

***AN ASSESSMENT OF THE IMPACT OF FAST TRACK LAND AND AGRARIAN
REFORMS ON FOOD SECURITY IN UMGUZA DISTRICT.***

by

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DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that the work contained in this dissertation is my own original work and has not previously, in its entirety or in part, been submitted at any university for a degree.

Signature Date

Table of Contents

	Page
Table of Contents.....	i
List of Tables.....	iv
List of Charts.....	v
List of Acronyms.....	vi
Acknowledgements.....	viii
Dedication.....	ix
Abstract.....	x
CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND.....	1
1.1 The Land Question.....	1
1.1.1 Land Redistribution (Phase 1).....	2
1.1.2 The Fast Track Land Reform Program (Phase II).....	4
1.2 The Changing Concept of Food Security.....	9
1.3 Background to the Study.....	11
1.4 Statement of the Problem.....	14
1.5 Purpose of the study.....	16
1.6 Hypothesis.....	16
1.7 Objectives of the Study.....	16
1.8 Research Questions.....	16
1.9 Significance of the Study.....	17
1.10 Limitations and Delimitations of the Study.....	17
1.11 Theoretical Framework.....	19
1.11.1 Land Reform.....	19
1.11.2 Agrarian Reform.....	26
1.11.3 Food Security.....	27
1.11.4 Food Insecurity.....	31
2. CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW.....	34
2.1 Introduction.....	34
2.2 Debates on the Fast Track Land Reform Programme in Zimbabwe.....	34
2.3 Agrarian Reforms in Zimbabwe.....	40
2.3.1 Post 2000 Agriculture Input Program.....	41
2.4 The Land Reform Program and National Food Security.....	46
3 CHAPTER 3 METHODOLOGY.....	54

3.1 Introduction.....	54
3.2 Nature of Research.....	54
3.3 Research design.....	58
3.4 Population and sampling.....	58
3.5 Data Collection.....	59
3.6 Data analysis and presentation.....	61
3.5 Ethical considerations.....	63
4. CHAPTER 4: DISCUSSIONS AND RESULTS.....	64
4.1 Introduction.....	64
4.2 Beneficiaries’ views on the FTLRP.....	67
4.3 Access to input and training.....	69
4.4 Asset ownership and sources of inputs.....	74
4.5 Sources of agriculture inputs.....	75
4.6 Maize Production between 2002 and 2013.....	78
4.7 The State of Household Food Security in Umguza District Ward 10.....	79
4.8 Food Consumption Score.....	82
4.9 Coping strategies.....	83
4.10 Sources of income.....	85
4.11 Maize and Livestock Prices in Umguza.....	86
4.12 A comparative analysis of resettlement farmers and communal farmers.....	87
4.13 Challenges facing farmers in Umguza District, Ward 10.....	89
5 CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS.....	92
5.1 Findinds.....	93

5.2 Policy recommendations.....	95
5.3 Conclusion.....	99
Interviews.....	102
References.....	103
Websites.....	118
Appendix A.....	119
Appendix B.....	120

List of Tables

Table.....	Page
Table 1: Land Distribution in Zimbabwe: 1980 and 1997.....	3
Table 2: Progress of land reform.....	7
Table 3: Changes in the national distribution of land 1980-2010.....	13
Table 3 Umguza Rural District Ward 10 Population Statistics.....	64
Table 4: Participants' views on the FTLRP.....	68
Table 5: Crops grown in Ward 10.....	69
Table 6: Agritex staff compliment for Umguza District.....	70
Table 7: Access to technical and extension services.....	72
Table 8: Implements ownership.....	74
Table 9: Livestock ownership.....	75
Table 10: Maize Yields 2002 to 2013.....	78
Table 11: Ranked frequency of mention of a coping mechanism.....	85
Table 12: Food production patterns in the resettlement and communal areas.....	89

Graphs and Charts

Graph 1: The U-Sharped Learning Curve.....53

Pie Chart 1: Sources of inputs.....76

Pie Chart 2: Main sources of food:.....80

Pie Chart 3: Dietary Diversity Score.....82

Pie Chart 4: Main Sources of Income.....86

List of Abbreviations

AGRITEX.....	Agriculture Technical Extension Services Department
ARDA.....	Agriculture and Rural Development Authority
ASPEF.....	Agricultural Sector Productivity Enhancement Facility
COTTCO.....	Cotton Company of Zimbabwe
DDF.....	District Development Fund
ESAP.....	Economic Structural Adjustment Program
FAO.....	Food and Agricultural Organisation
FEWSNET.....	Famine Early Warning Systems Network
FTLRP.....	Fast Track Land Reform Programme
GMB.....	Grain Marketing Board
GoZ.....	Government of Zimbabwe
IMF.....	International Monetary Fund
NGO.....	Non-Governmental Organisation
NOCZIM.....	National Oil Company of Zimbabwe
OCHA.....	Office for Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
PLAAS.....	Poverty Land and Agrarian Studies
PIB.....	Pig Industry Board
ORAP.....	Organisation of Rural associations for Progress

RBZ.....Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe

SADC.....Southern Africa Development Community

UN.....United Nations

UNDP.....United Nations Development Programme

UNICEF.....United Nations Children’s Emergency Fund

USAID.....United States Agency for International Development

WFP.....World Food Programme

WHO.....World Health Organisation

ZANU PF.....Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front

ZBC.....Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation

ZIMSTAT.....Zimbabwe Statistical Agency

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Dedications

This dissertation is dedicated to my mother Cathrine Mkutswane, my grandmothers Elizabeth Moyo and Ntombenhle Ndlovu, to all those who bore the brunt of setting Zimbabwe free from political domination and those who are carrying the vision of an economically independent Zimbabwe. *Aluta continua!*

ABSTRACT

This study evaluates the effect of the Fast Track Land and Agrarian Reforms in Umguza District, Ward 10 Resettlement area as a case study and Ward 7 as a control area. The hypothesis is that the Fast Track Land and Agrarian Reforms have impacted positively on food security at household level. The research methodology employed is explained as well as the policy context for Land and Agrarian Reforms both on paper and practice, is reviewed. The study is underpinned by the Learning U Curve Theory. Food security issues are also reviewed at conceptual and national level. The implementation of the Fast Track Land Reform (FTLRP) and the successive agrarian reform strategies by the government of Zimbabwe and other stakeholders was assessed and an examination on whether the beneficiaries of these policies are food secure as compared to the pre-2000 period. From the literature reviewed, it became clear that the process for the attainment of effective food security is far too complex to happen overnight. The answers to the interview questions referred to in Appendix B are highlighted. The hypothesis is tested by analysing these answers and strategic and policy proposals are made to assist the identified stakeholders to achieve effective rural development in the light of food security and the land and agrarian reform programs. The research findings indicate that there has been marginal increase in food production since 2000 (though there are seasonal fluctuations hinged on the amount of rainfall received) but this has not translated to food secure households because availability of maize only means that the diet is mostly cereal based. Additionally, poor rainfall patterns and lack of funding for the reforms has generally impacted negatively to attainment of national food security. The final chapter highlights the main points raised throughout the study and conclusions and recommendations are made. These include an all stakeholders approach to rural development, setting up a secure land tenure system, development of infrastructure, irrigation development, input supply mechanisms, setting up of a strong agriculture market among other recommendations.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

1.1 The Land Question

At independence, in 1980, Zimbabwe inherited a racially skewed agricultural land ownership system where the white large-scale commercial farmers, who, consisting of less than one percent of the population, occupied forty-five percent of agricultural land. Seventy-five percent of this is in the high rainfall areas of Zimbabwe, where the potential for agricultural production is high. Equally significantly, sixty percent of this large-scale commercial land was not 'merely under-utilised but wholly un-utilised' (Ministry of Land and Rural Resettlement, 2013). This land distribution pattern was as a result of ninety years of colonial domination of the African population by mainly the Europeans of British origin engineered by the British South Africa Company Royal Charter of 1889. The legal result of the Order in Council was entrenched in the sovereign and the property rights in the British Queen thus nullifying the former Zimbabwean traditional leadership. Large stretches of land became alienated and indigenous people settled in small pocket of marginal and fragile Communal Areas.

The Land Apportionment Act of 1930, which set aside fifty-one percent of land for a few thousand white settlers, prohibited the indigenous people from owning and occupying lands in white commercial farming areas. The African Purchase Areas were created between the Indigenous reserve areas and the Commercial white settlers' areas. The indigenous reserves were renamed the Tribal Trust Lands following the gazetting of the Act in 1965, whose title was later changed to communal area in terms of the Communal Lands Act of 1981 after independence. This situation therefore witnessed the creation of three separate categories of land classification in Zimbabwe namely the Communal Areas, Small Scale Commercial and Large Scale Commercial Areas (Ministry of Lands and Rural Resettlement, 2013).

The issue of land ownership in Zimbabwe has been problematic since the colonial era as highlighted by the unfair distribution. The Land Reform Programme started in 1980 with the objective of addressing the imbalances in land access ownership and use, which existed in Zimbabwe before independence.

1.1.1 Land Redistribution (Phase 1)

The Lancaster House Agreement which ended the protracted armed struggle in 1979, led to the introduction of a moderate Land Reform as the British and US governments using the agreement to end the war. The Lancaster House Agreement addressed among other issues, the land question and the constitutional framework for majority rule in 1980. The Lancaster House Agreement made three important provisions regarding land reform: a ten year grace period during which the lands of white farmers could not be forcibly acquired but could be purchased by the new Zimbabwean government following the willing buyer-willing seller principle; full and fair market compensation to white farmers for their land in a currency of their choice; and a British promise to contribute substantial funds and to organise donor support to finance a reform regime, which coincided with and respected Lancaster House Agreement principles (Logan, 2006). Phase I of the land reform, which was initiated in 1980, the State's target was to obtain and redistribute 8.3 million hectares of land to 162,000 peasant households (Thompson, 2003). Substantial achievements were made by Phase I of the program by 1990 but the program fell short of a total solution to the Zimbabwean Land Question.

After the expiry of the 'willing buyer willing seller' provision made by the Lancaster House Agreement, the government took up a neo-radical approach to the Land Question mainly enshrined in the 1992 National Land Policy, such that by 1997 there was some limited change

evident, with some shift from large-scale commercial land going to resettlement farms (Table 1) below.

Table 1: Land Distribution in Zimbabwe: 1980 and 1997

Land Category	% 1980	% 1997
State Farms	-	1
Resettlement Areas	-	9
National Parks/Urban	15	15
Large-Scale Commercial Farms	49	28
Small-Scale Commercial Farms	4	4
Communal Lands	42	43

Source: Colin Stoneman (ed) 2000:51.

The National Land Policy of 1992 had specified four objectives: ‘to ensure equitable and socially just access to land; to democratise land tenure systems and ensure security of tenure for all forms of land holdings; to provide for participatory processes of management in the use and planning of land; and to promote sustainable and efficient use and management of land (GoZ 2002, 2). The National Land Policy was premised largely around the provisions of the Land Acquisition Act of 1992, which granted the government authority to acquire five categories of land for redistribution: derelict land, under-utilised land, multiple-owned land, foreign-owned land, and private farm properties that are adjacent to communal areas. While farmers were not to be compensated for derelict land, at least in law, they were to be compensated for non-derelict farmland. The broad philosophy underlying the National Land Policy had two goals: to achieve land equity, through policy mechanisms; and to maintain agricultural efficiency, through market mechanisms (Logan, 2006). The explicit renunciation the Lancaster House Agreement by National Land Policy provisions, according to Logan,

pressed the Western support to withhold funding for land reform, thereby, creating an impasse between the two sides. Phase II reform was born within the framework of these tensions.

1.1.2 The Fast Track Land Reform Program (Phase II)

In 1998, the government outlined a radical approach enshrined in the Land Reform and Resettlement Programme Phase II of 1998. According to Logan, the five, broad objectives of Phase II were summarised as follows: to ensure greater security of tenure to land users; promote investment in land through capital outlays and infrastructure development; promote environmental sustainability; retain the core of efficient large-scale commercial producers; and transfer no at least 60 per cent of land from the commercial sector to blacks. The programme was divided into two periods: an inception phase (1998-2000) and an expansion phase (2001-2006) (GoZ 1998). The objective of the inception phase was to acquire five million hectares (in addition to the 3.5 million hectares acquired in Phase I), to be distributed to a broad category of 150,000 black families with agricultural qualifications (UNDP 2002; GoZ 2001).

The British Conservative Government under John Major had agreed to assist with further funding for land reform, in 1996. However, with the coming in to power of Tony Blair's Labour Government in 1997, however, matters changed as the Labour Government revoked Britain's obligations as of the Lancaster House Agreement. The refusal by the British to honour the promise of funding the program further worsened the relations with Zimbabwe and this unprecedented move by British somehow led to the disappointment by the landless peasantry in Zimbabwe. Consequently, pressure mounted on the government and peasants resorted to vigorous protests and land occupations. For example, villagers in Svosve Communal Areas in June 1998 and other widespread occupations of white owned

commercial farms followed in Nyamandlovu in Matabeleland, Nyamajura in Manicaland and Nemamwa in Masvingo. The villagers reluctantly complied with the Government's order to withdraw from these occupied commercial farms.

Desiring to be all inclusive, the Government of Zimbabwe engaging the international donor community and other interested parties led to the hosting of the 9 to 11 September 1998 Land Donor Conference in Harare. The conference was attended by 48 countries and some international organisations. Basic principles and the framework for international assistance for the Land Reform Programme were agreed upon. A task force of major donors was to be established to work out the modalities for a two-year Inception Phase, the precursor of Phase II of a donor supported land acquisition and resettlement programme. During this period, several alternative approaches to land redistribution would be tested and tried on 118 farms on offer. However, Britain refused to join the task force, but instead insisted that a consulting firm undertake an initial economic returns analysis of the programme and assess how far it would alleviate poverty among the poor in Zimbabwe. This move by Britain therefore led to the death of the Inception Phase.

After the rejection of the February 2000 Draft Constitution and the pending elections, the government was under pressure to deliver on the land issue. Shortly after the verdict of the referendum war veterans of the 1966-1979 war of liberation began to invade white owned farms in a "spontaneous demonstration" which had the backing of Government. White landowners were told to co-exist with the new "settlers". This new phenomenon soon spread throughout the country with ordinary peasant farmers joining in. The government soon put in place legislation to protect the new settlers. These would only be moved once new land had been identified for resettling them (Chitsike, 2003).

The under achievement of the inception phase persuaded the State to bypass the problem of compensation by promulgating a Revised Phase II Document in July 2000 and the Land Acquisition Amendment Act in May 2002. The Act allowed the government to identify and acquire private farmland with or without the consent of owners and gave the state legal title to land as soon as it is gazetted and owners were informed of the government's intent of acquisition. These provisions gave the government legal authority to pursue an aggressive land reform by acquiring large amounts of land without compensation. The new arrangement therefore, completely discarded both the willing buyer-willing seller and just compensation provisions, which had guided much of post-independence land reform and it jumpstarted another critical step in Zimbabwe's land reform as it incorporated the Accelerated Land Reform and Resettlement Implementation Plan or Fast Track Land Reform Programme (Logan, 2006).

Between June 2000 and February 2001, a national total of 2,706 farms, covering more than six million hectares, were gazetted for compulsory acquisition. By the end of 2000, more than 1,600 commercial farms were occupied by settlers led by war veterans. In April 2001, the objectives of the land reform and resettlement program were, among other things, said to be to acquire not less than 8.3 million hectares from the large scale commercial farming sector for redistribution an increase from the five million hectares stated in 1998 (Mlambo, 2010).

The Fast Track Land Reform Program (FTLRP) comprised of two models. Model A1, viewed by the State primarily as a poverty reduction effort, involved the redistribution of fertile land to 160,000 landless and poor in order to reduce congestion in high density communal areas. Model A2 was more ambitious and sought to create a cadre of black commercial farmers. Applicants for the A2 model were supposed to be trained master farmers who could invest in agriculture (Logan, 2007). Mlambo states that the Model A1 was 'the

decongestion model for the generality of landless people with a villagised and a self-contained variant,' to benefit 160,000 beneficiaries from among the poor while Model A2, aimed at creating a cadre of 51,000 small to medium scale black indigenous commercial farmers and more so, twenty percent of all resettlement plots under the model A1 pattern were officially reserved for war veterans, repeating a commitment made by the government since the early 1990s. Model A1 was intended to decongest communal areas and is targeted at land-constrained farmers in communal areas. This model is based on existing communal area organisation, whereby peasants produce mainly for subsistence. Model A2, on the other hand, is a commercial settlement scheme comprising of small, medium, and large-scale commercial settlements, intended to create a cadre of black commercial farmers (Zikhali, 2008). This model is, in principle, targeted at any Zimbabwean citizen who can prove farming experience and/or resource availability and is based on the concept of full cost recovery from the beneficiary (Zimbabwe 2000). The bulk of the FTLRP is based on Model A1.

The FTLRP phase of the land reform officially benefited 168,671 families, comprising mainly the rural poor and their urban counterparts across 9.2 million hectares. These families acquired an average 20 hectares of land, and hold 70 percent of the transferred land, through the A1 schemes. By 2010 over 22,000 new small, medium, and large-scale capitalists also benefited with relatively larger plots averaging about 100 hectares under the A2 scheme (Zikhali, 2008). There were wide variations in the relative numbers of land beneficiaries and plot sizes across the various provinces and agro-ecological regions (Sukume and Moyo 2003, Moyo et al. 2009).

Table 2: *Progress of land reform*

Phase	Families Resettled:	Area (hectare):
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	Actual target	Actual target
Phase 1 (1980-1998)	162 000 17 000	8.3 million 3.5 million
Phase 2(1998-2000)	150 000 4 697	5 million 144,991
Fast Track (total)	160 000 160 340	5 million 7.3 million
Land to be allocated		1,562,454
Land available for resettlement		10,484,312

Source: GoZ (2002, p. 2).

The history of the land reform in Zimbabwe therefore shows that, at independence, the government under the auspices of the Lancaster House Agreement of 1979 undertook to follow a market oriented reform program. This achieved substantial benefits for the period up to 1990. However, the approach was generally not enough to address the plight of the landless masses. The failure by the United States of America and United Kingdom governments to honour their financial promises to fund the land reform hence changed the winds leading to the adoption of the state-centred, populist land agrarian reforms emanating from spontaneous land invasions that began in 1998 escalating to become the Fast Track Land Reform Program from July 2000.

This study therefore sought to explore the relationship between the FTLRP and food security hitherto and answer the question whether the FTLRP has negatively impacted on food security. The study thus tried to find out whether or not the land and agrarian reforms had led to an improvement in agricultural production and whether production has translated to food security at household and community level in Umguza District, investigated whether the beneficiaries of the Fast Track Land Reform have access to inputs and extension services, evaluated the importance of off farm activities as a way of achieving food security in Umguza District and examined other factors that affected food security in Umguza District.

1.2 The Changing Concept of Food Security

The term food security originates in the mid-1970s, when the World Food Conference defined food security at the international and national level as a food supply that could ensure the availability and price stability of basic foodstuffs (You et al, 2010). Food security historically referred to the overall regional, national, or even global food supply and shortfalls in supply compared to requirements, but, with increased observation of disparities in the sufficiency of food intake by certain groups, despite overall adequacy of supply, the term has been applied more recently mostly at a local, household, or individual level (Foster 1992) and has been broadened beyond notions of food supply to include elements of access (Sen, 1981), vulnerability (Watts and Bohle 1993), and sustainability (Chambers 1989). An all-encompassing definition of food security is adopted from the World Food Summit which postulates that ‘food security exists when all people, at all times, have physical and economic access to sufficient safe and nutritious food that meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life’ (World Food Summit, 1996).

Food security has been a global concern since the 1974 World Food Conference, held at a time when world food supplies were tight and large-scale food shortages and starvation appeared imminent. In response to the perceived crisis, such bodies as the World Food Council, the FAO Committee on World Food Security (with its Food Security Assistance Scheme) and the Committee on Food Aid Policies and Programmes were formed. Their activities focused on increasing domestic agricultural production and creating international grain reserves. Food security was identified with commercial food prices and physical food availability, rather than with demand and consumption by poor people or nutritionally vulnerable groups.

By the early 1980s many of the assumptions underlying the 1974 conference proved to be unfounded. Increased food production was not the simple answer to the hunger problem. The problem became recognized as one of distribution to reach the population. In 1983, FAO's Committee on World Food Security expanded the concept of food security to its current definition, encompassing three specific goals: ensuring adequacy of food supplies; optimising stability of supplies; and securing access to available supplies for all who need them. The ultimate objective of this enlarged concept of food security is to ensure that all people at all times have both physical and economic access to the basic food they need (FAO, 1992b).

Whereas before the 1990s food security was equated primarily with energy sufficiency, the current approach to food security emphasizes the composition of the diet, especially with respect to micronutrients. The emphasis on micronutrients can be attributed to two factors: increased understanding of the extent and the far-reaching consequences of micronutrient deficiencies, especially iron, iodine and vitamin A deficiencies; and the availability of proven and low-cost methods of preventing these deficiencies.

This study focussed on household food security status from the following concepts:

- 1) *Food secure*: These households had access, at all times, to enough food for an active, healthy life for all household members.
- 2) *Food insecure*: At times during the year, these households were uncertain of having, or unable to acquire, enough food to meet the needs of all their members because they had insufficient money or other resources for food. Food-insecure households include those with low food security and very low food security.
 - a) *Low food security (without hunger)*: These food-insecure households obtained enough food to avoid substantially disrupting their eating patterns or reducing food intake by using a

variety of coping strategies, such as eating less varied diets, participating in governmental and non-governmental food assistance programs.

b) *Very low food insecurity (with hunger)*: In these food-insecure households, normal eating patterns of one or more household members were disrupted and food intake was reduced at times during the year because they had insufficient money or other resources for food.

Food insecurity exists whenever the availability of nutritionally adequate and safe foods or the ability to acquire foods in socially acceptable ways is limited or uncertain (Ostadrahimi, 2005). The diet can meet all the food security requirements when it is diversified and constituted in the right proportions and when it can satisfy the preferences and food habits of the consumer. Households may suffer from transitory food insecurity as a result of unpredictable circumstances such as sudden price rises. They may suffer from seasonal food insecurity when there is a regular pattern in the recurrence of inadequate access to food. Chronic food insecurity, on the other hand, occurs when households run a continual risk of being unable to meet the food needs of all the household members. Realistically, it should be noted that chronic and transitory insecurity are linked. Recurrent exposure to temporary but severe stress may actually increase the vulnerability of the household to chronic food insecurity.

1.3 Background to the Study

For almost the past 150 years, land has been central to the social, economic and political dynamics of the land between Zambezi and the Limpopo Rivers. The most important wars that have been fought were centred on the issue of land. It is important to note that the controversies surrounding the issue of land still rages on today and has been conveniently termed the 'Land Questions'.

Zimbabwe's history seethes with struggle about land, struggles that, although in the year 2000, the country had been independent for 20 years, remained a time bomb. The Land Apportionment Act of 1930 and its successor Land Tenure Act of 1969, allocated fixed 'reserves' for Africans dispossessed of their fertile lands by the settlers. These were located in areas of poor soils, characterised by difficulty of access and overcrowding. Their former lands became 'European Areas'. Purchase Areas were available to a few (richer) African communal farmers to buy. (Moore, 2005). Agriculture being the cornerstone of economic development in Zimbabwe and the developing world in general was therefore greatly affected by these colonial policies which created a dual agricultural structure favouring the Europeans at the expense of the indigenous Africans. The lives of the overwhelming majority (over 70%) live in the rural areas evolve around agriculture. Even the working Zimbabwean proletariat is not completely secluded from the stranglehold that food production exercises over the social fabric (Mukarati, 1980:3). The issue of land has therefore been a contentious issue, not only in Zimbabwe but elsewhere in post-colonial Africa. The land and agrarian reforms were therefore carried out so as to redress land imbalances which favoured white commercial farmers.

The Land Reform and Resettlement Program in Zimbabwe generally comprises two phases that is, the first phase from 1980 to 1996; and the second, Fast Track Land Reform Program (FTLRP) which commenced with a public listing of 1,4 71 farms for compulsory acquisition, in 1997 (Lebert, 2003). The second phase of the Land Redistribution and Resettlement Programme in the form of the Fast Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP), which started in 2000, has created an expanded number and array of small, medium and large scale farms, and effectively transferring ownership from the minority, white farmers to new indigenous farmers (Moyo 2004). The purpose of land reform in Zimbabwe was to redress past land

alienation by creating equal access to land for the majority of the population and achieve food security.

The Fast Track Land Reform Program (FTLRP), on which this assessment is based, was officially launched in July 2000 following the largely unsuccessful first phase of up to 1996. The main objectives of the FTLRP are to speed up the identification of not less than five million hectares of land for compulsory acquisition for resettlement, to accelerate the planning and demarcation of acquired land and settler emplacement on this land, and to provide limited basic infrastructure and farmer support services (Zimbabwe 2000; Moyo 2006).

Table 3: Changes in the national distribution of land, 1980-2010

	1980	2000	2010
Land category	Area (million ha)	Area (million ha)	Area (million ha)
Communal areas	16.4	16.4	16.4
Old resettlement	0.0	3.5	3.5
New resettlement: A1	0.0	0.0	4.1
New resettlement: A2	0.0	0.0	3.5
Small-scale commercial farms	1.4	1.4	1.4
Large-scale commercial farms	15.5	11.7	3.4*
State farms	0.5	0.7	0.7
Urban land	0.2	0.3	0.3
National parks and forest land	5.1	5.1	5.1
Unallocated land	0.0	0.0	0.7

*Source: derived from various government sources and compiled by the African Institute of Agrarian Studies * includes all large commercial farms, agro-industrial estate farms, church/trust farms, BIPPA farms and conservancies. (Adapted from Scoones et al, 2010)*

Compulsory acquisition was largely to be made from white commercial farmers, private companies, and absentee landlords. It is under these circumstances that the question of productivity and food security has been called into question (Zikhali, 2008).

The land reform program launched in 2000 came as a result of the spontaneous occupation of white owned farms by liberation war veterans and collaborators before the 2000 parliamentary elections (Paradzai, 2007). As a result of the legacies of colonial processes of land alienation and the undermining of African farming, subsistence farming in Zimbabwe was characteristically insupportable without remittances from husbands working in waged work; hence farming wives remained dependent on husbands' contributions with the husband (ideally) providing inputs through earnings from wage work (Goebel, 2005). Land and agrarian reforms were therefore pivotal to the development of rural communities in Zimbabwe so as to achieve food security at household level and cut dependency on wage earnings from urban areas and whites commercial farms and mines.

This study sought to assess the impact of the fast track reform program on food security in Umguza District of Matabeleland North Province in Zimbabwe.

1.4 Statement of the Problem

The Fast Track Land Reform Programme has been one of the most questionable and criticised policies carried out by the Government of Zimbabwe since independence in 1980. Most critics of the program have attributed the current economic meltdown and food insecurity in the past 13 years to the FTLRP. Because of the nexus between land ownership and support services on one hand and the food security on the other, it is important to assess the impact of the former on the latter. Land ownership in Zimbabwe, has up to 2000, been biased against the indigenous people in favour of the minority white commercial farmers in

spite of the resettlement programs carried out before 2000. The former were pushed out of their land onto the hinterland of the fertile well watered belt. This had therefore led to poor agricultural output and overdependence on external food intervention measures by the government, non-governmental institutions and other stakeholders.

The Land and agrarian reforms since independence in 1980 has always had the goals to create political stability and an acceptable property rights regime; to promote economic growth through wider equity and efficiency gains from land redistribution; and to foster national food security, self-sufficiency, and agricultural development through labour-intensive small-farm production, optimal land productivity, and returns to invested capital (Moyo, 2006). The government and other stakeholders have contributed towards the betterment of agriculture in the region through various programmes aimed at inputs, extension and technical services in the post 2000 era. However, it is generally accepted that since and as a result of the FTLRP has largely negative at national level. It was on from the year 2008 that there has been a general change within the academic fraternity to the effect that the fast track land reform program is bearing positive fruit and thus can be consolidated and improve rural livelihoods. The results of this exercise have been viewed differently by the media and academia attracting negative publicity in the international media especially its impact on food security.

Because of the general decline of the economy, polarised political landscape, acute national food insecurity, this study therefore was aimed at evaluating how the land and agrarian reforms that were embarked on from 2000 have impacted on food security at household and community level in Umguza District of Matabeleland North Province. This study therefore sought to explore the relationship between the FTLRP and food security hitherto and answered the question whether the FTLRP has negatively impacted on food security. The concept of food security was therefore scrutinised and juxtaposed against the status quo in

Umguza District creating a framework on which the evaluation of the land reform has can be judged on how it has impacted of food sovereignty.

1.5 Purpose of the study

This study sought to assess how the land and agrarian reforms officially launched in the year 2000 have impacted on food security in Umguza District.

1.6 Hypothesis

The land and agrarian reforms after the year 2000 in Umguza District have generally achieved a marginal increase in food security at household level as a result of fair access to land and agricultural inputs by the beneficiaries.

1.7 Objectives of the Study

1. To find out whether or not the land and agrarian reforms have led to an improvement in food security at household and community level in the District.
2. To investigate whether the beneficiaries of the Fast Track Land Reform have access to inputs and extension services.
3. To investigate the importance of off farm activities as a way of achieving food security in Umguza District.
4. To examine other factors that affect food security in Umguza District.

1.8 Research Questions

1. What has been the overall impact of land and agrarian reforms to food security in Umguza district?

2. To what extent has Land Reform beneficiaries had access to skills training and other agricultural inputs and credit facilities?
3. What off farm activities are carried out to enhance Food Security in the District?
4. What other factors affect the state of Food Security in Umguza District?

1.9 Significance of the Study

This study shows the importance of the land reform program and the agrarian reform on food security. The government, and various stakeholders, for example development organisations and financial institutions, will realise what role they could play to improve agriculture production and contribute to food security and general rural development in Zimbabwe. At the same time, this study suggests to other institutions that are engaged in agriculture development and food production to come up with strategies for a successful agricultural economy and off farm activities towards the broad aim of attaining food security at household, community and national level. Beneficiaries of the land and agrarian reforms also put forward strategies and made requests for a successful agro-based rural development to government and other stakeholder. This study also aimed at acquiring community views on ways that can be done in order to improve small to medium scale agriculture. Lastly, the research also challenges the generalised assumptions that have been associated with the land and agrarian reforms in Zimbabwe in the post 2000 era.

1.10 Limitations and Delimitations of the Study

This study only focused on the impact of the land and agrarian reforms carried after the year 2000 by interviewing the community members of the Umguza district Ward 10 and 7 (beneficiaries of the land reform program and communal farmers respectively), and officials

in Matabeleland North Province, Ministry of Lands and Resettlement, Umguza Rural District Council Administration, Umguza District Agritex officers, Zimbabwe Farmers Union, seed houses and other stakeholders involved in agriculture and food security in the district.

This is so because the main aim of the research was to assess, with the help of the community members, whether the land agrarian reforms have impacted positively on food security. The District administration was interviewed and requested to give information on the inflow and outflow of food in the district prior and post land reform.

The study also focused on the off farm activities in the district which included road selling vending, provision of domestic labour, and employment in and around the District and how these activities are key in enhancing food production. The role of other variables (the diaspora, government food handouts, NGOs and formally employed beneficiaries) were also analysed as these are key food security.

The major limitation in the study was the reluctances by the informants to share information on the area of study as the subject is considered to political and sensitive. With the research being carried out in a period towards elections, the research was faced with a challenge of convincing the informants that the research was purely academic and carried no political motives. The other limitation of the study was the time factor on the part of the informants who were busy in their fields as the research was carried when labour in the fields was required more.

The bureaucracy involved in the acquisition of official information was another challenged faced by the research as one would be tossed from one office to another and the general lack of interest by some important informants. Resources were another challenged met in the

research as extensive travelling was to be carried out yet the resettlement areas are generally inaccessible because of lack of communication infrastructure.

1.11 Theoretical Framework

1.11.1 Land Reform

The issue of land ownership has always been a bone of contention through the course of history the world over and various theories have been propounded to explain the land reform phenomena. Land reforms have been carried out in Asia, Latin America and in recent years in Africa. In its traditional and generally accepted sense, land reform always meant the redistribution of property rights in land for the benefit of the landless peasants, small farmers and tenants. With the advancement of technology in the agricultural and industrial arena, land reform can be associated with to the economic development phenomenon which is frequently identified with economic growth that is the average annual rate of increase in real output per capita. Land is one of the most invaluable natural resources of a country. It represents the principal form of wealth and the main source of economic and political power. Land can therefore be seen as a vehicle for human development as well as resource for food production (Zarin and Bujang, 1994).

There are different meanings or definition of land reform. According to Doner (1972) most of them appear to share two common elements. The elements are firstly land reform as invariably a more or less direct, publicly controlled transformation in the existing of land ownerships; and secondly, it normally attempts at the diffusion of wealth, income or productive capacity throughout the society. According to King (1974), on broader view there are three motives of land reform which are political, social and economic. The political motives are often considered as the last resort but the most decisive. It is the balance of

political power in a country which is the final determinant to the extent of a reform, and the political factors help to explain the frequency of the discrepancy between the provisions of a reform law and their eventual practicality on the ground. History has proven that many governments use land reform, or the promise of it, to gain or retain political power and control. The social motive on the other hand is basically concerted on social equality or social justice, while the economic motive is based on the issue of efficiency. The last two motives are never separated and sometimes regarded as the fulfillment of one objective.

Studies on the land reform stress that economic and social goals need not conflict but they must be viewed as related and welded together in the land reform approach to development in general. Dorner (1977) explains that the conflict between distributive justice and economic efficiency is not the real issues. Conflicts only arise if the present ownerships structure of land and capital is assumed fixed.

Land reform in a narrow sense refers to measures to redistribute land in favour of peasants and small holder farmers. Land reform in its traditional sense thus is the demand for greater equality or social justice. It is important as a developmental implication and to its possible contribution to improve agricultural productivity, food sovereignty and expended employment. Accordingly, land reform is necessary for it to be undertaken in conjunction with a variety of other supporting institutional improvements including better credit provision, marketing facilities and extension and advisory services that is agrarian reforms (Zarin and Bujang, 1994).

They are two dominant approaches to land reform. These are neoliberal and populist land reforms. Neo-liberal land reforms also referred to as market-led agrarian reforms attempts to create or restore private rights to property for the purpose of improving the smooth functioning of rural markets (usually markets in land, credit and agricultural inputs) and

increasing agriculture efficiency and production through security of title (Deininger and Feder 1998; van Zyl, Kirsten and Binswanger 1996). Populist reforms or state led land reforms, on the other hand, attempt to create or restore the connection between peasant communities and the land, improving social justice by distributing resources to the poorest who will then contribute to balanced development and food sovereignty (Wolford, 2004).

State-led land reforms consist of a central authority (the central government or local government) that dispossesses large landowners from the land, and redistributes it to selected beneficiaries. On paper, landowners are compensated below market value so that the reform process includes a confiscatory component. Payments to landowners are made mostly in interest-bearing bonds spread over a period of years, with cash seldom exceeding 20 percent of the fixed price of land. The state led populist perspective, assumes that the market is a vehicle for theft and exploitation that is, the people who own property do so because they possess or possessed political influence (both in the present and in the past) and power that can be effectively backed up with murder and intimidation. The government thus needs to be mobilised to carry out land reform (Wolford, 2004). Beneficiaries either receive the land free of charge, or they have several years to repay it to the government, often benefiting from favorable interest rates. In theory, small farmers are provided with technical assistance and support services as well (Ladeijinsky, 1964). State-led land reforms were high on the political agenda in the 1950s (in Asia and the Middle East) and in 1960s (in Latin America) especially in countries with high land property concentration, great social and economic inequality, abject rural poverty and widespread landlessness (Barraclough, 1994). In the 1950s and the 1960s state-led land reforms were thus directed at legitimating governments in power and thus avoid socialist revolutions. Due to the development thought of those times, these reforms had no economic aim as economic growth and development was supposedly based on import

substitution industrialisation, and agricultural growth was primarily associated with technological change (Schultz, 1964).

Successful state centred land reforms were carried out in Japan and South Korea, under the auspices of US, and in Taiwan, under the Kuomintang regime. However, these were carried out with foreign influence and beneficiaries were often experienced tenants thus production was not revolutionised (Dorner, 1992; Kawagoe, 1999). In most cases, however, the economic performance of reforms has been disappointing. De Janvry (1981) states that in the 1960s Latin American land reforms ended up to be an instrument for promoting technological change in the non-reformed sector, rather than to make the poor rural dwellers better off. Otsuka (1993) contends that in Asia land redistribution did not have any significant impact on rural poverty. Results were unsatisfactory because of three specific difficulties. First, the number of beneficiaries and the percentage of arable land distributed were relatively low, at least with respect to the successful Asian experiences. Governments often had to set up cosmetic reforms and the landowning class put up fierce resistance to expropriation. Second, on the assumption that the resource poor farmers did not suffer any competitive disadvantage in the sphere of production, governmental investments in complementary infrastructure and delivery of support services were lacking. Yet, in situations characterised by incomplete contracting, changes in patterns of landownership lead to an increase in agricultural income as far as adequate provision is made for the supply of necessary inputs and mandatory services to land reform beneficiaries (World Bank, 1975). Additionally, governments severely restricted land sale and rental markets and so contributed to reduce efficiency levels. For example, if land cannot be bought and sold, it could not be used as collateral leading to inaccessibility of credit lines. Without access to the credit market, beneficiaries may underinvest in their land, resort to distress sales and lead to effective re-concentration of landownership patterns (Jonakin, 1996).

However, the general failure of the programs in the 1960s led to the fallout with land reforms and as a result, in the 1970s agricultural development shifted focus to the technologies associated with the Green Revolution. In the 1980s the role of the government was reduced with the call for economic liberalisation under the economic and structural adjustment policies. This was the general trend into the 1990s (De Janvry *et al.* (2001).

The market-led land reform perspective assumes that the market is the optimal mechanism for allocating property to productive individuals because property rights are a reasonable reflection of labour applied: people who own property do so because they worked for it and this relationship has to be encouraged and rewarded and not actively overturned by the government. For the neoliberals, if there is a need for land reform, it is because the market has been sufficiently developed and has not yet incorporated some portion of the rural and urban poor. The market thus needs to be expanded to include them.

Market-assisted land reforms consist of beneficiaries, assisted by the community and local government, receiving a combination of grants and loans from the public and private sectors which they use to negotiate the purchase of the land from willing sellers and to set up viable farms. The grant must cover the overpricing of the land relative to its productive value plus the start-up and the net working capital costs for the first year. To be eligible beneficiaries, individuals are obliged to come up with a farm development plan, which has to be set up with the support of non-governmental organisations, farmers' associations and local governments and partly financed by private investors. Those who push for the market assisted land reform maintain that firstly, this approach reduces landlords' resistance to land transfer, as exchanges are voluntary and compensation one hundred percent in cash and at market value and secondly, with respect to coercive expropriation based on cumbersome bureaucratic requirements, a decentralised and community-based voluntarily land transfer between willing

sellers and buyers is more effective because of the involvement of a wide spectrum of rural actors in the process, both public and private as private investors are likely to finance only those rural dwellers able to set up a viable and sustainable farm, a lower threshold to farm efficiency is set (Deininger, 2001).

Market-assisted land reforms rest upon two major micro-economic evidences that there exists an inverse relation between farm size and output per unit of land and that the land market is regressive for the resource poor. (Barraclough, 1984). Market-assisted land reform programs intend to secure access to land to all the rural dwellers by altering the performance of the rural markets so as not to discriminate against the rural poor, and in this way set up an effectively and continuously adjusting mechanism of placing resources efficiently and enhancing social equity.

Pilot projects of market-assisted land reform have been implemented in Brazil, Colombia and South Africa. The evidence is very mixed. Deininger (1999) asserts that in Colombia beneficiaries, in order to set up a viable family farm, needed between thirty and fifty percent of the land that had been necessary under earlier reform programs. This is so as under the current program farmers acquire an entire 'productive package' that includes land, factor inputs, technical assistance among other benefits. Sauer (2001) contends that in Northeast Brazil people were complaining that the program is driving up the land price, that it is failing to reduce poverty level and that potential beneficiaries are not even informed of the program. Deininger (1999), on the other hand, asserts that in Brazil community-based implementation of the program was particularly rapid. Borras (2002) maintains that the Brazilian market-assisted land reform if implemented nationwide would be much more expensive than the state-led implemented program. Lyne *et al.* (2000) presents evidence from the province of

KwaZulu-Natal in South Africa that land grants from the government have so far performed disappointingly as to land transfer activities and agricultural production trend.

Sufficient evidence shows that in Zimbabwe the Fast Track Land Reform Programme was born out of a desire to correct historical inequalities stemming from a skewed land ownership due to colonisation. However, this does not provide a complete explanation of the land reform programme. Although the government embarked on land reform in the 1980s, albeit with constraints imposed by the Lancaster House Agreement, it was not until 2000 and beyond, after the government had encountered a number of political setbacks, that it propelled land reform into a political rallying call. In this effort, the government used two strategies: violence as a means of regime survival and a philosophical appeal to the history and to traditional symbolisms of land, especially to its main political constituency in rural areas (Logan 2006).

The two key elements of the Zimbabwean model are apparent, that is the regime survival and the statist approach which are properly situated in land reform discourse. Theoretically, the Zimbabwean model may be situated within the context of a 'new wave' approach to land reform, which Bernstein (2002) has described as postcolonial and post-developmental in nature. In this theoretical framework, the Zimbabwean model also has policy implications as it may mark a point along what Bernstein (2004) terms a continuum of change from moderate land reform to radical reform that crystallises around history and land restitution.

In conclusion, one should note that state-led (populist) and market-assisted (neoliberal) land reforms originate in different historical periods, respond to different issues and aim at different objectives. Second, successful state-led land redistribution programs have been carried out under peculiar political and economic circumstances, but market-assisted reforms are limited as well, as they are viable only in circumscribed areas with an excess supply of

land and a somewhat developed institutional infrastructure. Third, if theoretical differences exist between these two land reallocation policies; empirical observations indicate that their practices are somewhat overlapped. Finally, findings from the 1988 Philippine agrarian reform program suggest that equal access to land can be fruitfully secured under a joint state-market approach. As shall be observed, Zimbabwe's Fast Track Land Reform can be associated mainly with the populist, state-led land reform. This due to the failure of the initial liberal, market led land reforms between 1980 and 1997.

1.11.2 Agrarian Reform

Agrarian reform entails transforming the role of various agrarian classes in struggles for development and democratization, towards equitable land ownership and social relations of production, and developing the agricultural production forces to enhance food security, livelihoods and the accumulation of capital (Byres 1991). The basic purpose is to create the conditions for a rise in agricultural productivity. Land reform, as a key dimension of agrarian reform, is a necessary but insufficient condition for national development (Moyo and Yeros 2005), yet it is critical to agricultural and social transformation (Chang 2009). Agrarian reform requires state facilitated land redistribution, building the productive and social capabilities of small producers, and support for agro-industrial growth and diversification (Rosset: 494).

Accordingly, land reform is necessary for it to be undertaken in conjunction with a variety of other supporting institutional improvements including better credit provision, marketing facilities and extension and advisory services that is agrarian reforms (Zarin and Bujang, 1994). This paper is therefore shifting focus to the support for agro-industrial growth in Zimbabwe after the Fast Track Land Reform Program of the year 2000.

1.11.3 Food Security

Food is an absolute necessity for human survival for more than a short period and there is no possibility of achieving development without attaining food security. This section seeks to unearth a plethora of definition that has been put forward to explain the phenomena of food security.

What is Food Security?

There are multiple definitions of food security and the concepts of food security have evolved in the last since the 1970s to reflect changes in official policy thinking organisationally, nationally and globally. The term food security originates in the mid-1970s, when the World Food Conference defined food security at the international and national level as a food supply that could ensure the availability and price stability of basic foodstuffs (You et al, 2010). Food security historically referred to the overall regional, national, or even global food supply and shortfalls in supply compared to requirements, but, with increased observation of disparities in the sufficiency of food intake by certain groups, despite overall adequacy of supply, the term has been applied more recently mostly at a local, household, or individual level (Foster 1992) and has been broadened beyond notions of food supply to include elements of access (Sen, 1981), vulnerability (Watts and Bohle 1993), and sustainability (Chambers 1989).

The World Food Program (2013) views food security as a state when people have all-time access to sufficient, safe, nutritious food to maintain a healthy and active life. Food security therefore takes an analysis on a combination of the following three main elements: (i) Food availability (food must be available in sufficient quantities and on a consistent basis). It considers stock and production in a given area and the capacity to bring in food from

elsewhere, through trade or aid. (ii) Food access that is people must be able to regularly acquire adequate quantities of food, through purchase, home production, barter, gifts, borrowing or food aid. (iii) Food utilisation that is consumed food must have a positive nutritional impact on people. It entails cooking, storage and hygiene practices, individual's health, water and sanitations, feeding and sharing practices within the household.

Another dimension to the theory of food security includes the element of stability. Stability supposes that physical availability, economic and physical access and utilisation should be consistent all the times. Food security is defined by the Inter-American Institute for Agriculture as the existence of the necessary conditions for human beings to have physical and economic access, in socially acceptable ways, to food that is safe, nutritious and in keeping with their cultural preferences, so as to meet their dietary needs and live productive and healthy lives. These conditions are summarised as physical availability, access of all people to food, reaching a level of nutritional well-being, with stable access. The last condition of stable access asserts access to foods at all times, without the risk of running out of food as a result of unexpected political, economic or climatic crises or cyclical events (seasonal food insecurity) (IICA, 2009).

Having looked at the various definitions of food security, it is important to take note of the widely accepted definition. Food security exists when all people, at all times, have physical and economic access to sufficient, safe, and nutritious food to meet their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life (FAO 1996a). The definition was later extended by the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations (FAO) to include individual and household level access (Clay, 2002). The widely accepted World Food Summit definition reinforces the multidimensional nature of food security as including food

accessibility, availability, utilisation, and stability. This is the widely accepted definition and thus points to the following dimensions of food security:

Food availability:

The availability of sufficient quantities of food of appropriate quality, supplied through domestic production or imports (including food aid). Food availability addresses the supply side of food security and is determined by the level of food production, stock levels and net trade. Availability refers to whether food is physically available. Is enough food being produced to meet need? If sufficient food is available at national level does it translate to availability at community and household levels? (You et al, 2010). Food availability thus focuses on food availability to meet individual daily requirement at individual, household and community level with reserves to withstand shocks.

Food access:

Access to adequate resources (entitlements) for acquiring appropriate foods for a nutritious diet defines whether an individual is food secure or is food insecure. Entitlements are defined as the set of all commodity bundles over which a person can establish command given the legal, political, economic and social arrangements of the community in which they live including traditional rights such as access to common resources (Sen, 1981). Economic and physical access to food refers to an adequate supply of food at the national and international level does not in itself guarantee household level food security. Concerns about insufficient food access have resulted in a greater policy focus on incomes, expenditure, markets and prices in achieving food security objectives. Access to food is dependent on availability but goes beyond it by identifying whether a specific individual, household and community or higher level is able to gain access to the food that is available.

Utilisation:

Utilisation of food through adequate diet, clean water, sanitation and health care to reach a state of nutritional well-being where all physiological needs are met also affects food security. This brings out the importance of non-food inputs in food security. Food utilisation is commonly understood as the way the body makes the most of the various nutrients in the food. Sufficient energy and nutrient intake by individuals is the result of good care and good care and feeding practices, food preparation, and diversity of the diet and intra household distribution of food. Combined with good biological utilization of food consumed, this determines the nutritional status of individuals. Utilisation of food serves as the interconnection between food production and distribution and other sectors in particular health. Utilisation therefore focuses on food quality and nutritional content and the biological capacity of an individual to absorb the available nutrients most effectively. This relates to health, HIV/AIDS, access to water and clean energy sources, and other related issues for example a more diverse diet (Novib, 2001).

Stability:

To be food secure, a population, household or individual must have access to adequate food at all times. Stability of the above dimensions is therefore another important aspect of food security. Even if food intake is adequate today, one is considered food insecure if they have inadequate access to food on a periodic basis, risking a deterioration of their nutritional status. Adverse weather conditions, political instability, or economic factors (unemployment, rising food prices) may have an impact on one's food security status (FAO, 2008). They should not risk losing access to food as a consequence of sudden shocks (for example an economic or climatic crisis) or cyclical events (for example seasonal food insecurity). The concept of stability can therefore refer to both the availability and access dimensions of food

security. The stability of provision is dependent on the capacity of storage and saving at the household level, the stability of the market, which depends on the balance between supply and demand, the role of the state as the regulating instrument of intervention, the government's capacity to react in an emergency (Kemmarath, 2005).

This study subscribes to the definition (a definition adopted by the Zimbabwe Food and Nutrition Council) that food security exists when “all people, at all times, have physical and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food to meet their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life. In this regard, food security is understood as a multidimensional function of: (a) Food availability which is the amount of food available to a household (micro level) or in the area of concern (macro) through all forms of domestic production, commercial imports, reserves and food aid. (b) Food access which is the physical (for example road, network, market) and economical (for example own production, exchange, purchase) ability of a household to acquire adequate amounts of food and (c) Food utilization which is the intra-household use of the accessible food and the individual’s ability to absorb and use of nutrients, for example function of health status (GoZ, 2010). However, focus on the availability of food at micro and macro level through production, reserves and food aid, and food access through physical and economic means.

1.11.4 Food Insecurity

Another concept associated with food security, an antonym is food insecurity. Food insecurity is views in terms of severity and duration. There are important differences in how the duration and severity of food insecurity impact on people’s lives.

Duration

This may vary from a short-term experience to a lifelong condition. However, food security analysts have found it helpful to define two general types of food insecurity: chronic food insecurity and transitory food insecurity. Chronic food insecurity is taken as long-term or persistent. It occurs when people are unable to meet their minimum food requirements over a sustained period of time. Transitory food insecurity is short-term and temporary. It refers to a sudden drop in the ability to produce or access enough food to maintain a good nutritional status.

Conversely, transitory food insecurity is primarily caused by short-term shocks and fluctuations in food availability and food access, including year-to-year variations in domestic food production, food prices and household incomes. In addition to the observable differences in duration, chronic and transitory food insecurity is also distinguished by the different causes. Chronic food insecurity is often the result of extended periods of poverty, lack of assets and inadequate access to productive or financial resources. Conversely, transitory food insecurity is relatively unpredictable and can emerge suddenly.

Severity

The most extreme situations, usually associated with substantial loss of life will warrant the description of famine. Food security analysts/professionals may use the term acute food insecurity to describe a severe and life threatening situation. Different scales or phases to grade or classify food security have been developed by food security analysts using different indicators and cut-off points or benchmarks. The intensity of food insecurity may be measured in terms of levels of food intake. One option is to relate the severity of food insecurity to how consumption falls below a threshold of 2,100 kcal per day. Food security

status Indicators Food secure energy intake (measured in kilocalories) varies from mild food insecurity, moderate food insecurity and severe food insecurity.

CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This section focuses on the literature that has already been published on the subject of Land Reform in general and particularly the Fast track Land Reform Programme in Zimbabwe. Zimbabwe's controversial fast-track land reform programme from 2000 onwards has generated considerable scholarly studies and popular commentaries which generally fall into two polarised camps, namely, those who condemn government programme, as a racist, chaotic, and politically-driven measure that was undemocratic and which trampled on property rights and ruined a hitherto prosperous agricultural industry. On the other side of the divide, the scholars who view the land reform programme as a long overdue democratic revolution that redresses the inequalities of the colonial past. This researcher believes that debates over Zimbabwe's recent land policies could be enriched by the impact the policy has had on food security.

2.2 Debates on the Fast Track Land Reform Programme in Zimbabwe

Scholarly analyses on the Zimbabwe's land reform of 2000 are noticeably juxtaposed between those who attack the government for having trampled on human rights and pushed through 'a chaotic policy that ruined the country's hitherto viable agricultural economy and those who hail it as a long overdue revolutionary measure that finally gave real meaning to the country's independence from colonialism.' (Mlambo, 2010). A group of scholars working on Africa who jointly referred to themselves as 'Concerned Africa Scholars' argued that Zimbabwe's handling of its long-standing land problem was not only justified but also presented valuable lessons for other Southern African countries facing similar land problems, Mamdani et al, hailed the reforms as democratic and revolutionary and a response to growing

grassroots demands. On the other hand, many leading scholars on Zimbabwe and political activists castigated Mamdani for justifying 'Mugabe's undemocratic policies, his disrespect for human rights and the destruction of the country's economy that his land policies engineered (Mamdani, et al., 2008). As a result, debates on the land issue in Zimbabwe have been racialised on the basis of returning land to its rightful owners or punishment of white commercial farmers for seemingly sympathising with opposition politics (Goebels, 2005).

The argument by the latter is stemming from the observation that the direction on Land Reform was and continues to be mystified by political grandstanding on the issue of historical land injustice (Moyo, 2000). The argument is premised on the observation that the land reform topic typically becomes a hot issue in elections and political speeches, when revolutionary and anti-white rhetoric are the norm. Moyo argues that this focus by government has meant a missed opportunity to argue for land redistribution on the basis of efficiency and productivity. Ample evidence proves that smaller, peasant-based production is more productive than large-scale commercial farms, if given the necessary infrastructural and market support. In 2002, Raftopolous argued that the use of the land issue to shore up flagging political support for the Zanu-PF government particularly in relation to the rejected Draft Constitution, the Presidential election in March 2002 in the context of the break-down of law and order successfully ruptured the link between the land question and the quest for a just, rights-based post-colonial society (Raftopolous, 2002). Similarly, Bond and Manyanya point out the irony of the contrast between official radical anti-imperialism rhetoric and the government's actual practice of following neo-liberal economic policy in the 1990s (Bond and Manyanya, 2002).

The 'radical' land reform program has been discredited by some analysts as well as the development establishment of the World Bank, United Nations, the Commonwealth and

others, for the corruption, disregard of the rule of law, marginalisation of the poor, anti-democratic political forms and violation of human rights that it has entailed (Worby 2001).

There is sufficient evidence that the politicisation of land reform in Zimbabwe is intertwined with the use of land as an instrument of state violence; what Worby (2001) refers to as land as a means of violence rather than as a means of production. The FTLRP model has been scorched for what critics describe as ‘blatant regime aggrandisement complemented by the anarchic liberties of ex-combatant groups’ (Hammar 2001; Zamponi 2004). The abandonment of the ‘historic compromise’ which reconciled black and whites, capitalism and socialism as the pathway towards poverty-alleviation (Dansereau 2004) has been viewed with suspicion.

These problems that emerge with the ruling party’s failure in the constitutional amendment referendum in 2000 (ZANU-PF’s first electoral setback), its mixed performance in the 2000 elections has been viewed as the purpose for which the land reform of 2000 was carried out as the ruling party sought refuge in the land question consistently and uninhibitedly to resuscitate its dwindling popularity (Nyambara 2000; Alexander and McGregor 2001; Dansereau 2004).

Credit can be given to these scholarly arguments. However, not without fault as it should be noted that, the land question has a historical significance that has been politicised. Moyo (2000a, p. 3) has contextualised the historical dimension of the land problem in what he terms the three myths of colonial settler mentality: ‘first, that there is social and political legitimacy in the land rights held by white minorities over the land they expropriated; second, that the large scale farmlands held by whites are efficiently utilised and third that the freehold landholding and the existing private land market system is effective and absolutely superior to other forms of tenure such as leasehold and customary (so-called communal) tenure. With

regard to these 'myths' the state has been successful in couching violence, especially against whites, as a form of post-colonial national and possibly regional resistance movement. Secondly, tracks of land in whites' ownership lay idle giving the government the audacity to push the programme forward and lastly, the belief that with proper support, small-scale agriculture can yield bountifully as witnessed by the contribution of peasant agriculture during the pre and post-independence periods. The state believes that its programme seeks to address a historical land imbalance and the overall goal being to redistribute land from an inefficient (underused and unused) large, land-holding system to a system based primarily on small-scale efficient producers (Logan, 2006).

Important to note is the fact that there was significant support for the farm invasions in various parts of the country; not everyone who participated in the land invasions was either duped or coerced. This, a sign of land hunger in rural Zimbabwe-enough a justification for the FTLRP (S. Moyo and P. Yeros, 2005). According to Mlambo, 2010, interviews with resettled African farmers in the Upper Hwedza area revealed that villagers from the Hwedza Communal Areas were keen to participate in the farm invasions and were often ahead of local ZANU-PF structures in pushing for expropriation of white farms and their distribution to them. Clearly, while it is obviously absurd to claim that there was a strong, well-organized and coherent land movement that systematically pushed the land invasions agenda, (Moyo and Yeros, 2009) it is equally simplistic to dismiss the land reform exercise as an entirely ruling elite-driven exercise that had no grassroots support because land reform was, ostensibly, not a priority issue among the ordinary people.

Zimbabwe's FTLRP model pits the market led land reform against the State-led land reforms in resource allocation (Griffin *et al.* 2002; Khan 2004). This debate summarises two important contemporary positions: Griffin *et al.* modified the neoclassical argument that

redistribution serves as a catalyst for efficient agricultural production; and the more undistilled neoclassical position of the World Bank (World Bank 2000), which emphasises property rights under a laissez-faire market regime. These two theoretical positions mark the ideological divide between the opposition to the FTLRP and the government.

Donors have generally insisted that the market should dictate land price and levels of compensation in a willing seller-willing buyer regime. The government's unwillingness to leave the process to market dictates is supported by other African experiences. In her assessment of the Uganda case, Hunt (2004) concludes that when privatisation is used as the central element of reform, it generates unintended negative consequences.

Borras (2003) emphasises, further, that claims of success to the contrary, market-led land reform in Brazil, Columbia and South Africa, has generated some of the same socially dysfunctional outcomes that bedevilled structural adjustment programmes. On the other hand, Tanner, 2002 strongly advocates state involvement in land redistribution, articulating a scathing criticism of market-led land reform, which suggests that its exploitativeness renders it incapable of undertaking egalitarian agrarian change. Bernstein's (2002) analyses support concerns that the market often exacerbates existing class disparities in land ownership, fragments labour and other factor markets, and perpetuates gender biases. The market, therefore, is critiqued for its lack of attention to (or inability to address) social equity, which is an important motivating factor in land reform. In fact, Griffin *et al.* (2002) claim, as did the Zimbabwean government, that successful land reform can proceed only from confiscation and not through market-friendly mechanisms or full compensation.

A corollary to arguments supporting market-led reform is that acquired land should be maintained in large holdings to maintain economies of scale. Scholars such as Sender and Johnson (2004) support this position on the contention that land redistribution based on

subdivisions, is a recipe for agricultural disaster and that the idea of an efficient, small scale, family farm is a romantic myth that is being articulated by ideologically bankrupt states such as Zimbabwe. Similarly, Makoja (1999) argues that 'small-scaleness' is part of a larger package of traditional structural rigidities that hamper efficient agricultural production. The Zimbabwean government views these negative interpretations of state-led, small-scale production as patronising apologetics for continued white land control, especially since downsizing has been shown to improve per unit land productivity in Africa and elsewhere (Binswanger and Deininger 1993; Moyo 2000). This position is supported by World Bank (2000) findings that 'small-scaleness' is an asset that enhances production and distribution (Bernstein, 2004). The Zimbabwean government also maintains that its land reform is not all about re-parcelling since the FTLRP engages a mix of large and small-scale production (Models A1 and A2).

Finally, the FTLR model can be put within the classical agrarian transition from feudalism to industrial capitalism. Although the present case poses a postcolonial question, the underlying principles are similar – underutilisation of land resources sets the stage for a class struggle, first in the form of the liberation struggle and more recently in the form of state rejection of the willing buyer, willing seller model. From this perspective, then rather than representing the need for survival by the government facing challenges at the turn of the century, the Fast Track Land Reform Programme should be conceptualised as part of a much larger 'new wave' land reform that has antecedents in Asian, Latin American and Ethiopian models (Bernstein 2002, p. 448). The FTLRP, therefore, according to Logan, 2002, 'becomes a moment in the grand unfolding of a postcolonial, neo-populist, redistributive, post-developmental trajectory in land reform –one that is underlain by several stakeholder interests including, globalisation, grass-roots poverty alleviation and the self-survival of the state.'

2.3 Agrarian Reforms in Zimbabwe

The agriculture input supply started in the early years of settler agriculture in Zimbabwe. The 1940s and 1950s saw phenomenal growth of the agricultural input supply sector due to favourable government policies encouraging the private sector participation. Expansion of many multinational companies as well as private and public sector investments fuelled most of the developments during this era (Rusike and Sukume, 2006). During the post-1965 Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) period, under sanctions, there were developments leading to diversified and advanced input supply systems spearheaded by local firms, which ensured self-sufficiency through import substitution. The post-independence period after 1980 saw rapid growth in the utilization of improved inputs by smallholder farmers due to the Agricultural Finance Corporation Seasonal Input Credit Scheme. However, due to inefficiency, the scheme collapsed and so did the rapid growth in the use of hybrid seed and inorganic fertilizers. During the 1990s, the emergent Economic Structural and Adjustment Program (ESAP) and the subsequent liberalisation of the economy led to the removal of mandatory testing and registration of inputs, elimination of price controls and subsidies as well as reforms to provide foreign currency to private firms. As a result of the adequate incentives for the private firms to provide services at a profit, there were concomitant increases in input availability, quality, innovation, information flow and agro-dealer services even in marginal areas.

The FTLRP caused widespread disruptions in the sophisticated input supply channels that had been developed over many years. The Government's presence on the inputs delivery front gained momentum during the implementation of the FTLRP after realisation of the need to support the expanded farming household base, most of whom lacked adequate resources to undertake meaningful farm production. The Government intervened through a number of

programmes aimed at filling the gap created by exodus of donor/NGO and private sector finance from the agricultural sector (Gono 2008; RBZ 2006). The deterioration in performance of various economic sectors piled pressure on the Government to intervene with various sector-specific financial packages. As such, the agricultural sector's share of support from the state continued to diminish instead of increasing to match with the increasing farm holdings base (Pazvakavambwa 2009). Consequently, the Government's inputs support programmes failed to make the intended impact as most intended beneficiaries failed to access inputs from these programmes.

2.3.1 Post 2000 Agriculture Input Program

Government-sponsored input support programmes have been a common occurrence in Zimbabwe since independence in 1980, especially during seasons following natural disasters such as droughts. The assistance, which largely constituted seeds and fertilizers, was mainly targeted at communal farmers. Previous governments also rendered agricultural resource support to farmers but this was less of direct input support and more of input price subsidies, viable product prices and general institutional support to relevant private and public enterprises. The period from 2000 to date has seen a deliberate government effort to support farmers through direct provision of inputs, necessitated by the need to prop up the new farmers created by the Fast Track Land Reform Programme. In order to boost production in the newly resettled areas, Government introduced the Crop and Livestock Credit Input Schemes to assist the new farmers in meeting production levels sufficient to enhance national food security and food self-sufficiency (Govere et al, 2009).

With the end to the fast track land reform program, the government embarked on capacitating the beneficiaries of the program with the technical knowhow and inputs so as to achieve the overall goals of the land reform program. After the land, the provision of farm inputs, seeds,

fertiliser machinery and equipment and agrochemicals, was probably the most important factor in the productivity of farms (Mano, Sukume and Rugube, 2003). In August 2002, President Robert Mugabe declared that ‘the fast track resettlement programme is now over and the government is now concentrating on making the new farmers productive’ (Astill and Palmer, 2002). Resettled black commercial farmers were expected to take up land immediately, in time for the rains. In his 2003 national budget statement in November 2002 Finance Minister Dr. Herbert Murerwa announced a series of tax incentives for lending to new farmers. The government also introduced soft financing schemes for inputs like seed and fertiliser (Shoko, 2003). The Ministry of Agriculture was largely responsible for the administration of the Government Input Support Schemes since 2000 with its Economics and Marketing Department being responsible for the planning and procurement. The inputs were distributed through relevant parastatals such as the Grain Marketing Board (GMB), Tobacco Industry Marketing Board (TIMB), Agricultural and Rural Development Authority (ARDA), Pig Industry Board (PIB), District Development Fund (DDF), and National Oil Company of Zimbabwe (NOCZIM). These institutions were also involved in the identification of beneficiaries and recovery of the loans. Initially the private sector used to distribute inputs to the farmers on behalf of the government (for example Reapers for groundnuts and COTTCO for cotton).

There was less international support to the newly resettled farmers in Zimbabwe after the FTLRP. Albeit, the Government of Zimbabwe intervened in a number of ways, including ‘printing of money’ by the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe (RBZ) to fund the procurement and distribution of the inputs and implementation of other support measures including provision of farming equipment, fuel, cattle breeding stock, working capital and irrigation rehabilitation and development as well financing grain mobilisation by the GMB (Mujeyi 2010). The government embarked on a number of initiatives which included the establishment and

bankrolling of 'command agriculture style' programmes; Operation Food Security/*Maguta/Inala* and the Champion Farmer programmes, both spearheaded by the national security forces. The government introduced price control of inputs (seeds, fertilizer, and fuel), providing input grants as well as access to low interest credit. The 2005/2006-summer season saw the launch of Operation Food Security/*Maguta/Inala* a programme whose objective was to ensure food security by mainly focusing on production of maize, wheat and small grains complementing the Ministry of Agriculture. This streamlined targeting of crops after 2005 resulted in a narrower-range of crop inputs being distributed. The early land resettlement programme was very successful in Zimbabwe largely due to effective provision of extension services. The post 2000 period was however faced with a bleak situation in as far as the technical and extension services are concerned. This was due to the general economic downturn hence the government failing to finance these services. The situation was further worsened by the exodus of skilled extension personnel for greener pastures at the height of the economic meltdown, which left farmers without the technical. Consequently, this resulted in weak research-extension linkages, lack of adequate resources for on-farm, demonstrations, poor mobility, inadequate research and training in extension methodology and lack of an effective system of continuing education for extension personnel at various level (Marume 2010). After the fast track land reform program, the government extension agents who are the main extension providers in the country have been using the top down approach especially with the master farmer concept. Currently the top down approach is being used in the promotion of conservation agriculture by both the government and NGO whereby a set of principles is set for farmers to adopt (Nhongonhema 2010).

Following the inception of the Fast Track Land Reform Programme in 2000, the proportion of commercial bank loans to the agricultural sector declined from a peak of ninety-one percent in 1999 to fourteen percent in 2000. The proportion remained around this level until

in 2005, when it rose to twenty-four percent. The decline to lending in agriculture during the early 1999 to 2003 - if it had persisted without RBZ intervention, lending to agriculture was poised to decline to levels of well below ten percent of total loans primarily due to the uncertainties relating to land tenure. “If this was allowed to happen, then, there would not be any agriculture sector to talk about in the economy. Realising the significance of agriculture as the backbone of the economy and also realizing the intricacies of operationalising the 99 year lease programme, the RBZ, therefore found it inevitable that a bridging finance programme be introduced, so as to kick-start productive activities in agriculture.” (Gono, 2006). It is against this background that the ASPEF program was introduced by the Central Bank to support farmers working capital requirements; irrigation rehabilitation and dam construction; and other agro-mechanisation programmes (Gono, 2006). The Agriculture Sector Productivity Enhancement Facility (ASPEF) was introduced by the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe (RBZ) following the announcement of the May 2005 Post- Elections and Drought Mitigating Monetary Policy Framework to provide capital finance for agriculture and related activities at concessionary rates. This was in recognition of the critical role played by agriculture in the Zimbabwean economy, with the sector then contributing about a fifth of the country’s Gross Domestic Product. ASPEF aimed at establishing linkages between agriculture and other key sectors of the economy that are critical in enhancing economic growth and to enhance food security, boost foreign currency generation through exports and foreign currency savings through import substitution on food and related products (RBZ, 2006). The disbursement of funds under ASPEF commenced in June 2005 and this saw most of the A2 farmers, who had been weaned from direct input support, accessing finances for agricultural production through Agribank and other financial institutions at concessionary rates of around fifty percent. Farmers could access funds under ASPEF through various facilities such as the Tobacco Seedlings and Land Preparation Facility, Maize and Sorghum

Support Facility, Wheat Purchase Facility, the Soya Bean Production Facility or the National Agricultural Mechanization Programme among others. The Winter Crops Inputs Loan Scheme which mainly encompassed wheat production had limited scope targeting only those farmers with capacity to irrigate although the implementation modalities were the same with the summer programs (Govere, 2009).

The private sector was encouraged to get involved in the provision of inputs to farmers through contract farming. Over the years the number of institutions involved in the government input schemes was reduced and companies from the private sector ceased to distribute inputs on behalf of the government. The government has made available financial resources under its crop and livestock input schemes targeting farmers from the communal areas and A1, A2 and old resettlement areas. The 2005/2006 and 2006/2007 seasons have seen the government sidelining the A2 farmers in favour of the more vulnerable and less endowed communal and old resettlement farmers. Then A2 farmers were encouraged to seek loans from banks, although issues concerning the lack of land tenure security have discouraged the banks from lending to these apparently high-risk new farmers.

Private sector's participation in the primary production of agricultural commodities through input packs, finance and technical support provision (contract farming) was encouraged by the need to secure adequate raw materials for own agro-industrial operations. Agribusinesses realised the need to enter into contracts with and support farmers to grow certain hectares or produce agreed tonnages of particular crop commodities in order for them to have guaranteed supplies of their raw material requirements. The phenomenon gained momentum during the FTLRP era as commodity shortages intensified due to declining production across all major crops. The levels of support rendered to the farmer differed according to the specifications of the contract and type of crop supported with both partial and full support

packages being provided. However, private sector support to the newly resettled farmers has been very minimal due to the politics of property rights and tenure security issues. Major crops supported by the private sector through contract farming include cash crops such as tobacco (merchants), cotton and soya beans (merchants, ginners, oil processors and stock feed manufacturers) and industrial cereals such as barley and sorghum (beer brewing companies), as well as wheat and maize (millers, bakeries, confectioneries and stock-feed manufacturers) (Mujeyi, 2010).

The NGO and donor input support programmes intensified as a result of the increase in the number of vulnerable households owing to the economic hardship and droughts. These NGO/donor programmes, which are rendered as emergency relief aid, mainly support the production of staple cereal food crops such as maize and small grains. Mujeyi goes on to say that the programmes sometimes take a development dimension whereby inputs support is rendered through conducting of trials for advancing certain agricultural technologies. Important to note is that, these NGO/donor interventions discriminated against the newly resettled farmers, choosing instead to target existing and former farm workers although a lot of vulnerable households existed among the new farmers, particularly among the A1 farmers.

2.4 The Land Reform Program and National Food Security

The most critical opposition to the FTLRP in Zimbabwe is that the programme has become a contentious issue, not because white farmers desire to perpetuate their historical land dominance, but because the programme has reduced national food security and necessitated food aid to an increasing number of actual and potential famine victims (Terrell 2002). Critiques dismiss claims by the government that recent droughts are responsible for declining food productivity and contend that if the droughts have played any part, they have merely magnified the excesses of a poorly conceived land reform programme (Owens *et al.* 2003).

The broader criticism has been reinforced by NGO reports of a food crisis resulting from poor government food policy (especially its unwillingness to acknowledge the extent of food insecurity), and land reform, which has resulted in the mass exodus of productive white farmers (FEWS 1995, 1997; 2003).

Goebels, (2005) asserts that the process has also so far resulted in dramatic agricultural productivity declines, including massive food shortages and losses of exports, and has failed to decongest in any significant way the Communal Areas (the former Tribal Trust Lands) where the poorest farmers reside and practise subsistence agriculture. The immediate consequence of the fast track land reform exercise was a sharp fall in agricultural production. The FAO WFP Crop and Food Supply Assessment Mission to Zimbabwe (2007) noted that ‘there are severe input, infrastructure and economic constraints that prevent new farmers from realising the full potential of the basic land resource’.

“Even a recent study of food security in Harare failed to prove any links between its findings and of widespread food insecurity and land reform (FEWSNET, 2001). As early as 2001, a year after the FTLRP was embarked on, food insecurity was already an issue. In post-2000 Zimbabwe, new opportunities for some small-scale farmers are opening up (Chaumba, Scoones and Wolmer 2003). In cases where small farmers did begin new plots, lack of follow-up support and a series of devastating droughts since 2000 have meant little progress so far since 2000 in small-scale production. Indeed, the rural population is on the brink of famine (Reuters News Agency, July 26, 2005). However, if and when the crisis passes, it is arguable that the farming skill exists to build a viable small-scale peasant sector in Zimbabwe (Goebels, 2005: 358). From this light, prospects of a successful agriculture are positive if proper investments are made to that effect.

In a study carried elsewhere in Zimbabwe, ‘the results suggest that FTLRP beneficiaries are more productive than communal farmers.’ This is due to the difference in input usage and the fact that FTLRP beneficiaries gained a productivity advantage not only from the fact that ‘they used more fertilizer per hectare, but also from attaining a higher rate of return from its use...and evidence that soil conservation, among other factors, had a significant impact on productivity.’ (Zikhali, 2008).

Mamdani, 2008, puts up a challenge to influential stereotypes of land reform commonly found in the media and elsewhere on the land reform in Zimbabwe pointing out that the massive redistribution of farms since 2000 has not resulted in complete agricultural failure. Provisional research findings from the Zimbabwe study of the impacts of land redistribution do indeed show that some of the new occupants of former commercial farms in Masvingo Province have produced good crop harvests in years of reasonable rainfall such as the 2005/6 season Other research demonstrates how the livestock sector in southern Zimbabwe has remained vibrant through a fundamental restructuring of both production systems and commodity chains (Mavedzenge et al, 2008).

Scoones identifies five myths: that land reform has been a total failure; that its beneficiaries have been largely political cronies; that there is no new investment in the new settlements; that agriculture is in ruins; and that the rural economy has collapsed (Scoones et al, 2010). On the first myth, Scoones et al conclude that: ‘In Masvingo province, 1.2 million hectares have been redistributed to around 20,000 households. Across these there is much variation. On the so-called A1 schemes (smallholder farming), where there is low capital investment and a reliance on local labour, settlers have done reasonably well, particularly in the wetter parts of the province. Households have cleared land, planted crops and invested in new assets, many hiring in labour from nearby communal areas.’ (Scoones et al, 2010). This assertion also

refutes the second myth. Ben Cousins, the director of PLAAS and one of the most astute South African analysts of agrarian change – who had previously argued that the land reform would destroy agricultural production – now says that the future of Zimbabwe lies in providing small farmers with subsidies so that food security can be achieved. According to researchers at the African Institute for Agrarian Studies in Harare, new farms need to receive subsidised maize seed and fertiliser for a few seasons before achieving full production.

Mamdani does acknowledge the negative impact the FTLRP has had on food production stating that ‘the final casualty (to the land reform) was food production:

Zimbabwe, once a food surplus country, is today deficient in both foreign exchange and food. In 2002-3, half the population depended on food aid: this was a drought year and the figures improved in 2004-5. The UN now estimates that nearly half the country’s 13.3 million inhabitants will once again be dependent on food aid in 2009, after another drought year. A million of these are poor, urban residents who can’t afford imported food. The rest are peasants, most of them hit by drought. Climate change is clearly a factor here, its role most obvious in marginal land: the communal areas worked by millions of small farmers. A 2002 World Food Programme study noted that there had been three droughts in Zimbabwe since 1982 and that the 2002 drought, which also affected several neighbouring countries in Southern Africa, was the worst in 20 years thirds (Mamdani, 2008).

The results of the decline in food production he attributes not only to the transfer of land ownership but incessant drought that has bedevilled the Southern Africa region since the turn of the century due to climate change. On the other hand, in response to Mamdani, R. W. Johnson asserts that the Zimbabwean peasants confront hunger, disease, repression; they have no inputs of seeds, fertiliser and draught power. The redistribution of land has been

conducted in a way that makes a mockery of the potentials of peasant production (R.W. Johnson, 2008). Thus an admission that the land distribution exercise was genuine for the peasantry though done in a disorderly manner hence impacting negatively on food production.

Other studies are on the affirmative that the land redistribution exercise has not been a total failure as being portrayed in the mainstream national and international media. “In interviews with new settlers, despite the problems, there is universal acclaim for the resettlement programme: ‘Life has changed remarkably for me because I have more land and can produce more than I used to,’ said one; while another observed, ‘We are happier here at resettlement. There is more land, stands are larger and there is no overcrowding. We got good yields in 2006. I filled two granaries with sorghum’” (Scoones, 2008). From this perspective, it is clear that the land redistribution exercise of 2000 to 2003 cannot be rubbished as a total failure.

Relating to the third myth that there is no investment in the new resettlement areas, Scoones et al 2010 argued that ‘While there has certainly been substantial damage done to the basic infrastructure of commercial agriculture operations in some parts of the country - perpetrated by both new land occupiers and former owners - there has also been significant new investment; almost all of it private, individual efforts with vanishingly little provision through the state. Settlers have also built new homes, forty-one per cent made from bricks, many with tin or asbestos roofing. A key investment has been cattle, with herds building up fast. Sixty-two per cent have cattle on the resettlements, with an average herd size of five. They have also acquired equipment: seventy-five per cent of households own ploughs; forty per cent own bicycles; thirty-nine per cent own ox-drawn carts and fifteen per cent own private cars. This level of asset ownership is higher than comparable samples in the neighbouring communal areas and since acquiring land most new settlers have been accumulating, despite

the hardships. However, on a comparative basis, studies elsewhere indicate that investments in the resettlement areas are generally low as compared to the communal areas mainly due to insecurity of the tenure system. Zikhali, 2010 submits that research findings have proven that 'FTLRP beneficiaries have so far invested less in land-related investments. However contrary to economic theory and existing empirical findings that postulate that less perceived tenure security has a negative impact on productivity negatively (through reduced farm investments), FTLRP beneficiaries are found to be more productive than communal farmers.' Thus refuting the claim that productivity has been low due to low investments on land. Trends as Scoones et al admit also show that investments in A2 farms is very low due to lack of capital also minimum developments are being witness in irrigation agriculture.

Scoones et al also argue that agriculture is not in complete ruins and that the rural economy has collapsed as circulating in the media but there has been a restructuring premised on the changed from large scale to small scale land ownership and production. Moyo and Yeros are on the affirmative putting forward that,

[V]arious new dynamics are underway in the countryside in terms of labour mobilisation, investment in infrastructure, new small industries, new commodity chains, and the formation of cooperatives. And despite the adverse economic conditions, land utilisation levels have already surpassed the forty per cent mark that prevailed on white farms after a whole century of state subsidies and racial privilege. That crop yields remain low is largely due to input shortages, not the lack of entrepreneurial spirit or expertise by the new farmers, as is so often claimed. The new agrarian structure in Zimbabwe now holds out the promise of obtaining food sovereignty (which it had never obtained before), creating new domestic inter-sectoral

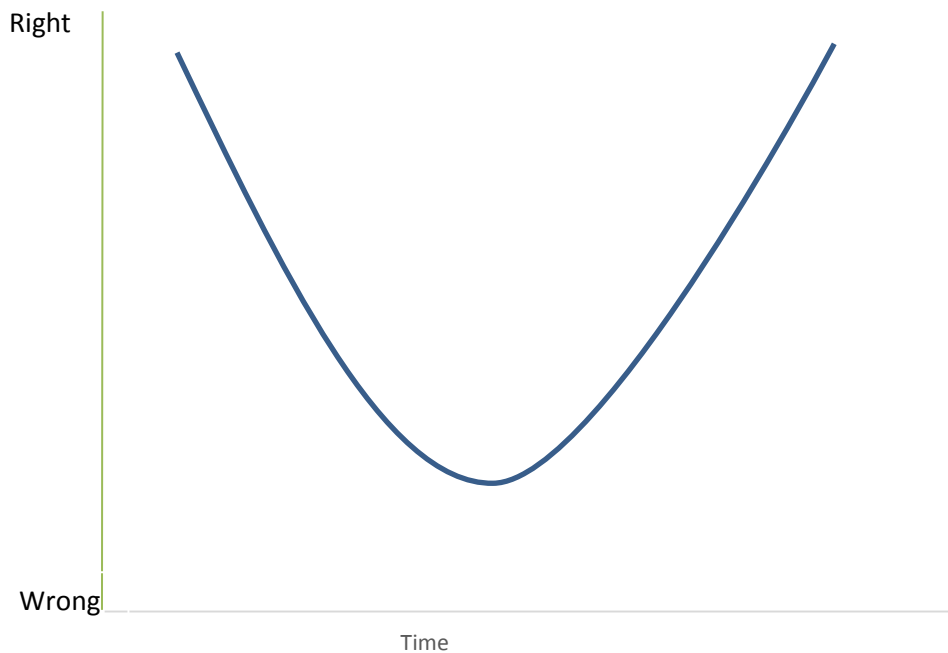
linkages, and formulating a new model of agro-industrial development with organised peasants in the forefront (Moyo and Yeros, 2009).

From this point, this study seeks to ascertain the debates surrounding productive in the post 2000 land and agrarian reform programs.

It is therefore imperative to assess the different arguments that have been put forward for and against the FTLRP in Zimbabwe. In discussing agricultural production directly and food security indirectly, Khan 2004, makes the point that ‘the argument for land reform is most persuasive when the proposed reform promises not only to improve distribution but also to increase growth and efficiency’. The government’s position has been that these ‘radical land reform programme’ was necessitated by the need to reinvigorate a process, which had been stalled by lack of commitment by white farmers and the British Government (Logan, 2002).

An important economic theory underpinning this study is the Learning Curve Theory. Learning is the process by which an individual acquires skill, knowledge and ability. For example, when a new product or process is started, performance of a worker is not at its best and learning phenomenon takes place. As the experience is gained, the performance of a worker improves. Time taken per unit reduces and thus his productivity goes up. This improvement in productivity of workers is due to the learning effect (Institute of Chartered Accountants of India). In Taiwan, the income of the lower percentile groups improved after a certain turning point in the inverted U shaped curve proposed by Kuznets (Kuznets, 1955). This turning curve point was preceded by Taiwan’s successful land reform. Reform provided a strong basis for improved earning among rural low income people.

Graph 1 The U shaped Learning Curve Theory



A number of factors including lack of knowledge would hamper production in the resettlement areas. Marongwe is of the opinion that:

[I]n the early stages of the land occupations the high mobility of land occupiers as they shuttled between their communal home and the new home in the newly occupied farms meant less time and effort were put to farming. This potentially worsened the food security situation of the households in the face of crippling droughts (Marongwe, 2010).

The ideological arguments therefore, are premised on the impact that the FTLRP have achieved in as far as food security is concerned. It is against this background that this study is anchored.

CHAPTER 3 METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This study employed a systematic, structured qualitative study with community members of the Umguza District and those officials of the Umguza Rural District Council, Agritex officials, the Matabeleland Provincial leadership and non-governmental organisations engaged agriculture and food security schemes in the District. The questionnaires for both the community members and the administrative and other institutional officials consisted of closed questions as well as open-ended questions and conclusions derived out of the data gathered. The beneficiaries of the land and agrarian reforms were approached personally and the aims and the relevance of the study were explained, while the officials were handed the questionnaire to be completed and some were interviewed. The answers from the questionnaires were presented by using tables, bar and pie charts to summarise the information. In certain cases, the answers from the respondents were summarised by highlighting the main points.

3.2 Nature of Research

The researcher used the longitudinal study to evaluate the effects of land and agrarian reforms on food security by collecting data on the period before the FTLRP and data after the program. Moreover, because Umguza District is characterised by both resettled and communal farmers, the researcher also collected data from a communal area (Ward 7). This was meant to be a control sample because information gathered from the resettled farmers had a problem in that before 2000, the beneficiaries of the land reform program had different agricultural settings yet some of them were not practicing agriculture at all. Taking a multi-disciplinary approach helped cover up gaps and breached the shortfalls the researcher was

likely to face in coming up with a comprehensive assessment of the land and agrarian reforms on food security.

The researcher embarked on a longitudinal survey that involved observation of the same variables over the period of ten years. The reason for the longitudinal study was to observe study developmental trends in food security through the past decade for the beneficiaries of the land reform program. Beneficiaries were asked of the changes in food production for the past ten years and the effects of other variables affecting agricultural productivity were observed. A retrospective cohort study, also called a historic cohort study a longitudinal study that looks back in time was chosen because of the time factor involved in this study. The researcher therefore gathered data from previous years to look for a trend in food production in the newly resettled farmers.

Caution was exercised to avoid errors due to mixing up of information hence a control group of communal farmers was also studied for a cross sectional analysis of the agricultural trends in Umguza. The retrospective cohort study was opted for because of less time that was required to complete the study and it was going to make it easy to analyse multiple outcomes. Economically, a retrospective study is generally less expensive because outcome and experience have already occurred, and the resources are mainly directed at collection of data only. The main challenge that the research faced was forgetfulness on the part of the respondents as some data was distant because most rural farmers do not keep records of their of agricultural inputs and outputs. To meet a degree of accuracy, the researcher had to rely on government records and other stakeholders within Umguza District.

Additionally, in order to avoid the major drawback associated with retrospective longitudinal approach (forgetfulness), the researcher resorted to the case-control or case-referent design. In the case-control study the researcher used Ward 7 a communal area in Umguza to measure

agricultural trends for the past decade and these were juxtaposed against those trends in the beneficiaries of the FTLRP.

Furthermore, a cross-sectional study was also engaged. A cross sectional study is also an observational approach to research meaning that the researcher records information about their subjects without manipulating the study environment (At Work, 2009). In this study, the researcher measured agricultural and food security trends for the beneficiaries of the FTLRP and non-beneficiaries (the communal farmers) with other variable that were of interest to the study in questions without interference. The defining feature of a cross-sectional study is that it can compare different population groups at a single point in time. The choice of Ward 7, a communal area was premised on the need to uncover the food security trends in that ward, compare and contrast them with those of the beneficiaries of the FTLRP with the main goal of assessing whether the resettlement areas have achieved the desired aim of improving food security for the rural folk. The benefit of a cross-sectional study design was that it allowed the researcher to compare many different variables at the same time with little additional cost.

However, one weakness with the cross-sectional study is that it may not provide definite information about cause-and-effect relationships. This is because such studies offer a snapshot of a single moment in time; they do not consider what happens before or after the snapshot is taken (Babbie and Mouton, 2001). Therefore, the longitudinal retrospective approach alluded to before, provided for a fall-back plan that made the research thorough and comprehensive. As a result, agricultural and food security trends for Ward 10 and the control Ward 7 were studied in the light of assessing the impact of the FTLRP.

The researcher also sought to test an a priori hypothesis derived from a theory that agriculture production faces a slump immediately after the land reform and production improves over the

years (the U-Curve Learning Theory). As such, the research becomes a confirmatory research.

The researcher used the Food Security Survey Module (FSSM) to measure food security in Ward 10 and 7 of Umguza District. This measurement tool was also combined with the Coping Strategy Index and the Dietary Diversity and Food Frequency Methods. The FSSM classifies households as food secure, food insecure without hunger, or food insecure with moderate or severe hunger. Information is collected about the food security of adults and children. A shorter version of the FSSM was used. The short-form classifies households as either food secure or food insecure, with or without hunger, with no child specific questions. (Blumberg et al., 1999). The FSSM uses an affirmative, additive scale for determining levels of food insecurity. This means that a household's food security status is determined by the number of affirmative responses and not which specific indicators of food insecurity are reported. A household is ultimately labelled as food insecure based on a points system called the FSSM Scale. Each time the respondent affirms a question, the household is assigned one point on the FSSM scale. (Blumberg, 1999).

The Coping Strategies Index (CSI) enumerates various consumption-related coping strategies commonly used by a population. Four general categories of coping are measured, with individual strategies defined specifically according to location and culture:

1. Dietary change (e.g. eating less preferred but less expensive food etc.);
2. Increasing short-term food access (borrowing; gifts; wild foods; consuming seed stock);
3. Decreasing numbers of people to feed (short-term migration);

4. Rationing strategies (mothers prioritizing children/men; limiting portion size; skipping meals; skipping eating for whole days). (Corbett, 1988).

The Dietary Diversity and Food Frequency Methods assessed the variety in household diet and the frequency at which food was consumed per day.

3.3 Research design

The researcher followed a qualitative approach covering an array of interpretative techniques which sought to describe, decode, translate, and come to terms with the meaning of land and agrarian reforms on food security in Umguza District. Evaluative approach was taken to enable the researcher to assess the worthiness of the land and agrarian reforms on food security. Additionally, a comparative research was implemented as the research looked closely at the state of food security prior and post 2000 periods. The researcher in some instances used historical research by interacting with existing sources such as newspapers and government reports in getting information on the state of food security in Umguza in the pre and post FTLRP.

3.4 Population and Sampling

Umguza District has a population of 89 687 and consists of 18 986 households made of an average 4.7 people. The District has 18 Wards, and one ward is a new resettlement area, 15 are communal areas, one is a small scale commercial farming area and the remainder is an old resettlement area. Therefore, this study narrowed down to Wards 7 and 10, a communal area and a new resettlement area respectively. Ward 7 consists of a total population of 5 393, making 1458 households with an average size of households being 3.7, while Ward 10 is composed of 2 892 people and 616 households of average size 4.7 (Zimstat, 2013).

For reasons of economy and convenience, the researcher followed non probability sampling technique that is the convenience sampling. Units of analysis that were followed were age and gender. According to Zimstat 2012 Census figures, there were slightly more females in Ward 7 and the opposite was true with Ward 10. As such, the sample was based on these statistics. Moreover, the ages for the participants were based on the assumption that those who benefited from the land reform program were thirty five years and above.

A five percent sample was obtained for Ward 10 hence 30 households were interviewed. For the control sample of Ward 7, only 15 households were interviewed. Samples were generally small because of time and financial constraints and so because of the homogeneity of the households under study. The sample included both men and women of relevant age groups. Women respondents within a household were the most preferred especially considering that the research had a bias towards home economics issues.

3.5 Data collection

This study embarked on a systematic data collection techniques ranging from observations, interviews, questionnaires, and record methods (collection of public documents, data published by the civic organisations and public sector, annual reports and other documents such as newspaper reports). Field data was collected using mainly interviews and taking down of notes. Only once did the researcher resort to recording an interview because of the spontaneous nature of the interview.

The data was collected through participant observation. This was through taking part in the field days in the post-harvest period organised by the Agritex Department. Field days brought together various stakeholders that included farmers (communal, new and old resettlements and small scale commercial farmers), seed houses, Non-Governmental Organisations, farmer

organisations (e.g. Zimbabwe Farmers Union), and Ministry of Agriculture personnel. Notes were taken on the activities, speeches and songs that were sung during these programs.

Additionally, unstructured interviews were carried out relevant to the field day festivities. Unstructured interviews were carried out especially on the exploratory stage if the research meant to identify variables relevant to the study and to polish up the hypothesis and the questionnaire for further investigations. Unstructured interviews were particularly helpful in this qualitative study as respondents would share information through a spontaneous talk generated from suggestions of the general theme by the researcher. Unstructured interviews were carried out during field days and this presented a good setting for the study in hand. The disadvantage with the unstructured interviews was that they tended to be hurriedly done so as to catch up with other activities that were lined up for the field days that the researcher participated in (Carlson, Neil and et al. 1999).

Structured and semi-structured interviews were also carried out with various officials and sample households. An interview schedule (Appendix B) was prepared and face to face interviews were carried out and the respondent's responses were recorded. Structured interviews were used when gathering information from various offices such as the Matabeleland Lands Office, and Umguza Rural District Council.

Households were interviewed using the semi structured interview guides. It is important to note that household interviews were preferred instead of focus groups so as to provide family confidentiality. Participants were visited in their homesteads and interviews were carried out at their convenience. The timing of the field research was out so as to avoid disturbing the largely agricultural community hence interviews were carried in the post-harvest period between July and August. This was well timed to avoid disturbing preparations for the following agricultural season which commences late September to early October.

3.6 Data analysis and presentation

The study carried out a qualitative analysis and was presented as such. However, some information was quantified. In data analysis the researcher followed these steps; (i) identifying relevant information, (ii) identifying independent or explanatory variables, and (iii) identifying variables to be derived from other variables.

Content analysis involves coding and classifying data, also referred to as categorising and indexing and the aim of context analysis is to make sense of the data collected and to highlight the important messages, features or findings. Content analysis ‘...a procedure for the categorisation of verbal or behavioural data, for purposes of classification, summarisation and tabulation’ (Welman et al, 2005) was then undertaken at two levels that the basic level or the manifest level (a descriptive account of the data) that is: this is what was said, but no comments or theories as to why or how. A higher level or latent level of analysis (a more interpretive analysis) that is concerned with the response as well as what may have been inferred or implied was also applied on the data collected.

The researcher took the following steps in data analysis:

- 1) Copying and reading through the transcripts making brief notes in the margin when interesting or relevant information was found.
- 2) Going through the notes made in the margins and listing the different types of information found
- 3) Reading through the list and categorising each item in a way that offered a description of what it was about.

4) Identifying whether or not the categories could be linked any way and listing them as major categories (or themes) and/or minor categories (or themes).

5) Comparing and contrasting the various major and minor categories

6) Collection of all categories and examination on relevance and whether they were fitting in the study.

7) After all the transcript data was categorised into minor and major categories, the researcher reviewed all the data and ensured that the information was categorised accordingly.

8) The researcher reviewed all of the categories and sub-categorised some themes and returned to all the original transcripts ensuring that all the information that needed to be categorised had been collated.

In data analysis the researcher also looked at the theoretical framework underpinning the study. This provided the lens through which the data was viewed and helped in situating the results in the theory facilitating the understanding of the data within the theoretical framework. Moreover, the researcher relied on reviewing the research questions (Patton, 1987). Research questions were used as to guide the design and implementation of the study. Hence analysis ensured that sufficient data was collected to enable the researcher to answer the questions posed within the study.

Data was presented following an interpretative and descriptive approach based on the categories that had emerged (Mirriam, 1999). Themes were made presented as sections with relevant sub-sections, reliable and valid quotes can were used to demonstrate and support findings. Some data was presented in quantitative form. Data was graphically displayed,

describing the central tendencies and how it is distributed. The information was presented in tables and charts that are headed and numbered.

3.7 Ethical considerations

The researcher, avoided procedures that would have caused physical or emotional harm on the participants (Rakotsoane and Rakotsoane, 2006). The following unethical practices were avoided: secretly accessing informant's personal information, observing informant's behavior without them being aware, allowing personal information to be made public which informants would want to be kept private, and also observed or respected cultural values, traditions or taboos valued by informants.

The researcher therefore obtained informed consent of the informant before the study and the interviews began and avoided posing sensitive questions before a good relationship was established. The research also ensured the informants of confidentiality of data collected. Furthermore, due credit was be awarded to both primary and secondary written documents that were used.

CHAPTER 4: DISCUSSIONS AND RESULTS

4.1 Introduction

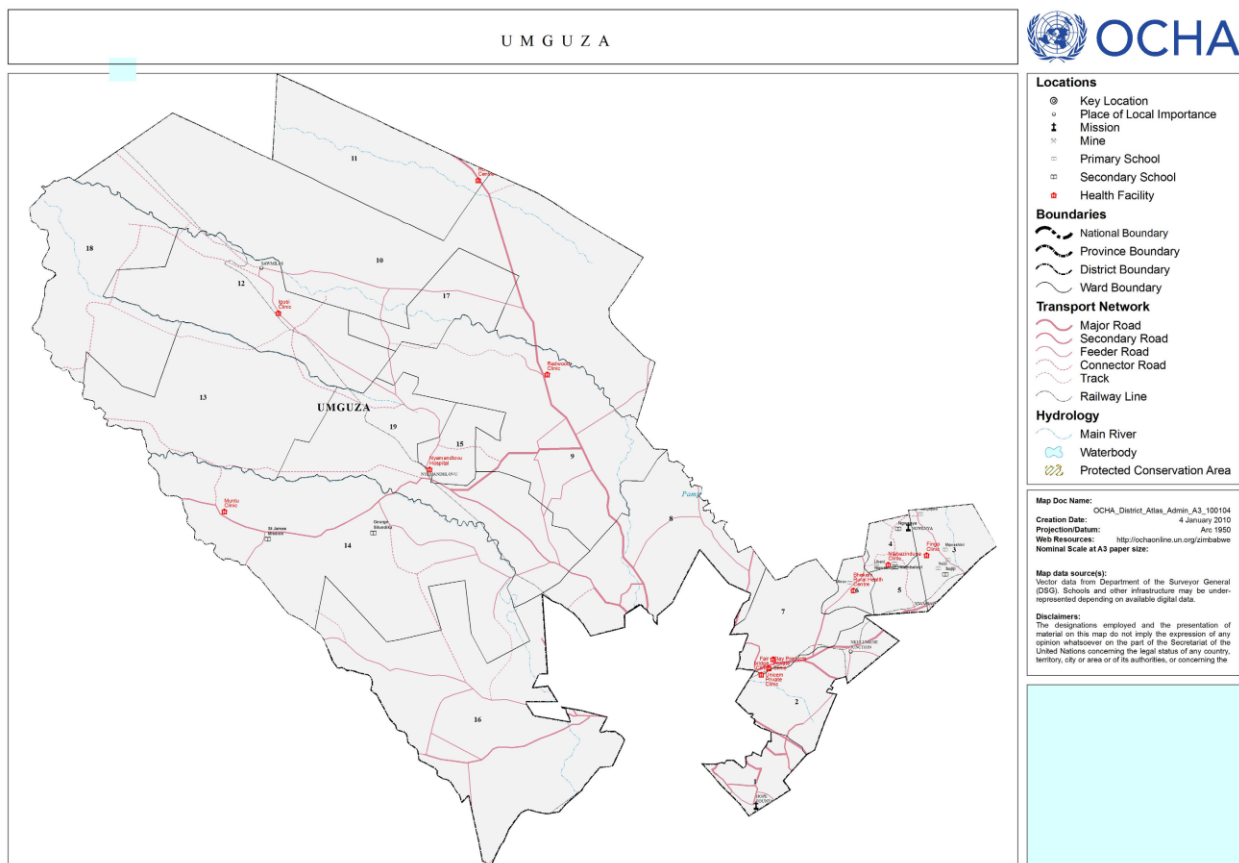
The community under study, Umguzu lies on the fertile belt characterised by red clay soils, with a significant part of the region well watered by Nyamandlovu Aquifer. The District lies in the Matabeleland North Province which is however, well known for low rainfall patterns that is the agro-ecological region 4; hence food insecurity is common in the area. The most suitable agricultural farming for the area is animal ranching. The District has 18 Wards, one ward is a new resettlement area, 15 are communal areas, one is a small scale commercial farming area and the remainder is an old resettlement area.

Table 3 Umguzu Rural District Ward 7 and 10 Population Statistics

	<u>Males</u>	<u>Average</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>Average</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Number of Households</u>	<u>Average HH size</u>
Ward 7	2 690	49.9	2 703	50.1	5 393	1 458	3.7
Ward 10	1 459	50.4	1 433	49.6	2 892	616	4.7
Total	47 091	52.5	42 586	47.5	89 687	18 986	4.7

Source: Zimstat, 2012 Census Provincial Report, Harare, October 2013, p148.

Poverty incidence was pegged at between 62 to 96% in 2003 according to the 2003 Poverty Assessment Study Survey. As a result most of the people especially the youth work in South Africa and in the process send remittances back home to assist their families or relatives. The District has 89 687 people, comprising of 47 091 males and 42 586 females. The District comprises of 18 986 households, with an average household size of 4.7 people (Zimstat, 2013).



Source: OCHA.

There are about 16 NGOs operating in the constituency. Their areas of operation range from poverty alleviation, water and sanitation and health. These NGOs comprise of international as well as locally based organisations, such as World Vision and Orap. The NGOs are mainly concentrated in the areas of poverty alleviation probably due to the fact that the area is a dry region and most of the people do not have harvest enough for consumption. There is one bank and 2 post office facilities. Only, one business centre has a GMB and COTTCO depot, an indication that there is not much crop production in the constituency, due to the fact that it falls in the dry agro-region (Parliament of Zimbabwe, 2011).

A1 farms are a model where an individual family farm is six hectares plus a common grazing land for livestock. The homesteads are in villages and farmers have fields at a designated

area. This sector includes self-contained A1 farms which are more than the usual six hectares. A1 farmers are similar to the communal lands where farmers live in villages and have areas for cropping and common grazing lands. Agricultural production is mainly for subsistence with the surplus being sold to the market. The population in the communal sector makes up to about 51 percent of Zimbabwe's population (Zimstat, 2013).

With the land being transferred to the majority of Zimbabwean, the main question this research want to find an answer to is how far has food security been affected by this programme. An important outcome to the land reform exercise is therefore, food security in terms of both physical and economic access (Bush 2005). Since the turn of the century, Zimbabwe has been struggling economically and this has led to a divide in ideological explanation. One argument is that the economic conditions are as a result of a failed land reform while another argument blames the country's economic misfortunes to the economic sanctions and unending droughts hence impeding agricultural productivity.

Despite skepticism that the land reform programme would kill the agriculture economy, crops such as tobacco that were not affected by the drought have increased both in quantity and earnings due to the land reform programme's newly settled farmers . . . Were it not for the drought, the country's maize production was set to increase dramatically because the area that had been put under maize was considerably bigger than in previous years (The Herald, 25 July 2002, p. 8). Experiences elsewhere in African countries, for example, Ethiopia, suggest that food access (in terms of production) typically drops for two or three years following the inception of reform before it starts to increase (Mengisteab, 1999). In Zimbabwe, at national level, food security has been negative in the years after the Fast Tract Land Reform Programme.

As noted earlier, the contributions of the resettled farmers were obtained from Umguza District Ward 10, a ward characterised by the A1 farmers who benefited from the FTLRP of 2000. Interviews were carried out at their homes so as to get all the confidential information pertaining to household food security. Discussions were conducted primarily in Ndebele though the questionnaire was written in English. The research design was based on the assumption that, the beneficiaries of the land reform were previously occupying marginal land that was not enough for crop production and animal husbandry and thus these saw it fit to take part in the FTLRP. A control population from Ward 7 a communal land area was also interviewed for comparison purposes.

The analyses below are based on the transcribed statements of participants, summarised under three broad categories: land reform, agrarian reform and the state of household food security.

4.2 The beneficiaries of the FTLRP on land reform

Participants viewed the land reform in ways that are consistent with those of the government, for example: ‘that it was largely a success’ ‘irreversible’; ‘is the key to rural economic development’. These views on the land reform showed that the area is generally occupied by those that willingly took up land for to fulfil the dreams of land ownership, a theme that resonated during the war of liberation and are keen to see development of their land. The land reform is being views as answer to the problems facing rural communities and respondents are keen to see development in their areas as the consider land redistribution a closed chapter.

Participants generally believe that the land reform program has a moral justification premised on the unfair land ownership during the colonial era. As such, the FTLRP is viewed by many as a program aimed at correcting the historical imbalances. With a number of participants

having lived in the pre-independence era, and possible some whom participated in the liberation war, speeches like: “the land reform was the ultimate goal of the liberation struggle’ and ‘*nxa ufuna imali phendulela ibala elithi mali. Liyakuba ngulima*’ (‘If you want money, you should be a farmer’)-a popular speech by the late Vice President Dr. Joshua Nkomo.

Table 4: Participants’ views on the FTLRP

<u>Views:</u>	<u>Morally correct</u>	<u>Success</u>	<u>Irreversible</u>	<u>Has improved rural livelihoods</u>	<u>More investments needed</u>	<u>A failure</u>
<u>Number:</u>	27	25	28	28	19	3

Source: Compiled by researcher from field notes.

Agriculture is therefore viewed by many as the key to the economic revival of the country. Additionally, the notion that the land reform is irreversible as is the rhetoric by the government is also talked about by some of the beneficiaries of the exercise in Umguza District. These also view the exercise as a cornerstone to rural development. Further, there’s a common belief that the FTLRP was a success, however, the government was challenged by the beneficiaries to do more social development so as to consolidate the land reform exercise. One of the participants bemoaned: ‘Schools and clinic are not enough in our ward and thus there’s by the government to develop infrastructure as a means of promoting health and education in the resettlement areas’.

A negligible percentage of the participants feel that the exercise was not well timed and thus a failure though these are willing to continue occupying their pieces of land. A young participant felt that the government should not have antagonised the West in the redistribution of land as this has led to the general decline in the economy due to the sanctions that were imposed after the land reform exercise. Asked whether she would go back

to the communal area she previously resided in, the participant declined affirming that, if development is made in the resettlement areas, these pose a future in rural development. One commentator said: ‘With the good rains recorded in the 2013/14 planting season, there is hope that the land reform program will in future bear fruits of success as long as the heavens smile on us.’

Table 5: Crops grown in Ward 10

<u>Food crops</u>	<u>Cash crops</u>
Maize	Sunflower
Sorghum	Soyabeans
Millet	Cotton
Groundnuts	Potatoes
Beans	
Cowpeas	

Source: Compiled by researcher from field notes.

4.3 Access to inputs and training

The Department of Agricultural, Technical and Extension Services, one of technical departments of the Ministry of Agriculture and Mechanisation, Engineering and Irrigation Development plays a very critical part in this area. The department carries out the following functions (among others); training of farmers, giving advisory and extension services, disseminating agricultural and market related information, mobilising farmers for targeted production, disseminating and promoting the adoption of new technologies through on-farm trials and demonstrations, field days, exchange visits, farmer field schools and technology fairs. Additionally, the department is active in conducting crop and livestock assessment for

early warning, collating agricultural production information and providing interface between researchers and farmers (Umguza Agritex Strategic Plan 2012-2015). Research shows that, these functions have partially been achieved by the Department in Umguza. According to the District Agricultural and Extension Officer for Umguza Mrs Sharlene Mabarani, the department, has made the following milestones: staff deployment of 2 to 3 per Ward, Master Farmer training, carrying out of demonstrations and trials on different crop varieties, fertility maintenance and introduction of conservation agriculture. As such, she explains that the performance of her office in relation to achieving food security in the district has been good as ‘Agritex managed to impart technical knowledge to farmers which was followed. The results were seen through a number of field days held as well as quality of shows as farmer competition increased.’ (Mabarani, 2013).

Table 6: Agritex staff compliment for Umguza District

Services	Number of officers
Technical and advisory	51*
Regulatory	6
Farmer training	51*
Other	2

*These play a duplicate role.

Source: Umguza District Agritex Office, 2013.

The department has been actively involved in Ward 10 of Umguza promoting the growth of the following crops: soya beans, sorghum (still grown on a small scale), maize, irrigated wheat, potato, sugar beans and horticultural crops like cabbage, chomolier, mushrooms, carrot, beetroot, green mealies, onions, butternut, tomatoes among others. Furthermore, the department has held training workshops with farmers as well as trials and demonstrations.

These were supported by field tours, field days, shows and exhibitions at the Zimbabwe International Trade Fair. (Mabarani, 2013). The department also disseminates information through the media, extension agents, trials and demonstrations, trade fair exhibitions, shows and field days.

However, all these programs are carried out not without challenges as the resettled farmers in the district face such deficiencies as limited draft power, severe shortage of tractors and where these are available, they are very expensive to hire. There are water shortages for irrigation development, yet some farmers resist technical knowledge (because of fear of the unknown and because technologies such as manual conservation requires high labour) until they see results from the pioneers who would have adopted the new technologies. The department is also facing challenges in accommodating extension agents, inadequate transport (motorbikes), unavailability of fuel, inaccessibility of the media that is newspapers and local electronic media.

Umguza Agritex Office is also active in empowering resettled farmers through agri-business and farm management services. These include record keeping, budget analysis, cash flow projections, project proposals and cropping programs. Food technology developments are also being encouraged for example curing of horticultural crops such as onions and garlic, tomato canning, improved granaries and use of chemicals to cure grain.

Production technological developments have also been promoted by the Agritex in Umguza. These development include manual conservation agriculture, use of machinery in conservation agriculture namely, ox drawn and tractor drawn direct seeders, drip irrigation, use of green houses, encouraging small grains and the growing of short season varieties (Umguza Agritex Officer, 2013). Umguza Agritex Office claims that the reception of these technologies has been good. The impact of the promotion of technologies has been both

positive and negative. Because of labour intensity involved in manual conservation, resistance has been high, conservation agriculture is welcome but there are challenges on the availability of the equipment. Drip irrigation has also received a warm welcome but it is expensive to establish. Small grains are also facing resistance because of labour intensity though farmers are being encouraged to use thrashers. Short season drought tolerant varieties have been successfully adopted (Mabarani, 2013).

Umguza Agritex Office also observes that some occupants of resettlement areas are new to farming hence they are not fully utilising the land yet on the other hand, the plot/farm sizes are too small for cattle/livestock rearing which is more relevant to the region as crop production yields low. As a result, irrigation development is vital for food security to be attained in the district (Mabarani, 2013).

Interviews carried out in Ward 10 of Umguza indicate that there is access to agriculture extension services and input provisions in the area. This has, as one participant asserted, contributed to ‘a great deal of knowledge that has assisted in improving agriculture in the region.’ Most of the resettled farmers in Umguza District confessed to have access to extension services from the Agritex Office. The research also witnessed field days that were informative and challenging to the new farmers.

Table 7: Access to technical and extension services

Service	Training	Advisory	Market related	New technologies	On farm trials	Other
Number of Households	23	17	3	24	0	4

Compiled by researcher from field notes.

Most of the participants got extension services from the Agritex Department. Other organisations involved in extension services accessed by the resettled farmers in Umguza include Orap, New Life, GMB, Cottco, Zimbabwe Farmers Union, Seed Co, Veterinary Services Department and German Agro Action. New technologies and other agricultural improvements are being adopted in the district due to the various organisations that are involved in agriculture training and extension services. These developments include the use of conservation agriculture which involves minimum tillage, use of short season varieties, adoption of small grains and practising nutrition gardens.

Cash crops such as soya beans are being attempted on a medium scale by A2 farmers in the district. Food crops are also grown on a medium to large scale for sale by A2 farmers. An example is Mswelangubo Farm, in Ward 9 which on the 4th of April 2013 hosted a field day and the Farm Manager Mr Innocent Ncube shared information that the farm was under 26 hectares of maize, and 6 hectares of soya beans on a piece of land that had been idle before acquisition. The A2 farm has 19 workers of which 6 are casual workers. Contract workers are hired for weeding and harvesting.

The farm is well watered using the electrified central pivot overhead irrigation system with 3 boreholes with the capacity of 6 000, 9 000 and 12 000 litres of water per hour. The maize yield as observed by the researcher was high and this was consolidated by the fact that the crop was irrigated during the dry spells; the farmer used Compound D fertilisers (400kg per hectare), use of lime on acidic area, and herbicides and pesticides to eliminate weeds and crickets respectively (Ncube, 2013). Besides herbicides, a tractor and human labour (contract workers) were used for weeding. The Farm Manager also said that they were expecting a harvest of not less than 4 tonnes per hectare. The soya bean crop was a pilot project with the

assistance of Agritex Officers aimed at mainly stock-feed while maize was grown for stock feed and human consumption.

The plot presented a successful agriculture adventure as affirmed by a song from the village choir during the field day festivities: *“Ubab’ uMpofu wasisusa eGiphithe wasisa eKhenane.....manje thina sesiphila santando”*. “Mr Mpofu took us out of Egypt and got us to Canaan....we now leave freely”. A clear testimony of a successful A2 farming adventure in Umguza District.

4.4 Asset ownership and sources of inputs

Most farmers in Ward 10 in Umguza own the basic agricultural implements that are vital for agricultural production. These implements include an ox-drawn ploughs, scotch carts, hoes, wheelbarrows, and knock pack sprayers. The most common implement is the hoe followed by the ox drawn plough. Other farmers have weeders and planters but these are insignificant to most members of Umguza as they are viewed as a luxury.

Table 8: Implements ownership

Implement	Ox-drawn plough	Hoes	Wheelbarrow	Knack pack sprayer	Tractor	Scotch cart	Other	
Number of households	30	30	14	8	0	19	2	

Additionally, all households own an average of 6 cattle and indigenous chickens. Cattle are an important part of their agricultural life since they rely on cattle for draught power. However, other families also use donkeys for as draught power for their ox-drawn ploughs but this is peripheral, as donkeys are used mainly as drawing scotch-carts. Other types of

livestock are used for various other activities and as a fall back in times of crisis. Chickens are used for food on special occasions and are a very important asset that is easily saleable for fast cash. Sheep are more ornamental with very few families owning such. These may be consumed, but on very rare occasions.

Most of the assets owned by households were acquired over the years preceding the land reform programme though cattle accumulation has been a notable asset accumulation after the year 2000. Most scotch-carts and other ox drawn ploughs were received from the government through the agriculture support scheme carried out in 2008. Sadly, most of the scotch-carts acquired under this scheme are no longer running well. There has been a general increase in the number of livestock ownership by the beneficiaries of the FTLRP. This has seen the growth of the livestock population per household from an average of three per household to an average of seven-a direct benefit of the land reform program.

Table 9: Livestock ownership.

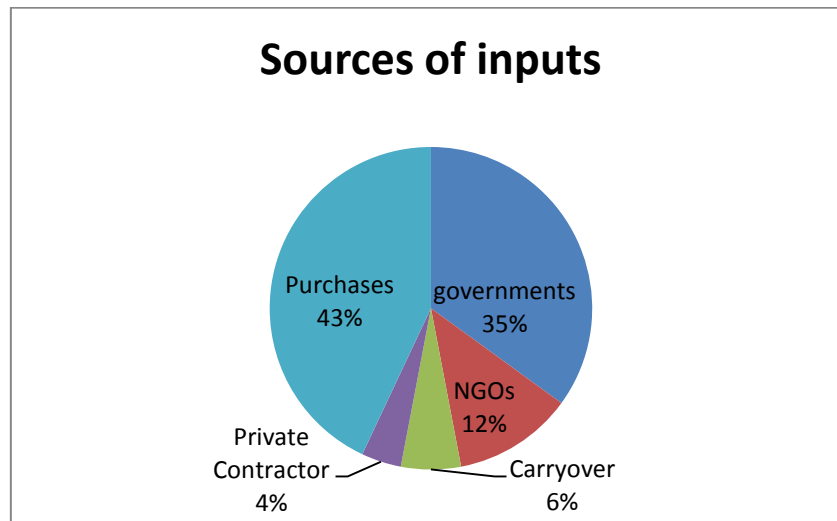
<u>Type of livestock</u>	Cattle	Goats	Sheep	Donkeys	Indigenous chickens	Other
<u>Number of households</u>	30	21	4	24	30	3

Source: Compiled by researcher from field notes.

4.5 Sources of agriculture inputs

Research showed that the government and other stakeholders have invested a lot in the resettlement areas in terms of agricultural inputs. (Communal farmers argue that the government is concentrating more on resettled farmers than communal areas.) Farmers get

inputs from different sources. The information below shows the main sources of inputs per household for the last season. (See pie chart 1 below)



Source: Compiled by researcher from field notes.

However, some farmers bemoaned the general inability to access inputs due to lack of capital and the alleged corruption in government supplied seeds and fertilisers. Most households pointed out that inputs are supplied on political basis with the most active Zanu Pf supporters getting first and more inputs. This is also confirmed by the ZBC News Online (23 February 2011) report: ‘Zanu PF District Chairperson for Umguza Constituency, Comrade Richard Moyo, told party supporters that President Mugabe has worked tirelessly to ensure that all resettled farmers in the country are equipped with agricultural inputs, despite illegal sanctions imposed on the country by the west.’ Clearly this is a sign that those of different political persuasions are not likely beneficiaries to these inputs. Others however, choose not to rely on government inputs sighting political reasons. One farmer, ironically a liberation war fighter remarked that; ‘I buy my own inputs, I do not take Zanu Pf things.’ Farmers indicated that they have faced challenges in acquiring inputs due to lack of capital. Farmers also buy inputs

from money raised through selling of their surplus, selling some of their assets like chickens and goats yet some use seeds carried over from the previous season.

Inputs from the government are however not reliable. For example on the 23th of February 2011, the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation reported the delivery of Ammonium Nitrate fertiliser. 'Resettled farmers in Umguza Constituency have joined the rest of the country in expressing their gratitude to the Head of State and Government and Commander-in-Chief of the Zimbabwe Defence Forces, President Robert Mugabe, for the Agricultural Inputs Programme saying it will boost productivity in the agricultural sector.' (ZBC News Online, 23 February 2011). Inputs supply is a common trend by the government but receiving inputs as late as February is a cause for concern as this defeats the whole purpose of productivity.

Moreover, the resettled farmers lamented lack of credit lines to facilitate agricultural growth for the A1 farmers. Of all the households interviewed, none had managed to get a loan or overdraft from finance providers. The few that have sought loans are sighting that it is largely due to lack of collateral security that they have no access to the loans because they do not possess any title deeds to the land they are occupying. Most banks are seemingly avoiding taking the risk of financing the resettled farmers on the basis that their land ownership is insecure. As such farmers were encouraging the government to ensure the financing of agriculture through the Agribank and other finance houses by giving landholders enough documentation to ensure security of tenure.

As a result, the resettled farmers get their funds from the selling of surplus, remittances from their relatives in the diaspora and from selling their livestock if need be. An elderly woman lamented the failure by the government to develop agriculture arguing that 'this is not what we fought for. Even our children are suffering in the diaspora yet we went to the bush for to enjoy the fruits of independence together.' Another respondent pointed out that the problem

is that the government is taking resources from other provinces and developing Harare and as such, agricultural growth in the resettlement areas remains a pie in the sky.

4.6 Production between 2002 and 2012

Farmers generally agree that there has been an increase in agricultural production from 2002 to 2012. The production trend has however been marred by fluctuations owing to unreliable rainfall. Respondents are quick to mention that since 2002, the successful seasons have been 2005/6 and 2013/14. Other seasons have noted marginal increase in production as compared to the initial years though overall increase in production is blighted by poor rains in the region.

Farmers were asked the number of bags they have been producing in specified seasons as information below shows that there has been a fluctuation in production though there is a significant sign of overall improvement in maize production between 2002 and 2013.

Table 10: Maize yields 2002-2013, % surveyed households

<u>Season</u>	<u>2002/3</u>	<u>2005/6</u>	<u>2011/12</u>	<u>2012/13</u>
<u>Yields category</u>	<u>% Household</u>	<u>% Household</u>	<u>% Household</u>	<u>% Household</u>
<100	7	0	2	8
100-500	73	9	51	30
501-1000	13	15	34	57
>1000	7	76	13	5

Source: Compiled by researcher from field notes

Maize production has generally been on the increase since 2000 and farmers are generally of the idea that production will continue rising in spite of fluctuations caused by droughts.

4.7 The State of Household Food Security in Umguza District Ward 10

With Ward 10 being a resettlement area, has similar food security concerns with other wards in the district in general due to the natural conditions prevailing in the region. A gloomy picture was reported by The Chronicle of 27 March 2012: ‘Counsellor Mpofu said crops such as maize and millet were a complete write-off after being affected by the long dry spell in the area. “This year the rains were not significant and the crops suffered badly. Crops such as maize and millet have been destroyed by lack of water,” said Counsellor Mpofu. “This year there was drought and farmers are expecting about 30 percent of the harvest they got last year. The situation is grave.”

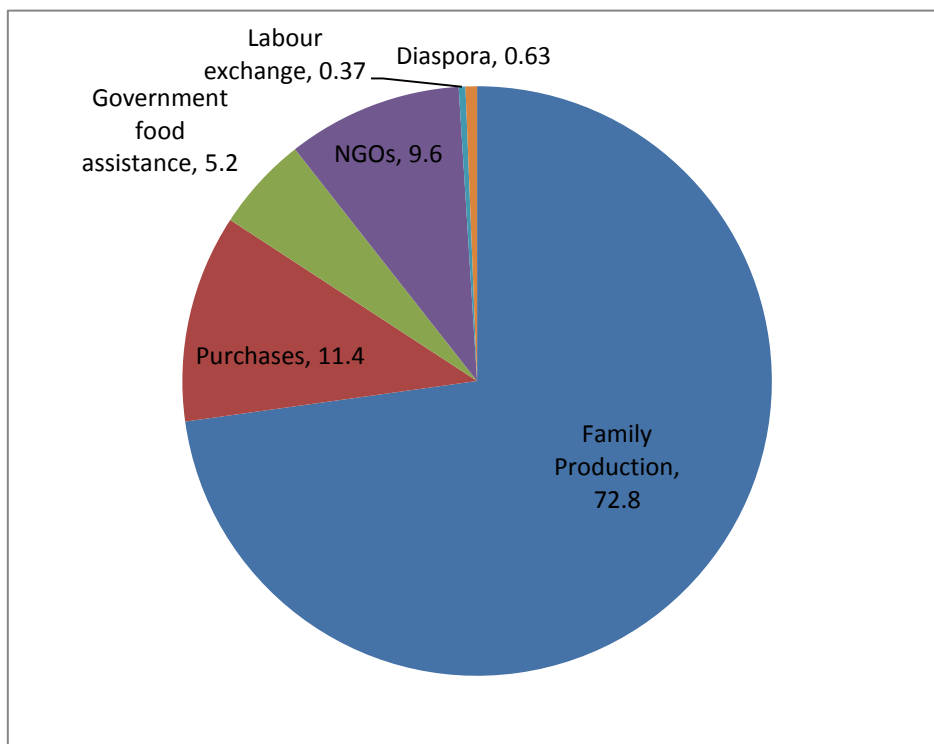
The District Administrator for Umguza, Mrs Ennety Sithole, said the district experienced less than normal rainfall. She said community leaders should be united in finding a lasting solution to mitigate the perennial drought in the district. “The drought in the area affects a lot of people and we as the leadership should be in the forefront in finding a solution to this problem. “In unity we can find a lasting solution that would mitigate the dry weather we face with various projects that can ensure food security,” said Mrs Sithole (The Chronicle, 27 March 2012).

A basic basket of food for Umguza District would consist of mealie-meal, oil, sugar, tea, beef, eggs, beans, milk and vegetables. Other food stuffs in the region like any other rural area include edible insects, indigenous fruits, and roots.

The general tendency in Ward 10 shows that food consumed in the past 12 months preceding the research was sourced mainly from family production. Other sources of food are purchases, government assistance, NGO assistance, labour exchange and from family members in the diaspora. Because the field study was carried out during the harvest season,

all household indicated that the food consumed in the last seven days was family production (with exceptions of few manufactured food stuffs). Food Aid plays a very significant role in Umguza District especially in the first months of the year. The Southern Eye of 13 February 2014 reported that ‘Hundreds of Umguza families are set to benefit from a \$4 million donation by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) to support vulnerable families suffering from the effects of drought and consecutive poor harvests in Zimbabwe.’ These reports are confirmed by respondents who openly declared that food aid has been very helpful in assisting them with food almost every beginning of the year. One woman say: ‘We are thankful for the food support we are getting from NGOs, if it was not for these well-wishers, we surely would have starved to death’.

Pie chart 2: Main sources of food in the last 12 months



Source: Compiled by researcher from field notes.

The average number of meals taken by members of the household per day is 2 for the adults and 3 for children. However, most families tend to cut down on meals as a means to avert food shortages especially in the first few months of the year when food stocks are a very low. The consumption trends show that the region generally has a balanced diet though this is affected by shocks caused by poor production and lack of fall back capital. Most household do enjoy a balanced diet composed of maize meal, vegetables, beans, game and domestic meat (fresh and dried), oils, sugar, homemade bread, poultry (meat and eggs) and milk. Other seasonal foods include roots, wild fruits, and edible insects.

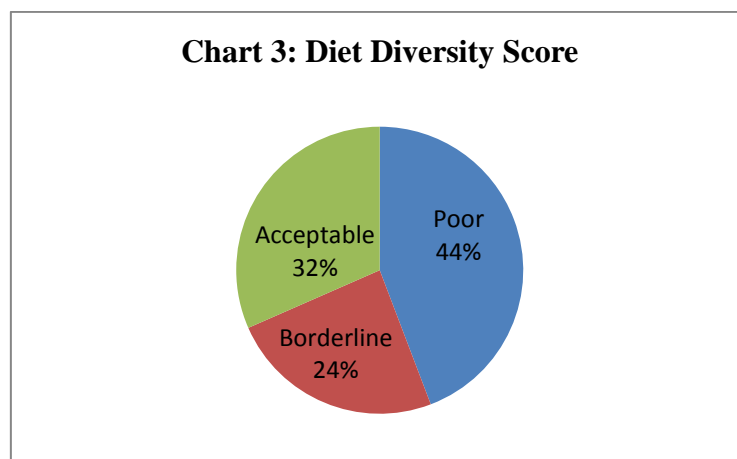
The generality of the households indicate that since the land reform, they have managed to produce enough to carry them through to the next season though seasons are not always the same. This as many would suggest, is a change that was brought by the land and agrarian reform as they were used to government hand-outs in their former communal pieces of land. Moreover, the land reform has increased their chances of being food secure over the years. With average rains received in the region, farmers are happy with the produce they have so far been managing to produce though they yearn for more developments that will boost agriculture and rural development in the region.

Villagers in the A1 farms assert that there has been positive economic impact on food security in their households. One villager (a former urbanite) noted that: 'Growing your own food saves household expenditures on food and there are further economic benefits that are enjoyed by transferring surplus farm produce to the urban areas for sell.' A beneficiary of the land reform based in Bulawayo stated that; "I normally sell my surplus maize from my farm at the market in Bulawayo. I do raise some money to buy inputs for the following season and other things'. Other cash crops like potatoes are sold along the Bulawayo-Victoria Falls Road as a means of raising cash for other foods that cannot be grown.

4.8 Food consumption/Diet Diversity score

The Food Consumption Score estimates the amount and variety of food consumed by households in the seven days preceding the survey. It counts the number of times specific food items are consumed. Households are categorised as having ‘poor’, ‘borderline’ and ‘acceptable’ food consumption patterns.

Poor food consumption consists of a diet in which cereals (millet and maize), sugar and oil are eaten almost daily, vegetables are eaten four days in seven while animal products and fruits are very rarely consumed. Quantities are also likely to be low and fail to provide kilocalorie requirements. A borderline diet is similar but includes slightly more frequent consumption of vegetables (five times in a week), meat and eggs (three to four times a week) and fruits (twice a week). Quantities are probably just sufficient to meet kilocalorie requirements. An acceptable diet is more diversified with consumption of the various food groups on a near daily basis. The amounts consumed are expected to be sufficient to meet kilocalorie requirements. Forty-four percent of surveyed families had a poor diet, twenty-four percent had a borderline diet and thirty-two percent had an acceptable diet.



Source: Compiled by researcher from field notes.

4.9 Coping strategies for food shortages

Participants identify a number of coping strategies towards food insecurity that can be classified into six categories.

1. Class shift in meals: Participants indicated that they cut on what they deem unnecessary for survival for example, ‘We usually have meat almost thrice a week when things are going on well, but this we eliminate to once or twice a fortnight when things go out bad’.

2. Reduction in number of meals: Cutting down the number of meals is another strategy used to cope in times of food insecurity. Participants cut meals from the adults and when the situation is dire, children also suffer the same fate. *‘Ehlobo siyanelisa ukudla kathathu lakane ngelanga ngoba ukudla kuyabe kusenela. Kodwa nxa umnyaka uqala siyabe sesisidla kanye kumbe kabili ngelanga ngoba ukudla kuyabe kungasabonwa kanti ke lomumbu uyabe ungasathengeki. Ngizikhathi ezinzima kanjalo sikhetha ukuthi siphe abantwana ukudla’*, (In late summer we are able to eat three to four meals a day because there will be plenty of food then. But in the initial months of the year we cut our meals to one or two a day because food will be scarce then and the price for maize will have soared high. In such a time we prioritise children.’), explained an old lady who is taking care of his aged husband and three orphaned children.

3. Bartering and selling off assets: Small livestock presents a key element of survival for the resettled farmers in Umguza district. Livestock like indigenous chickens and goats are usually sold raise money to buy food or bartered directly for maize. ‘In the year 2008 we lost a lot of our livestock due to the food shortages. Imagine a beats going for just 50 kilograms of maize?’

4. Adoption of 'new' foods: Other households resort to 'new' foods that are usually not common in their diet. These include donated barley, wild fruits and tubers.

5. Labour exchange and casual labour: With a few employment options in the rural area, some participants resort to exchanging labour for food and money. Casual labour is also practised not only as a coping strategy but also a general means of survival by some folks. These activities include brick moulding, harvesting, thatching, fencing, fetching firewood, building, ploughing and weeding.

6. Increasing short-term food access (borrowing; gifts; wild foods; consuming seed stock). Other households resort to borrowing from those families that would be having surplus. Borrowed stock is then re-paid in the following season.

There is a general increase in livestock sale during the crisis months. This is also coupled by a decrease in the price of livestock. As a result, the purchasing power of an animal reduces as food shortages escalate. Government Grain Loan Schemes also surface during the crisis months from September to February especially when rains were most at minimal in the previous season.

The most important coping strategy is reduction in the number of daily meals (Table 11 below). Participants indicated that the typical number of meals per day can be dropped from three in the in the immediate post-harvest period to one by late January. In the immediate post-harvest period, most children have mealie meal porridge for breakfast before going to school; for lunch, they carry home baked bread or boiled grain (*amagwadla/mangayi*); for supper, they have *isitshwala/sadza* with fresh/sour milk, vegetables or fresh/dried meat. Most adults go without breakfast; and eat home baked bread in the mid-morning with tea. This is thus combined for breakfast and lunch. In the evening they eat the same as their children.

Amahewu/Maheu also plays an important part of the diet especially during the planting season. During the months of highest food insecurity meals are cut to two for children by eliminating breakfast. On the other hand, parents are forced to eat supper only

Table 11 Ranked frequency of mention of a coping mechanism

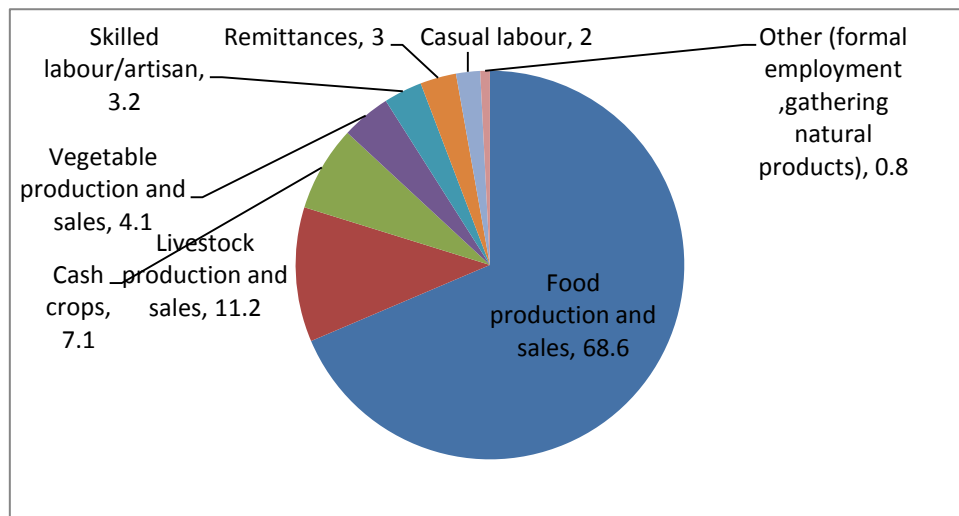
<u>Coping strategy</u>	<u>Frequency mentioned</u>
Reduction of meals	27
Bartering and selling off assets	15
Class shift in meals	13
Labour exchange and casual work	10
Adoption of new foods	9
Increasing short term food access	23

Source: Compiled by researcher from field notes.

4.10 Sources of income

A key aspect of security is the potential to acquire food without necessarily having planted any. This concept is also practical in the resettlement areas. However, the field study showed that most income in Ward 10 of Umguza is from food production and sales. Other important sources of income include cash crops, livestock production and sales, skilled trade/artisan, vegetable production, remittances, casual labour, gathering natural products and formal employment. Participants showed that they have generally few options that give them income to supplement in times of crisis or for general livelihoods development in the areas of accommodation, health, education and other social needs. Most of income is channelled towards foods and less on other livelihood pillar such as education and general household development.

Pie Chart 4: Main sources of income



Source: Compiled by researcher from field notes.

Figures in Pie Chart 2 show that ranked in order of importance, food production and sales is the most important source of income and other sources like formal employment are the least.

4.11 Maize and Livestock Prices in Umguza

Availability of maize on the market in Umguza District was fair and the research shows that maize meal (both local and imported brands) was more readily available on the market. Demand for maize grain and volumes sold on markets rose sharply from late August 2013. This saw prices increasing an indication of dwindling supplies in sources areas.

In September 2013, the average price of the commodity was \$0.44 per kilogram, up five percent from the August average of \$0.39. Average prices normally start rising in around October but in 2013 the rise began as early as June further confirming a higher maize deficit. Prices ranged from \$0.29 to \$0.69 per kilogram, a significant shift from the range of \$0.23 to \$0.57 per kilogram in August. Although the increase was gradual, prices were much higher than the prices that prevailed in 2013 than during the same time the previous year. In

September 2013, the average price of maize grain was thirty-three percent higher than the price recorded same time in 2012 (WFP, 2013).

The price of maize meal remained much higher than that of maize grain. During the month of September 2013, average price of \$0.63 per kilogram of maize meal was fifty-four percent higher than that of grain (WFP, 2013). The average price of the commodity was relatively stable in August and September. However compared to the same time the previous year, the price of maize meal was twenty-one percent higher. Maize meal was the most readily available cereal in the market and yet it was retailing at much higher prices than grain. This compounded access to cereals by poor and vulnerable households (Fewsnet, 2013).

Livestock prices were slowly declining during the same period. In September, the average price of cattle was \$341.00 per animal which was a slight decrease (1.2%) from \$345.00 the previous month. The range of prices widened to \$150.00 to \$500.00 from the August range of \$200.00 to \$500.00 per animal. Goat prices were on average \$31.00 per animal in September, down six percent from \$33.00 in August. The prices of goats ranged from \$15.00 to \$50.00 per animal. The range was \$15.00 to \$60.00 in August (WFP, 2013). Factors contributing to reduction in livestock prices were the generally deteriorating body condition due to poor foliage influenced by droughts and dry spells. Water sources were drying up and pastures were poor. This meant that farmers who were food insecure would part with their animals at reduced prices out of lack of choice.

4.12 A comparison of Ward 7 and Ward 10.

A small control sample in Ward 7, a communal area was studied and the following results were juxtaposed against those found in Ward 10 a resettlement area. Agriculture productivity was the subject of study in Ward 7. Important to note is that land quality and size, rainfall

patterns and production assets in the two Wards are similar. However, in the communal areas, farmers rely more from their own savings for inputs than in the resettlement areas.

The survey in both wards show that although communal farmers had a statistically significant initial advantage in terms of livestock ownership, around 56% of communal farmers had cattle in 2000 compared to 30% for the FTLRP beneficiaries, the latter managed to close the gap through buying significantly more than the communal group since the year 2002. As a result current levels of cattle levels do not differ significantly between the two groups. Similarly, in terms of total livestock holdings, the FTLRP group managed to close the gap although the percentage of communal farmers with non-zero levels of livestock is significantly more than that of the FTLRP group. Asked whether they have benefited as a result of the FTLRP, 65% of the beneficiaries cited asset accumulation as a visible benefit. On average, about 97% of the beneficiaries perceive the FTLRP as having improved their livelihoods.

Table 12 below presents the cropping patterns across the two groups. It reports the percentages of parcels with a given crop for each group. Results indicate that significant cropping differences between the two groups prevail with regards to maize, sugar beans, cotton, and sorghum.

Input usage was also measured on the communal lands and the resettled farmers to assess the impact they had on food production. The FTLRP used significantly more fertilisers, oxen and tractors while communal farmers try to substitute by using manure and household labour intensively. The significance of chemical fertilisers in enhancing crop yields, contributing to the productivity advantage that the land reform beneficiaries have over communal farmers who use organic manure. As a result, statistics indicate that the average maize output per hectare is 2 400kg for the resettled farmers, and 893kg in communal areas.

Table 12: Production patterns in the resettlement and communal areas

Crop	Resettlement	Communal
Maize	97.37	89.56
Sugar beans	16.45	4.39
Groundnuts	25.00	32.42
Cotton	9.21	0.55
Roundnuts	7.89	6.59
Sunflower	7.24	7.14
Sorghum	2.26	5.00
Cowpeas	0.66	1.65
Rapoko	0.66	1.65

Source: Compiled by researcher from field notes

The stark differences in chemical fertiliser use between land reform beneficiaries and communal farmers suggest existence of institutional constraints that limit agricultural productivity. Evidence indicates that the government gives the resettled farmers preferential treatment when it comes to access to farm inputs, with the government being actively involved, through the GMB, in the provision of fertilisers.

4.13 Challenges facing farmers in Umguza District, Ward 10.

Resettled farmers in Umguza face a plethora of challenges although with much enthusiasm are looking forward for a bright future ahead with their land. The challenge that was seemingly common was that of lack of capital. Farmers fell let down by the government and other stakeholders for to develop agriculture in the region. Most pieces of their land are said to be lying idle because of lack of enough inputs and implements to use them for food and

cash crops production. As such farmers are calling on the government to capitalise small scale agriculture so as to improve food security not only in the district but at national level.

Additionally, access to capital is also hampered by the fact that farmers do not have title deeds to the land they occupied more than 10 years ago, as such financial institutions are risk averse and not willing to invest in the resettled farmers. Farmers therefore rely on government hand-outs for inputs. Sadly, there is poor timing in the distribution of agricultural inputs by GMB. It has become a norm that farmers received their farming inputs late into the rain season with serious negative effects on production capacity.

The area under study as earlier indicated, lies in the dry belt of region 5, with very low annual rainfall. Participants expressed concern over the poor rains that are being received in the region. 'Our region is generally dry and thus not suitable for crop production. As a result, there should be a shift of focus to irrigation development and livestock husbandry. Only when the government gets down to people and avoid a one size fits all approach will we be able to achieve food security in Matabeleland.'

Other participants indicated that the politicisation of the land issue and the distribution of inputs is a challenge that needs to be addressed so as to achieve development. Farmers are of the idea that the government should do more to promote agriculture instead of partisan distribution of inputs and implements and that the government should provide tractors at affordable prices for the farmers. There is serious corruption in the distribution of agricultural inputs. One participant sighted an incident where villagers were made to pay between US\$4.00 and US\$5.00 per 50kg for transportation of fertilisers. In addition, Zanu Pf party functionaries masquerading as private transporters forced people to pay US\$10.00 per bag as transport cost. As a result, the villagers who were unable to source the money were asked to surrender their livestock as payment.

Furthermore, prices of the surplus produce and cash crops is another discouraging factor as farmers are of the opinion that the prices they sell their produce to the GMB is not commensurate with the investment they would have put on agriculture. As such participants encouraged the government to come out with a pricing structure that will encourage and develop agriculture.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This study outlines the historical struggle between the peasants and the colonisers (and white commercial farmers in the post-colonial era) over land. The land reform which was launched on a market-based reform system (1980 to 1997) and later on a radical state-based (1997 onwards) has raised a lot of debate. Moreover, the study sought to unravel how the processes of land and agrarian reforms have had implications on the state of food security.

The government through the FTLRP managed to proportion large tracks of land to the formally disadvantaged members of the indigenous communities and has set up legislative tools for the processes of acquisition all towards a fair resource distribution and for to achieve food security. However, food access in both physical and economic terms continues to be a challenge nationally especially in the first month of every year.

The study set out to find out how the state of food security has been affected by the government supported land acquisition at the turn of the century. Much to the word by the state, land redistribution as viewed by the beneficiaries, who participated in the study, was a well overdue developmental policy which was meant to address the historically skewed land ownership which disadvantaged the indigenous people. The policy was therefore embraced as a developmental policy meant for the good of the rural poor and so improve the state of food security at household and national level through indigenous land ownership (A1 villagised settlements and A2 small scale commercial agriculture).

The pivotal strand of the study was the household food impacts of land reform. In the post-2000 period, physical and economic food security accessibility continues to be a challenge in Zimbabweans.

5.1 Findings

The research carried out at Umguza found out that:

- (a) Land reform program has been embraced as a policy meant to address historical imbalances caused by an unfair colonial policy.
- (b) Some of the beneficiaries of the land reform program had no previous agricultural knowledge and hence are scarcely using their land as they are actively involved in off-farm activities. Such resettled ‘farmers’ are keen on training to acquire the necessary skills to effectively use their land.
- (c) The government and other stakeholders have been actively involved in the development of agriculture in the resettlement areas to develop the new farmer to achieve food security. This however, not without challenges like inadequate funding and staffing especially on the government Agritex Department. The government has preferred assistance to the resettled farmers compared to the communal farmers.
- (d) The new farmers are facing difficulties such as poor rainfall, lack of capital, lack of knowledge, unavailability of implements, lack of or late availability of inputs, poor infrastructure and poor markets for their produce. These challenges are therefore presenting a problem in achieving food security.
- (e) Resettled farmers have accumulated wealth in form of livestock over the period of 10 years as a direct benefit from the FTLRP. As compared to their communal

counterparts who have generally registered a marginal increase in the number of their livestock over the period 2002 to 2013.

- (f) There has been a marginal improvement in food security at household level in Umguza District Ward 10 as a result of access to land and inputs. Communal lands on the other hand are generally more food insecure. However, there is more that needs to be done to avoid yearly shock between December and February.
- (g) Besides farming, farmers also engage in some off-farm activities like bricklaying, fencing, labour exchange and panning to enhance food security. Additionally, during the months of December to February, the district suffers setbacks on food security hence engage in food insecurity coping strategies like cutting meals on adults, prioritising children in giving food, adopting new foods, labour exchange and selling of assets.
- (h) A dramatic fall in agricultural production and the subsequent food insecurity in Zimbabwe cannot be wholly burdened on the Fast Track Land Reform policies only. Poor agriculture productivity and food insecurity was further aggravated by prolonged droughts that regularly rocked Zimbabwe from since the turn of the century. Moreover, the sanctions that were imposed on the country since 2002 have also adversely affected agriculture like all other arms of the economy.
- (i) Farmers are of the opinion that the government is too distant to understand the plight of the resettled farmers. In the case of Umguza, a region with generally low rainfall, instead of investing more in rain fed crop production, farmers are challenging the

government to develop irrigation schemes and also promote livestock production which has always been the main economic activity in the region.

5.2 Policy recommendations

With the general food security at household on the negative, there is a need for introspection on the post-2000 land reform programme. The challenges facing the resettled farmers can be addressed and that will result in the achievement of food security and rural development. Below are some of the policy considerations that can be followed for the success of the land reform.

- i. Launching capacity building workshops for farmers in a bid to teach them of agriculture, agro-business, embracing technology, sustainable land use, post-harvest strategies and market information. Setting up mechanism for the procurement, distribution, use and reimbursement of agricultural inputs by qualified agricultural extension officers on a non-partisan basis.
- ii. Developing off-farm activities to diversify the rural economies. This should be done given the fact that not all can be farmers and also to address the problem of putting one's egg in a single basket. A household that has to spend a large proportion of its resources to obtain adequate food may find it difficult to meet basic needs and thus may find it difficult to sustain itself in the long term. This factor highlights the critical importance of enhancing the real incomes of households for them to be able to meet total livelihood needs (education, health, access to clean water and housing).

- iii. Capitalisation of the Grain Marketing Board (GMB) and other buyers and thus encourage payment of economically sensible prices for farmers' produce. Commercialisation of the GMB may go a long way in ensuring that farmers get realistic prices for their produce.
- iv. Designing policies that ensure the availability of inputs and credits for deserving hard working farmers beyond political party affiliations for Zimbabwe to regain its food security status. Corruption should also be stamped out from input distribution to avoid partisan distribution of inputs and selling of inputs meant to be distributed free of charge.
- v. Ensuring timely and adequate delivery of inputs to farmers so that they have enough time to plan ahead of the planting season. This can be achieved through prioritisation of agriculture on the national budget allocations.
- vi. Promotion of agricultural support projects such as crop diversification and improvement, distribution of drought-resistant seeds (and animals) and appropriate technology, storage and transport, marketing of produce, horticulture, and nutrition gardens, livestock support projects, veterinary care, and fodder distribution.
- vii. Development of income support programmes like employment schemes, food-for-work, or cash-for-work on local construction projects (housing, roads, dams, wells, well protection, local amenities), income-generating activities for example: production of useful local articles (rugs, mats, pottery) can also be used as means

of preventing the use of inputs and draught cattle as fall back means in times of crisis. Such programs also play an infrastructural developmental role for the rural communities.

- viii. Providing infrastructure such irrigation, roads, dams, training and research institutions and setting up of industrial projects like food processing (meat), and canning for horticultural produce. Infrastructure and industrial development will therefore act as a springboard for rural development and encouraging adoption of agriculture as a business. This will also discourage rural to urban migration thus retain labour needed for agriculture development.
- ix. Establishing a secure land tenure system that will be used as collateral security and also encourage financial institutions accept land as a form of collateral to ensure access to loans and other lines of credit. Tenancy reforms, unlike land reforms, do not attempt to change the pattern of ownership of land: they simply give the tenant some additional rights on the land (Banerjee, 2000).
- x. Re-engagement with the international development partners and the Bretton Woods to ensure the funding of agriculture activities for both the A1 and A2 farmers. Food aid should also be handled in such a way that it does not encourage dependency syndrome which shoots down efforts to achieve food security. Food should be procured through self-reliance, which is through dependence on one's own efforts and resources, self-help, exchange or market processes rather than on charity, aid, philanthropy or the benevolence of others. Dependency is unsustainable as a procurement method in the long term, and it also conflicts with

human dignity and self-respect in the process thwarting the potential for agricultural development. People whose resource base is adequate to enable them to produce sufficient amounts of food should not depend on direct food hand-outs beyond times of real need and should rely on them only until their production has been safely re-established. With regard to the poorest segment of society, direct welfare or well-targeted income-generating activities may be appropriate.

- xi. Improving the prevailing political environment and empowerment policies with the aim of encouraging investor confidence which may in turn improve the local industry which will then open markets for agriculture and increase productivity.
- xii. Ensuring a cluster system which will ensure that agriculture development is on the basis of local conditions for example, irrigation and animal husbandry for Matabeleland North Province instead of a one size fits all approach. Agriculture is essentially an environmental activity. One of its basic functions is the modification and adaptation of natural ecosystems in order to channel energy to consumers in the form of food (FAO, 1992). Each agricultural project should take place within a complex system of social attitudes, cultural patterns and practices, economic networks and physical, chemical and biological factors, which comprise the setting for agricultural productivity. Access to adequate food and physical well-being are crucial to the ability of farm households to perform work and consequently to sustain and increase food production and ultimately nutritional well-being.

- xiii. One of the main requirements for food security is a sustainable food production system. Because households depend on natural resources (agriculture) for their income and food, it is important that production practices do not conflict with or damage the environment, undermining future production. Environmental degradation is often closely linked with the perpetuation of poverty and food insecurity. In times of stress rural communities they may be compelled to reduce stocks of seed varieties in order to sustain household food needs and to use crop and animal residues in less than optimal ways. However, people can be assisted to manage their natural resources more effectively. For example, they can be encouraged to adopt appropriate soil conservation practices or given food-for-work opportunities to help them conserve their seed stocks.

5.3 Conclusion

The Fast Track Land Reform in Zimbabwe has ushered in a new dimension in agricultural production. With the decline in commercial production, production at subsistence level has marginally improved (impacting positively on household food security) howbeit; not improving food security at national level. Additionally, trends at Umguza District show that since 2002, there has been an increase in agriculture production. This proves the applicability of the Learning Curve Theory which states that production would make a turning point as farmers get to learn and acclimatise with agriculture. However, as overall production has been on the increase since 2002, it is imperative to note that seasons of poor harvests have been witnesses mainly due to the poor rainfall patterns in Matabeleland North Province. As such, there is need, as suggested above, to re-think agriculture in the region so as to develop a sustainable food production system.

The beneficiaries of the 2000-2003 land reform programmes have a lot of entrepreneurial potential to develop rural agriculture and contribute positively to the national granary. Therefore, there is a need by different stakeholders to develop a strategy that will harness the human and natural resources in these areas for a successful agricultural sector.

Small-scale production should be made the pillar of the economic recovery, through subsidised inputs, fair prices, and secure tenure. Smallholder farmers need to be trained comprehensively to adopt agro-business initiatives so as to produce not only for subsistence but for attaining national food sovereignty. The revival of the economy as a whole also has a bearing on the beneficiaries of the land reform program. If strategic industries are revived, agriculture will be promoted in that there will be a ready market for agricultural commodities. A positive approach by all concerned agriculture stakeholders will work as a bring board to the revival of the agricultural sector in Zimbabwe in contributing and benefiting from the revival of the economy as a whole.

Furthermore, this study also concluded that increase in agriculture production does not necessarily translate to food security holistically. Firstly, the increase does not mean there would be physical access to for up to the next season. As a result, farmers are forced to take up other coping strategies or rely on government and non-governmental hand-outs prior to the next harvesting season. Production in the rural Umguza is concentrated on mostly maize production as a result, the concept of food security harnessing proper nutrition is undermined as dietary diversity is lacking. The lack of a profitable agricultural market means that farmers do not earn enough money in their investments. This does not only dampen agriculture production but also reduces the chances of a farmer access a diversified diet. In this regard there is need to diversify not only the agriculture industry but the rural economy as a whole.

Agro-industries should also be revived so that farmers do not produce for the urban market but to also have access to locally produced finished goods which will mean economic prices for such commodities as baked beans, cooking oils, soya chunks and processed milk. Such goods will diversify the rural diet for the rest of the year.

Lastly, this study found out that few households are food secure. This is so because not all household had access, at all times, to enough food for an active, healthy life for all household members. Secondly, most households are food insecure in that there is low food security (without hunger). These food-insecure households obtained enough food to avoid substantially disrupting their eating patterns or reducing food intake by using a variety of coping strategies, such as eating less varied diets, participating in governmental and non-governmental food assistance programs. Other household are food insecure with hunger meaning that in these households, normal eating patterns of one or more household members were disrupted and food intake was reduced at times during the year because they had insufficient money or other resources for food.

Interviews

S. Mabarane, Personal Interview, Umguza Agritex Office, 10 April 2013

M. Mpofu, Personal Interview, Community Leader, 04 April 2013

I Ndlovu, Personal Interview, Mswelangubo Farm Manager, 04 April 2013

K. Sibanda, Personal Interview, Community leader, 04 April 2013

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Appendix A

Profile of the participants in Ward 10

<u>Household ID#</u>	<u>Gender</u>	<u>Age range</u>	<u>Household size</u>
HH1	M	36-40	4
HH2	M	46-50	5
HH3	F	Over 65	3
HH4	F	61-65	4
HH5	F	36-40	4
HH6	M	Over 65	4
HH7	M	Over 65	6
HH8	M	Over 65	7
HH9	F	46-50	5
HH10	M	46-50	4
HH11	M	59-60	7
HH12	M	41-45	5
HH13	M	61-65	5
HH14	F	61-65	4
HH15	M	51-55	4
HH16	F	Over 65	6
HH17	M	56-60	4
HH18	M	56-60	7
HH19	M	61-65	6
HH20	M	41-45	3
HH21	M	41-45	7
HH22	F	51-55	8
HH23	F	36-40	3
HH24	F	35-40	5
HH25	F	Over 65	2
HH26	M	Over 65	4
HH27	F	Over 65	3
HH28	F	51-55	4
HH29	F	41-45	4
HH30	F	51-55	3

Appendix B

QUESTIONNAIRE ON THE RESEARCH PROJECT: "AN ASSESSMENT OF THE IMPACT OF LAND AND AGRARIAN REFORMS ON FOODS SECURITY IN UMGUZA DISTRICT."

For the partial fulfilment of Midlands State University's Master of Arts in Development Studies.

FARMER

Please answer the questions as truthfully as you can. Fill in answer in the boxes and blank provided or comment wherever a space has been provided. Please note all the information provided will be used for the purposes of this research and will be treated with utmost confidentiality.

HOUSEHOLD INFORMATION

Head of household: M
 F

Age category 18-30
 30-45
 46-65
 Over 65
 Average year income \$

Size of the household 1-3
 4-6
 Over 6

AGRICULTURAL INFORMATION

What are the main crops that you grow for:

Consumption (food crops)?

Sale (cash crops)?

.....

.....

Average maize production (from 2002/3 to 2012/13 seasons)

Season	Maize (no. of bags)	Fertiliser Usage (kgs)	Type
2002/3			
2005/6			
2011/12			
2012/13			

ASSET OWNERSHIP

Which of these assets do you own? (Tick where appropriate)

Ox drawn plough	<input type="checkbox"/>
Scotch cart	<input type="checkbox"/>
Wheelbarrow	<input type="checkbox"/>
Knapsack sprayer	<input type="checkbox"/>
Generator	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ox drawn plough	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tractor	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other	<input type="checkbox"/>

Livestock ownership (Tick where appropriate)

Number	Cattle	Goats	Sheep	Donkeys	Indigenous Chickens	Other
0	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
6 and above	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Cattle ownership between 2002 and 2013

Number of cattle in 2002	Number of cattle in 2013
<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>

What are your sources of agricultural (maize seeds) inputs? (Tick the appropriate box(es)).

Remittances	<input type="checkbox"/>
Government	<input type="checkbox"/>
Purchases	<input type="checkbox"/>
Carryover	<input type="checkbox"/>
NGO	<input type="checkbox"/>
Private Contractor	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other	<input type="checkbox"/>

Did you ever face challenges with inputs in the last 3 seasons?

YES

or

NO

What are the major causes of shortages of inputs?

.....
.....
.....

What can be done to ensure adequate supply of inputs in your area?

.....
.....
.....
.....

Do you have access to Agritex services?
what kind of services are you getting?

YES

NO

If yes,

Training	<input type="checkbox"/>	Advisory	<input type="checkbox"/>	Market related information	<input type="checkbox"/>
New technologies	<input type="checkbox"/>	On farm trials and demos	<input type="checkbox"/>	Other	<input type="checkbox"/>

What other organisations assist you in agricultural production? And what services do they provide?

Organisation

Service(s)

.....
.....
.....
.....

Do you have access to credit (loans/overdrafts)

YES

NO

If yes, who are the main sources of credit?

.....
.....

HOUSEHOLD STATE OF FOOD SECURITY

Where did you get maize/cereals consumed in this household in the last seven days?

Family production	<input type="text"/>
Purchases	<input type="text"/>
Government food assistance	<input type="text"/>
NGO food assistance	<input type="text"/>
Labour exchange	<input type="text"/>
Diaspora	<input type="text"/>

What is the number of meals taken by members of the household per day?

Adults

1
2
3
4

Children

1
2
3
4

What has been the food consumed in the last seven days?

Maize	<input type="text"/>	Vegetables	<input type="text"/>	Oils	<input type="text"/>
Meat	<input type="text"/>	Eggs	<input type="text"/>	Milk	<input type="text"/>
Sugar	<input type="text"/>	Roots	<input type="text"/>	Indigenous fruits	<input type="text"/>
Poultry	<input type="text"/>	Beans	<input type="text"/>	Exotic fruits	<input type="text"/>
Bread	<input type="text"/>	Edible insects	<input type="text"/>	Other cereals	<input type="text"/>

SOURCES OF INCOME

What are the sources of income in this household (rank in order of importance)?

Remittances	<input type="text"/>	Petty trade	<input type="text"/>	Formal salary/wage	<input type="text"/>
Panning	<input type="text"/>	Cash crops	<input type="text"/>	Vegetable production and sales	<input type="text"/>
			<input type="text"/>		<input type="text"/>

Casual labour*

Skilled trade/artisan

Livestock production and sales

Other

Gathering natural products

Food crop production and sales

(*Casual labour include brick moulding, harvesting, thatching, fencing, fetching firewood, building, ploughing, weeding)

What has been the average income in the last month?

US\$

What are the food insecurity coping strategies (e.g. reduce number of meals, reduce portions, give more food to children etc)?

.....
.....
.....

What are the major challenges that you are facing as a farmer in your region?

.....
.....
.....
.....

What can be done to improve agriculture and food security in your District?

.....
.....
.....
.....

What are your views on the FTLRP?

.....
.....
.....

Overly, has the FTLRP improved your livelihood as a family? YES or NO

Thank you for your participation in this research study.