beneficiaries (without engaging at all in the occupation movement) constituted only 4% and

¹⁸ Interview with Mrs Matipano AREX Officer for Gwaze, December 2011.

8% respectively. The results clearly show then that occupations were crucial in determining people's stay in the farms.

Table 6.2: Mode of Land Access for Beneficiaries

Mode of Land Access	Lot 3 of Buena Vista		Dunstan		Gwaze Communal Area	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Occupation	19	76	20	80	0	0
Both formal & Occupation	5	20	3	12	0	0
Purchasing	0	0	0	0	2	8
Formally Allocated	1	4	2	8	23	92
Total	25	100	25	100	25	100

Source: L.Chakona, Household Questionnaire. December 2010.

For Gwaze Communal Area, the formally allocated category dominated with 92% of households, far exceeding all the other categories. This simply shows that, in communal areas, land is formally allocated by the traditional authorities (the chiefs and headmen); eight per cent indicate that they purchased their lands. In the case of Dunstan and Lot 3 of Buena Vista there is no record of land purchasing. There is hence evidence of market-based land transactions (buying and selling of land) in customary areas and not in resettlement areas. This was clearly expressed in FGDs carried out for Gwaze.¹⁹

6.4.3 Origins and Gender of Land Beneficiaries

This section focuses on the geographic, social and economic origins of beneficiaries within the study sample, including levels of inclusion of women as beneficiaries. According to the AIAS 2006 household survey, most Zimbabweans perceive their point of origin as a communal area home, even though they might have migrated into urban areas some time ago. A much earlier study by Peta et al (1991) shows that the majority of Zimbabwean workers living in urban centres or those settled in resettlement schemes (from the 1980s) maintain a home in (or have strong links with) a communal area.

6.4.3.1 Origins of Land Beneficiaries

Communal areas were and are mostly inhabited by black smallholder households, whereas commercial farms were made up of white commercial farmers and farm workers who were

¹⁹ FGDs conducted in Gwaze Communal Area, February 2011.

mostly black and in many instances were a mixture of Zimbabweans, Malawians, Mozambicans and Zambians (Moyo, 1995; Moyo et al, 2000; Kinsey, 2003). The geographic location of the households prior to land reform shapes the social setting within which A1 households are currently located. The sample for the study at Lot 3 and Dunstan was strictly those who came from customary areas, but these beneficiaries are from a range of different communal areas both inside and outside the district (see Table 6.3).

Table 6.3: Place of Origin for Beneficiaries

Place of Origin	Lot 3 of Buena Vista		Dunstan	
	No. of people	%	No. of people	%
CA this province	7	28	3	12
CA other provinces	3	12	2	8
CA this district	15	60	20	80
Total	25	100	25	100

Source: L.Chakona, Household Questionnaire. December 2010.

The biggest number of beneficiaries came from customary areas (CAs) within the district, constituting 60% for Lot 3 and 80% for Dunstan. The results from the survey are further authenticated by FGDs carried out in both farms, where beneficiaries testified that they were from nearby CAs (like Chinyika, Chinamhora, Gwaze and Seke) which surrounded the farms. This was followed by those from CAs within the province (but outside the district), constituting 28% and 12% respectively; while those from other provinces constituted 12% and 8% respectively. It is worth noting that, from FGDs, it is clear that there are also other groups (besides former CA residents) who are living on the two farms – these include individuals from urban areas, growth points, mining areas and large-scale commercial farms (in the district, province as well as other provinces). Some of these non-CA residents remain employed outside the farms.

6.4.3.2 Gender Composition of Land Beneficiaries

As emphasised in earlier chapters, one of the major critiques that have emerged over customary tenure in communal areas is the male chauvinism within the patriarchal system

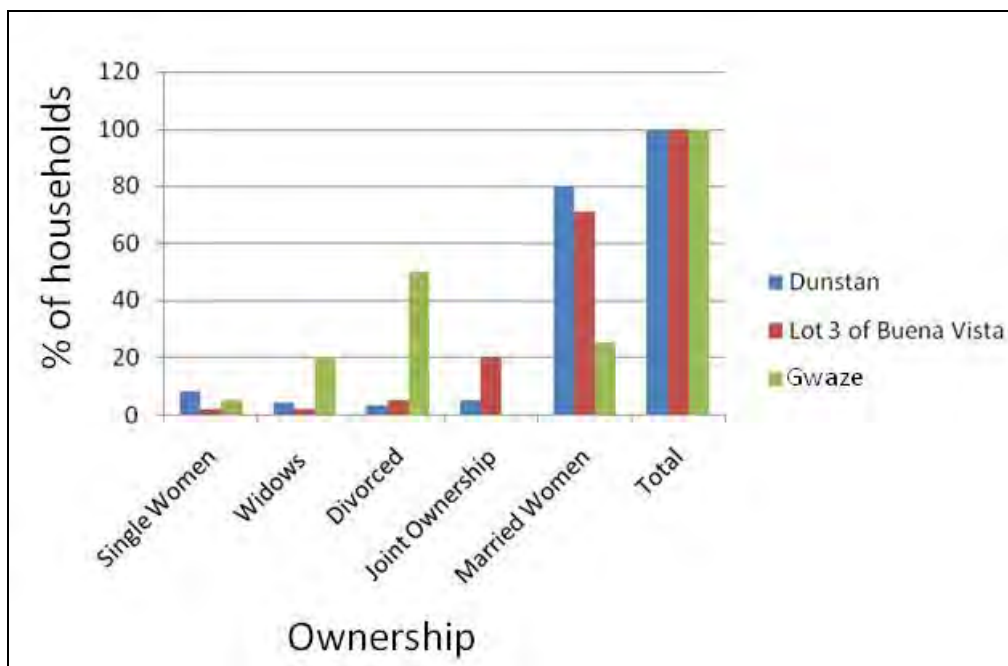
which marginalises women in terms of land access and decision-making over land use, utilisation and proceeds from the land. At the same time, under fast track, only 20.72% of the beneficiaries on A1 farms were women (the corresponding figure for A2 farms is 14.72%).

Any discussion on gender relations and access to land must go beyond simply an examination of what women received in their own right through fast track. For instance, the land rights being bestowed in the newly resettled areas may be qualitatively different from the prevailing tenure system in communal areas. Since 2006, the GoZ has been introducing (although haltingly and unsystematically) the permit system for A1 plots and leasehold tenure for A2 farms. This potentially translates into more and firmer rights for both A1 and A2 farmers, at least officially. As a result of lobbying from civil society organisations (with Women and Land in Zimbabwe in the lead), the permit and lease are supposed to be registered in the names of both spouses (in the case of married couples). In the event of permit disposal, the husband or wife is required to seek the written consent of the spouse before the disposal can be legally implemented and practised. There however remain some sticking points such as the rights of spouses at the time of divorce or, specifically for women, at the time of death of the male spouse. Initially (GoZ, 2006), the lease document for A2 farms stated clearly that the lease would be administered within the prevailing inheritance laws of Zimbabwe, which generally do not favour women.

Fig 6.1 below shows access to land amongst women at the two A1 farms and the communal area studied in Goromonzi. Of the 25 households interviewed through a household questionnaire in each of the three sites, results indicate that, for Dunstan, 20 of these households (or 80%) involve married women ‘owning’ land through a male; the respective figures are 70% for Lot 3 and 25% for Gwaze. The other households are composed of widows, single women and divorcees who often have land registered in their own names. FGDs conducted in Gwaze highlight the significance of patriarchal practices: preference is invariably given to men in terms of land possession and – even in the case of the death of the husband – other men of adulthood age are regularly given priority over the wife in terms of inheriting land. Women in communal areas continue to be marginalised in this regard, such that fast track land reform has not addressed questions of land and patriarchy within the confines of customary areas. Women therefore in Gwaze communal area are heavily marginalised in terms of ‘owning’ land in their own right; this is however may not be the case

for divorcees, widows and single women. The specific reason for this is the existence of the chieftainship system, which governs access to land on a distinctively gendered basis. This system is considerably more pervasive and entrenched in CAs compared to resettlement areas (RAs); in the latter, at least on A1 farms, a modified or new traditionalism (based on non-hereditary headmen appointed by chiefs living in customary areas) has emerged but its impact remains uncertain. In terms of land access, CA women suffer more from the effects of patriarchy than do women in RAs.

Fig: 6.1: Women’s Access to Land at Dunstan, Lot 3 of Buena Vista and Gwaze



Source: L. Chakona. Household Questionnaire. December 2010.

In Dunstan and Lot 3 of Buena Vista, the position of women is comparatively better. In RAs, the position of married women has improved in terms of land access. The explanation for this by married women in both RAs is that land could be registered jointly with their husbands. The possibilities for joint ownership on A1 farms are evident from Figure 6.1 (20% in the case of Lot 3), whereas joint ownership seems non-existent in Gwaze. Generally, for A1 farms, the names of the wife and husband tend to appear on the offer letter (although women on A1 farms often still speak about accessing land through their husband); whereas in CAs women access land through marriage because of chieftainship which effectively designates the man as the head of the household. In Gwaze, the traditional authority is responsible for

land distribution and access, and therefore men ‘own’ and control the means of production.²⁰ This is significant considering that a large number of households on the two A1 farms came from customary areas – hence, women from customary areas in particular may have been advantaged by this ‘relaxation’ of customary law on A1 farms.

6.4.4 Tenure Insecurity and Gender Relations

Tenure insecurity exists along gender lines in rural Zimbabwe. This arises for instance in relation to inheritance rights that disadvantage women and may lead to threats of eviction, and with regard to rights and benefits denied women vis-à-vis their labour expended in agricultural activities. With regards to gender-distorted relations of tenure (which mainly derive from oppressive customary and policy-based practices of patriarchy), inequitable land rights as they apply especially to vulnerable women include the aged, divorcees, single women and the childless, as well as married women especially in polygamous relationships (Gaidzanwa, 1995; Chingarande, 2006, 2008; Paradza, 2007).

Fast track land reform substantially transformed agricultural landed property relations beyond merely the distributional question by extending state land-ownership to the bulk of Zimbabwe’s prime land and by expanding leasehold (A2) and permissory permit (A1) forms of tenure – neither of which entail title deeds to the land. Overall, A1 farmers remain uncertain over the granting of land permits or offer letters, and there are administrative gaps in ensuring that those with official land offers have secure tenure. The field survey from my study indicates (see Table 6.4) that 80% of the land beneficiaries on the two A1 farms have formal access to tenure in the form of an offer letter. The remaining 20% of the beneficiaries have more limited tenure security, as they are without a clearly-defined formal GoZ tenure document. Concerns about lack of documentation were however not evident in the FGDs conducted in Lot 3 of Buena Vista and Dunstan. Participants highlighted that even if they do not possess any legal document with regards to tenure, they will not be evicted from their pieces of land as they are in the RAs to stay for “life”. The formality of tenure is not consciously articulated as problematic by A1 farmers, and is not experienced as such in practice. Their very presence on a resettled farm is seen to warrant permanence.

²⁰Interview with Mr Ndabazihle Nyoni, Gender Specialist in agrarian issues at AIAS, Harare, December 2010.

Table 6.4: Possession of Relevant Land Tenure Documents

Type of Documents	Possession of Documents	%
Offer letter	Yes	80
Any Legal Documents	No	20
Total		100.0

Available empirical evidence from my study indicates that there are important aspects of land tenure to be unpacked as they relate to gender. From the FGDs conducted, there were many reasons cited as attributing factors to the existence of gendered land tenure inequity and insecurity; these factors reiterate ones earlier highlighted with reference to fast track nationally. In the case of the A1 farms of Dunstan and Lot 3, for instance, there are constraints facing women in applying for land (as highlighted by respondents), and these include bureaucratic-based gender biases among the beneficiary selection structures (which mainly comprise men). There are also serious inadequacies in terms of information available to women about the land application process, as expressed by women in the Gwaze customary area.²¹ Hence women are caught up in exclusion errors as they are unable to decipher and follow the land application process from the initial enquiry to the acquiring of land. Also emphasised by local A1 farmers are cultural (patriarchal) prescriptions that define property and the home as belonging to the husband (though in certain ways these prescriptions contradict and undermine the official GoZ's stance on land tenure issues).

There were also reports that some A1 women, who had been given tenure (permit) documents as individuals, had this reversed by returning to the relevant government office on a seemingly voluntary basis to have the document re-issued in their husband's name. Following up on this through FGDs, women indicated that they allow this to happen in order to protect their marriages. In a bid to redress such problems (with regards to women and accessing land on a secure basis), the GoZ introduced a policy in 2003 enabling joint 'ownership' (possession) or joint tenure between husband and wife (GoZ, 2003). The policy though indicates that applicants applying individually cannot be forced to register jointly and that the reversal of joint land offers cannot be refused, as this would be regarded as an intrusion into matrimonial affairs; in addition, powers to insist on joint registration are not enforceable in law. Empirical evidence from the AIAS (2006) study indicates that while government officials are expected to encourage joint registration, those who are steeped in gender biases

²¹ Based on FGDs conducted in Gwaze Communal Area, March 2011.

may not do so. Hence, though chieftainships do not strongly prevail in A1 farms and government has sought to ensure some form of tenure equity along gendered lines, in practice the tenure status of women on resettlement farms may not be any firmer than in customary areas. The married women at Dunstan and Buena Vista therefore remain tenure insecure in the face of patriarchal practices.

Generally, women's land rights in all the research sites have been restricted by patriarchal conceptualisations as well as by discriminatory implementation practices. For *Women and Land in Zimbabwe* (WLZ, 2007: 85), the farmer 'tends to be conceptualised as a man' and as the 'head of household' – access to land and the availability of tenure documents are restricted by this. This is highlighted further in the following section, which examines land and gender with specific reference to traditional authorities.

6.5 Traditional Authorities

As outlined by the AREX officer for Gwaze, customary tenure entails access to land (or other resources such as water, forest and grazing) mediated by membership of a community, usually defined in terms of kinship within a lineage with historic claims to particular lands. Such rights of access are governed by a hierarchy within both the lineage and the broader "community" identified usually with a customary authority or chief, with powers to arbitrate over the interpretation and enforcement of customary rights within a defined area of jurisdiction.²²

Despite fast track, chiefs and headmen continue to authorise land allocations and they also approve and reject land applications within communities under their jurisdiction (notably in customary areas). But they are often unable to identify the relevant legislation empowering them to do so –as noted for example in a 2008 field study report on empowering women through land rights (ActionAid and Women and Water Rights in Southern Africa, 2008). A similar trend exists in my study in Gwaze customary area. The traditional authority (the chief) in Gwaze acknowledged that he has the power to allocate land under customary law. He stressed that women can 'own' land only through marriage (namely through the husband). In Dunstan and Lot 3 of Buena Vista farms, more than 75% of the respondents acknowledged that the DLC is responsible for allocating land. Women in Gwaze were not aware of the

²²Interview with Mrs Matipano, AREX Officer for Gwaze, October 2010.

legislation that authorise the land allocation processes, and they were deeply concerned about the reasoning inhibiting their ownership of land in their own right.²³ They in fact voiced an appeal, specifically that the government should relieve them of what is effectively patriarchal rule. In studying the detrimental effects of patriarchy on women in CAs, Ngoro (2006) argues that a more comprehensive overhauling of legislation related to gender relations (such as the inheritance and customary laws) is required.

The traditional leader in Gwaze was not aware of which legislation spoke about land inheritance by widows and minors (in practice, the foresaid are allowed to inherit from their late spouses and parents respectively). I gathered from the Gwaze chief that traditional leaders in general refer to their own opinions (rather than any piece of legislation) in allowing divorced women and returning daughters to access land in what they call ‘special cases’.²⁴ These so-called special cases, as the exception to the rule, confirm the dominance of patriarchal norms. On single women, the traditional leader was of the opinion that a single woman with children should be given land in her own name but single women without children were not entitled to the same privilege (and thus they are caught in a web of patriarchy and poverty). The chief added: “However if she gets married to a man from the village, she would then access land through her husband”.²⁵

Women in Gwaze vowed to move to A1 farms or any other resettled area as a way to avoid patriarchy and the rule of the traditional authority. They advocated that all patriarchal practices must be totally abolished or at least the rule of the traditional authority must be revised by the state so that women could be more meaningfully incorporated into land issues. They alluded to the fact that the traditional authority together with culture is very oppressive.²⁶ In this regard, they expressed an interest in a Fourth *Chimurenga* insofar as government embarked on this. As one woman said²⁷:

Here we are just sitting looking after our forefathers’ graves, there is no more food we are getting from the soils, and the soils are now exhausted resulting in low yields. In the

²³Based on FGDs conducted in Gwaze Communal Area, December 2010.

²⁴I did not have a direct face-to-face interview with the chief. The chief was in fact one of the participants in FGDs.

²⁵ FGDs, Gwaze Communal Area, March 2011.

²⁶ FGDs, Gwaze Communal Area, March 2011.

²⁷ FGDs, Gwaze Communal Area, March 2011.

last ten years we were managing to sell our excess crops to the Grain Marketing Board but it is now history, we can hardly produce what is even enough for our families. Given the opportunity, we also want to move to A1 farms where there are “virgin” soils. We are tired of this Gwaze area, there is nothing new, if another fast track land reform programme is to be launched, I will make sure I will be one of the beneficiaries. As a woman I own land through my husband, but I have heard that in A1 farms that culture has been abolished; women now own land through their own right which I also want. Here it is impossible because the traditional authorities and culture which is inclined to a patriarchal rule.

6.6 Conclusion

This chapter presented a number of salient themes with regard to Dunstan and Lot 3 (A1 farms) on the one hand, and Gwaze (customary area) on the other, with a particular emphasis on gender and land in the context of fast track reform. Fast track in and of itself was not designed – as a redistributive programme – to address nagging questions about customary areas directly, though it was meant to decongest customary areas. If however it was a programme that took the gender question seriously, it could by implication have far-reaching effects on customary areas, notably in terms of tackling the chieftainship system.

An earlier chapter on fast track reform highlighted that fast track is in fact gender insensitive and never sought to confront the gender imbalances in land access and control in the Zimbabwean countryside. At one level, though, evidence presented in this (and the previous) chapter suggests that women on A1 farms have gained an advantage over their counterparts in customary areas, and that women who moved from customary areas to A1 farms have moved beyond the reaches of traditionalism as exemplified by the chieftainship and customary systems. In this regard, for instance, married A1 women are more likely to ‘own’ land in their own right (as equal partners with their husbands) than married women remaining in customary areas. How the emerging reinvented chieftainship system (with village headmen) on A1 farms will impact on the status of women currently remains unclear. And whether this increased land access (at least formally) translates into greater control over agricultural production is also problematic (but will be explored in the following chapter). At another level (in terms of livelihoods), A1 women may not be any better off than women in customary areas. In this sense, the effects of fast track on women are not necessarily uniform;

rather, they entail contradictory effects. Women and livelihoods at Dunstan, Lot 3 and Gwaze will be explored in the following chapter.

Chapter 7: Women and Livelihoods at Dunstan, Buena Vista and Gwaze

7.1 Introduction

The FTLRP transformed the agrarian structure of pre-2000 Zimbabwe. Prior to 2000, there was a bi-modal structure in which 4,500 farmers held over 11 million hectares of land mostly

on the basis of export-focused commercial agriculture, existing alongside one million communal area households on 16,4 million hectares mostly in the drier regions of the country. Now, the agrarian landscape is dominated by small-scale farmers in both customary and resettlement areas, including in Goromonzi District.

The current chapter seeks to further the comparative analysis of fast track and gender in relation to the three research sites, by focusing more specifically on livelihoods. It has four sections. The following section focuses on the question of infrastructure and amenities on A1 farms, and how the lack of provision of these may disadvantage A1 women in particular. The next section (section 3) explores the types of crops grown in the research sites, and section 4 considers the gendered character of agricultural production. Section 5 focuses on other livelihood activities pursued specifically at Dunstan and Lot 3. The chapter contributes to the drawing of important conclusions about the impact of fast track land reform on women farmers in both resettlement and customary areas.

7.2 Infrastructure and Social Amenities at Dunstan and Lot 3

The availability and non-availability of infrastructure (such as for water and transport) and social amenities (including health and education facilities) is particularly crucial because it affects mostly women. Resettlement typically should go hand-in-hand with adequate support in terms of infrastructure and social amenities, but post-settlement support of this nature has not been vigorously pursued under fast track. To date, only limited infrastructure has been provided or developed on the two farms (Marimira, 2010). In terms of planning, the state has only managed to allocate individual plots for crops, as well as demarcating grazing and settlement areas.

The roads in resettlement areas in Goromonzi are rough or strip roads (strip roads are dirt roads with a narrow strip of tar for each wheel) and are not being maintained. A typical example is the one off the Harare-Mutare highway at the main Goromonzi turn off, heading in a southeast direction to Goromonzi High School. There is very limited traffic, as few people have the resources to own or operate a truck or car. Public transport is by commuter taxi (*kombies*). There are also a few ox carts. Walking though is the standard mode of movement, and it is not unusual for children to walk 3 or 4 miles (up to 6.4 kilometres) to school, or for hungry family members especially women (who are considered to be

vulnerable)to walk the same distance for food. The two A1 farms are serviced by gravel roads leading into and around the farms as well as the main road that connects to the Harare-Mutare highway.

Three medical clinics are available in Gwaze Communal Area. Women are the ones responsible for care work, and the existence of three clinics might imply that there is not excessive strain in terms of walking long distances in search of medical care for children and the elderly. However, the health resources (including access to tablets and other medication) serve a wide area, and some people have to walk 19 kilometres to reach a clinic in Gwaze. By contrast, in Dunstan and Lot 3 of Buena Vista there are no clinics – women have to walk close to 25 kilometres in search of medication to Goromonzi town. Women on A1 farms, after spending (on some days) more than 5 hours in the fields, will walk these long distances (including pregnant women). One woman in Dunstan testified that she delivered her baby girl while on her way to Goromonzi Clinic (in town) and that she had also been working the land that very day. Women have an added burden, as they are the ones responsible for accompanying the sick at home to the clinic. At times, in cases of emergencies, people die without being able to attend a clinic for treatment. In terms of health-related problems, inadequate sanitation was a major cause for concern for some respondents. There are very few facilities for sanitation, notably toilets, on the A1 farms. In village 2, Dunstan, one respondent noted that only two people had proper toilet facilities while the rest rely on ‘bush’ toilets, which is a potential health hazard for the entire community.

Water in rural areas is regularly obtained from wells, which are quite common in Gwaze – more than 80% of the homesteads have wells. This minimises the amount of labour for women, who are the drawers and carriers of water in Gwaze. There is the influence of urban development seeping into the community, with the provision of tapped water for a rapidly expanding community in the township in Gwaze. New houses are springing up as a township is currently being built to cater for middle-class people in the area, who have become tired of city life. There are two types of wells available: hand-drawn and electrically-operated. When a well fails, there are not always the financial resources to dig a new one. Electric pumps as well are subject to lightning strikes and mechanical problems. Goromonzi is on the electric grid but individual homes in Gwaze are not connected, as it is too expensive for households to install electrical connections. Gwaze households use hand-drawn wells.

In Dunstan and Lot 3 of Buena Vista, the availability of clean and safe water is highly questionable. There are few homesteads with wells, amounting to only 25%. 75% of the settlers rely on water from the river which cuts across the two farms. There is one irrigation setup (and a borehole and two wells) at Dunstan at the AREX officer's homestead which the extension officer had established for himself, and many women without access to wells testified that they collected water at his house. A shortage of safe water on the two farms remains a serious problem though, resulting in women walking long distances (some travel as far as 12 kilometres, to Seke communal lands in search of clean water). The photo below (Photo 6.1) illustrates the depth and breadth of water problems at the farms. It shows an A1 woman fetching water from an unprotected source which she uses for laundry and cooking. The woman alluded to the fact that it is the same water source from which livestock drink. The shortage of safe drinking water is a major challenge on the two A1 farms, particularly compared to the communal areas from where many respondents had moved.

After settling people in Goromonzi, the government did not provide water by sinking boreholes for the A1 farmers. Any boreholes on Dunstan and Lot 3 were inherited from the former commercial farmer. Disparities potentially may arise in terms of water infrastructure. For instance, there is evidence from both farms that influential war veterans are trying to influence the District Land Committee to push the District Development Fund (DDF) to install boreholes at central points for the benefit of specific settlers.

Photo 7.1: Water Woes in Resettlement Areas



Photo - December 2011.

The water woes have had a variety of negative effects. These include wasting of time that could have been spent productively in the fields. Families without adequate sources of water facilities of their own, allocate about 2 hours every day for water fetching (by women). The water problems have also exposed the farmers to health risks. During summer most villagers fetch water from shallow and open wells or other unprotected sources (this is because the rainy season offers water from a range of sources after considerable volumes of rain). Although the farms have not experienced any cases of cholera, during the recent cholera outbreak in Zimbabwe the villagers complained of diarrhoeal diseases that they linked to the water. The community however acknowledged the role that UNICEF played in the provision of water purification tablets in the area during the outbreak. The shortage of well or borehole water has however not limited the ability to engage in extra activities such as horticulture. Women at Dunstan earn considerable income from horticulture, relying on water from open dams from a swampy area on the farm and from the river.

In the district, full formal education has been attained by a few. The Goromonzi Rural District Council (GRDC, 1996) survey shows that 14.92% of the population never went to school and therefore are illiterate, while 45.74% only attended primary school hence have only basic primary education. In the “never been” to school category, females constitute the majority. Of the 1.61% of the population in the district that went beyond secondary level, few are females (0.34%) (GRDC, 1996). According to Marongwe (2008), under post-FTLRP

conditions, new patterns in terms of education have emerged – such as informal groups of women under the guidance of one woman with secondary education helping each other at a central place on the A1 farms.

There are ten schools in the Goromonzi District, with five primary and five secondary schools that serve 6,729 students, ages 5 to 22. There are 50 or more students in each class with one teacher. Textbooks, workbooks and other learning materials are noticeably absent, and the school libraries are sparse. The cost of school fees, uniforms and textbooks are out of reach for many families, so it is unusual for a child to attend school without interruption or to complete all of his or her schooling.

There are no proper schools on the two A1 farms, with tobacco barns being used as primary schools. For secondary school education, children are sent to relatives outside of Goromonzi as most families cannot afford to send their children to Goromonzi High School (which is a boarding school). For those households who fail to send children to their relatives, the children invariably join the parents in farming and girls get married at an early age because of being idle. As one parent indicated:²⁸

We give our children some cloth so that they can sit on. The school has no furniture so the children come to school with a cloth. The lack of a secondary school has also meant that a majority of primary school graduates cannot proceed to secondary school and as a result stay at home and get married. The ones who have mainly been affected are the young girls who are told to stay at home because the parent fears for their safety if they leave them at their tender age.

The teachers seemingly come to work when they want and there are no facilities conducive for children's learning. This particular respondent noted that even a bright student's prospects for proceeding with his or her education would be doomed because of the poor state of the so-called school. He added that he was transferring his child from the primary school because he did not note any progress: "*Mwana anongogona zvatakamudzidzisa kumba saka chikoro chinobatsirei*" ("The child can only answer correctly what we teach him at home so what's the need of that school").

²⁸ FGDs, Dunstan, February 2011.

In concluding this section on infrastructure and social amenities in the context of FTLRP and its effects on women, the following comment by a woman in Dunstan Farm is very revealing:²⁹

As women we always bear the burden of walking long distances in search of water, in search of medication when children get ill and above all we do the greatest work in tilling the land. We don't have rest. If we are to wash clothes then we have to dedicate the whole day to that particular activity since the place is long. The situation of inadequate health facilities is even worse for critical patients and expectant mothers. This also takes part of our productive time when we should be in the fields. We are always told that we are in the resettled area and should not be looking for support from the donors because they have their own agendas but they have the capacity to do so. So we will continue waiting for the government to improve our situation in terms of infrastructure.

There are serious problems on A1 farms in terms of infrastructure and amenities, which detrimentally effect women. But A1 women at Dunstan and Lot 3 stress that though there are better schools and health facilities in the communal area from where they came, they could not feed themselves in their previous place of residence.³⁰ I now turn to the question of agricultural production and livelihood strategies.

7.3 Agricultural Land Use and Production Patterns

Historically, Goromonzi District is well known for the number and variety of crops grown in the area. It is well documented however that there has been a recent decline in agricultural commodity production across the small- and large-scale farming sectors in Zimbabwe (Moyo et al, 2008). The cause of this decline is generally purported to be the FTLRP, which came into existence without any significant form of support for the new resettlement farmers. During the early resettlement phase in the 1980s, government often provided support to beneficiaries through prior infrastructural development in the resettlement areas (roads, houses and schools for instance), and during actual relocation and subsequent farming operations. However with the FTLRP this was not the case. Blaming FTLRP alone for the decline in agriculture is problematic as there are many contributing factors including the state's weak macro-economic framework and frequent droughts. The period 2001-2005 was

²⁹FGDs conducted in Dunstan, February 2011.

³⁰ FGDs conducted in Lot 3 of Buena Vista, February 2011.

characterized by poor rainfall distribution, the worst in the post-independence period (Moyo and Yeros, 2007), and this resulted in the decline in production of crops such as cotton and maize (which are mainly grown by the smallholder sector).

Whereas the capital-intensive former large-scale commercial farms were mostly export oriented (tobacco, horticulture, floriculture and farm tourism), land use and agricultural production in the newly resettled areas (particularly A1 farms) is focused on food production for own consumption and surplus for sale in domestic markets. The types of crops grown in Zimbabwe can generally be classified into major and minor crops in terms of their importance as a source of food and income generation. The major crops include the main staple food crops (maize, wheat and small grains), key export crops (tobacco and cotton), oil seeds (soya beans, groundnuts and sunflower), plantation crops (sugar cane, tea and coffee) and some horticultural crops. The minor crops are those normally grown by small-scale farmers on small sites to meet their food subsistence needs with sometimes surplus for sale. Minor crops include potatoes, green leafy vegetables, round nuts and pumpkins.

Despite problems undercutting agricultural production in Zimbabwe, the majority of my sample at Dunstan and Buena Vista (80% of the land beneficiaries on the two farms) has managed to engage in productive farming, with close to 75% of the households in the A1 farms sourcing their own inputs. In both Dunstan and Lot 3, the beneficiaries are managing to produce for their families and to sell some excess.³¹ Production of cereal crops is purported to be higher in the two RAs compared to Gwaze customary lands.

The A1 farms of Dunstan and Lot 3 experience some diversity in terms of agricultural production. Disaggregated analysis by the study sites (A1 farms versus customary area) reveals a trend in which maize is the most common crop grown by both newly resettled farms and Gwaze (see Table 7.1). There is also a concentration of small grains and oilseeds in all the study sites. Maize and small grains have been historically associated with smallholders (Muir, 1994). The key export crops (tobacco and cotton) are grown by relatively few farmers, averaging overall about 20% of the households – it is clear though that Dunstan and Lot 3 farmers engage in these export crops more fully. Other crops which form an important part of

³¹ FGDs conducted in Dunstan, Lot 3 and Gwaze, March 2011.

the diet of the rural households are groundnuts and round nuts, and are grown by over 60% of the total sample. There is evidence of small gardens for minor crops behind homesteads for those few households with wells. As a livelihood strategy, women are highly involved in this. From the FGDs, it is clear that A1 women grow and sell tomatoes, onions, cabbages and vegetables to Seke Communal Area as a way of raising income.

This is in addition to women in all three sites being involved in ‘women’s crops’ – discussed more fully below – like groundnuts and round nuts. In this respect, the A1 and customary women argued that they tend to be given control over agricultural products that do not generate much income. For example, while men are entitled to maize, tobacco and cotton (regarded as cash crops circulating in the public sphere), women are entitled to crops from the “*tseu*” or women’s field (mainly round nuts and groundnuts) which do not generate significant income.

Table 7.1: Major Crops Grown

Type of crop	Lot 3 of Buena Vista		Dunstan		Gwaze	
	No. of producers	%	No. of producers	%	No. of producers	%
Main foods						
Maize	25	100	25	100	25	100
Wheat	0	0	1	4	2	8
Small grains	18	72	17	68	15	60
Roundnuts	17	68	16	64	10	40
Groundnuts	14	56	15	60	25	100
Oilseeds						
Soya beans	17	68	20	80	12	48
Sunflower	18	72	17	68	16	64
Key Exports						
Tobacco	5	20	9	36	2	8
Cotton	7	28	5	20	3	12
Horticultural Crops						
Paprika	11	44	10	40	5	20
Floriculture	2	8	1	4	0	0
Citrus	0	0	0	0	0	0
Vegetables	22	88	23	92	17	68
Onions	15	60	18	72	12	48
Tomatoes	18	72	15	60	10	20

Source: L.Chakona, Household Questionnaire. December, 2010.

7.3.1 Comparison between Gwaze and Dunstan/Lot 3

One of the key goals of this study is to compare the livelihoods in Gwaze communal area and the two A1 farms. There is the specific need to compare the experiences of women in the A1

farms who came from the communal area and those who continue to live in the communal areas, in terms of their livelihoods and livelihood strategies. This section focuses on agricultural production.

Overall, production on the two A1 farms has almost trebled compared to Gwaze and other nearby CAs, with a marked increase in the standard of living of those households which moved from customary areas. The testimony from one woman who came with her family from Gwaze Communal Area to Dunstan Farm is revealing. She notes:³²

We came from a polygamous family so when the father of my husband died the eldest son took over the place. We were left with no place to till so we decided to join the invaders. The agricultural situation is good compared to Gwaze. Our yields have improved very much from where we were with a household producing an average of 3-4 tonnes of maize and 8-10 bales of cotton. The soils we now till do not demand as much fertilizer compared to where we came from. The agricultural situation is good basing on what we have seen so far because there are rich soils and good yields.

In summer this household (like other households) also has a small garden for vegetables – they sell the produce to local farmers and to Seke communal lands which acts as a readily available market for them. At Dunstan and Lot 3, there is abundant pasture and vegetation for grazing (as well as wild game), which the A1 farmers said they never imagined prior to fast track land reform. There was concern though amongst the farmers that if current practices are not stemmed (deforestation and uncontrolled hunting), they will soon be back to the communal area situation.

One respondent exclaimed³³: “I am excited about the new place and now being a proud owner of livestock and a piece of land. I know I will never go hungry as long as I am here. I started here as a pauper without anything but now I own 7 herd of cattle, goats, sheep and implements”. The married woman claimed that those farmers who are complaining are lazy because her life has been transformed since coming onto the farm. She went on to say:

We are producing enough to consume and sell annually. In the reserves [customary areas] I never reached a tonne of maize despite working very hard. Now I can now afford to produce about 5 tonnes annually which is very different from where I came

³² FGDs Dunstan Farm, March 2011.

³³ FGDs Lot 3 of Buena Vista, March 2011.

from. Now I have my own piece of land which no one has control over; it is only for me and my family.

This woman is amongst those households which were considered the poorest in their former home (customary) areas; these households had come to the A1 farm with minimal property but had managed to obtain a stand of their own, and to acquire livestock and other moveable assets. In this regard, another female A1 farmer argued that her family's life has changed dramatically (alluding to the fact that they no longer survive on donations but have their own produce and income from farming).³⁴

There is however a challenge in terms of agricultural inputs at Dunstan and Lot 3 of Buena Vista. Settlers do not obtain inputs on time and the local shops do not sell the inputs they need (fertilizer and seeds). The shops they rely upon are located around 20 kilometres away in Goromonzi Business Centre. Besides the unavailability of inputs, they also do not have cash to access what they need for farming. In the 2010 agricultural year though they benefitted from and received inputs (seeds and fertilizers) through the Presidential Inputs Programme that was launched in most of the districts countrywide, despite the fact that the quantities received were low. There are also claims by A1 farmers of corruption by the leadership responsible for distribution, as the leaders are accused of diverting some of the inputs for their own use (there is a committee chosen by the local farmers which is responsible for distribution). In addition, some A1 farmers do not have draught power (about 10%), so they either dig by hand or hire from those with cattle to plough for them. These challenges are significant, but A1 farmers emphasise that unlike in Gwaze they can now survive even without money, namely, through barter trade. One women A1 farmer also noted that she can go and weed someone's field in return for food (which is unlike her personal experiences in Gwaze).

Women in both A1 farms and CAs emphasise that there is shortage of inputs such as seeds and fertilizer. And, again, even if available they may not be supplied on time. In this respect, one woman³⁵ said that "cotton companies which provide us with inputs sometimes give us

³⁴ FGDs Dunstan Farm, March 2011.

³⁵ FGDs Lot 3 of Buena Vista, March 2011.

very late”. Markets for agricultural products are also a big challenge with prices being low. As one A1 farmer exclaimed:³⁶

Last year I grew sunflower but when I wanted to sell to those who buy sunflowers they told me that they would only buy from the farmers that they had given inputs. Adequate information should be availed to the farmers. The current prices are demoralising. We are buying fertilizer for \$35 per bag but when selling our cotton we sell 200 kilograms (a bale) for \$60. As a result of such poor pricing the farmer would end up as the final loser. In terms of outputs, yes we are farmers but if they cannot buy our produce at a good price this means our capacity to buy enough inputs for ourselves is limited.

Another woman reiterated this: “Last year I grew sunflowers. But I am still stuck with the sunflowers since those who bought that crop in the area said that they would only buy from specific farmers whom they had supported”³⁷. Coupled with this is also a lack of information about markets for some of their products like peanuts and sunflower. This problem is particularly evident among women as they are the ones who were engaged in the growing of these crops.

Despite the obstacles that they are facing in the resettlement areas, one male A1 farmer at Dunstan exclaimed: “Of course we have new challenges but we are living comfortably here. Comparing with where we came from, we are living comfortably and cannot complain as long as we have the rains”.³⁸ Overall, both male and female A1 farmers appear very pleased about their new place. There is increased productivity in RAs (with higher rainfall and good soils) and a degree of social harmony: “We now have a place where we are free, free from the troubles of rumours and gossips that were characteristic of the polygamous family, which is common in communal areas”, one A1 woman in Dunstan in a FGD put it. She went on to explain that “we lived in constant shortage of food in communal areas and even the ones we left are facing food problems now”³⁹.

For most of the A1 respondents, including women, the future of the FTLRP looks very bright. They observed that had it not been for certain challenges (including instability of the national economy) they would have made strong headways. With every further year on the farm,

³⁶ FGDs Dunstan Farm, March 2011.

³⁷ FGDs Lot 3 of Buena Vista, March 2011.

³⁸ FGDs Dunstan, March 2011.

³⁹ FGDs Dustan Farm, March 2011.

however, they remarked that their yields were rising from one level to the other. They argued that one day Zimbabwe would be proud of the work that they were doing in trying to feed the nation.

Overall, it would seem that A1 woman farmers emanating from customary areas have improved their livelihoods. But this may not have impacted significantly on the form that agricultural production takes, notably in terms of gender relations of production and a gender-based division of labour. The existence of men's and women's crops (and fields) is of some significance in this respect.

7.4 Agricultural Production – Women's and Men's Crops

From the FGDs conducted in the study areas, it emerged that there are what are called women's and men's crops. In marriage, Shona culture contains a clearly gendered (ideological) construction of property ownership. Much of the most valuable household property, such as agricultural implements, furniture, cattle and the buildings on the homestead are constructed as belonging to the husband. According to FGDs, the wife is said to own the kitchen utensils (which is property she has worked for, and is over and above her duties to her husband's land and domestic work). This is property given to her as a result of her status as a mother. This is known as "*umai*" property, that is, property a woman has obtained through marriage or the pregnancy of a daughter. For example, it is customary in some places for mothers to receive a suit full of clothes from a new son-in-law, a head of cattle (*mombe youmai*) and possibly payments in cash, although the latter would always be very small compared to the cash paid as *lobola* (bride price, or marriage consideration) to the father of the bride.

Within the context of married women's vulnerability, their control of and access to certain resources (such as women's crops) may give them a (limited) sphere of autonomy. The distinction between women's and men's crops is a traditional practice in which a husband allocates his wife or wives a field from his own larger allocation. The wife's field, known as *tseu*, is customarily controlled by the wife, who normally grows important supplementary foods such as peanuts, beans or sweet potatoes, both for home consumption and for sale. Women have customarily also cultivated gardens in riverine and wetland areas which are normally under their exclusive control. In a context where the bulk of household resources

and income are under male control (while women are often responsible for supplying key family needs), women's control of specific resources and income (considered as belonging to them) is of some significance. Of course, this does not take away the fact that women grow their food crops on small acreages and men grow their cash crops on high acreages. In the end, food security is compromised and women become marginalised in terms of economic status. Upon divorce, a wife is entitled to take all her property, including any “women’s crops”. In my case study, this pattern dominates. At a focus group discussion in Gwaze, one woman said that “the woman takes the groundnuts with her because they belong to her”.⁴⁰ The woman moves out to her original home and takes all her belongings, including the relevant crops, leaving the man (who stays behind) with his share.

Historically, the practice of allocating *tseu* and garden cultivation has been eroded by increased land pressure in customary areas, and the land use controls implemented as early as the Native Land Husbandry Act (NLHA) of 1951. The Act banned cultivation in areas where women often had their gardens, such as stream banks and wetlands, and formalized individual rights to arable land in the name of male household heads (Bourdillon, 1987; Moyo, 1995). A Zimbabwe Women Resource Centre Network (ZWRCN) study done in the early 1990s in seven rural districts found that women, interviewed in groups, said they were given fields of their own (ZWRCN, 1994: 18). Yet, another ZWRCN survey of 173 households found that only 23% of women in customary areas had the special land allocation (ZWRCN, 1996). Another researcher found that only about a third of the women in her sample had access to the traditional *tseu* (Chimedza, 1988: 43). The erosion of this practice is related to insufficient arable land, as well as a household preference to devote all available land to lucrative cash crops which fall under male control. In resettlement areas historically (from the 1980s) it has been left to the discretion of the husband whether or not he allocates portions to his wife or wives.

In my study of both A1 farms and customary areas (in a sample of sixty women and fifteen men), the granting of a field is not necessarily an advantage in the case of women married in a polygamous marriage, as in some cases the husband excused himself from any additional contribution to her or her children, in spite of her labour in his own fields. Polygamous marriages for many men are associated with availability of labour in the fields from the wives

⁴⁰Based on FGDs conducted in Gwaze.

and the children. Nevertheless, over 65% of the respondents (at Lot 3 and Dunstan) said that women were allocated a field or fields by their husbands.⁴¹ The three AREX officers for the study areas held the view that most men in the area allocate one or two acres to their wives, although a few farm the whole plot acreage together with their wives. The figure of 65% for the study is very close to the 60% found by Chenaux-Repond in her work in early resettlement areas (Chenaux-Repond, 1993). Of my sample, 95% of the married women said that having their own field is very important, particularly because it provides them with income that they would control and with which they could buy commodities such as groceries, kitchen utensils, clothes and furniture.

From the study, 70% of monogamously and 65% of polygynously married women had been granted a field by their husbands in A1 farms. Of those who had not, some had asked and been refused by their husbands, while others had not bothered to ask – a few because they intercropped their own crops in the husband's fields, but mostly because they knew they would be refused (the husband was intent on utilizing all fields to maximum cash cropping capacity). In this case, then, the new situation of comparable land wealth in resettlement areas has not guaranteed women's access to the traditional *tseu*. Chenaux-Repond (1993) argues in relation to earlier resettlement areas that the permit system, which tends to give formal primary land use rights to married men (and no formal rights to their wives), supports the desire of a large proportion of men to sidestep the custom of allocating fields to wives.

However, under fast track, there is significant joint 'ownership' of land by married couples. But problems remain. In my sample, men who did not allocate fields to wives made mention of the rule under customary law against subdivision, and that the fields were meant for their use only. While the wording of the permit for A1plot holders was never intended to prevent men from allocating their wives fields, it seems that the permit system as practiced provides justification for some men inclined to deny fields to their wives. Perhaps the reason for this is the fact that the joint ownership stipulated by the government is not imposed on couples and as a result men silently presume that as the heads of households they therefore own and control land. In this situation, men presume a mandate and give themselves ultimate discretion on decisions about land access by their wife.

⁴¹FGDs Dunstan and Lot 3 of Buena Vista, March 2011.

Although the question of the existence and prevalence of women's fields and crops is significant in terms of identifying the continuance of patriarchal practices and the status of women in the household (including within A1 farms), there is another key aspect of women's access to agricultural fields and produce. In my study, there is some indication that certain husbands have demoted their wives from the position of secondary farmer to the status of common labourer. As one A1 woman says:⁴²

Wives [on A1 farms] are treated differently because some women are not given the land or field to do whatever they want, and the husband is the boss every time he shouts to the wife to wake up early to go to the field. After hard work the woman will come and work again at home. At customary areas the fields are smaller and the work is easier. Here in resettlement [areas] we have more quarrels because we stay together; rather than in customary areas they have more love when the husband comes from work, that is from town, because he just supervises and the woman is in charge.

Women without their own fields effectively become common labourers and, in addition, they become unpaid labourers. In all study sites (RAs and CAs), it clearly came out that women in fact crave for their own land (feeling that they have the capacity to work the land if they are adequately supported in terms of inputs and equipment)⁴³, which would counteract this labouring status.

A study by Jacobs of early resettlement areas concludes that resettlement wives were not less, and perhaps a bit more likely to be allocated a field in CAs than in RAs (Jacobs, 1991). However, her figure of 37% of married women being allocated fields is very low compared to other findings. In my study, the existence of *tseu* is more common in CAs than in RAs (women in RAs still regularly receive a portion where they cultivate round nuts and groundnuts as “women's crops”). The practice of men's and women's crops thus exists in both CAs and RAs but it is more visible in CAs. The designations “men's crops” and “women's crops” though do not necessarily correspond with who makes decisions about the planting of crops. Maize is predominantly viewed by women as a man's crop. Men however are split on this; about half saying it is a “man's crop” and the other half saying it belongs to both the husband and wife, or to the family in general. Different crops have different use values and cash values in the household; normally those that provide the greatest income

⁴²FGDs, Dunstan Farm, March 2011.

⁴³FGDs, Gwaze Communal Area, Lot 3 of Buena Vista and Dunstan, March 2011.

through the market (involving transactions in the public domain) are considered to be men's crops. Groundnuts, round nuts, rapoko and beans are important household consumption foods, but surpluses are normally sold by women.

The prevailing situation suggests that women have a more rigid sense of what belongs to the man, perhaps being more aware than men of how certain resources are beyond their control. Men seem to have a more collective view of their own areas of control, revealing a type of patriarchal ideology that places men in control but asserts that this control is used for the benefit of the family at large (or for the public good). As male generosity may not always be forthcoming, it is important to document the areas of female control that both women and men acknowledge and define in common. In the case of crops, women's control appears strong but certainly not unchallenged in groundnuts and round nuts. There is no gender split in perception, with both men and women mostly agreeing that these are "women's crop".

But does being labeled a "women's crop" ensure that women have full control over this crop? Who decides what, where and when to plant? From the responses, it is clear that there is significant male involvement in decisions around "women's crops". In the case of groundnuts, for example, 60% of women claim that men decide what, where and when to plant the crop. In the case of round nuts, likewise 60% of women make this claim. The key question is: does the practice of labeling a crop as a "women's crop" in actuality denote any female control? The answer seems to be in the negative, as men are often found to be in the forefront in controlling women's crops. As one woman during FGDs clearly put it⁴⁴:

The household setup is not fair, as men have full control of cash crops and as we women, we are responsible for crops that are mainly for family consumption for example round nuts. The unfair part of it is, even if as women we sell surplus women crops, men's hands will be seen when monies get on the table. That is the reason why we also engage ourselves in other non-agricultural income-generating activities in a bid to widen our income base.

The FGDs, which examined gender and power, were very revealing. In these groups, it emerged that the dominant practice is for women to control income from women's crops. In the case of men's crops, decisions about income are either taken by the man alone or in

⁴⁴ FGDs, Gwaze Communal Area, March 2011.

discussion with his wife. The man has the final say but the wife must be given a voice. Further, a woman's lack of her own designated field or fields does not necessarily mean lack of access to agricultural income from women's crops. Only 65% of the sample (including both women and men) said that wives were allocated fields, while 100% say they grow groundnuts (which are in 95% of the cases said to be the women's crop). These findings support Chimedza's view that formal access to land is less crucial to women than the control over the produce of the land (Chimedza, 1988). In her study, Chimedza found that many women's crops were intercropped with maize, so that where maize is the dominant crop, male control of fields many not hinder women's access to women's crops.

The large increase in the size of arable land available to the household in the resettlement farms of Dunstan and Lot 3 has led to an improvement in married women's opportunities to earn and control their own income, in spite of the fact that a significant number of women do not seem to be allocated the traditional women's fields (*tseu*). Most men and women in the sample of forty households said that the gendered cropping practices they currently use are the same that they practiced in their former homes in the communal areas. However the comments of a number of respondents indicate that the increased size of the fields in resettlement farms has meant that they are now able to grow a greater number of crops, with distinct advantages for women, as many of these are "women's crops" as claimed by different women⁴⁵:

It differs because in Communal Areas the land was small compared to resettlement that is why we have more crops.

Yes, it's different because we now all want to plant different types of crops so we share the fields so that the two of us have enough land to plough what we want differently.

Yes, it's different, because here we have got enough land to grow our crops, crops for mother and father.

It is different because now we have more land; long back we didn't have enough land to plant all the crops.

⁴⁵ FGDs Dunstan Farm, March 2011.

Further, when asked whether their situation as women has improved in any way since coming to the A1 resettlement farm, the majority of respondents mention having access to more income from more crops as a key reason for their lives being better. Hence, in resettlement areas, while women are still confined to an inferior position with regards to access to the main productive resource of arable land, they are better able to meet their goals of providing nutritious foods for their families, plus produce a surplus for sale which avails them of cash that they generally exclusively control.

7.5 Other Livelihood Strategies pursued in RAs

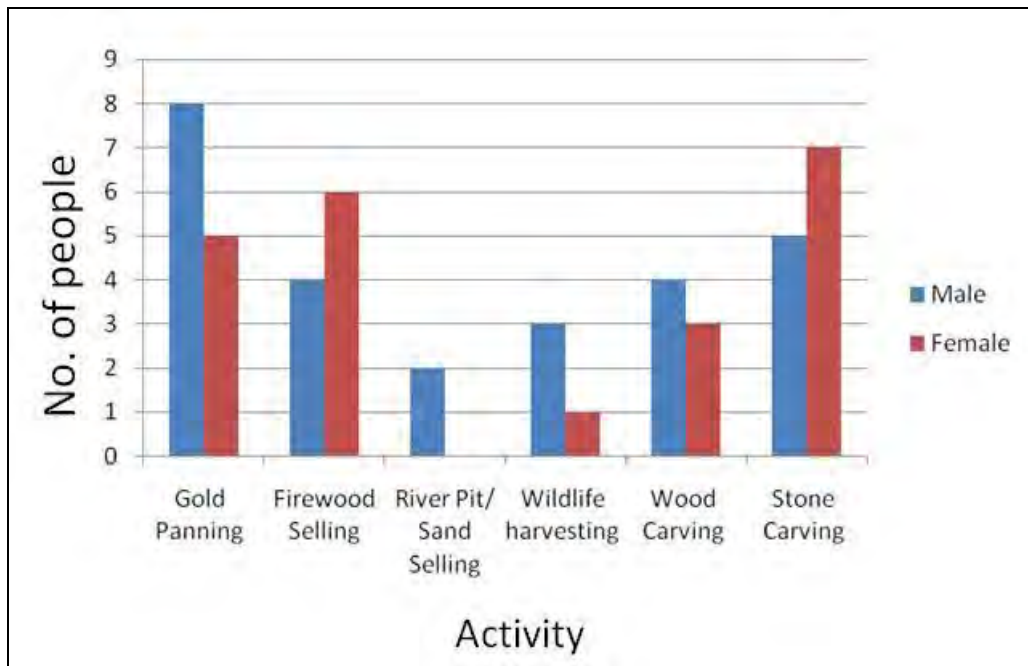
AIAS (2006: 89) argues that the dismantling of the freehold property rights tenure system in favour of leasehold and permissory forms of tenure (where ownership is vested in the state in the former large scale commercial farms) has opened up access to various resources and other non-farming activities to land beneficiaries. Men and women in RAs are pursuing various livelihood strategies so as to earn a living. From the study, RAs offer diverse livelihood strategies for women compared to CAs. I have divided 'other' livelihood strategies into two categories, natural resource extraction and non-farming income-generating activities. These strategies in the newly resettled areas are contributing to the social reproduction of the new farmers especially women and to an improvement in their standard of living.

Both men and women are involved in natural resources extraction, which includes gold panning, firewood selling, river/pit sand selling, wild life harvesting, and wood and stone carving. The scale of incidence of these extractive activities (as indicated by respondents) is outlined in Figure 7.1 below, including a breakdown by gender. The scale identified may be problematic, as the practice of extraction involves transgressions of general rules especially those laid out by the Environmental Management Authority (EMA). Most of the respondents may not have openly declared their involvement in natural resource extraction for monetary gain mostly because many of the activities are illegal.

Gold panning is the most common natural resource exploitation activity for monetary gains, reported by 8% of males and 5% of females. Stone carving is the most common activity for women (8%). The selling of firewood was expected to be more prevalent given that there are several urban wood fuel markets located close by, namely in the urban suburbs of Ruwa and Harare. Activities that require more human physical power are mainly pursued by men. For

instance, activities that are physically demanding such as brick making, grass harvesting, pit sand selling and gold panning are more common amongst men. For both men and women, these non-agricultural activities are undertaken as coping strategies for income generation to supplement income earned from agriculture-related activities.⁴⁶

Figure 7.1: Natural Resource Extraction by Gender



Source: L.Chakona, Household Questionnaire. December 2010.

Besides natural resource exploitation activities for income generation, households are also involved in other (including entrepreneurial) activities. In winter (which is the agricultural off-season), A1 farmers at Dunstan and Lot 3 engage in supplementary income-generating activities, such as piece jobs as builders for men. In fact, it appears that A1 farmers can more easily venture into other livelihood strategies as there are many more options in resettlement areas compared to communal areas.

Women in RAs pursue a range of income-generating activities, but those activities that are less physically demanding are more common in female-headed households. They are involved in making and selling peanut butter to nearby communal areas to earn extra income. Tailoring and vending of clothes are undertaken by a great proportion of females. In fact,

⁴⁶FGDs conducted in Dunstan and Lot 3 of Buena Vista, March 2011.

60% of women indicated that they are involved in vending of new and second-hand clothing (commonly known as *mabhero*) as a way of generating income to buy salt, relish and other domestic commodities. Women in RAs almost perceive themselves as petty traders such that they can refer to themselves as self-employed and pursuing livelihoods in their own terms.

Women outside of the agricultural season work as a team to motivate and complement each other in producing for instance baskets for supplying cross-border traders (who travel for example to South Africa). Beer brewing and vegetable selling is undertaken by 25% of women as a way of improving their income base, with vegetables including tomatoes, onions, carrots and cabbages. Some women have gone further and opened tuck shops where snacks are being sold. Women in the RAs clearly stated that they have ample space and autonomy to do their gardening and other petty trading dealings (unlike in CAs where there is intense pressure on the land). These women testify that now they can earn extra cash as they are highly involved in petty trading. This must be understood in the context of the economic crisis during the post-2000 era, which affected agriculture-based social reproduction mainly through the unavailability of inputs (seeds and fertilizers) and thus non-farming activities augmented social reproduction in RAs.

7.6 Conclusion

The findings from this chapter indicate that the fast track resettlement programme has had contradictory effects on women's livelihoods on A1 farms. On the one hand, there has been an improvement in their socio-economic livelihoods. Agricultural production at Dunstan and Buena Vista farms is significantly higher than at Gwaze, and this has impacted positively on women's lives. The fast track farms have also offered women space to engage in a range of non-agricultural activities, enabling them an independent source of income that (for married women) is not directly controlled by their husbands. On the other hand, patriarchy remains entrenched. For instance, women's role as care-givers makes their lives more difficult and arduous given the inadequacies of infrastructure and amenities on the A1 farms. In addition, the gendered relations of production still shapes the division of labour at Dunstan and Lot 3, such that women continue to be under the commands of their husbands when it comes to decision-making about crop production and income – the maintenance of the tradition of men's and women's crops is testimony to this.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

While it is widely accepted that enhancing women's access to land is key to overcoming hunger and poverty in the 'developing' world and also that women farmers (admittedly

almost as mere labourers) produce 60 to 70 % of the continent's food, women largely remain marginalised with regards to accessing, possessing and controlling land in sub-Saharan Africa. Despite the fact that the rural livelihoods of millions of women are tied to the land, it remains a major challenge for women to be granted land rights in a world of existing laws, practices and discourses that treat women as inferior citizens on a patriarchal basis. This remains the case in Zimbabwe, even though a radical land reform and redistribution process has taken place.

The Fast Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP) in Zimbabwe has had a range of social outcomes, some progressive and some regressive. The programme caught global attention and caused intense local conflict. Its consequences led to a number of entrenched myths, including the idea that agricultural production on A1 farms is negligible or even non-existent. Certainly the predominant stance towards the programme has been a very negative one. Hence, it has been heavily criticised for resulting in rising levels of poverty, food insecurity and a declining economy, and benefitting political cronies mainly. Oddly, the gendered dimension of the programme has been subject to significantly less criticism, if only because land redistribution in Zimbabwe has always been predominantly articulated in racial terms.

Generally speaking, land reform in Zimbabwe (in the form of fast track) has simply perpetuated patriarchy. This is a key finding to the study, thereby confirming the overall conclusion of the few earlier gender-sensitive studies of fast track. Women remain marginalized with regard to both A1 and A2 farms, and there does not appear to be any reason to believe that there will be a significant turnaround in the near future. My Goromonzi study shows that the new land ownership and tenure patterns under the A1 model have simply reproduced the gendered dimension to land existing in long-standing communal areas. Therefore, both A1 and customary areas in Goromonzi are marked by pronounced patriarchal domination in land access and control.

The Zimbabwean government's commitment to gender equality in land reform through various agrarian policies is evident in some policy brief papers. However, the fast track proposal to allocate a 20% quota of land to women is problematic in that it is often linked specifically to female-headed households; in this sense, it leaves out married women, who on a regular basis continue to obtain land in A1 farms through their husbands. In the end, this

becomes an explicit admission by the government that if there is a man and a woman competing for land, first choice will be given to the man as almost a patriarchal entitlement. Women can only get land in their own right on a significant scale in a world devoid of men and masculinity. Hence, despite any formal pronouncements to the contrary, realities on the ground show the continued marginalisation of women. Similarly, the Utete Report (compiled by the Presidential Land Review Committee) – PLRC, 2003 – shows that the number of women allocated land under fast track was ‘very low country wide’ (Hellum, 2004:1796). In this regard, there remain clear contradictions between statutory law on one hand and customary law on the other, and customary practices are regularly hegemonic in rural areas (both on A1 farms and in customary areas).

In Zimbabwe, after having seen the detrimental effects of marginalising women from accessing land and land-based resources, a number of NGOs were formed in a bid to mainstream gender into land issues. The NGO currently in the forefront for lobbying and advocating for women’s land rights is Women and Land in Zimbabwe (WLZ). In line with this is also the organisation’s monitoring of the impact of government land policies on gender equality. Before WLZ, the then Women and Land Lobby Group spelt out clearly what women wanted:

To be treated with dignity as full nationals; women's rights to land to be protected through legislation; non-discrimination on the basis of marital status and their rights in marriage to be protected, for example, through joint title; acknowledgement of women's disadvantaged position/weak negotiation base and for special mechanisms to be instituted e.g. quota, special fund, training, monitoring; ... standardised procedures for accessing land;participation in decision making structures (task forces, committees); allocation of whole farms to women; sensitisation of men (Gumbonzvanda, 1999:9).

In many ways, this comment could have been made ten years later and have the same applicability. Fast track has not made significant headway in addressing the concerns raised in this commentary from the late 1990s.

There is however some evidence from my study that women’s position in terms of land access has improved in resettlement areas (where spouses jointly possess land) compared to customary areas where access is, in vastly more cases, through a male; in Gwaze, land is

generally given to *de jure* head of households who tend to be males. As well, the livelihoods of women are also comparatively better on A1 farms, in part because of the richness of the soils on the former commercial farms (leading to larger harvests and the selling of excess crops) and in part because of greater opportunities for a range of alternative livelihoods that go beyond agricultural activities. In this sense, poverty at household level is lesser on A1 farms.

This is not to claim of course that the FTLRP in Goromonzi has become a panacea for women in resettlement areas who came from customary areas as a result of land reform. Certainly, most women at Dunstan and Buena Vista farms originally from nearby customary areas see the move as a blessing. Their testimonies clearly speak to a rise in their socio-economic status and to food security, as well as to a sense of dignity. On the same note, for women in customary areas (such as Gwaze), life continues as before fast track (without even decongestion of these areas taking place, which was the only intent for customary areas under fast track as articulated by government). Women in Gwaze and elsewhere remain trapped in patriarchal structures and practices, on which they blame a significant portion of their poverty and misery; they perceive resettlement as a way out of the cycle of poverty and speak about the need for another (fourth) *chimurenga*. Due to limited space in customary areas and the depressed local economies, women are failing to engage in other income-generating activities that may lead to an improvement in socio-economic livelihoods.

Though these differences exist, women on A1 farms (whether from customary areas or not) suffer along with their customary counterparts in terms of patriarchal domination. The chieftainship system may not be entrenched on A1 farms, but certainly the instalment of headmen in A1 villages (who fall under the authority of local chiefs) is testimony to the continued significance of customary forms of obedience throughout the Zimbabwean countryside. In addition, women on A1 farms continue to be subjected to patriarchal discourses focusing on the ideological construction of women's and men's crops (with the land space for women's crops tending to be small). They also suffer a number of disadvantages in terms of the availability of infrastructure such as water facilities and health clinics.

In this context, two points are important. First of all, any differences that exist in relation to land access and socio-economic livelihoods for women in A1 farms and customary areas cannot necessarily be explained in terms of differences in patriarchal practices between the two agrarian spaces. Hence, the improvement in women's livelihoods at Dunstan and Buena Vista farms, compared to Gwaze customary area, is not apparently due to any relaxation of patriarchy on A1 farms (even though relaxation may have occurred). More specifically, despite being in large part insensitive to the land needs and rights of women, fast track nevertheless in some ways – if only inadvertently – improved the lives of women on resettlement farms. In other words, just as colonial dispossession along racial lines led to the further subordination of women, fast track – in de-racialising land in contemporary Zimbabwe – has given scope to women to enhance their livelihoods. A similar argument can be made about disadvantages for women on A1 farms, such as access to infrastructure: though it may be argued that a more gender-sensitive land reform programme would have tackled such problems of access, there is no doubt that the existing problems arose because of fast track *per se* and the form it took (entailing limited pre-settlement and post-settlement infrastructural support).

Secondly, and related to the first point, women on A1 farms in particular are not simply objects of domination; they have not stood by idly in the face of patriarchy but have shown evidence of agency in the fluctuating and fluid conditions of fast track. Despite the prevalence of patriarchy as an intertwined system of structures and practices, women have sought to identify and open up gaps (i.e. opportunities) as they manoeuvre their way 'within' (but not against) this system. In doing so, they soften the burden of patriarchy and 'make the best out of a bad situation'. This is reflected most notably in their pursuit of non-agricultural based livelihood strategies. Men continue to dominate the agricultural system (including decision-making processes) and women are still relegated to the realm of women's crops; but, on A1 farms, women are strategically engaging in a series of activities that they can call their own and that allow them a degree of independence from men (in the case of married women). Again, to reiterate the first point, the possibility of this pursuance cannot be explained in terms of a loosening of patriarchy on A1 farms. Further, women do not necessarily pursue these activities as a conscious effort to undercut patriarchy, though this may be an unintended consequence in the longer-term.

Goebel (2005:145) quite rightly argues that ‘the current “fast track” practices continue to privilege men as primary recipients of resettlement land, and the emerging role of traditional authorities in the land reform process [on A1 farms] marginalises women.’ Seeking to overcome entrenched patriarchy in relation to women and land is no easy task and entails systemic change that recognises the many complex and interrelated facets of patriarchy (as structures, practices and discourses). For instance, as noted below, organisational and policy changes in themselves are not sufficient as they do not necessarily tackle the ingrained and embedded character of patriarchy – as developed historically – in Zimbabwe.

In this vein, Oppah Muchinguri, the Manicaland Governor, acknowledged that ‘all the structures in the land reform programme were headed by men who were favouring other men while depriving women who work very hard in the fields.’ This particular argument is predicated though on a sweeping assumption that involving women more fully in decision-making organisations (such as district land committees) would effectively remove gender discrimination, enhance women’s access to resources, boost agricultural productivity and reduce poverty reduction for women. This tends to falsely imply that altering the gender make-up of organisational structures (or replacing one kind of agent with another – male with female) is tantamount to broader transformative change, when in fact this reformist measure could simply more effectively entrench patriarchy.

Likewise, granting land rights for women on the same basis as for men (nationally through land policy) would not create gender equity overnight, given the complex nature of gender and power relations that operate at local levels. As Izumi (1999:16) has argued, ‘institutions that govern women’s relationship with land cannot be seen simply as a set of rules, norms, policies, and laws: it is the social legitimacy of these which constitutes an institution’. Though of some significance, access to land for women cannot be achieved through formalistic and superficial legal change, as patriarchal practices (backed by specific discourses) – including customary practices – also need to be challenged as they deny women voice and agency.

If gender inequality in all its manifestations is to be addressed, the first port of call is challenging patriarchy at all levels. Fast track land reform failed to do this in any meaningful manner. Regrettably, the academic critics of fast track fail to bring to the fore the weaknesses

of the reform process in terms of addressing the gendered character of the land question. Simultaneously, the academic supporters of fast track overemphasise the radical nature of the process in tackling the land question – insofar as fast track did not address gender, it can hardly be labelled without qualification as progressive. It seems then that the land question in Zimbabwe remains unresolved and that a ‘Fourth *Chimurenga*’ is indeed required, a struggle that seeks consciously to articulate the needs of women and to undo the patriarchal structures, practices and discourses that continue to marginalise women in the Zimbabwean countryside. It is hoped that this study makes a contribution to the awareness of this.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Interview Schedules

a. Arex Extension Officers

1. How many women got land in their own right in Goromonzi District?
2. What are the main livelihood strategies for women in RAs (for Dunstan and Lot 3 of Buena Vista Farms Arex Officers)?
3. What are the main livelihood strategies for women in CAs for (for Gwaze Arex Officer)?
4. What is the socioeconomic status for women in RAs and CAs (for Dunstan Lot 3 of Buena Vista and Gwaze Arex Officers)?
5. Has FTLRP improved the livelihoods of women in RAs?
6. If so, how?
7. How can we compare the socio-economic status of women in CAs to those in RAs?
8. What are the main services Agritex provides to A1 farmers?
9. What is the extent of infrastructure development in the district?
10. What are the government schemes aimed at improving standards of living through food production and household food security within the district? (i.e. input distribution, operation Maguta, mechanization programme, presidential input programme).
11. How have the schemes benefitted women?
12. Are women aware of the role of extension officers in the district?

b. District Lands Officer

1. How many A1 women households own land in their own right to date in Goromonzi District?
2. What have been the major challenges faced by this office in resettling A1 women households?
3. What are the major problems facing A1 women farmers post-resettlement?
4. Are women aware of the role of the District Lands Officer in the district?

c. WLZ

1. Could you please give me a brief background of WLZ and how it works?

2. What is the role of WLZ in Zimbabwe?
3. What is the major cause of women's marginalisation in relation to owning resources in their own right in this case land?
4. From the studies carried out countrywide, has FTLRP programme addressed the question on patriarchy in relation to the socio-economic status women?
5. What is the relationship between women and land?
6. What is the relationship between gender and land?
7. What is the view of patriarchy for women in RAs and CAs?
8. From your own research and work countrywide, what can we conclude with regards to FTLRP, patriarchy and land?
9. What is WLZ's position on the way forward for Zimbabwe to achieve gender equality in terms of owning resources?

d) Key Informant Interview Schedule

Key Informant	Organisation and Position	Date and Place of Interview
Mr. Ndabazihle Nyoni	AIAS- Senior Gender Specialist Officer in Agrarian Issues	October 2010- Harare
Ms. Catherine Mwendamberi	ZWRCN- Librarian	October 2010- Harare
Mr. F. Jaji	WLZ- Programmes Officer	October 2010- Harare
Mrs. Matipano	AREX- Senior Extension Officer – Gwaze Communal Area	November 2010- Goromonzi
Mr E. Mposi	AREX-Senior Extension Officer – Dunstan Farm	November 2010- Goromonzi
Mrs. Mposi	AREX- Senior Extension Officer- Lot 3 of Buena Vista	November 2010- Goromonzi
Mr. Sombrero	Goromonzi District Lands Office- Lands Officer	December 2010- Goromonzi

Appendix 2 -Guidelines for Focus Group Discussions

a. FGD Questions for women and men in A1 farms (Dunstan and Lot 3 of Buena Vista)

1. What are your livelihood strategies under A1 farms?
2. What are the differences in terms of livelihood between owning land through own right or through a male/ husband?
3. What are the effects of owning land in own right and through a male?
4. Do you have access to social amenities and how is this affecting you as men and women?
5. In your own terms, moving from CA to A1 was it a good move or it was worse in terms of your own indicators?
6. In terms of livelihoods and standard of living, what is the difference when comparing CAs to RAs?

b. FGD Questions for men and women in Gwaze.

1. What is your current status – in terms of livelihoods in the CA?
2. Are you satisfied in a situation of owning land through a male?
3. What are your views on patriarchy with regards to land access, ownership and control?
4. What are the effects of owning land through a male?
5. Do you also want to move to A1 farms given the opportunity?

Appendix 3: Household Questionnaire

Questionnaire No:

Questionnaire for “FTLRP, Women and Land” in Goromonzi District, Zimbabwe.

SECTION A: LOCATION IDENTIFIER

A1. Enumerator _____

A2. Date of Interview _____

A3. Province _____

A4. District _____

A5. Farm Name/ Communal Area Name _____

A6. Plot name/ Number _____

A7. Communal Area Name _____

SECTION B: BACKGROUND INFORMATION

B1. Name of respondent: _____

B2. Gender of respondent

1= male 2= Female

B3. Age of respondent (in years)

B4. What is your position in the household?

1= husband 2= wife 3= both spouses

2-1=permanent paid employee 2 = Casual Employee 3= Employer 4= Pensioner 5= paid family worker 6= unpaid family worker 7= self employed 8= student 9= housewife 10 =preschool 11= other

3-1= married 2=single 3= divorced 4=widowed

4-1= no formal education 2= primary education 3=ZJC 4=ordinary level 5= Advanced Level 6= tertiary 7= standard six 8=other (specify)

5-1= self 2=child 3=wife 4= husband 5 =relative 6= worker 7= parents 8=other

6-1 =no formal training 2=certificate 3=master farmer certificate 4= advanced master farmer certificate 5=diploma 7= other (specify)

7-1 =on farm 2=off farm

8-1=communal area 2= A1 farm 3= other

SECTION C: ASSET OWNERSHIP

C1- Productive Assets (indicate who exactly owns the asset)

Type	Owned <i>1= yes 2= no</i>	Number Owned	Who owns the equipment? <i>1=husband 2=wife 3=both spouses 4=son 5 =daughter 6= joint family ownership 7= parents 8=other specify</i>
Hand Tools			
Hoes			
Axes			
Wheelbarrows			
Knapsack Sprayers			
Animal Driven Tools			
Plough			
Cultivator			
Harrows			

Scotch Carts			
Planters			
Ridger			
Yoke			
Power Driven			
Tractor			
Plough			
Disc Harrow			
Planter			
Cultivator			
Maize Sheller			
Water Pump			
Borehole			
Pick Up truck (One tone)			
Lorry (> one tone)			

C2. Do you access equipment that you don't own? If yes, how? Specify

C3- Non Productive Assets

Type	Owned <i>1=yes 2= No</i>	Number Owned	Who owns the equipment? <i>1=husband 2=wife 3=both spouses 4=son 5 =daughter 6= joint family ownership 7= other specify</i>
Television			

Satellite Dish			
Radio			
Luxury Motor Vehicle			
Fixed Telephone (Tel One)			
Cellphone			
Bicycle			

SECTION D: LAND ACCESS

D1. Type of settlement *1= AI villagised 2= Communal*

D2. Total size of the plot (arable and grazing) (Ha) _____

D3. Arable area (Ha) _____

D4. Grazing Area (Ha) _____

D5. Homestead Area (Ha) _____

D6. Sex of plot owner *1= male 2= Female 3= Dual Ownership*

D7. Under whose name is the plot registered?

1=husband 2= Wife 3= both spouses 4= son 5= daughter 6=other specify

D8. If resettlement area, where were you before being resettled here?

1= CA in this district 2= CA in this province 3= CA from other provinces 4=LSCF in this district 5=LSCF in this province 6=LSCF in another province 7= diaspora 8= Urban Area 9= other specify

D9. How did you initially access this piece of land?

1=formally allocated 2=occupations 3=inheritance 4= family subdivision 5= allocated by traditional authorities 6= bought it 7= other specify.

D10. What year were you allocated this piece of land? _____

D11. What kind of current access do you have to this piece of land?

1= leasehold 2= permit 3= customary ownership 4= license 5= freehold tilter 6= caretaker 7 =self appropriation (occupation) 8= other (specify)

D12. Do you have access to basic social amenities *1= yes 2=no*

- Education e.g schools _____
- Health e.g (hospitals and clinics) _____
- Infrastructure e.g (roads, grinding mills) _____
- Communication Systems e.g (Telecommunication Cables) _____

D13. If any of the answers in D12 is no, explain further on how to deal with the situation.

SECTION E: LAND TENURE AND ADMINISTRATION

E1. Do you possess any documents for your ownership of this piece of land? 1= Yes 2= No

E2.If yes, what documents do you possess?

1= Lease Hold 2= permit 3= offer letter 4=title deed 5= other (specify)

E3. Have you been involved in conflict over land? 1= Yes 2= No

E4.If yes, with whom? 1= government 2= local authority 3= neighbor 4= war vets 5= former white farmer 6= other (specify)

E5. What was the source of conflict? 1= boundary dispute 2= access to natural resources 3= access to infrastructure 4= other (specify).

E6. Have you ever been threatened with eviction? 1= Yes 2= No

E7. If yes, by whom? 1= government 2= local authority 3= neighbor 4= war vets 5= former white farmer 6= other (specify)

SECTION F: LAND USE AND AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

F1. Crop production activities last season 2009/2010

Crop	Grow Crop 1= yes	Dryland			Irrigation			Who makes decision on crops to
------	---------------------	---------	--	--	------------	--	--	--------------------------------

	2=no							grow?
		Area (Ha)	Output (t)	Sold (t)	Area (Ha)	Output (t)	Sold (t)	
Maize								
Wheat								
Sorghum								
Mhunga								
Rapoko								
Groundnuts								
Soyabeans								
Sunflower								
Cowpeas								
Roundnuts								
Pumpkins								
Tobacco								
Cotton								
Paprika								
Tomatoes								
Onions								
Cabbages								
Vegetables (Covo)								

1=husband 2= Wife 3= both spouses 4= son 5= daughter 6=other specify

F2.Livestock Production

Type	Owned 1= yes 2= No	Quantity	Who Owns	Numbers sold last season
Cattle				

Donkeys				
Goats				
Pigs				
Sheep				
Chickens				

1=husband 2= Wife 3= both spouses 4= son 5= daughter 6=other specify

F3.What are the major sources of livelihood in the household?

Source	1= yes 2= no	Rank Livelihood source <i>1= greatest source</i>	Who is involved in the activity?
Agricultural Crops			
Livestock			
Sale of forest products			
Gold panning			
Permanent Agric Labour			
Casual Agric Labour			
Formal Employment			
Small Business			
Remittances (Urban and Diaspora)			
Commercial Loans			
Other (Specify)			

F4.What are the sources of income in the household?

Source	1= yes 2=no	Rank Income Source <i>1= greatest source</i>	Who is involved in the activity?
Agricultural crops			
Livestock			

Sale of forest products			
Gold panning			
Permanent agric labour			
Casual Agric labour			
Formal Employment			
Small Business			
Remittances (Urban and Diaspora)			
Commercial loans			
Other 1 (specify)			

1=husband 2= Wife 3= both spouses 4= son 5= daughter 6=other (specify)

F5.Are women involved in decision making with regards to crop production in the household?

F6.Are women involved in decision making with regards to selling excess crops in the household? *1= Yes 2=no*

F7.Are women involved in decision making with regards to consumption in the household? *1= Yes 2=no*

F8 .Following questions F6 and F7, who then makes the final decision for the household? *1=husband 2= Wife 3= both spouses 4= son 5= daughter 6=other (specify).*

SECTION G: GENDER AND LAND

G1. What are the barriers/constraints/impediments to women owning land in their own right?

G2. What is your own view on the concept of patriarchy with regards to women's access to land?

G3. What is your general feeling on the concept of patriarchy?

G4. What are your attitudes and perceptions with respect to gender and land in Zimbabwe?

The End!!!.....Thank you for your help!

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