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University of the Witwatersrand
School of Geography, Archaeology and Environmental Studies
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The Impact of Land Reform on Women's Livelihoods in Sub-division A of Clonmore Farm - Mberengwa District in Zimbabwe

By

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Ethics Clearance Protocol Number: H15/05/08

Declaration

I declare that this thesis is my own original work. It is submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg and it has not been submitted before for any degree or examination at any other university. References used in this document have been fully acknowledged except for situations where I had first-hand experience or else I participated in the scenario in question.

This thesis is being submitted for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy to the Faculty of Humanities, School of Geography Archaeology and Environmental Studies (GAES) at the University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa.

Signed:_____

On_____day of_____2018, Johannesburg

Abstract

After independence in 1980, Zimbabwe faced the predicament of addressing the colonial legacy of imbalances in accessing land and other productive resources between the country's white people and black African population. Whites held most of the productive land in the agro-economic Regions I, II and III while black Africans were predominantly located in overpopulated, marginal and arid land which was unsuitable for crop production in Natural Regions IV and V. While land reforms were implemented immediately from independence, these however yielded very minimum improvements in access to land by black Africans. This was further exacerbated by the acute need for land reform, the expectations of the freed majority of the population (black Africans) and the economic collapse in the early 2000s. These put insurmountable pressures on the government to redistribute land to the poor and vulnerable households to ensure food self-sufficiency. The above conditions inadvertently led to the Fast Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP) from 1999 - 2015. The FTLRP led to the redistribution of vast swathes of large-scale commercial farms to the landless poor majority. This wave of land distribution triggered renewed interest and global debates in the productive efficiency of smallholder farmers and their capability to generate sustainable rural livelihoods including equitable gender land ownership, as well as women empowerment in particular.

A case study of selected households from Sub-division A of Clonmore Farm was used to investigate and contribute to the debate on women empowerment through land reform, particularly FTLRP. The research investigated to what extent the FTLRP had empowered rural women and improved their livelihood portfolios and choices. The research also assessed the mechanisms and barriers that women face to realise women empowerment as well as the implication of the application of FTLRP to other regions of the world facing similar land challenges. The study focussed on women's livelihoods, their knowledge of land reforms, how they feel about their new land and what they think needs to be done to improve their access to land and empower them to take charge of their lives and households.

Findings of the study indicate that the FTLRP has not only improved women's access to land but their ownership independently or jointly with their spouses. Available evidence also shows that some women who gained access to land through social networks or marriage are insecure especially if the land was bequeathed to them by in-laws and the husband died before the land permit was transferred into

their names. Women were empowered and were engaging in productive farming and no-farming activities on the land. Most households were food self-sufficient because the majority of women were producing more than a tonne of maize (the staple starch) in a season, enough to feed themselves and their families in a season as well as selling the surplus, indicating the successful outcomes of the FTLRP.

However, most households remained vulnerable to long spells of drought because the study area is in the predominantly dry zone, which receives scarce rain. Off-farm activities, especially mining, cross-border and petty trading as well as a wide range of services at Yorks Business Centre provided some relief in the form of financial capital flow which mitigated against adverse weather throughout the year, particularly in drought years. New farmers, apart from getting assistance from government and local leaders, accessed social capital from family and friends because they moved in social groups from the surrounding communal areas (CAs). The redistribution of land was integrated into the wider government economic development programme that enhanced rural livelihoods although funding and support was still inadequate.

Evidence showed that the hybrid model of legal and customary administration of the land under FTLRP had greatly improved women's access to land and security of land tenure compared to their counterparts in the communal areas. More still needed to be done, especially in targeting women if their empowerment was to be maximised. Areas that needed to be improved to assist women included gender sensitive laws, improvements in secular and customary laws particularly inheritance laws, implementing programmes specifically targeting women. Evidence also showed that there is still a lot that needs to be done in terms of policy formulation and implementation, training, input support, etc. to ensure the FTLRP achieves its maximum potential. However, the 2016–2017 harvest demonstrated the productive success brought in by smallholder farmers as they contributed significantly to the surplus sold on the market.

Dedication

I dedicate this work to my loving mother Shingayirayi Dube and belated father

Obet Dube.

Most importantly I also dedicate this work to all my amazing, gracious and lovely children.

My sons Jabulani, Junior and Joseph

And

My daughters Sibusisiwe, Tendai and Makhosi

For the sacrifice they endured when I embarked on this journey in my quest to complete this research. Guys you are wonderful and thank you very much for your understanding

I love you all.

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I would like to acknowledge and express appreciation to my supervisor and mentor Professor Danny Simatele, for his unwavering support and guidance during the period of this study. To God the Almighty I give praise for His grace, guidance and wisdom, and most importantly for paving the way for me to meet Prof. Danny who was willing and able to understand my very difficult circumstances and challenges during this study.

To the University of Witwatersrand Management, thank you for the excellent opportunity and exposure as well as providing a conducive environment to me and my other PhD colleagues, particularly Dr Regis Musavengana and my deceased friend Dr. Jeremy Gumbo.

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I also wish to acknowledge and express my sincere gratitude to Nonceba Tshiki who took time out of her tight schedule to edit my thesis and ensure it met the prescribed requirements.

Special thanks are due to the government officials at Mberengwa District who made this research a success through their support during my fieldwork activities, including the local community leaders – the councillor and his headmen. Most importantly, I give thanks to the women who participated in this study and their stories shared kept me motivated and wish to find out more.

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List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

AGRIBANK	Agricultural Development Bank of Zimbabwe
AGRITEX	Agricultural Technical and Extension Services
AIDS	Acquired ImmunoDeficiency Syndrome
CA	Communal Area
COHRE	Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions
DAO	District Administration Officer
DDF	District Development Fund
DFID	The Department for International Development
EFF	Economic Freedom Front
FAO	The Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations
FTLRP	Fast Track Land Reform Programme
GIS	Geographical Information System
GMB	Grain Marketing Board
HIV	Human ImmunoDeficiency Virus
HSRC	Human Sciences Research Council
ICRW	International Centre for Research on Women
IDP	Internationally Displaced Person
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development
IGATE	Improving Girls' Access through Transforming Education
KFP	Key From Paper
LSCF	Large-Scale Commercial Farming
MAGUTA	Government program operated through the defense forces to boost agriculture and food security
NER	National Enrolment Rate
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
RDC	Rural District Council
SACCO	Savings and Credit Society
SIDA	Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency
SL	Sustainable Livelihood
SMEs	Small-to-Medium Enterprises
SPSS	Statistical Package for the Social Sciences
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
VCL	Visual Component Library Software
VIP	Vulnerability, Informed consent, and Privacy

WASH	Water, Sanitation and Hygiene – UN
ZimAsset	Zimbabwe Agenda for Sustainable Socio-Economic Transformation

CHAPTER 1

FRAMES OF REFERENCE

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The history of land and agrarian reform in Zimbabwe is widely documented and identified three distinct phases: pre-independence phase 1896–1980, post-independence phases; 1980 – 1999; and 1999 – 2015 (Rugube and Chambati 2001; Lebert 2003; Zikhali 2008). The pre-independence phase was characterised by the disenfranchisement of rural households through colonisation (Lebert 2003; Rugube and Chambati 2001; Shackleton et al 2000; Deininger et al 2002). In the pre-independence phase, the Morris-Carter Commission (1925), Land Apportionment Act (1930) and Native Land Husbandry Act (1951) reinforced the land expropriation process. The post-independence phase from 1980 to 1999 witnessed a series of land reform programmes based on land acquired on willing-buyer / willing-seller market driven policies (Lebert 2003; Rugube and Chambati 2001, Moyo 2013) with the aim to redress colonial land imbalances. The land reform programmes targeted resettlement of landless households and the Land Acquisition Act (1986) strengthened the state's position in acquiring land for resettlement. The post-independence phase from 1999 – 2015 experienced the Fast Track Land Reform Program (FTLRP) *(Jambanja)* characterised by rapid sometimes violent chaotic takeover of white-owned commercial farms by blacks (Moyo 2013; Rugube and Chambati 2001).

While commentary from media labelled the FTLRP as a crisis "...the story is not simply one of collapse and catastrophe; it is much more nuanced and complex, with successes as well as failures" (Scoones et. al. 2010:2). It would be prudent to regard this phase as rural mass empowerment and democratisation of sustainable livelihoods through access to land and property rights because 168 671 families had benefited from land transfers of about 9.2 million hectares by 2009 out of the 15 million hectares of land which were controlled by about 6 000 white farmers in 1980 (Moyo 2013). The FTLRP led to the creation of a new agrarian formation dominated by small to medium scale farmers (Matondi and Dekker 2011) as well as the democratisation of the agrarian sector and emergency of deracialised trimodal

agrarian structure which included a broadly based agrarian capitalist class built on former and new farming elites, new middle-class capitalist farmers and the peasant smallholder farmers (Mkodzongi 2001; Moyo 2013).

The FTLRP phase unfolded in five distinct stages: (i) March 1999–June 2001 (Revolutionary situation – characterised by mass expropriations and popular occupations), (ii) July 2001–December 2003 (Rationalisation of land reform – characterised by land audits and disputes as well as expanded allocation of smallholder farms), (iii) January 2004–June 2008 (Bureaucratisation of land reform – characterised by enactment of expropriation laws and leases designed for smallholder to large scale farms including contest for Estates), (iv) July 2008–December 2011 (Residual land redistribution – characterised by more large-scale farms and indigenisation of conservancies) (Moyo 2013); and the fifth period (v) January 2012–2015 (new socio-economic formations and consolidation of smallholder and large scale farm allocations through issuing of tenure permits as well as continued expropriation of land at small scale).

Table 1 shows the five stages of the FTLRP including land transfers under various political and economic events as well as key land transfer processes over a period of more than a decade. The land reform transfers were further consolidated through the issuing of permanent tenure permits on 3 July 2014 at the launch at Chifundi Farm, Mashonaland West Province where 79 A1 Permits were issued with a further 221 470 earmarked to be further issued.

Discourses and studies on the land and agrarian reforms provided mixed outcomes on its impact on rural livelihoods. Lebert (2003) was of the view that it was still to be seen whether these reforms could be sustained and successfully create and support comfortable rural livelihoods. Deininger, et al (2002) argued that despite the renewed interest in land reform, little empirical micro-evidence existed on the impact of land reform, except for Zimbabwe because household dataset existed that included comprehensive information for a group of land reform beneficiaries. Zikhali (2008) tested for agricultural productivity differentials between FTLRP beneficiaries and communal farmers and her results suggested higher productivity for the FTLRP beneficiaries compared to communal farmers but could not clarify whether this meant improvements in the FTLRP beneficiaries' livelihoods. Livelihood strategies were diversified, new opportunities were opened up, access to bigger and better soil quality plots also broke down barriers which barred peasant households from accessing natural resources like minerals, wildlife and non-timber forest products which were bonded in private holding of mainly white landed elites

(Moyo et al 2009). Beneficiaries of the FTLRP were not homogenous, they included elites with political connections who got multiple bigger farms but the biggest number of beneficiaries was made up of predominantly rural people with farming background (Moyo et al 2009; Moyo, 2011).

Table 1: Stages of the Fast Track Land Reform Programme 2000–Present

Land Reform Phase (Period)	Key Political and Economic Events	Key Land Policy Events	Key Land Transfer Processes
March 1999 to June 2001 Revolutionary situation	• 1999 sporadic land invasions • Feb 2000 Referendum • Mass land occupations • Parliamentary election • Judicial reforms	• Constitutional Judgment • FTLRP policy paper • Land occupiers Act • DLCs established • ZIJRI negotiation	• Popular occupations • Mass A1 allocations • Mass expropriations • Mass land litigations
July-2001 to December 2003 Rationalisation of land reform	• Heterodoxy policy • Sanctions escalated • Presidential election	• Land audits • A2 scheme designed • 'Corrections' exercise	• A2 allocations • A1/A2 land disputes • Expanded A1 allocations
January 2004 to June 2008 Bureaucratisation of land reform	• Deep economic crisis • Parliamentary elections • Unified elections (2008)	• Expropriation laws • 'Re-planning' processes • Leases designed	• A2 allocations • A1 allocations • Estates contested
July 2008 to December 2011 Residual land redistribution	• Inclusive Government formed • Economic liberalisation • New sanctions • Indigenisation policy • New foreign investment	• Negotiating land audit • Leases negotiated	• More A2 land allocations • Conservancies indigenised • Some land occupiers accommodated
January 2012 to 2015 Consolidation of land redistribution	• 31 July 2013 Elections • New Government (with revolutionary party majority) • Strengthening of new socio-economic formations • Revision of the Indigenisation Policy further strengthening land takeovers	• Further Land Audits negotiations • Further Lease negotiations • 3 July 2014 Land Tenure Permits Issued (79 A1 Permits issued at launch in Chifundi Farm, Mashonaland West Province) • Further Land allocations at small scale	• More conservancies indigenised at small scale • Re-allocation of A2 Farms • Issuing of Tenure Permits • 221,470 resettled farmers earmarked to receive permanent A1 permits

Source: Adapted and adjusted from Moyo (2013)

Additional studies include Mutopo (2011) who found high-level of women participation in land reform and access to land through various mechanisms: family, formal (traditional) and political processes. Mahenehene and Sukume (2011) research was based on the research titled "What happened to people's livelihoods once they got land through land reform from 2000?" They were of the view that despite the simplicity of the question, the answers were extremely complex and new

people on the land were engaging in multiple forms of economic activities, connected to diverse markets and carving out a variety of livelihoods. Kinsey, et. al., (1998) described a theoretical dip in livelihoods immediately following resettlement, followed by income growth and assets accumulation in subsequent years. Mkodzongi (2013) argued that the nuanced analyses of dynamics of indigenisation which was often absent in on-going debates, demonstrating that despite claims of elite corruption, indigenisation benefited small-scale farmers who now have sources of income which were vital for future agrarian investments. Bryceson (2002) found that in sub-Saharan Africa structural adjustment and market liberalisation policies lead to de-peasantisation and de-agrarianisation associated with deep-rooted social changes. Diversification of rural livelihoods included rural women and youth earning cash because men were increasingly encouraging women and daughters to work outside the home to make money (Bryceson 2002).

Farm invasions in Zimbabwe highlighted the pressing need for land redistribution in the Southern African region, with wider implications on surrounding countries (Lahiff and Cousins 2001). The greatest threat to security in Southern Africa lies in the unequal land ownership patterns in countries where poor people's livelihoods depend on farming and the continuing land conflicts along racial lines suggested the fallibility of efforts for reconciliation that failed to humanely and fairly address economic, political and social justice concerns (Moyo, 2004). Hence, unequal racial ownership of land has the potential for creating further agrarian (and wider economic) crises in the region unless addressed by accelerated progress in land redistribution (Moyo, 2004). The land question could easily become a rallying for a populist opposition, and invasions of farms belonging to the landed elite, most of whom are whites, will be an obvious way to garner publicity and mobilise a following (Lahiff and Cousins 2001).

1.2 THEMATIC CONSIDERATIONS (PROBLEM STATEMENT)

Land reform and its reallocation from large-scale commercial farmers to landless and poor households and communities have dominated discourses and practices of rural development in post-independence Africa (Bryceson 2002; Moyo 2008; Moyo 2011a; Lebert 2003; Zikhali 2008; Rugube and Chambati 2001; Kariuki 2009). Two themes have dominated the debate in the Southern African region: land redistribution as a quasi-constitutional right and land redistribution as a vehicle for rural development and in Zimbabwe both took precedence further bolstered by political expedience (Adams and Howell 2001). In the process of land reform programmes in Zimbabwe, concerns over equity of access to land across age, class

and gender differentiation were relegated to the background in research studies while issues to do with commercial viability, efficiency of land-use and the effects of tenure on productivity enjoyed much attention (Gaidzanwa, 1995). Despite efforts made by several women's organisations and feminist scholars to bring forward a gendered analysis of the land question, this did not appear to be on the agenda in the round of acquisitions and redistribution rendering the picture for women bleak (Stiles, 1994). Research on land reform and reallocation programmes paid little attention to how women e benefited and consequently responded to land access shaping their livelihood options.

Redistributing the land was one of the greatest challenges that faced the Zimbabwe government (Rugube and Chambati 2001). When independence was attained the Tribal Trust Lands (TTLs) or native reserves were overpopulated by about 51% (Bond-Stewart 1986). After independence, the Ministry of Agriculture and other government institutions embarked on among other things, a number of land reform programmes to reallocate land mainly from white large-scale commercial farmers to black smallholder farmers to address the inequalities of the past. Various land resettlement programmes were implemented but were slow, until around 1999 due to willing-buyer / willing-seller and other clauses in the Lancaster House Constitution, prohibitive prices during market driven land reform, and unsuitable land offered by whites in Natural Regions 4 and 5 (GoZ 1990; World Bank 1991), and lack of political will (Bratton 1994; Maphosa 1995; Mhishi1995). Government and traditional institutions then took a leading role in the FTLRP, hence assertions were reported in the newspapers and TV programmes that political expedience aggravated livelihood and food crisis in Zimbabwe. "After losing the referendum in February 2000, the government amended the Land Acquisition Act of (1992) mainly for political gain close to the June 2000 parliamentary elections and these amendments removed government's obligation to pay compensation in respect of agricultural land required for resettlement purposes except for any improvements on or to the land" (Rugube and Chambati 2001: 9). After the year of referendum 2000, the FTLRP ensured that the majority of land was transferred to black people. By December 2000, a total of 2 540 farms with a total area of 5.88 million hectares had been identified and gazetted for compulsory acquisition (Msika 2000) and by 2009 out of the 15 million hectares controlled by about 6 000 whites in 1980, more than 13 million hectares had been transferred to over 40 000 families (Moyo 2013). The black majority benefited from the FTLRP and the existing political and institutional frameworks provided spin-off effects on women's and children's livelihoods who also acquired land and were curving non-permanent mobile livelihoods which have traditionally been the male domain (Bryceson 2002, Mutopo 2011).

"Agriculture is the mainstay of the Zimbabwean economy and land is the key resource in agricultural production" (Rugube and Chambati 2001: 7). Historically, women, children and the poor have been predominantly dependent on land for their

livelihoods and food security. However, forms of tenure systems in rural areas in Africa favoured adult men to the disadvantage of women, hence women mainly had access to land through various mechanisms such as: social connections and relations, family, formal (traditional) and political processes (Mutopo 2011; Mushongah and Scoones 2012). The tenure systems in Zimbabwe manifest themselves in four forms: private ownership (freehold), state land, communal and leasehold (resettlement) systems, which impact and shape the property rights and natural resource access regimes that exist in the country and provide opportunities to different households (Shumba 2001). The indigenous customary systems of land ownership which constituted the main land tenure in rural areas provided limited access to land by women, hence their control and influence over their livelihoods options and choices. The land reform programmes from independence perpetuated the male domination of land tenure systems through various resettlement programmes. Customary systems of tenure, which worked adequately in a pre-industrial era when the country was sparsely populated, were not allowed to evolve and customary rules had been frozen in time, first by the Rhodesian authorities and later by the Zimbabwean government (Dore 2013). Such systems did little in improving women's access to land, thus offering limited alternative options and opportunities to their livelihood choices. Studies on livelihood changes influenced by land reforms since independence in the 1980s up to around 2000 focused mostly at household level, to the neglect of their impact on women, children and the poor (Mushongah and Scoones 2012; Scoones and Wolmer 2003; Lebert 2003; Deininger, et al 2002).

Some of the studies that were carried out to explore the impact of land reform on women in Zimbabwe show the complex and often hidden means of access to, and control over land adopted by women in a patriarchal culture (Bryceson 2002; Mutopo 2011; Gaidzanwa 2011). Throughout the various phases of evolution, land reform in Zimbabwe aimed at redistributing land to black people and the number of women beneficiaries remained very low in comparison to that of men (Gaidzanwa 2011, 1991; Utete Presidential Land Review Committee Report 2003; Ruswa 2007). In their study, Rugube and Chambati (2001) found that 15% of the total land area redistributed was acquired by females and accounted for 13% of the total market value; the majority of land was acquired through private non-market transactions (inheritance and donations). Women also had direct access to and control over land through what O'Laughlin (1998, 2002) termed missing men migrating to South Africa and urban areas in search of jobs. During the FTLRP, direct access to, and control of land by women was a function of direct participation in the land invasions. Mutopo (2001) noted that most married women could not engage with the FTLRP process as they had to continue managing their communal homes, while their husbands participated in the FTLRP phase and as such the situation tended to disadvantage women. There are three land reform models predominant in the FTLRP program: A1 (villagisation), A2 (small, medium to large-scale farms) schemes and the Tier model (additional grazing land allocated to existing villages). Women were predominant in the A1 scheme and the single, divorced and widowed women

capitalised on their social networks and political party affiliations to gain new power forms that enable them to acquire land (Mutopo 2001). It is important to understand how women's livelihoods are responding to these new mechanisms and dynamics. Most of the rural women have responded to the evolution of agrarian reform and land redistribution by adapting their livelihoods through accessing land and shaping non-permanent mobile livelihoods which have traditionally been the male domain (Bryceson 2002, Mutopo 2011).

Recent studies show increasing women participation in land reform and direct access to land, in turn increasing their control and choices over diverse rural livelihood options. Bryceson (2002) for example argued that African rural smallholders have responded to prevailing structural adjustment policies and market liberalisation circumstances by edging away from traditional export crop production. High-level of women participation in land reform and access to land through various social and political mechanisms coupled with non-permanent livelihoods (e.g. trading, etc.) increased women's bargaining power in traditional settings improving their control over their livelihood options (Mutopo 2011). There were many barriers for women to achieve access to land and control over it, because policy makers continued to be biased towards men, which then rendered women to have weaker property rights compared to men, and land reforms continued to apply inheritance and land allocation rules that discriminated against women (Gaidzanwa 2011). There were no defined mechanisms structured to ensure that women acquired secure tenure and the majority of labourers in agriculture before and after land reform were women, yet they rarely controlled the land (Munjengwa and Mazhawidza 2011).

In view of the above, this research investigated how land reform programmes were contributing to women empowerment in rural areas of Zimbabwe. The research targeted peasant households that moved from CAs and were resident in the former Sub-division A of Clonmore Farm portion. The peasant households came from Chingezi, Bvute, Zvamagwiro, Mucheregwa, Cheshanga, Rupange, Mabika and Langeni communal Areas (CAs) in Mberengwa District, Midland's province. Through the Sub-division A of Clonmore Farm case study, the research aimed to highlight relationships between land reforms and sustainable livelihoods, the inventory of challenges of land reforms faced by marginalised people, especially women in gaining access and control over land, as well as implications of land reform on social transformation to the wider community. It was hoped that the study complimented on-going empirical studies undertaken in Zimbabwe and the wider community on land reform programmes and their outcomes.

The research focused specifically on Sub-division A of Clonmore Farm in Mberengwa District of the Midlands Province and was guided by the following research questions:

i. In what ways have land reform programmes improved access to land by women in Sub-division A of Clonmore Farm in Mberengwa District?
ii. What were the mechanisms and barriers for women to access land in Sub-division A of Clonmore Farm in Mberengwa District?
iii. In what ways has land reform contributed to sustainable livelihoods in Sub-division A of Clonmore Farm in Mberengwa District?
iv. What were the implications of the findings of this study in a wider context, particularly sub-Saharan Africa?

1.3 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

In view of the above observations, the aim of this research was to investigate the impact of land reform on women's livelihoods in Zimbabwe, particularly in Sub-division A of Clonmore Farm in Mberengwa District.

In connection with the above aim, the objectives of the study were:

I. To understand the relationship between land reforms and sustainable livelihoods;
II. To understand mechanisms utilised by the marginalised people, especially women to access land;
III. To identify and create an inventory of land reform and livelihood challenges faced by the marginalised people, especially women; and
IV. To establish the implications of land reforms to the wider community, particularly sub-Saharan Africa.

1.4 SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The study focused on peasant households resident in Sub-division A of Clonmore Farm. Official records show that there were supposed to be 262 households who came from the surrounding CAs and occupied Sub-division A of Clonmore Farm, however there was actually a total of 341 households that was resident in the farm because headmen illegally allocated additional stands on unsuitable land without the knowledge of the District Lands Committee. Additional households meant that the carrying capacity of Sub-division A of Clonmore Farm was exceed by 79 households, constituting a 30 per cent overpopulation of the land area. Women empowerment studies through land reform haven't been undertaken in Mberengwa District. This study provided the opportunity to investigate mechanisms and barriers to women empowerment and sustainable rural livelihoods. Throughout the various phases of land reform in Zimbabwe the aim was to redistribute land to black people and the number of women beneficiaries has always been very low in comparison to that of

men (Gaidzanwa, 1991; Utete Presidential Land Review Committee Report, 2003:35; Ruuswa, 2007).

1.5 THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS (FRAMEWORK) AND LITERATURE REVIEW

As mentioned earlier, Zimbabwe's history on land and agrarian reform unfolded in three distinct phases from the 1890s: pre-independence phase 1896-1980, post-independence phases; 1980–1999, and 1999–2015 (Rugube and Chambati 2001; Lebert 2003; Zikhali 2008). The pre-independence phase was characterised by disenfranchisement of rural households through colonisation, which began in the 1890s when Cecil John Rhodes with the "Pioneer Column", crossed the Limpopo River into then Southern Rhodesia in search for gold (Lebert 2003; Rugube and Chambati 2001; Shackleton *et al.* 2000; Deininger *et al.* 2002). Due to unsatisfactory gold discoveries, the Morris-Carter Commission 1925) recommended landholding to strengthen settler economy and hence the Land Apportionment Act (1930) reinforced land holding along racial lines with whites choosing land in the best agro-economic regions. The Native Land Husbandry Act (1951) was enacted to address livelihood problems of overcrowding and environmental degradation in communal areas (CAs) (Lebert 2003; Rugube and Chambati 2001). The Lancaster House Agreement (1979) ended the armed struggle against settler government. It proposed a developmental fund to assist with land acquisition on a willing-buyer / willing-seller basis on a 50/50 contribution ratio between the British and Zimbabwe government (Lebert 2003). Deininger et al (2004) argued that at independence in 1980, Zimbabwe inherited a dualistic agricultural sector with a dynamic, modern, large-scale agricultural subsector alongside a traditional, densely populated small-scale agricultural sector.

The initial post-independence phase of the agrarian and land reform occurred from 1980 to 1999 (Lebert 2003; Rugube and Chambati 2001). This phase targeted four groups: the landless, war veterans, the poor and commercial farm workers with the initial targeted figure of 18 000 households in 1980 but this was revised to a final figure of 162 000 households by 1984 (Lebert 2003; Rugube and Chambati 2001). Land was purchased by the state on willing-seller / willing-buyer basis as per the Lancaster agreement. Land was bought at market price and its availability was limited, hence its redistribution was not done on a wider scale. The Land Acquisition Act (1986) gave the state first priority to purchasing land and resettlement was based on four models from A to D (Model A – Intensive Settlement on an Individual Family Basis; Model B – Village Settlement with Cooperative Farming; Model C – State Farms with Out-Growers and Model D – Commercial Grazing for Communal Areas), but 70% of acquired land was agro-economically marginal and located in arid, more climatically erratic southern regions of the country (Lebert 2003). Land offered to the state was also geographically scattered because it was dependent on availability, causing settlers to move in small groups to disparate areas. Customary

land tenure systems were predominant during these land reform programmes, and thus they favoured men to the neglect of women (Dore 2013). By the 1990s the government introduced its policy of compulsory land acquisition with compensation.

The second post-independence phase (FTLRP) was characterised by rapid, and sometimes violent chaos takeover of white-owned commercial farms by black people and spanned from 1999-2015 (Moyo 2013; Rugube and Chambati 2001). Lebert (2003) argued that a state-led approach to land acquisition was in place since 1980 and changed in scope and pace in response to failures of the land market to make adequate and appropriate land available. With time, external and internal pressures hardened the government's position in relation to willing-buyer / willing-seller approach and from the mid-1990s onwards the state increasingly adopted a radical posture on land acquisition (Lebert 2003). Full market compensation began to fall away and the historical obligation for redress was placed squarely on the UK government (Lebert 2003). Lebert (2003) identified three areas of contention between the UK and Zimbabwean governments which explained the slow pace of land reform; inclusion of small black capitalists to the exclusion of the poor and landless populace, UK's insistence of gradual redistribution and conditionality of UK support on demand-driven land acquisition. In addition, lack of political will on the part of the government (Rugube and Chambati 2001), the international lobbying by the Commercial Farmers' Union (CFU) and the British press for a slower land reform process, the drought, the rigidity of the resettlement processes, the rivalry between ministries involved in land administration and with overlapping authority on land and lack of funds (Mushimbo, 2005), corruption within government and general bureaucracy (Logan and Tevera, 2001), all led to slow progress in land redistribution.

Changes in UK governments and growing alliance between the state and certain social forces changed the course and strategy of approaching the land issue (Lebert 2003). After losing the referendum in February 2000, the Zimbabwean government amended the Land Acquisition Act (1992) mainly for political gains (by removing its obligation to pay compensation in respect of agricultural land required for resettlement purpose) close to June 2000 parliamentary elections (Rugube and Chambati 2001). Initially land takeover entailed both violence and negotiations over its sharing between the occupiers and white farmers, but gradually the state gained control over the land reform process from the "illegal occupiers" through creating District Land Committees (DLCs), which involved the government bureaucracy, security agents, ZANU-PF members, war veterans and other social formations (chiefs, farm associations, etc.) (Moyo 2013). Table 2 shows the structural changes of agriculture landholdings and farms for the period 1980 to 2010. Table 2 further shows that the land under White Large-Scale Commercial Farming (LSCF) shrank from 0.8% in 1980 to 0.01% in 2010, while land under A1 and A2 schemes grew from 0% in 1980 to 10.8% and 1.7% in 2010, respectively.

Table 2: Structure of agriculture landholdings and farms for the years 1980 to 2010

Farm categories	Farms/households (000's)						Area held (000 ha)						Average Farm size (ha)		
	1980		2000		2010		1980*		2000*		2010*		1980	2000	2010
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	Ha	%	ha	%	Ha	%			
Peasantry															
Communal	700	98	1,050	92	1,100	81.3	16,400	49.2	16,400	50.1	16,400	49.9	23	16	15
Old resettlement			75	7	75	5.5			3,667	11.2	3,667	11.2		49	49
A1					145.8	10.8					5,759	17.5			40
Sub-total	**700**	**98**	**1,125**	**99**	**1,321**	**97.6**	**16,400**	**49.2**	**20,067**	**61.3**	**25,826**	**78.6**	**23**	**18**	**20**
Middle farms															
Old SSCF	8.5	1.2	8.5	0.8	8.5	0.6	1,400	4.2	1,400	4.3	1,400	4.3	165	165	165
Small A2					22.7	1.7					3,000	9.1			133.9
Sub-total	**8.5**	**1.2**	**8.5**	0.8	**31.2**	**2.3**	**1,400**	**4.2**	**1,400**	**4.3**	**4,400**	**13.4**	**165**	**165**	**142**
Large farms															
Large A2					0.217	0.02					508.9	1.6			2,345
Black LSCF			0.956	0.08	0.956	0.07			530.6	1.6	530.6	1.6		555	555
White LSCF	5.4	0.8	4	0.4	0.198	0.01	13,000	39	8,161	24.9	117.4	0.4	2407	2,040	593
Sub-total	**5.4**	**0.8**	**4.956**	**0.4**	**1.371**	**0.1**	**13,000**	**39**	**8,691.6**	**26.6**	**1,156.9**	**3.5**	**2,407**	**1,754**	**844**
Agro-Estates															
Corporate	0.049	0.01	0.049	0.004	0.02	0.001	1,084	3.3	1,084	3.3	806.4	2.5	22,122	22,122	40,320
Parastatal	0.126	0.02	0.126	0.01	0.106	0.01	379.2	1.1	379.2	1.2	295.5	0.9	3,010	3,010	2,788
Conservancy	0.008	0.001	0.008	0.001	0.008	0.001	958	2.9	958	2.9	247	0.8	119,750	119,750	30,875
Institution	0.113	0.02	0.113	0.01	0.113	0.01	145.7	0.4	145.7	0.5	145.7	0.4	1,289	1,289	1,289
Sub-total	**0.296**	**0.05**	**0.296**	**0.02**	**0.247**	**0.02**	**2,567**	**7.7**	**2,567**	**7.9**	**1,494.6**	**4.5**	**8,672**	**8,672**	**6,051**
Total	**714.2**	**100**	**1,138.8**	**100**	**1,354**	**100**	**33,367**	**100**	**32726**	**100**	**32,878**	**100**	**46,7**	**28,7**	**24,3**

Sources: Compiled by S. Moyo and N. Nyoni from Moyo and Yeros (2005), GoZ MLRR (2009), GoZ 2009 data.

Of the 15 million hectares of land which were controlled by about 6 000 white farmers in 1980, over 13 million had by 2009 been formally transferred to over 40 000 families of largely rural origin black people and the FTLRP alone officially benefited 168 671 families on 9.2 million hectares, while an estimated 20% more families out of those who benefited also had access to the redistributed land (Moyo 2013). FTLRP beneficiaries were not a homogeneous group; although elites with political connections got multiple farms and especially bigger farms under the A2 model, the biggest number of beneficiaries was made up of predominantly rural people with farming background (Moyo, et al 2009). This led to a 'net transfer of wealth and power' from a racial minority of landed persons to various classes of black people, including mostly the previously landless and land-poor classes and a substantial number of low-income wage-earning and unemployed workers, as well as various categories of the petty-bourgeoisie (Moyo 2013).

Three land reform models were predominant in the FTLRP programme: A1, A2 schemes and the Tier model. The A1 scheme (villagisation) was based on existing

communal organisation, whereby peasants produce mainly for subsistence and was intended to decongest communal areas by targeting land constrained farmers in communal areas (Zikhali 2008, Moyo 2011a). User permits were issued by the Ministry of Lands on recommendation of village heads or local councilor through the District Lands Committee (DLC). A2 scheme comprised individual plots of land classified as small, medium and large-scale commercial schemes, intended to create a cadre of black commercial farmers and targeted Zimbabwean citizens who could prove farming experience and/or resource availability (Zikhali 2008; Moyo 2011b; Matondi and Dekker 2011). A1 scheme had a 99-year lease while the A2 scheme had a 25- or 99-year lease with an option to purchase the land (Zikhali 2008). The aim of the A2 scheme was to support the smallholder farmers to move away from subsistence farming towards market-oriented, profit-driven and self-sustaining farming (Rukuni 1994). The Tier model was whereby communities were allocated commercial farms as additional grazing to an existing CA settlement.

The fast track land reform resulted in significant shifts in landholding by race, class and to a lesser extent, by gender because the land reform programme did not manifestly target gender equity but focused at racial parity, the most pressing socio-economic and political issue of the time (Gaidzanwa 2011). The Presidential Land Review Committee acknowledged that most of the women beneficiaries of the land reform were in the A1 scheme, the villagised model while men dominated the A2 model (Gaidzanwa, 1995). Both A1 and A2 female farmers struggled to access inputs, seeds, fertilizer, finance, labour, extension services, farming equipment and they often did not have collateral (Women and Land in Zimbabwe 2006). Women and Land in Zimbabwe (2006) further argued that women competed with men for the limited credit that was available, yet men already owned properties and could draw on their social networks to support them. Few women qualified in A2 scheme because they could produce a record showing that they had previously been involved in agriculture activities or that they had the basic assets and savings needed to run farming operations in the family, as assets and savings were usually registered in the name of men (Gaidzanwa 2011, Manjengwa and Mazhawidza 2011). The names on the application forms were those of the men despite their marital status and upon the death of the men, women could not change and register the land in their names (Gaidzanwa 2011). The government departments such as the Agricultural Research and Extension and Local Government were male-dominated, especially in the middle and upper positions where decisions on land allocations were made further disadvantaging women (Gaidzanwa 2011).

After the FTLRP in Zimbabwe, with active encouragement from an embattled ruling party, a sustained media interest and public comment on land reform was experienced in South Africa (Lahiff and Cousins 2001). This culminated in sporadic invasions being reported in Dukuduku forest in KwaZulu-Natal and Northern Cape (Mail & Guardian 05/05/00), Dwesa-Cwebe in Queenstown, Mkhambati on the

Wild Coast and Madimbo corridor alongside the Limpopo river. Land invasions fuelled by desperation also manifested themselves in urban areas of South Africa, but were defused by the government finding alternative land for the homeless (Lahiff and Cousins 2001). In just eight months after its formation in South Africa, the Economic Freedom Front (EFF) Party got 20 seats in the May 2014 parliamentary elections, based on its manifesto to nationalise mines, banks and pursue land reforms (The Herald 11/05/14). Adams and Howell (2001) observed developments in Namibia, post-Zimbabwe 2000 land reform and noted that in his opening speech at the Cabinet Retreat at Swakopmund (December 2000) President Sam Nujoma declared that government planned to acquire 9.5 million hectares of land for redistribution and resettlement over the next five years. These responses by governments in neighbouring countries indicated the pressing need for accelerated land reform and policy change at large and in particular to enable easy access and control of land by women. Programmes of land redistribution in the former settler economies of Southern Africa share some common key features; and in both Zimbabwe and South Africa these targeted the ultra-poor and landless to begin with; suffered from inadequate funding in national budgets; were burdened by time-consuming bureaucratic procedures; had lagged behind over ambitious implementation schedules; and had been subjected to critical assessment of impacts, resulting in negative judgements on land reform (Lahiff and Cousins 2001).

Outcomes of the FTLRP were far more complex and discourse on land reform and rural development provided mixed outcomes on the impact the land reform programmes had to the rural dwellers. Zikhali (2008) tested for agricultural productivity differentials between FTLRP beneficiaries and communal farmers. Results showed that higher productivity in the FTLRP compared to communal farmers could not clarify whether this meant improvements in FTLRP beneficiary livelihoods. Among factors influencing the differences included: Grain Marketing Board's (GMB) contribution through buying products and provision of services including fertilizer by government to FTLRP as well as more fertile land among other things compared to communal households.

Deininger et. al. (2002) noted that little empirical micro-evidence existed on the impact of land reform, except for Zimbabwe because household data set existed that included comprehensive information for a group of land reform beneficiaries. Deininger et. al. (2002) came up with four findings: confirmation of the success of land reform when comparing asset accumulation and gross crop income between settler and communal households, per-capita benefits were modest when differences in household size were controlled, politically motivated market distortions had negative consequences and existence of coalition between large-scale commercial

farmers and political elite were instrumental to the introduction of market distortions.

Using the livelihoods analysis approach, Mutopo (2011) found high-level of women participation in land reform (FTLRP) and access to land through various mechanisms: family, formal (traditional) and political processes. Access to land, coupled with non-permanent livelihoods (trading, etc.) increased women's bargaining power in the traditional settings, thus improving their control over their livelihood options. Mahenehene and Sukume (2011) research interrogated what happened to people's livelihoods once they got land through land reform from 2000? They were of the view that despite the simplicity of the question, the answers were extremely complex and new people on the land were engaged in multiple forms of economic activities, connected to diverse markets and carving out a variety of livelihoods. Kinsey (2003) described a theoretical dip in livelihoods immediately following resettlement, followed by income growth and assets accumulation in subsequent years.

Mkodzongi (2013) argued that the nuanced analyses of dynamics of indigenisation which were often absent in on-going debates, demonstrating that despite claims of elite corruption, indigenisation benefited small-scale farmers who got sources of income which were vital for future agrarian investments. Rural dwellers were able to engage in non-farm activities to generate income to facilitate investments in the farm activities through social responsibility and other economic development programmes (e.g. mining, road repairs, boreholes provisions, healthcare clinics, etc.). Improved knowledge on agriculture led to better yields leading to marked improvements in land reform and livelihoods security.

Using panel datasets Kinsey et. al., (1998) argued that there was vast asset accumulation and Gunning et. al., (2000) reported that crop incomes increased since the early 1980s. Without using panel data, Cusworth (1990) and Robilliard et. al., (2001) reported high agricultural productivity rates of retain to land reform. Similarly, Ghatak and Roy (2007) found an overall negative impact of land reform on agricultural productivity in their study conducted in India.

Women in Africa tend to provide more labour for agriculture than men. Throughout rural Africa women are *de facto* heads of households because most men migrated to urban environments to earn wages. Shortage of male labour in agriculture constrained agricultural development (Rukuni and Eicher 1994). This resulted in low agricultural productivity and remittances from off farm income being used to hire labour.

1.6 METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The study investigated how land reform programmes were contributing to women empowerment, thus influencing their livelihood choices and options in rural areas of Zimbabwe particularly in Sub-division A of Clonmore Farm - Mberengwa District especially after the FTLRP. Rugube and Chambati (2001) argued that agriculture was the mainstay of the Zimbabwean economy and land was the key resource in agricultural production. Women in Africa tended to provide more labour for agriculture than men and tenure insecurity was acute among those using land to generate income, and especially women (Doss 1999; Adams et al 1999). Moreover, policy makers in various land reform programmes continued to favour men although women have historically managed and shouldered the responsibilities of domestic labour, family care and nutritional security (World Bank 2008).

The focus of the research was to investigate the impact of land reforms on women's livelihoods in Zimbabwe, particularly in Sub-division A of Clonmore Farm in Mberengwa District. In particular, to understand the relationship between land reforms and sustainable livelihoods as well as challenges faced by the marginalised people, especially women including implications of land reforms in Southern Africa.

This section will outline the research approach from research positionality, research design, and data collection tools as well as data analysis. The advantages and shortfalls of the selected methods will also be discussed.

1.6.1 RESEARCH POSITIONALITY

The research adopted positivism and interpretivism philosophies because the nature of the study encompasses elements that required utilisation of both philosophies. Aliyu et. al., (2014) define positivism as a research strategy that is rooted on the ontological principle and doctrine that truth and reality is free and independent of the viewer and observer. On the other hand Bland (2013) points out that interpretivists or constructionists assume that reality is not "out there", but is constructed through the interpretations of researchers, study participants and even readers. Primary data was collected through a case study utilising in-depth questionnaire-driven interviews with snowball sampled women and selected stakeholders in Sub-division A of Clonmore Farm. The research combined primary and secondary data from various sources providing information on household composition, wealth, tenure (political, cultural and administrative factors), level of participation in the FTLRP, agriculture and non-agriculture activities, migration, remittances and a range of other indicators such as kinship, lineage and membership in local associations. This information provided an insight into, and understanding of the opportunities and challenges encountered by women during land reform programmes and how they influence sustainable livelihoods.

1.6.2 RESEARCH DESIGN

Quantitative and qualitative research methodological approaches were utilised because this study adopted the positivism and interpretivism philosophies. The research was based on a case study of 61 peasant households that moved from surrounding CAs and resided in Sub-division A of Clonmore Farm in Mberengwa District – Zimbabwe. Before the FTLRP, the farm comprised of two portions bordered by CAs: Chingezi village on the west and Mabika, Rupange, Langeni, Cheshanga, Zvamagwiro, Mucheregwa and Bvute villages on the south. Sub-division A of Clonmore Farm was allocated for land redistribution during the FTLRP. The study area was apportioned into A1 farm plots (villagised), and allocated to individual households. Altogether, there were eight (8) villages in the Sub-division A of Clonmore Farm and each village was headed by a headman. In each village, the total number of households ranged from 25 to 64. The village names were Station, Kushinga, Shayamabvudzi, Dambarton, Hibbo, Mate, Honyobwe and Rubweruchena.

1.6.3 DATA SOURCES

Primary and secondary data was utilised and the data sources are discussed below.

1.6.3.1 Primary Data

Interviews using structured and semi-structured questionnaires were conducted with women from the sampled households and identified key informants. Questions asked were both closed and open-ended to allow participants independence to freely express their views in some instances. A purposive snowball 18 per cent sample of 61 out of 341 households was selected comprising a number of households in each category: married, single, widowed and divorced women. The research initially targeted 60 households although eventually 61 households were interviewed. With the assistance from relatives, family friends and former school friends each headman from the eight villages in Sub-division A of Clonmore Farm was identified and approached with the aim to explain the purpose of the research. Each headmen was requested to assist in the identification of the targeted women because part of their responsibilities included keeping village household registers and looking after the welfare of village dwellers, hence they were actively involved in the actual land allocations. Further, most, if not all the headmen knew other relevant key informants who played prominent roles in the land reform programmes and thus they were requested to identify such key informants as well. Once a list of the targeted households and relevant key informants was drawn, the researcher approached each one of them, explaining the purpose of the research and seeking their permission to participate in interviews. Respondents who agreed to be interviewed duly completed the consent form expressing their willingness to be participants. The questionnaires provide first-hand detailed personal information of the respondent and household

members including services and economic activities, while individual life histories provide information on circumstances before and after the FTLRP.

Further, the research targeted key role players who were active in the FTLRP and land reforms. In-depth interviews using structured and semi-structured questionnaires were conducted, targeting these key role players who included: District Agricultural Officials, District Land Committees, NGOs, War Veterans, ZANU-PF members, Chiefs and Headmen among others. Participants from the identified groups of key informants listed above were selected on the basis of their participation and assistance they rendered to women during land reform processes. Key role players experienced at firsthand challenges they encountered when they assisted women participants. Such a selection provided insight into how and in what ways various key informants and institutions influenced women access to, and use of land shaping their livelihoods. Institutions like customs, rules, regulations, laws, public agencies played a vital role in influencing women empowerment during land reform programmes (Ellis and Freeman 2004).

Personal observations were used to understand activities informed by livelihoods choices and options adopted by women. Transect walks were also undertaken with participants and relevant key informants (headmen, ward councillors, etc.) in order to understand farming livelihoods because they further enhance the knowledge of livelihoods of the community resident in the Sub-division A of Clonmore Farm (Mutopo 2011).

1.6.3.2 Secondary Data

Secondary and administrative data were collected from the ZimStats Office, Land Audit registers, District Office, Agricultural Office, registers from the headmen and any other available relevant data sources that satisfied the needs and requirements of this research. The ZimStats Office provided data on the population statistics that included demographics, income, education, services, etc. which provided a good measure of the welfare of the communities. Administrative data from the Land Audit registers, District Office, Agricultural Office, registers from the headmen provided insight into the history of land redistribution and change of ownership, tenure status, as well as how livelihoods were influenced by administrative and traditional systems. Further, other relevant sources from organisations like the NGOs, deeds office, etc. were utilised where these were deemed appropriate. These data sources may suffer from lack of comparability due to differing timeframes at which they were collected.

1.7 DATA COLLECTION TOOLS AND ANALYSIS

The fieldwork methods used to collect data were discussed in the previous section. Primary data was captured using hardcopy paper questionnaires and notebooks in the field including audio-recorded interview transcripts.

Advantages of using paper-based tools (questionnaire and notebooks) were that errors could be rectified when identified by going back to the field and verifying the information. Disadvantages were that errors may have been introduced during data capturing and it was expensive to print materials, there was too much logistics in handling the materials due to volumes, high risk of loss through accidents like fire, tight timeframes to capture and process data. The completed questionnaires were checked for completeness and missing information was obtained from the relevant households and key informants. Data on questionnaires was then captured on an Access database using Key From Paper (KFP) method (typing data on the computer into the Access database) and this approach introduced some typo errors.

The captured data was then cleaned and updated using analysis queries in Access and Excel to identify and rectify errors. The access queries included cross-tabulations, descriptive statistics such as mean and totals. SPSS software was also used to run descriptive statistics on quantitative data by running cross-tabulations and presenting data in table and graphic formats as well as relationships among some of the data items. The Framework Analysis and Content Analysis methods were utilised to analyse the qualitative information. The Framework Analysis provided systematic and visible stages to the analysis process, so that others, could be clear about the stages by which the results were obtained from the data (Ritchie and Spencer 1994 cited in Lacey and Luff 2009). Content Analysis is a procedure for the categorisation of verbal or behavioural data, for purposes of classification, summarisation and tabulation. Content analysis of qualitative data aim to uncover and / or understand the big picture - by using the data to describe the phenomenon and what it means.

1.8 ETHICAL CONSIDERATION

Blandford (2013) points out that traditionally, ethics has been concerned with the avoidance of harm, and most established ethical clearance processes focused on this. She posits that a useful mnemonic for the main concerns should be Vulnerability, Informed consent, and Privacy (VIP). Where vulnerability take into consideration particular care when recruiting participants from groups that might be regarded as vulnerable such as children, the elderly, or people with particular conditions (due to illnesses, addictions, etc.); Informed consent is where possible participants are informed of the purpose of the study and their right to withdraw at any time; and Privacy and confidentiality must be respected in data gathering, data management and reporting.

All necessary ethical conditions for primary data were met before any data collection could commence. An ethical clearance form was logged with, and approved by the University of Witwatersrand's Ethics Committee (Annexure B). Hence, participants were guaranteed confidentiality to the information they provided. Some of the

personal information gathered is confidential like age, sex, etc.: this information will never be disclosed to, or used by anyone except for the purposes of this study. Moreover, only participants who freely and willingly participated were considered for selection, and each one was duly requested to complete a consent form (Annexure E and F) expressing their willingness to be participants. There are minimal concerns on ethical issues surrounding secondary data. The user of such data is expected to acknowledge the data sources and meet the conditions under which the data is issued to him/her because this is an ethical obligation.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS AND LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter is dedicated to a discussion on existing theoretical perspectives and some of the discourses that have taken place, or are currently taking place within the broader debates on land reforms, gender, women empowerment and rural livelihoods. The chapter reviews theoretical debates of land reform, women empowerment and rural livelihoods that underpin this research and outlines the concepts needed to understand the relationship between land reforms and sustainable livelihoods as well as mechanisms and challenges faced by the marginalised people, especially women. These concepts included, land allocation, land access, tenure and land rights, gender and power relations, women empowerment and rural livelihoods. Engaging in the discussion of these theoretical perspectives and concepts was important to provide a sound foundation and tools to carry out extensive research and analysis as well as test the application of these theories. Current arguments on land reforms emphasises equity, environmental productivity and sustainability, poverty eradication, provision of adequate support services and legal tenure and ownership among other issues.

Extensive research has been conducted on how land reforms and control over economic resources, empower the poor (especially women) resulting in positive effects on households' well-being and a range of developmental goals in the developing world – poverty reduction, economic growth and gender equity (Shumba 2011; Tinyane 2009; Farnworth 2013; Makura-Paradza 2010; Weiderman 2004; Allendorf 2007; Rosenkrantz 2014; Deere and Leon 1998). Allendorf (2007) found that women's land rights promote empowerment and child health in Nepal. In Asia, Ronsenkrantz (2014) attested that changes in land rights were making a positive difference to the poorest people in the Pacific. These positive outcomes were supported by Studwell and Jochnick (2016) who argued that after World War II, land reform progress in Taiwan, South Korea and Japan redistributed vast swathes of land to the poor tenant farmers and agricultural labourers, thereby ending extreme poverty and hunger. In Colombia land redistribution programmes in the late 1990s improved women's land rights by mandating joint titles for couples instead of exclusive titles for male household 'heads' (Deere and León 2001). They also found out that, women in Colombia received nearly one-third of the land titles that were distributed to individuals rather than couples.

In some instances, land reforms adversely affected women, resultantly worsening their status and negatively affecting their and their family wellbeing. During Kenya's 1960s land reforms, women were negatively affected as freehold tenure rights were registered in the husbands' or other male relatives' names (Weiderman 2004). However, these problems are being addressed as women have formed watchdog groups as strategies to hold leaders to account (African Women's Land Rights Conference, 2011), and Kenya's 2010 constitution addresses women's plight to land ownership and creates necessary legal and institutional frameworks to ensure full realisation of women's plight to land and other related resources (Odeny 2013). In Northern Uganda, after 20 years of conflict and 5 years of post-conflict, there were increases in land boundary disputes during the resettlement and return of the Internationally Displaced Persons (IDPs). These disputes severely affected around 46 per cent of women because traditionally they accessed land through male members of the households (most of whom died during the conflict) and therefore had no formal claim to the land, and worse still, had also lost their social networks through which they accessed land (African Women's Land Rights Conference 2011). In El Salvador, the 1980s land reform transferred titles from landlords to tenants, this actually had the effect of worsening women's (already inferior) position: women comprised only 10 per cent of the beneficiaries, but they accounted for 36 per cent of those whose lands were expropriated, the latter being mostly 'elderly widows and single women who did not work the land directly themselves, but rather share-cropped it or rented it out' (Deere and León 2001, 98).

This chapter is divided into six (6) sections of which this is the first section. Section 2.2 provides a critical review of land reforms and women empowerment and section 2.3 discusses theories and concepts on land reforms, women empowerment and rural livelihoods. Global debates on how land reforms empower women, thereby positively affecting their livelihoods are discussed in section 2.4. A discussion on land reforms and women empowerment with particular focus on the Southern Africa region and Zimbabwe is provided in section 2.5, while section 2.6 focuses on the gaps in knowledge and the justification of this research.

2.2 Critical Review of Land Reforms and Women Empowerment

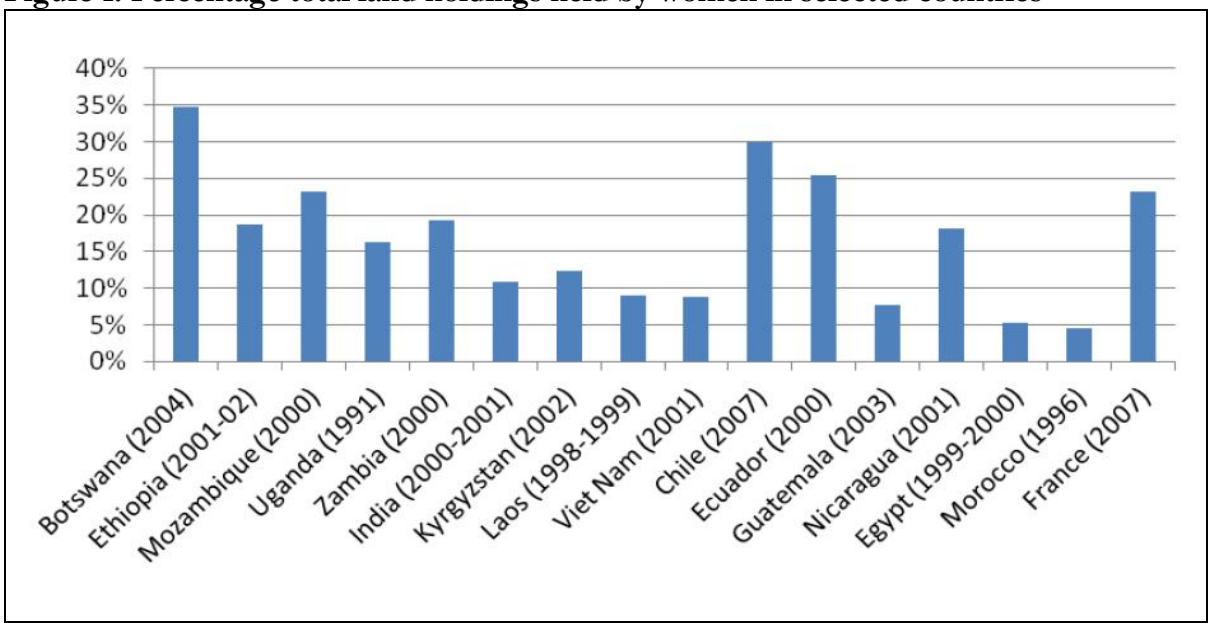
This section provides the working definition of secure land rights and critical reviews of the historical settings of women's land rights and the legislative framework in the developing regions of the world. Implications of women's access to land, land rights vis-à-vis their impact on livelihoods, the triple role played by in society (reproductive work, productive work and community managing work) vis-à-vis how this then contributes to the overall national and regional development are also discussed.

It should be noted that access to land and land based resources does not ensure security to secure land rights because according to Duncan and Ping (2001) the working definition of land rights is that they are complete (or incomplete) based on

whether they are: (1) legally recognised, (2) socially recognised, and (3) enforceable by external authority – hence security of women's land rights are complete when all three conditions are satisfied. While security of household land rights is an important factor, secure household rights do not necessarily translate into secure rights for women within the household (Duncan and Ping 2001). They further argue that in China land rights had the greatest negative impact on women because they were related to intra-household issues which determine a woman's access to, and control over land, based on her status as a daughter, wife, mother, divorcee, or widow. This was similar to what has been happening in other parts of the developing world such as South Asia and sub-Saharan Africa where according to Lastrarria-Cornhiel (2013) women have had no land rights, or at best had secondary rights to land through male relatives: their fathers, brothers or husbands. These intra-household rights become particularly important when a family structure changes through divorce, incapacity or abandonment of a spouse, death of a spouse, death of a parent, or childbirth.

According to the World Bank (2008) only independent or joint titling can ensure that women have access to, and control over land-based earnings – and rights to land as well as natural resources increase a woman's bargaining power within the household, which results in increased allocation of household resources to children and women as well as increased household welfare. Figure 1 gives an idea of how many rural women had access to agricultural land, though it does not tell us what type of rights they had, whether they owned the land, were renting or share-cropping, or were simply allowed to farm it.

Figure 1: Percentage total land holdings held by women in selected countries



Source: Lastrarria-Cornhiel (2013) – FAO Gender and Land Rights Database (p1)

Lastrarria-Cornhiel (2013) posited that as rural households become more feminised and the role of women in agriculture increased, land as a secure place to raise families

and as a base for diversified livelihood strategies became more important, particularly for women since they were majorly responsible for family welfare.

In a study of six (6) South Asia countries, Scalise (2009) argued that in the past decade, these countries shared a lot of commonalities when it came to issues of women and land rights which included: population pressures, landlessness with the vast majority working as agricultural labourers or tenants on the land of others to survive, have high levels of poverty, the rural majority was poor, had experienced some form of conflict in the recent past, composed of significant and determinative regional, ethnic, tribal, religious, class and caste differences, and the legal framework of each country reflected its own particular political, social, and economic histories as well as some degree of legal pluralism based on customary and legal law, especially when it came to women's land rights. These commonalities were similar to other regions in the developing world such as Latin America and sub-Saharan Africa. De facto dual systems of statutory and indigenous customary law in many countries allowed men to maneuver from one to the other as, and when it favoured them (Assubuji 2013).

It was widely recognised that if women were to improve their lives and escape poverty, they needed appropriate skills and tools to do so, but women in many countries were far less likely than men to own property and otherwise control assets – key tools to gaining economic security and earning higher incomes (ICRW Millennium Development Goals Series 2016). Women and Land Rights (2015) concurred, that there was a direct relationship between women's rights to land, economic empowerment, food security and poverty reduction. FAO (2011b) further urged that while many people in the developing world lacked secure property rights and access to adequate resources, women had less access to land than men do in all regions and in many countries. According to Kameri-Mbote (2013), in Africa as elsewhere, land rights have remained a bastion of male power and privilege and despite gendered power relations, land-rights issues were constantly negotiated, contested and resisted by affected men in various ways (Assubuji 2013). Some researchers however contended that women's traditional access rights to land were better in the past because they were accorded great protection as mothers and assured of a share of resources even where they did not exercise political leadership (Kameri-Mbote 2013).

In most of the countries in the developing regions such as South Asia, sub-Saharan Africa and Latin America, just like in China, the history of women and land shows that both legal restrictions and deeply-rooted socio-cultural traditions have affected rural women's rights to land over the past century although legal regimes governing land tenure have changed (Duncan and Ping 2001). These traditions have limited and continue to limit the degree to which women realise their benefits from legal reforms aimed at increasing the welfare of rural families (Duncan and Ping 2001). Awareness of the historic dynamics between social customs and legal changes in

rural areas of the developing world was important to assessing the present-day status of women's land rights in these regions, including Sub-division A of Clonmore Farm as well as the potential effect of land reform legislation on rural women in Zimbabwe.

Historically in many regions and countries of the developing world, women may have access to property and other assets based on their relationships to men. ICRW Millennium Development Goals Series (2016) posited that men and women acquired land in many ways through property inheritance, purchases and transfers from the state (e.g. land reform programmes, resettlement schemes, antipoverty programs, etc.). However, the majority of women gained access to property and other assets through informal arrangements or traditional methods of household and communal decision making. For instance in Latin America women became landowners through inheritance while men purchased land in the market, in Asia women traditionally didn't own property because land was inherited through the male family line. In the Middle East and North Africa inheritance laws and practices were based on the Sharia Law which defined the share that goes to each family member of which a woman's share was half that of a man's share in the case of both a male and female heir, while in sub-Saharan Africa women have historically enjoyed access to land and related resources through a father, brother or husband depending on a community lineage system. Duncan and Ping (2001) argued that for China in 1900–1949 the role of women in agriculture was very limited and they did not have legal rights to own land or inherit land or other property, although widows could occasionally hold land on behalf of their sons until they reached the age of adulthood – nor did women have legal rights to land within the household, as wives or daughters.

Duncan and Ping (2001) further argued that two social institutions influenced women's status within their household and communities in China during the 1900–1949 period: patri-local marriage system (women lived with their birth parents until they got married, at which time they moved to their husbands' households – this system remained dominant in rural China till present day) and the association of women with the "inside" or domestic sphere of activity. The patri-local marriage system negatively affected women's household and social status as well as their ability to realise the potential benefits of legal change (Duncan and Ping 2001). Similarly in other developing parts of the world such as Latin America, South Asia and sub-Saharan Africa until recently, issues around women's access and rights to land were negatively affected by the gendered division of labour. Women spent a lot of time working on the land yet had limited rights to ownership, access and control over it which was deeply-rooted in the past histories as well as the intersection of dual socio-cultural norms (especially patriarchy systems) and legal systems of tenure that shaped this paradigm where women were marginalised (Kameri-Mbote (2013; Budlender et. al., 2011; Odeny 2013; African Women's Land Rights Conference 2011; Deere and Leon 1998). These circumstances negatively affected women's livelihoods portfolios. FAO (2013) argued that patriarchal cultures were

predominant in much of the world, hence men were de facto household heads, constituting the largest role in decision making about resources at both household and community levels. This meant women had disproportionately few rights to land and property.

Daughters have traditionally been viewed as temporary or transient recipients of property rights as they were expected or presumed to move from their natal homes to their marriage homes (Duncan and Ping 2001). Hence parents didn't have incentive to invest in them since they would transfer out their inherited resources to their husband family. Duncan and Ping (2001) further argued that the association of women with the "woman's domain" sphere of activity custom – a woman's role was within the house, while a man's role was to represent the household in the "man's domain" community activities discouraged women from participating in the "man's domain" sphere of agricultural production. It also discouraged households from allowing women to participate in community social and political events. To this day the customary association of women with the "woman's domain" sphere continues to influence their social and economic status, although the definition of "inside" and "man's domain" spheres in rural China has evolved (Duncan and Ping 2001). This gendered division of labour in other parts of the developing world such as Latin America, South Asia and sub-Saharan Africa ensured that most males – husbands, brothers and relatives controlled land although women played a major role in growing crops hence while women may have some control of land, men controlled all activities relating to mainly family fields (Bryceson 2002; Mutopo 2011; Gaidzanwa 2011; FAO 2013; Lastrarria-Cornhiel 2013; ICRW Millennium Development Goals Series 2016; Women and Land in Zimbabwe 2002; Gaidzanwa 2011; Odeny 2013; African Women's Land Rights Conference 2011).

According to Kameri-Mbote (2013) and Budlender et. al., (2011) some of the issues associated with problems and mechanisms negating the advancement of women land rights in Africa and other parts of the developing world included:

I. Gendered division of labour – women spending a lot of time working on the land and yet have limited rights of ownership, access and control
II. The exclusion denied women the social, economic and political autonomy that was vital for full membership in a given society – ownership provided some form of identity, social standing and citizenship
III. Land provided the vehicle through which women could move from the reproductive (private and non-work) realm to the productive (public and work) realm
IV. Land rights were affected by a convergence of on the one hand government policies related to the current shift towards greater commercialisation and competition for land, and on the other hand, discriminatory customary law.
V. Land mainly controlled by male household heads, with the assumption that the rights were held in trust for all in the household

VI. Multiplicity of claims to land and land-based resources
VII. Dualistic ownership systems based on the intersection of customary and statutory laws
VIII. Women lacked basic knowledge of legal procedures and their rights due to its complexity
IX. Power dynamics at household level
X. Traditions that gave preference to men in land allocations and inheritance
XI. Disparities in access to farming resources by men and women
XII. Chiefs meddling in women's control of land in patrilineal societies – with women's control over land only in the absence of men
XIII. Policy makers continued to favour men and women had weaker property rights compared to men,
XIV. Land reforms continued to apply inheritance and land allocation rules that discriminated against women such as those who were single, married, divorced and widowed
XV. There were no defined mechanisms structured to ensure that women acquired secure tenure; and
XVI. The majority of labourers in agriculture before and after land reforms were women yet they rarely controlled the land

Contemporary arguments about women empowerment (discussed in section 2.3.2) contend that if women empowerment was to be realised, more than legal provisions was required because implementing legislation must include appropriate mechanisms, e.g. for spousal consent in matters of matrimony property (Kameri-Mbote 2013). Discourse and numerous studies on women and land rights have been carried out in different countries and regions of the world. These regions have been affected by different histories, politics, terrain and cultures until recently where concerted global initiatives were taking shape as the case was for example in sub-Saharan Africa, thereby strengthening advocacy for law and policy reform including dissemination of tools and strategies used by women's organisations in the region by such organisations like COHRE, FAO, UN-HABITAT. Tinyade (2009) argued that some of the mechanisms that could be implemented to facilitate achieving women empowerment included: using education on women's rights to deal with attitudes by women, men and traditional leaders; adult literacy; finding concrete tactics of achieving legal, policy and programatical spring boards, including laws and policies that promote and protect women farmers' rights, access to services including extensions, training, inputs; gender sensitive justice and decision making structures; supporting strong movements and groups that advanced women's rights and women's own increased knowledge and capabilities.

Gender inequality in securing rights to land and property impeded progress in achieving inclusive economic and social development, environmental sustainability, and peace and security (Gomez and Tran 2012). Women's lack of property ownership was important because it contributed to women's low social status and

their vulnerability to poverty – this was also linked to developmental problems like HIV & AIDS, hunger, urbanisation, migration, and domestic violence. Scalise (2009) concurred, arguing that in both urban and rural settings, independent land and property rights under these circumstances could mean the difference between dependence on natal family support and ability to form a viable, self-reliant, female-headed household. Villarreal and Shin (2008) proposed that there was a selection process whereby only women with sufficient income opted to live independently, heading their own households, while others move into households headed by someone else, thus explaining why female-headed households were not necessarily poorer holding all else constant, than male-headed households. Chant (2008) argued that there were many different explanations for why women-headed households emanated and these differences could lead to different outcomes that were not necessarily negative for women's wellbeing. Although separation, divorce and widowhood have often been associated with women's relative poverty, separation and divorce may also be liberating for women, enhancing their personal autonomy: "free of the senior male patriarch, their households can become enabling spaces" (Chant 2008:27). Relations of domination and subordination within households may result in fundamental gender differences in the welfare of men and women within male-headed households whether with respect to consumption, income, labour inputs, opportunities, and/or choices (de la Rocha 1995; Chant 2007). Women who did not have property were far less likely to take economic risk and realise their full potential (ICRW Millennium Development Goals Series 2016).

Issues around women and land rights are very complex because inheritance was often the vehicle that granted women property rights. Scalise (2009) argued that in South Asia, as elsewhere in the developing world, women's inheritance rights were governed by formal and customary laws, and the formal primary laws were personal laws which tended to be heavily influenced by customs and religion. Scalise (2009) further argued that while women often gained property rights through personal laws that govern inheritance, the right to inherit was impacted by other personal laws and practices such as polygamy, marital property rules, bride price or dowry and *inter vivos* gifts or partition, and worse still, personal laws which govern inheritance for women may be statutory, religious or customary. Scalise (2009) also noted that it was often difficult to precisely identify a given personal law as either one of the types; rather, personal laws evolve from the interplay of statute, religion and custom, and how those bodies of laws were interpreted by judiciary or other official decisions. Most of South Asia countries have pluralistic legal systems and this meant that there was more than one body of laws which operate in a given area or for a given people and the bodies of law may be formal or they may be unwritten rules and practices that became an intrinsic part of the accepted conduct in a community (Scalise 2009). Table 3 briefly describes the complex formal inheritance laws in the six South Asia countries.

Socio-economic and political transformation have been associated with women's access to, and secure land rights. In China, Women of Dongfang villages appeared to have greater opportunities than men to work in the service industry in the township centres, the county seat, or in Haikou City, the capital of Hainan Province (Duncan and Ping 2001). Bryceson (2002) found that in sub-Saharan Africa Structural Adjustment and Market liberalisation policies lead to de-peasantisation and de-agrarianisation associated with deep-rooted social changes.

Diversification of rural livelihoods included rural women and youth earning cash because men were increasingly encouraging women and daughters to work outside the home to make money (Bryceson 2002). Bryceson (2002) further argued that African rural smallholders responded to prevailing structural adjustment policies and market liberalisation circumstances by edging away from traditional export crop production. In Zimbabwe, high-level of women participation in land reform and access to land through various social and political mechanisms coupled with non-permanent livelihoods (trading, etc.) increase women's bargaining power in the traditional setting, thus improving their control over their livelihood options (Mutopo 2011). Some of the studies that have been carried out to explore the impact of land reform on women in Zimbabwe showed the complex and often hidden means of access to, and control over land adopted by women in a patriarchal culture (Bryceson 2002; Mutopo 2011; Gaidzanwa 2011). The black majority benefited from the FTLRP and the existing political and institutional frameworks provide spin-off effects on women's and children's livelihoods who also acquired land and were curving non-permanent mobile livelihoods which have traditionally been the male domain (Bryceson 2002, Mutopo 2011). Doss (1999) was of the opinion that African household complexity and heterogeneity provided lessons which could not be transferred across most villages, much less across the continent, because there was no simple way to summarise gender roles within African households and communities. There was need to understand the entire system of household behaviour as they were embedded in the agricultural and non-agricultural economies. Gender roles and responsibilities were dynamic and changed with new economic circumstances and was difficult to tell the effects of a particular programme on a group of people. Relationships in households were renegotiated as opportunities increase (whether it was children, women or smallholder farmers). Policy makers in various land reform programmes continued to favour men although women have historically managed and shouldered the responsibilities of domestic labour, family care and nutritional security (World Bank 2008).

The cases highlighted in Table 3 were a mirror image to other parts of the developing world especially Northern and Southern Africa and in particular Zimbabwe. In Zimbabwe, the intersection of legal laws and customary laws provided a complex set of conditions that made it difficult to determine which laws took precedence over others in particular scenarios, whether statutory or secular laws vice visa customary or traditional laws including inheritance.

Table 3: The formal inheritance laws in the six South Asian countries

Country	Inheritance Laws	Source	Jurisdiction	Rights of wives and daughters on succession
Afghanistan	Afghan Civil Code sections 289-342 and 1993-2267	Islamic Law (Hanafi)	All Afghans	Women sharers (as wives, sisters, grandmothers or daughters) inherit but not equally to their male counterparts
Bangladesh	Muslim Personal Law and Administration of Justice (Shariat) application Act of 1937	Islamic law	Muslims	Women sharers (as wives, sisters, grandmothers or daughters) inherit but not equally to their male counterpart
	Hindu Inheritance (removal of disabilities) Act of 1928; Hindu law of inheritance (amendment) Act of 1929	Hindu dayabhaga system	Hindus	Widows receive life estate; unmarried daughters and daughters with sons inherit; married daughters with daughters and childless daughters do not.
	Succession Act of 1925	Common law	Christians	Widows receive one-third; lineal descendants (sons and daughters) receive two thirds divided among them.
India	Hindu Succession Act of 1956	Hindu religion	All Hindus (unless choose to exclude)	Estate divided into shares: widows receive one share, sons, daughters and mother of deceased receive one share each, heir of predeceased sons and daughters receive one share between them.
	Muslim Personal Law (Shariat) Application Act of 1937	Islamic Law	Muslim Community	Generally women (as wives, daughters, sisters, or grandmothers) inherit half of the share of their male counterpart
	Indian Succession Act of 1925 (portions)	English common law	Christian community	Widow receives one third; lineal descendants (sons and daughters) receive two thirds divided among them.
	Indian Succession Act of 1925 (portions)	Parsi custom	Parsi community	Widows and children (sons and daughters) inherit equal shares among them.
Nepal	Country Code of Nepal (Muluki Ain) (1963) Eleventh Amendment (2002)	Hinduism	All Nepalese	Unmarried daughters and sons inherit ancestral property equally. If daughter inherits and then marries she must return her share of ancestral property to the heirs (brothers). Widows inherit from deceased husbands.
Pakistan	Muslim Personal Law (Shariat) Application Act of 1962 (MPLA)	Islamic law	All Muslims (Presumed to be Hanafi unless proved otherwise.)	Women (as wives or daughters) sharers receive half as much as their male counterparts.
	Customary law (via the MPLA)	Custom	For inheritance of agricultural land.	Inheritance decided by the personal law of the citizen.
Sri Lanka	Muslim Intestate Succession Ordinance No. 10 of 1931	Islamic Law	Muslims in Sri Lanka. No opt out option.	Women (as wives, daughters, sisters, and grandmothers) inherit but not equally to their male counterpart
	Matrimonial rights and inheritance (Jaffna), aka Thesawalamai	Tamil custom from the Jaffna region	Tamil inhabitants of the Jaffna peninsula and Jaffna Tamils no longer residing in the Jaffna peninsula, and to their property no matter where it is located. No opt-out option.	Widow keeps separate property; widow receives half of property acquired during marriage and half shared equally amongst children (sons and daughters); widow has no right to ancestral property and children (sons and daughters) inherit equally.
	Kandyan Law (1939)	Law and custom of Kandyan monarchy (ended in 1815)	All Sinhalese whose can trace their lineage back to the north-central province of Kandy during the period of the Kandyan monarchy. Does not apply to Sinhalese without this heritage now living in the Kandyan provinces.	Widows receive life estate of non-ancestral property (maintenance from ancestral property if non-ancestral is insufficient), then devolves to descendants. For descendants inheritance of ancestral land depends on marriage type (binna or dinna) and origin of ancestral land (paternal or maternal). Paternal ancestral land and binna (groom moves to bride's home), then daughter inherits equally with brothers and unmarried sisters. Paternal ancestral land and diga (bride moves to groom's home), then daughter does not inherit. All children inherit maternal ancestral land equally provided that mother had not married in binna on her father's property (where paternal ancestral land inheritance rules apply).
	Matrimonial Rights and Inheritance Ordinance	Roman-Dutch Law as adopted and interpreted by judicial decision	Sinhalese who are not Kandyan or who opt out of the Kandyan Act; and non-Muslims others when statutes and codified customary laws do not apply	Widow inherits one half share; one half shared among descendants (sons and daughters).

Source: Scalise (2009)

ICRW Millennium Development Goals Series (2016) argued that for international developments to succeed be it focused on reducing poverty broadly or empowering women purposely – women needed effective land and housing rights as well as equal access to credit, technical information and other inputs. Women's property and inheritance rights must be part of any developmental agenda but as yet no global blueprint can address the complex landscape of property inheritance practices in different countries with varying cultures (ICRW Millennium Development Goals Series 2016). Scalise (2009) concurred, urging that in South Asia, women may not fully share benefits in economic access to markets and social access to non-market institutions such as the household and community-level governance structures if they do not share formal or customary property rights, in addition to short- and medium-term economic gains generated by access to land, capital and product market, hence women with stronger property rights to land were also less likely to become economically vulnerable in their old age, or in the event of the death of, or divorce or abandonment from a spouse.

It is from the above observations that among other research tools in gender inequality and poverty studies a gendered asset-based approach was more appropriate because opportunities available to an individual within a household depend on assets that they own – human, physical, financial, natural and social capital assets. Deere (2010) argued that distribution of assets ownership in the household was more appropriate than by gender of the household head because asset ownership was an important component of an individual's fall-back position and how well off s/he might be in the case of when a household dissolves, whether due to separation, divorce and or death. Women's bargaining power in the household was posited to be related to their fall-back position and thus the assets they owned and controlled. Ownership of assets was hence an important element of women's economic empowerment to the extent that such ownership increased their participation in the household decision making and their range of choices and abilities to respond to opportunities or their capabilities. While income and expenditure are flow variables providing a snapshot measure at a point in time, assets constitute stocks which are stable and accumulate over time as well as provide a better picture of capacity of people to manage their vulnerability. Carter (2007) argues that stocks can tell something about the nature of poverty, whether the poor are structurally or stochastically poor – i.e. identifies whether people are trapped in poverty, those vulnerable to become trapped in poverty, and those who are temporarily poor due to an adverse shock but will be able to recover (Carter and Barrett 2006). Hence physical assets (land & agricultural production and current use value also generate rent, interest, and profit through mining permits and components of income) and financial assets (as means of generating income provide expenditure and consumption) form a profound component of people's livelihoods. Assets constitute a buffer during emergencies, a source of potential current consumption to the extent they can be converted to cash, store of wealth and collateral for loans, hence an important indicator of a household's potential vulnerability to shock and whether a household falls into chronic poverty (Addison, Hulme, and Kanbur 2008 cited in Deere 2010). Deere and Doss (2006) further argue that assets also generate status and social advantage and for this reason, identification of households that remain poor because of assets and structural

constraints have important policy implications. For example in the USA, many more families are "asset poor" than "income poor" (Caner and Wolff 2004 cited in Scalise 2009) and have accumulated few or no assets to provide a financial cushion should they face unemployment or illness (Grinstein-Weiss et. al. 2008 cited in Scalise 2009).

2.3 THEORIES AND CONCEPTS ON LAND REFORMS, WOMEN EMPOWERMENT AND RURAL LIVELIHOODS

2.3.1 LAND REFORM

Central to land reforms is the tenure status and rights that govern ownership, access to land as well as use, transfer and exclusion rights over land. Land reform thus, refers to the changing of laws, regulations or customs regarding ownership and this may consist of government initiated or government-backed property redistribution, generally agricultural land (Wikipedia 2017). Shivji et. al., (1998) defined land tenure as the sum of rules, recognised in law underlying land ownership, allocation of land rights, the substantive content of those rights, their protection in law, their disposal and/or extinction as well as their regulation. FAO (2011b) further explained that land tenure comprise a set of norms and practices that defines the different land rights of individuals or groups in a given society: they were either formally recognised in legislation or acknowledged by communities as legitimate (customary tenure). On the other hand, African Women's Land Rights Conference (2011) took a gendered view of land reform, as the process of restructuring and redesigning land tenure systems, providing a critical interventional point to achieving gender equity with regards to land rights. Numerous research surveys have pointed out that land tenure has not provided an adequate legal framework of accessing land by women which in turn does not guarantee them security of tenure because women access land through men (husbands, brothers, fathers) hence their use of land depends on their continuation of their relationship with them (Women and Land in Zimbabwe 2002; Gaidzanwa 2011; Odeny 2013; African Women's Land Rights Conference 2011). Cross and Friedman (2004) are of a different opinion as they argue that tenure systems are best understood not as a system of laws but as a social and political process because women are not guaranteed land rights under any system of tenure while societal values remain patriarchal.

Land rights are broadly defined as a variety of legitimate claims to land and the benefits produced from that land (Schlager and Ostrom 1992, Mainze-Dick et al 1999). Agarwal (1994) goes further to define effective land rights as claims that were legally and socially recognised and enforceable by external legitimate authority, be it at village level institutions or some higher-level judiciary or executive body of the state. Land rights were analysed through ownership, control over and/or access to land (Allendorf 2007). Giovarielli et. al., (2013) argued that secure rights to land were rights that were clearly defined, long-term, enforceable, appropriately transferable, and legally and socially legitimate, hence women's exercise of these rights should not require consultation or approval beyond that required

of men. Numerous studies found that women have to take extra strides to exercise their land rights among other rights (Shumba 2011, Women and Land in Zimbabwe 2002, Kesby 1999, Hindi 2002).

Recently, many land reforms were focused mainly on the transfer of land ownership from the more powerful (land owners – plantations, ranches, agri-business, etc.) to the less powerful (landless poor and peasants - smallholdings) with or without compensation: or varying amounts of compensation. According to Sobhan (1993) a genuine land reform required a profound social transformation because a common feature shared by all successful land reforms is transformation in the balance of power within the rural community and in the society at large.

Central to this research was how land reform programmes provided tenure security and the redistribution of property or rights in land for the benefit of the rural poor – landless, tenants and farm labourers and particularly women, thereby empowering them, improving their livelihoods and environmental sustainability. Land reform, in this study referred specifically to government policies that intend to redistribute the whole or part of the bundle of property rights on land from landed to smallholder farmers or workers, landless poor and peasants (Njaya 2016). Land reforms have four dimensions or indicators that serve as enabling factors or barriers to women empowerment – tenure status, land access, land rights and control over land.

2.3.2 WOMEN EMPOWERMENT

Women empowerment is a universal stated goal of development interventions and has variously been theoretical/conceptualized as gender equality – reduction in the gender gap, women's increased access to productive resources, increasing income earning opportunities for women, improved household nutritional diversity and household food security, or increased expenditure on household goods by women. Women empowerment is a process that expands women's agency thereby increasing women's ability to make choices, options, control and power about their lives and the environment (Rosenkrantz 2014, Matthotra and Schuler 2005 cited in Allendorf 2007). Rosenkrantz (2014) further argued that women's economic empowerment is not only about generating and providing adequate and fair wages, but equally important is that women control income, assets and other resources. This view was supported by Issue Brief (2013) who, argued that within the household where women hold land rights and have access and control over land-based earnings, they benefit family, enhance intra-household bargaining and decision making power. Meinzen-Dick et al (2011) viewed female empowerment as increases in opportunities for women in contexts — ranging from access to or ownership of valuable assets to increases in mobility and personal decision-making — in which gender norms had previously limited or prevented their participation. UN (2008) summarised the definition of women empowerment by identifying five components: women's sense of self-worth, right of choice, right of access to opportunities and resources, right to have power to control their

own lives in and outside their homes, and ability to influence direction of social change to create a more just and economic order, nationally and internationally.

Numerous studies found that land rights empowered women and promoted gender equity, thereby improving child health, reducing poverty and enhancing other internationally agreed developmental goals (Shumba 2011; Tinyange 2009, Farnworth et. al., 2013; Makura-Paradza 2010; Weiderman 2004; Allendorf 2007). In Nepal, Allendorf (2007) found that women's land rights empowered women and promoted child health because children whose mothers owned land were less likely to be severely underweight because the mothers' land rights benefit children's health. Allendorf (2007) further found that 70 per cent of women who owned land had the final say on at least one decision alone or jointly compared to 48 per cent of women in landed households and 60 per cent of women in landless households. Also, 37 per cent of women who owned land had the final say alone on decisions compared to 20 per cent of women living in landed households and 30 per cent of women in landless households. Allendorf (2007) concluded that women's empowerment led to a transformation of structural factors, social determinants and unequal power relations that underpinned widespread and persistent gender inequalities that resulted in women's unequal access to opportunities and resources across all areas of political, economic, social and cultural life.

There were many setbacks that hampered women empowerment due to gendered division of labour perpetuating women's subordination and preventing them from realizing their full potential and enjoying their human rights. Zibani (2016) urged that the major barrier to women's economic empowerment was the triple burden faced by women as a result of their triple role in society. Zibani (2016) further urged that women's work includes reproductive work (domestic work, child caring and rearing, adult care, caring for the sick, water and fuel related work, health related work), productive work (work for income and subsistence, including work in informal sector enterprises either at home or the neighborhood, formal employment) and community managing work (includes activities primarily undertaken by women at the community level around the provision of items of collective consumption). The triple burden of women to a large extent influenced the gendered perception of the "woman's domain" – woman's role confined inside the house and "man's domain" – man's role was to represent the household outside the house in the community activities.

2.3.3 PATRIARCHY, GENDER AND POWER RELATIONS

Patriarchal settings ensured male dominated matters concerning land, including economic, social and political issues. Patrilineal systems where male lineage held power and inherited property were practiced in many societies in the developing regions in Latin America, Asia-Pacific, India and Africa (Issue Brief 2016, Odeny 2013, African Women's Land Rights Conference 2011, Deere and Leon 1998, Rosenkrantz 2014, Allendorf 2007, Weiderman 2004, Makura-Paradza 2010). According to Odeny (2013), patrilineal systems guided handling of family and resolution of land disputes at chieftaindom level, including

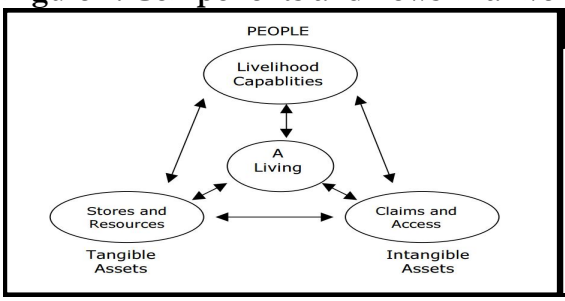
allocation of land to male members while female members were allocated land through their male members. Such land allocation were temporary because once married, women were expected to live and access land at their spouses' homes and they were treated as being in transit from their natal homes to join their spouses. Patriarchal religious practices in Hindu and Muslim societies (e.g. Pakistan and Bangladesh) and in South Asia and India dictated that women were inferior to men and were therefore entitled to less inheritance than men (Issue Brief 2016). Patriarchal systems perpetuated gendered discrimination of women's land rights because they distinguished men having primary rights and control while women had "weaker" secondary rights over land (Mvududi and MacFadden 2001, cited in Odeny 2013).

Gender is socially constructed expectations on roles and norms within the society between men and women. Peters (1995) contended that gendered patterns were relations that go beyond men and women, husband and wife, relations between sisters and brothers, between co-wives, between mothers and daughters, father and daughter. Gender ass generally thought to determine women's access to resources as it defined their identity, position and entitlement, status through social and cultural meanings, practices and power (Kesby 1999, Hindin 2002). Gender discrimination was manifested in patriarchal traditional and religious societies and laid at the core of women's discrimination and limited rights. While several countries have constitutions that protect women land rights in statutes, women were discriminated on the basis of gender because these rights were easily negated by the decisions differing to tradition, religions or 'personal law' (African Women's Land Rights Conference, 2011).

2.3.4 RURAL LIVELIHOODS

The most widely used definition on rural livelihoods with some variations was that of Chambers and Conway (1999), which stated that a livelihood comprised the capabilities, assets (stores, resources, claims and access) and activities required for a means of living. Figure 2 schematically represented the components of and flows in a livelihood.

Figure 2: Components and flows in a livelihood



People	their livelihood capabilities	)
Activities	what they do	) repertoire
Assets	tangible (resources and stores) and intangible (claims and access) which provide material and social means	)) portfolio))
Gains or outputs	a living, what they gain from what they do	

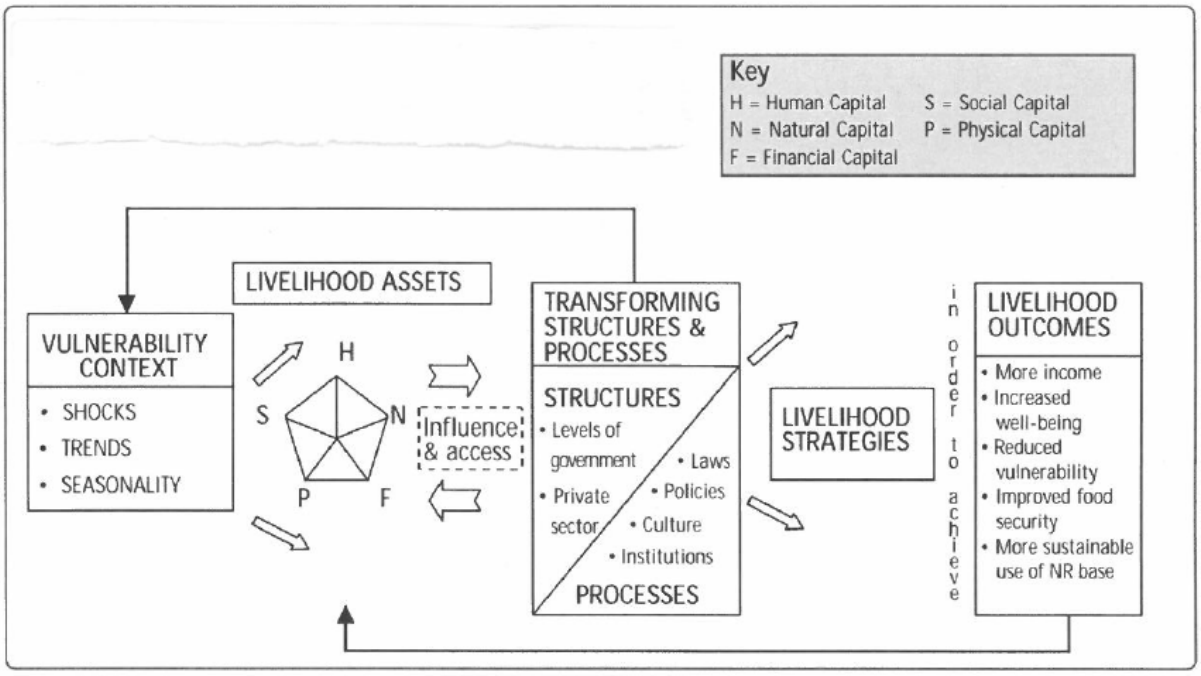
Source: Chambers R. and Conway R. (1991) (p7)

Sustainable livelihoods (SL) was seen as a way of thinking about the objectives, scope and priorities for development, in order to enhance progress in poverty elimination (Majale 2002): a livelihood was sustainable which could cope with, and recover from stress and shocks, maintained or enhanced its capabilities and assets, and provided sustainable

livelihood opportunities for the next generation; and which contributed net benefits to other livelihoods at the local and global levels and in the long and short term. The Sustainable Livelihoods approach recognised that while economic growth may be essential for poverty reduction, there was an automatic direct relationship between the two, the poor conceive poverty not just as low income, but multi-dimensional and the poor often knew their situations and needs, hence must be involved in the design and projects aimed at helping them (Krantz, 2001).

Global agencies have developed a variety of sustainable livelihood frameworks (FAO 2008, Department for International Development 1999, SIDA 2001, UNDP 1997, CARE 2000, IFAD) to address rural poverty and vulnerability. This has been done in the context of agricultural and rural investments, constraints affecting poor rural people's livelihoods, assessing vulnerability and livelihoods strategies as well as the role and dynamics of institutions, policies and processes in providing an enabling environment for improving sustainable rural livelihoods and economic growth. Figure 3, shows a diagrammatic representation of the sustainable livelihoods framework from the Department for International Development (DFID 1999).

Figure 3: Sustainable livelihoods framework



Source: DFID (1999)

Human Capital included such components as an individual's health, nutrition, education, knowledge and skills, capacity to work and capacity to adapt.

Natural Capital included things like land and it's produce, water and aquatic resources, trees and forest products, wildlife, wild foods and fibres, biodiversity, and environmental services.

Social Capital looked at an individual's networks and connections, patronage, neighbourhoods, and kinship, relations of trust and mutual support, formal and informal groups (common rules and sanctions, collective representation, mechanisms for participation in decision-making and leadership).

Physical Capital concerned itself with the individual's infrastructure (transport – roads, vehicles, etc. secure shelter and buildings, water supply & sanitation, energy, communications) and tools and technology (tools and equipment for production, seeds availability, fertilizer, pesticides and traditional technology).

Financial Capital looked at an individual's savings, credit/debt – formal, informal, NGOs, remittances, pensions and wages.

An asset mix of the above five (5) components resulted in different households statuses with different access to livelihood "assets". Livelihoods were affected by a diversity of assets, amount of assets and the balance between assets.

Policies, Institutions & Processes also played intervening or mediating circumstances to livelihoods statuses of different households. While **Policies** included: governance, and encompassed different Levels of government, of NGOs, of international bodies; **Institutions** included: political, legislative & representative bodies, executive agencies, judicial bodies, civil society and membership organisations, NGOs, law, money, political parties, commercial enterprises and corporations and **Processes** included: the "rules of the game", decision-making processes, social norms & customs, gender, caste, class, language.

The sustainable livelihoods framework presented the main factors that affected people's livelihoods and relationships between these factors. The framework was important because it is centred on people and does not work in a linear manner. The framework helped order complexity and made clear the many factors that affected livelihoods especially in the rural communities. For these reasons, the sustainable livelihoods framework was successfully utilised in this study albeit with some modifications to explain the various assets utilised and accumulated by individuals and households generating a range of household livelihood activities in the newly resettled farm as illustrated in chapter 4 and chapter 5 section 5.3 and figure 34. McNamara and Acholo (2009) pointed out that the sustainable livelihoods framework could be a practical framework for evidence-based intervention and has much logic resting behind it, especially in a world undergoing rapid change and where resources to support development interventions were inevitably limited.

However, the sustainable livelihoods framework could not be successfully implemented to adequately address and explain the complex interplay of a range of factors and that determined the choice and available options influencing the range of economic activities embarked on by peasant households in the farm hence it was supplemented by the gender-asset based approach. McNamara and Acholo (2009) urged that putting sustainable livelihoods framework into practice was not as easy as it may so often appear because there

were many overlaps with the problems of making policy in general more evidence-based. McNamara and Acholo (2009) noted that there were relatively few reported attempts to take a more critical stance as to the feasibility of sustainable livelihoods framework and its ability to help deliver real change for people in the developing world. Mdee (2002) argued that the principles of sustainable livelihoods framework are problematic because if participation was taken as an example, the literature shows that participation may be interpreted in very different ways and at different levels.

2.4 GLOBAL DEBATES ON LAND REFORMS AND WOMEN EMPOWERMENT

Most of the literature noted that in developing countries, populations remain largely rural and land was the most important asset for people, the majority of whom depend on agriculture and land based activities for their livelihoods (Shumba 2011, Rosenkrantz 2014). Further, economies in the developing world were heavily depended on agricultural production. Rosenkrantz (2014) supported this view arguing that 800 million of the world's population lived in the rural areas, where they depended directly or indirectly on agriculture for their livelihoods and the developing countries derive high percentage and growing real levels of national income from agriculture, including earning significant levels of foreign exchange from agriculture and related industry exports. Davidson (1998) attested that whether inherited, allotted, purchased or seized, land remained the most basic resource for agricultural production. de Janvry and Sadoulet (2002) were of different opinion as they pointed out that although land reforms have strongly re-emerged as the panacea to rural development, they had largely disappeared from the policy agenda in the 1980s and 1990s due to their failure to achieve economic development.

Historically, global debates on land reforms focused on economic productivity, provision of support services, formalisation of land rights but currently debates put good land governances and human rights at the centre because it deals with competing interests, competing claims, processes of inclusion and exclusion related to land rights as a key resource of the majority in the developing world (African Women's Land Rights Conference 2011, Boyce et. al. 2005, Rwanda Institute for Sustainable Development 2013). African Women's Land Rights Conference, (2011) identified five trends in land reforms – human rights, economic development, ecological sustainability, provision of support and services, legal framework in the formalisation of land ownership and gender equity.

There were three motives to land reforms: economic, social and political. The economic rationale of land reforms emphasised agricultural productivity and efficiency. There was direct economic benefit derived from land reforms because land was a key input into agricultural production and enterprise development (Issue Brief 2014) and it formed an integral part of the strategy and policy of economic development (Njaya 2016). At independence, many African governments had to deal with both the large-scale land alienation and skewed land distribution on one hand and the introduction of Eurocentric market-based land tenure systems that emphasised agricultural productivity and efficiency. In the 1960s to 1980s, Latin American countries undertook agrarian reforms and this

period coincided with the rise and predominance of the neo-liberal model throughout the region with emphasis on free markets, comparative advantage and reduction in the role of the state in the economy (Kay 1995). After WWII, land reform programmes in Taiwan, South Korea and Japan redistributed vast swathes of land to the poor tenant farmers and agricultural labourers and the effort helped to end extreme poverty and hunger (Studwell and Jochnick 2016).

The social motive of land reforms focused on the well-being, equity, dignity and fundamental human freedoms to develop and realise one's human potential, or in other words a move away from market-based criteria for evaluating "development" to an approach in which the importance of social relations, institutions, norms and politics was emphasised (Elson and Çagatay, 2000). Boyce, et. al., (2005) supported this view arguing that land reforms can promote equitable distribution of farmlands, economic development and environmental quality, especially when small-scale farmers were provided with the necessary supporting tools and services. Land reforms in many African and Asia-Pacific countries combined to a large extent aspects of equality, efficiency, poverty reduction and easing racial tensions.

The political motive was often considered as the last resort but in most cases tended to be the most decisive (Zarin and Bujang, 1994 cited in Njaya 2016). Sachikanye (2005) argued that the role of land reforms was to achieve social equity and deliver social justice. Most successful and effective land reforms that have been implemented in many developing countries were politically driven. Countries like Mozambique conducted large-scale nationalisation of the land soon after independence and more recently, as well as Zimbabwe through the FTLRP, which was implemented since 1999. In the 1960s to 1980s many Latin American countries expropriated 'Latifundia' or 'Haciendas' redistributing land to the landless, land poor and tenant farmers, eroding the power of traditional landlords, thus creating a heterogeneous class consisting of various forms of collective ownership and production in addition to family farms (Deere and Magdalena 1998). Grobakken (2005) noted that, in Guatemala, in the 1950s, under the government of Jacobo Arbenz there was an attempt at a state-led and centralised redistributive land reform but this was overturned by successive governments, effectively cementing the unequal land distribution of Guatemala for decades to come until the 1996 peace agreement. East Asian countries (China, Japan, Taiwan, and South Korea) implemented highly egalitarian land reforms after World War Two (WWII) which reduced rural poverty, kick-started transformation, unleashed agricultural growth and laid the foundation for rapid industrialisation, and driving growth in the economic sector and setting the stage for manufacturing sector growth (Boyce et. al., 2005, Studwell and Jochnick 2016)

Secure land rights for small-holder farmers were building blocks for agricultural production and economic empowerment of rural households because they gave them greater incentive to make production-enhancing investments since they were more confident to recoup those investment (Issue Brief 2012). Boyce et. al., (2005) supported this view arguing that across the globe, small-scale farmers tended to consistently: grow more output per acre

than large-scale farmers, when holding secure tenure land rights. Moreover small-scale farmers were better environmental stewards, which resulted in protecting and enhancing soil fertility, water quality and biodiversity, hence democratisation of access to land could be the cornerstone for rural sustainable development. Evidence around the world demonstrated that small, owner-operated farms typically produced more output per acre than large farms cultivated by means of wage labour or tenants due to: high cultivation intensity, high crop intensity, high value crop mix, and high yields per acre (Boyce et. al., 2005).

However, USAID Issue Brief (2014) was concerned that worldwide interest in farmland and small-holder farmers increased drastically in recent years, since the 2008 food price shock which increased land values and global investment in farmlands by investors, financial institutions and government. Behrman et. al., (2012) argued that these developments will increase women's vulnerability if their participation in decision making and consent was not considered. Improving women's access to, and control over economic resources has a positive effect on a range of development goals: poverty reduction, economic growth, gender equity and empowerment of women as well as ensuring environmental sustainability (FAO 2011b).

Numerous studies show that strengthening women's land rights was central to good land governance because land was the most important asset for production and livelihoods especially for the rural majority and in particular for women who depend on it for their livelihoods (Rosenkrantz (2014; Studwell and Jochnick 2016; Boyce et. al., 2005). Securing and recognising women's land rights could increase agricultural productivity and shared household decision making, thereby increasing the total amount of resources available to the family for nutrition and food security (Attendorf, 2007). Securing the rights to land for women included the right to control the income from it, hence go beyond mere access (USAID 2014), this ensured the well-being of the household since women managed family resources, which included, land as they spend more income from these resources than men on their children's nutritional and educational needs (Quisumbing 1996, Strauss et. al. 2000, World Bank 2007). Boudreaux and Sacks (2009) supported this view arguing that there were economic and social benefits when women secure land rights because customary, formal and religious mechanisms providing access to key markets and non-market institutions, hence direct economic benefits flow from land as an input to agricultural production and enterprise development which could be used as a source of income from rental or sale as well as provide collateral for credit.

There were three levels of accessing land: the state through land reforms, social and kinship relations as well as market-driven processes. In many developing countries, state intervention through land reforms provided the bulk of land redistribution to the poor, especially women. Numerous studies have shown that women have not fared well in land redistribution and ownership as indicated in Table 4.

Table 4: Land ownership among women in different countries and different regions of the developing world

Region	Country	% Women land ownership (Total pop.)	% Women land ownership (Total women)	Joint ownership	Year	Source
Asia	Bangladesh	10.10	22.61% of women are land owners	2.19	2012	Kieram et. al. 2015
	India	14		2	2011	Swaminathan et. al. 2011
	Nepal		9.7% of women are land owners	0.4	2011	Ministry of Health and Population, Nepal et. al. 2012
	Pakistan	2		1.8	2013	National Institute of Population Studies, Pakistan & ICF International 2013
	Cambodia		15% of women are land owners	36%	2010	Kieram et. al. 2015
	Philippine		15% of women are land owners			
	Vietnam	10			2010	Rosenkrantz 2014
	Kyrgyzstan	13				Rosenkrantz 2014
	Thailand	28				Rosenkrantz 2014
	Indonesia	12.5		26.6	2012	Statistics Indonesia et. al. 2013
Latin America		4 - 15			1998	Deere and Leon 1998
Africa		10			2011	Shumba 2011

Sources: Constructed from reading materials (Deere and Leon 1998; Statistics Indonesia 2013; Kieram et. al., 2015; Swaminathan et. al. 2011; Rosenkrantz 2014; Shumba 2011)

Throughout the land reform processes in the developing world, women have not benefited as much compared to men due to a number of key constraints. FAO (2011b) argued that while people in the developing world lack secure property rights and access to adequate resources, women have less access to land than men in all regions of the developing countries. This was supported by Allendorf (2007) who pointed out that worldwide women own one per cent of the land. In Latin America women did not fare well in the 1960s and 1970s land reforms as they were underrepresented among beneficiaries because only 4–15 per cent women own land in the region (Deere and Leon 1998). Likewise, less than 27 per cent women own land in the Asia-Pacific (Statistics Indonesia 2013; Kieram et. al., 2015; Swaminathan et. al. 2011; Rosenkrantz 2014) and less than 10% women own land in Africa (Shumba 2011).

Experiences of rural women in 13 Latin American countries which instituted agrarian reforms from the 1960s show that men directly benefited as opposed to women who

benefited through their male relations (Deere and Leon 1998). This view was supported by de Janvry and Sadoulet (2002), who found out that rural poverty has remained constant since the 1970s above 50 per cent and the total number of the poor increased in every country except Brazil, Chile and Mexico. Makura-Paradza (2010), argued that in the case of Zimbabwe, the question of gendered access to land was embedded in historical changes in land tenure and resource governance and in the nature of rural livelihoods.

The greatest barriers to women land rights during and after the redistribution of land included: statutory or state laws and policies, socio-cultural laws (customary, traditional and religious) as well as market systems that governed land allocation, access and usage. Numerous studies conducted in countries in the developing world discovered that currently many countries have enacted constitutions and land reform bills that promote gender equity but lack of enforcement in the applications of these instruments has perpetuated gender disparities (Odeny 2013, Njaya 2016, Issue Brief 2016, African Women's Land Rights Conference 2011, Deere and Leon 1998, Weiderman 2004, Makura-Paradza 2010, Farnworth et. al 2013, Tinyade 2009, Shumba 2011). Issue Brief (2016) pointed out that in Cambodia and Philippines, despite having land titles and certificates, women wield little power over the land they supposedly own as they were used as fronts by powerful men to evade tax laws and land ceilings. In Nepal, 10% of women who own land usually belonged to wealth and already landed families (CSRC). Table 4 shows that joint titling between husband and wife was still very low in Asia, although joint titling was provided for by law in some countries (Issue Brief 2016). In Latin America the exclusion of women from agrarian reforms since the 1960s showed that female beneficiaries ranged from 4 to 15 per cent (Rosenkrantz 2014). In many African countries, there were constitutional provisions on women's land rights but there were still fewer women who owned land compared to men. As stated in Kenya 2010 constitution and Land Act 2012, Tanzania current legislation and 1999 land laws, Nigeria 1978 Land Use Act, Ghana 1992 Constitution, Sudan 2011 Constitution and Liberia Constitution (Odeny 2013). Many reasons explain why very few women owned land despite the existence of the laws that promote gender equity and discourage discrimination. These reasons included reluctance on the part of the state to enforce these laws against customary laws, lack of awareness by women of some of the existing statutory laws that offer them opportunities to acquire land, patriarchy practices and gender norms that subdue women.

Socio-cultural and kinship factors provided the most predominant means of obtaining rights to land for peasants and women. Issue Brief (2016) argued that the single greatest hurdle to women's rights, not just land rights was the culture of patriarchy because it was the basis for society's customs, values and traditions which insist that men lead over women (World Bank et. al., 2009). The culture of patriarchy was manifest in societies that practiced traditional customs and certain religions like Hindu or Muslim. Issue Brief (2014) pointed out that the patriarchal culture was predominant in much of the world and men were de facto heads of households, playing the largest role in decision making about resources at both household and community levels, meaning women had disproportionately few rights to land and property. This view was supported by Makura-Paradza (2010) arguing that

African livelihoods were believed to be based on patrilineal structuring of land, agricultural inputs and natural resource access and governance in communal areas, hence men held primary rights and women had secondary rights over land. In Asia sons were favoured or preferred over daughters because they were future caretakers of their parents while having a daughters were considered to be a liability especially in India where families need to pay dowries when they get married. Numerous studies found that in patriarchal societies, women access land through their male relations – as wives through marriage, daughters and/or sisters in their natal homes (Cheater 1986; Bervens 1997; MacFadden 2001; Makura-Paradza 2010; Weiderman 2004; Issue Brief 2016). Land reforms were largely gender biased because of the rooted perception that women were dependent on men and these perceptions were manifest in customary and religious laws, including inheritance laws. Throughout the history of land reforms, addressing the lack of land access and rights for women has been even slower as the colonial legacy combines with entrenched patriarchy to maintain the status quo.

Market factors that influenced women's access to land provided legal frameworks for equal access to land between men and women through freehold land rights, however women lacked financial resources to acquire land. Property was generally registered in males' names hence women lacked collateral to purchase land. Many women who engage in farming as business struggled to re-invest money in farming because they were hampered by family responsibilities as they felt ensuring household food security was their duty (Farnworth et. al., 2013).

2.5 SOUTHERN AFRICA AND ZIMBABWE

Southern Africa is the youngest region in the world in terms of attaining independence starting from the 1960s through to 1990s. The pre-independence phase was characterised by the disenfranchisement of rural households through colonisation (Lebert 2003; Rugube and Chambati 2001; Shackleton et al., 2000; Deininger et al 2002). Of all people living in sub-Saharan Africa, 59 per cent are women and 75 per cent of land in Africa was under customary tenure – administered by unwritten laws based on traditions and cultural norms prevailing in an area for a particular tribe of people (Odeny 2013). Agriculture was the backbone of African economies and statistics show that women produce 80% of the food but own less than 10% of the land (Shumba 2011). Women tended to provide more labour for agriculture than men. Throughout rural African majority of women tended to be de facto heads of households because men migrated to earn wages elsewhere (Doss 1999).

In many Southern African countries, land reforms apart from promoting economic development and environmental quality were seen as a means to addressing socio-economic and political disparities of colonial injustices. Boyce et. al., (2005) attested that in agricultural economics, land was the single most important asset, hence with access to arable land, rural people at the minimum could feed themselves and their families, yet world hunger was concentrated in the countryside. This was so because the rural poor, and

especially women had limited rights and access to the land, thus they were reluctant to invest heavily on land (Boyce et. al., 2005).

Although the Southern African region is the youngest in terms of gaining independence and democratic freedom from socio-economic and political exclusion of the black African majority, many countries in the region have enacted progressive constitutions that advance equal rights and gender equity to land rights and access.

Utete (2003), argued that the land question has always been and remains at the core of Zimbabwe's political, economic and social development from the colonial era through to post-independence. "Agriculture is the mainstay of the Zimbabwean economy and land is the key resource in agricultural production" (Rugube and Chambati 2001:7). Land reform and its reallocation from large-scale commercial farmers to landless and poor households and communities have dominated discourses and practices of rural development in post-independence Africa (Bryceson 2002; Moyo 2008; Moyo 2011a; Lebert 2003; Zikhali 2008; Rugube and Chambati 2001; Kariuki 2009). Since independence, Zimbabwe embarked on slow land reform programmes to redistribute large-scale commercial farms to landless rural people, until 1999 when the Fast Track Land Reform Program (FTLRP) was implemented. The FTLRP resulted in the mass devolution of rights and access to land from the racial minority of landed whites to various classes of the black African people. The FTLRP had striking similarities with processes witnessed during the successes of East Asia land reforms, however there was no single road to successful land reforms as they take different forms in different physical and human environments. Lebert (2003) concluded that it was still to be seen whether the FTLRP could be sustained and successfully create and support rural livelihoods.

Interest in academic and policy debates on small-holder farms in land reform discourse in Southern Africa was revived by the FTLRP that took place in Zimbabwe since 1999. South Africa reported sporadic land grabs (Lahiff and Cousins 2001, Mail & Guardian 05/05/00) and active government policy debates are taking place in Namibia (Adams and Howell 2001). The media (regionally and internationally) latched on to developments in Zimbabwean land reform with negativity that has clouded and obscured the important and valid grievances – namely the unresolved land issue which underpins much of the structural inequality characteristics of the country, and in fact the broader region (Lebert, 2003).

A lot of literature has been written about Zimbabwe's FTLRP on how it has changed labour relations in the communal areas (Moyo 2011, Chambati 2010), fuelled chaos and poverty (Lahiff and Cousin 2001, Mkodzongi 2013, Scoones 2011) and spurred reorganisation of structural arrangements of War Veterans and Local Authorities (Murisa 2010, Masuko 2010). However, much of the work has been biased in terms of understanding the political arena under which land was redistributed to the landless and poor, and especially women, thereby empowering them and improving their livelihoods. Unlike market-based and orderly methods of land distribution that were gender blind, the FTLRP saw the improved coordination of women's organisations that coincided with "uncivil" women's fight for

land and land grabbing through the war veterans-led land invasions that preceded the FTLRP (Chingarande 2008). Very little has been done in focusing on womanhood especially in terms of how the FTLRP has had a positive impact on the level of improving access to land and associated resources including contribution to national development. This research is pitched in this context of "uncivil" women participation in the FTLRP and how it provided improved avenues to access land by women, thus empowering them and improving their livelihood choices and well-being.

2.6 GAPS IN LITERATURE

Throughout all the regions in the developing world, women have limited or no access to land. Shumba (2011) was of the view that the rural population in Zimbabwe constituted about 86 per cent of the population and statistics showed that women produce 80 per cent of the food but owned less than 10 per cent of the land. Meena (1992) argued that although most African states acknowledged the significant role played by women in the agricultural sector, few paid much attention to the land tenure systems which have been discriminating against women. While this view was true, a lot has happened and many African governments acknowledge the massive role played by women in agriculture. However, Odeny (2013) attested that 75 per cent of the land in Africa was under customary tenure, administered by unwritten laws based on traditions and cultural norms prevailing in an area for a particular tribe of people.

Theories of land reform and women empowerment have been discussed. The prevailing views show that although progressive constitutions that protect human rights to property and equal ownership of land, including inheritance and Land Bills that protect women have been adopted in many countries in the developing regions, women have access to land but ownership to land remains low, if not impossible. Patriarchy systems that emphasise laws of gendered access to land, inheritance and views, marriage practices and family as the universal domestic unit have worsened women's position in society (Odeny 2013, Gaidzanwa 2011, Shumba 2011, Tinyade 2009, Makura-Paradza 2010). Unmarried adult women are viewed as impermanent or transient as they are destined to marry and move to another community, but marriage has for some time ceased to be the universal basis of the domestic unit in rural Zimbabwe (Kesby 1999 and Adams 1991a cited in Makura-Paradza 2010). These changes in the domestic unit required a nuanced approach in understating the impact on women's livelihoods during the FTLRP in Zimbabwe, as the land was distributed in a much traditionally relaxed political space. This bring us to the gap in research of how land was distributed in traditionally relaxed political space: different from either previous land reforms from 1980 or the traditional customary land tenure distribution and land holding thereby opening avenues for women to own land in their own right or jointly.

Land was resurfacing as a very contentious issue in the face of increasing global interests in land, food, water, and fuel security (African Women's Land Rights Conference 2011). The FTLRP was testament to this pertinent need for land as a primary resource for the poor, and especially women. Moreover, inspite of increasing attention on women, we still

lack sufficient knowledge on women, especially their land rights. Available studies on women tend towards 'traditional' women's issues, skirting the politically sensitive matter of land rights (STAR Kampuchea, 2013). Central to this research is how are women affected by land policies and programmes stemming from the FTLRP? How many of them have land titles, individually or jointly? Do they have access to land dispute resolution? How do female-headed households differ from male headed ones? These are just a few unanswered questions (Issue Brief 2016).

On-going debates argue that women's land rights are the tool to promote and realise human rights, increase economic efficiency, and productivity, empower women and promote theirs and their households' welfare and well-being, their bargaining power positions within the households and community, etc. (Agarwal 1994; Deere 1990; Boyce et. al., 2005; Allendorf 2007; Rosenkrantz 2014). However, Allendorf (2007) pointed out that despite the increasing prevalence of these claims, little research has empirically evaluated their validity. Hence this research attempts to address this gap in part by examining the connection between land reforms and women's livelihoods in the Sub-division A of Clonmore Farm in Mberengwa District - Zimbabwe.

Data on women is scarce because of gender-bias which lack disaggregated data reporting. On the dearth of knowledge on sex differentials in the distribution of land between men and women, Nyaja (2016) argued that land distribution programmes were expected to deliver household income, food security, empowerment and promote agricultural growth but very little was known about how they affect or are affected by differential access to and control over land between men and women.

Mkodzongi (2013), found that emerging evidence from fieldwork studies undertaken across the country indicated that the outcomes of the FTLRP were far more complex: beneficiaries of FTLRP were not a homogeneous group; although elites with political connections got multiple farms especially bigger farms under the A2 Model; the biggest beneficiaries was made up of predominantly rural people with farming background. Studies further show that new farmers have organised themselves and new social institutions (Scoones et. al., 2010) have emerged in these areas; new identities were being negotiated which led to social cohesion and new forms of belonging have been established. Moreover, peasant households could now socially reproduce themselves in diverse ways (through cropping and livestock, extraction of natural resources, etc.) and livelihood strategies were diversified, new opportunities opened up, access to bigger and better soil quality also broken down the barriers which prevented peasant households from accessing natural resources like minerals, wildlife and non-timber forest products which were previously bonded in private land holdings of mainly white landed elites (Moyo et. al., 2009). Hence, these new outcomes which changed the way in which peasant households were socially reproducing themselves warranted further empirical research in order to fully comprehend their impact on peasant households strategies in light of other research that has been conducted (Moyo et. al., 2009; Scoones et. al., 2009; Mandizvidza 2009; Mkodzongi 2013).

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter is dedicated to a discussion on research methodology that guided the research philosophy, the research strategy and choice of research instruments utilised in pursuit of the research aims and its objectives. Labaree (2009), argued that the methods section describes the rationale for the application of specific procedures or techniques used to identify, select, and analyse information applied to understanding the research problem, thereby allowing the reader to critically evaluate a study's overall validity and reliability. He further pointed out that methodology answers the questions as to how the data was collected and how it was analysed. Leedy and Ormrod (2005), agree as they pointed out that research methodology is the general approach the researcher takes in carrying out the research project; to some extent, this approach dictates the particular tools the researcher selects.

This chapter consists of three (3) sections including this first section. Section 3.2 discusses the research philosophical positionality or approach. Section 3.3 deals with research design (description of the study area, target population and sampling procedures and data collection tools, data analysis and methodological reflections).

3.2 RESEARCH PHILOSOPHICAL POSITIONALITY OR APPROACH

Before we can discuss the methodological underpinnings for this study, it is important that we present the research approach that was adopted for the study. It is also important to note that for a study of this nature, different research approaches could be applied, mostly because the study was looking at how land transformation could impact among other things social relations, agrarian labour relations, rural livelihoods and sustainable development. For the purpose of this study, research philosophies that were adopted were positivism and interpretivism because the nature of the study encompassed elements that required utilisation of both philosophies.

Aliyu et. al., (2014) define positivism as a research strategy that was rooted on the ontological principle and doctrine that truth and reality was free and independent of the viewer and observer. Aliyu et. al., (2014) further argued that, the positivist paradigm emphasised that genuine, real and factual happenings could be studied and observed scientifically and empirically and could as well be elucidated by way of lucid and rational investigation and analysis. Bland (2013) agrees, explaining that positivism assumed an independent reality that could be investigated and agreed upon by multiple researchers. The positivist investigator has an idea or notion that the universe conforms to permanent and

unchanging laws and rules of causality and happenings: that there exists an intricacy and complexity that could be overcome by reductionism and with the intention of asserting an importance and emphasis on impartiality, measurability, objectivity and repeatability (Van Niekerk 2005). Positivism is scientific and strongly associated with physical and natural sciences, hence utilises quantitative methodologies such as confirmatory analysis, nomothetic experiments, quantitative analysis, laboratory experiments and deduction in the quest for the "truth" and "reality". Key tenets of positivism were: it was important that agreement between researchers was achieved and that reality was stable and could be observed and described from an objective viewpoint without interfering with the phenomena being studied (Levin 1988). Other key tenets were that phenomena should be isolated and observations should be repeated, predictions could be made on the basis of the previously observed realities and their relationships. In positivism quantitative approaches were more applicable because positivism conforms to physical and natural sciences.

Positivism has been found to be weak or lacking foundation for research and investigation, in a number of problems of induction or initiation and general applicability. Khlentzos (2004) argued that the philosophy has not established a persuasive and believable clarification on how the intellect could sufficiently symbolise a mind-independent truth or reality. It delves into happenings or occurrences that were formed by the researcher hence could never be impartial to reality (Stahl, 2003).

Notwithstanding noted weaknesses, positivism was best suited to be applied to this study because it was used to construct some of the elements of data collection tools and was also used to analyse and explain some of the data that was collected. The key tenets of the positivist philosophy such as isolating phenomena and repeated observations, making predictions on the basis of the previously observed realities and their relationships and applying quantitative methodologies to explain the data were utilised in this study. The case study approach was used to isolate the central issues about this study of land reform and its consequences on women empowerment, while results were extrapolated nationally and the Southern African region. However, the positivism philosophy was not adequate to capture the essence of this study; therefore there was also a need to adopt the interpretivism philosophy because the major part of the study required the researcher to interpret the views and information that were obtained in the field.

Interpretivism contends that only through subjective interpretation of intervention in reality can that reality be fully understood, hence the study of phenomena in their natural environment was key together with the acknowledgement that scientists could not avoid affecting those phenomena they study. Aliyu et. al., (2014) support this view as they pointed out that an interpretive inquirer or researcher advocates that there was no worldwide and universal truth but there exists equally relativist and biased or subjective conception or view of the globe or world. Bland (2013) further pointed out that interpretivists or constructionists assumed that reality was not "out there", but was constructed through the interpretations of researchers, study participants and even readers. Interpretivism was a

social science that utilises methodologies such as field experiments, explanatory analysis, idiographic experiments, induction and qualitative analysis. Key tenets of interpretivism were: it was important that others were able to inspect the methods and interpretations so that they could comprehend the journey from initial questions to conclusions, that there were many interpretations of reality and these interpretations were in themselves a part of the scientific knowledge inquirers were pursuing.

Now if we look at the nature of the study as set out in Chapter One, interpretivism became the key philosophy because it was operationalised during data collection through the conduct of a case study. The study required that the researcher play a part in the data collection phase, hence interacting with respondents and key informants was unavoidable and their interpretation of questions put before them shaped and informed the results and outcomes of the study. Furthermore, the interpretivism philosophy played a vital role in the interpretation of data and information collected by the researcher in this study including shaping the resultant opinions and interpretations by the readers.

While it is acknowledged that other philosophies could potentially have been used for this study or this study could have been approached from different philosophical positions, however for this study the two philosophical positions were adopted because of their complementary strength. All methods were valuable if used appropriately, research could include elements of both the positivist and interpretivist approaches, if managed carefully. Overall an interpretivist philosophy was required for this purpose, for instance the understanding of how land reform transformation influence changes in social relations, agrarian relations, women empowerment and livelihood choices and options among other things.

Various elements of the selected research approaches were further elaborated in the sub-sections of the Research Design, Description of the Research Area, Target Population and Sampling Procedures, Data Collection Tools, Data Analysis and Methodological Reflections.

3.3 RESEARCH DESIGN

The research design was viewed as a blueprint for conducting a study with maximum control on factors that interfered with the validity of the findings (Burns and Grove 2003). Creswell (2009), emphasised two important components in the definition that the approach to research involved philosophical assumptions as well as distinct methods or procedures, hence research design, referred to the plan or proposal to conduct research where there was intersection of philosophy, strategies of inquiry and specific methods. This study adopted the positivism and interpretivism philosophies that informed the utilisation of the quantitative and qualitative research methodological approaches because both types of research were valid and useful.

Quantitative research consists of those studies in which the data concerned could be analysed in terms of numbers and where the research was based more directly on its original plans and its results were more readily analysed and interpreted (Best and Khan 1989 cited in Hughes). Blaxter et. al., (1996) further pointed out that quantitative research was concerned with the collection and analysis of data in numeric form, hence it tends to emphasise relatively large-scale and representative sets of data viewed, presented or perceived as being about the gathering of `facts'.

Qualitative research, on the other hand, is concerned with collecting and analysing information in as many forms as possible, chiefly non-numeric, and tends to focus on exploring, in as much detail as possible, smaller numbers of instances or examples which were seen as being interesting or illuminating, hence aimed to achieve `depth' rather than `breadth' (Blaxter et. al., 1996). Qualitative implied a direct concern with experience as it is `lived' or `felt' or `undergone'; the qualitative research, then, has the aim of understanding experience as nearly as possible as its participants feel it or live it (Ely et al., 1991 cited in Hughes).

Key tenets of qualitative research were: that events could be understood adequately only if they were seen in context, hence the qualitative researcher immerses her/himself in the setting; the contexts of inquiry were not contrived; they were natural and nothing was predefined or taken for granted; the researchers want those who were studied to speak for themselves, to provide their perspectives in words and other actions; qualitative research was an interactive process in which the persons studied taught the researcher about their lives; and researchers attended to the experience as a whole, not as separate variables in order to understand unified experiences of participants. This was supported by Denzin and Lincoln (2011) as they put it that the value-laden nature of such an inquiry stressed the relationship between the researcher and the subject(s), as well as the situational constraints that shape the enquiry.

The study utilised both the quantitative and qualitative research methodological approaches because they complemented each other. The design of the research tools encompassed elements of both qualitative and quantitative nature and the analysis, presentation and interpretation of the results required both approaches to be applied. While quantitative methods allow for responses that could be analysed with sophisticated statistical approach, they lack in providing an insider's view of the research subjects. Quantitative approaches allowed for precision, and generalization and this was complemented by qualitative approach with its "nuanced approach" provide an explanation as experienced by the research subject. Table 5 shows the strength and weakness between the quantitative and qualitative methods

Table 5: Quantitative and qualitative research methods

Methodological Approach	Strength	Weakness
Quantitative	I. Precision - through quantitative and reliable measurement II. Control - through sampling and design II. Ability to produce causality statements, through the use of controlled experiments V. Statistical techniques allow for sophisticated analyses V. Replicable	I. Because of the complexity of human experience, it is difficult to rule out or control all the variables; II. Because of human agency people do not all respond in the same ways as inert matter in the physical sciences; III. Its mechanistic ethos tends to exclude notions of freedom, choice and moral responsibility; IV. Quantification can become an end in itself; V. It fails to take account of people's unique ability to interpret their experiences, construct their own meanings and act on these; VI. It leads to the assumption that facts are true and the same for all people all of the time; VII. Quantitative research often produces banal and trivial findings of little consequence due to the restriction on and the controlling of variables; and VIII. It is not totally objective because the researcher is subjectively involved in the very choice of a problem as worthy of investigation and in the interpretation of the results.
Qualitative	I. Because of close researcher involvement, the researcher gains an insider's view of the field. This allows the researcher to find issues that are often missed (such as subtleties and complexities) by the scientific, more positivistic enquiries. II. Qualitative descriptions can play the important role of suggesting possible relationships, causes, effects and dynamic processes. II. Because statistics are not used, but rather qualitative research uses a more descriptive, narrative style, this research might be of particular benefit to the practitioner as she or he could turn to qualitative reports in order to examine forms of knowledge that might otherwise be unavailable, thereby gaining new insight. V. Qualitative research adds flesh and blood to social analysis.	I. The problem of adequate validity or reliability is a major criticism. Because of the subjective nature of qualitative data and its origin in single contexts, it is difficult to apply conventional standards of reliability and validity; II. Contexts, situations, events, conditions and interactions cannot be replicated to any extent nor can generalisations be made to a wider context than the one studied with any confidence; III. The time required for data collection, analysis and interpretation is lengthy; IV. Researcher's presence has a profound effect on the subjects of study; V. Issues of anonymity and confidentiality present problems when selecting findings; and VI. The viewpoints of both researcher and participants have to be identified and elucidated because of issues of bias.
Similarities in the Methodological Approaches	I. Whilst quantitative research may be mostly used for testing theory it can also be used for exploring an area and generating hypotheses and theory. II. Similarly qualitative research can be used for testing hypotheses and theories even though it is mostly used for theory generation. III. Qualitative data often includes quantification (e.g. statements such as more than, less than, most as well as specific numbers). IV. Quantitative (i.e. questionnaire) approaches can collect qualitative data through open ended questions. V. The underlying philosophical positions are not necessarily so distinct as the stereotypes suggest.	

Source: Hughes, C. 2016

3.3.1 DESCRIPTION OF THE RESEARCH AREA

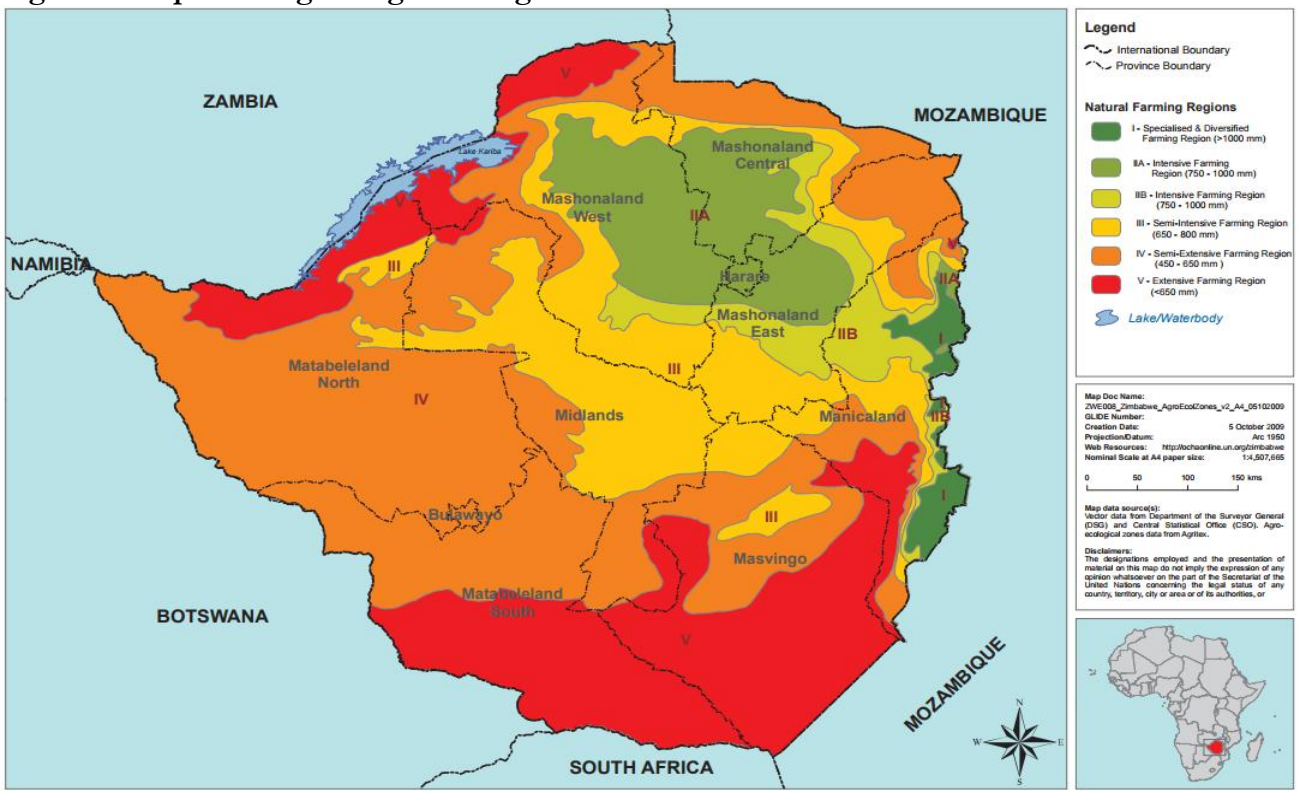
In this section the description of the study area (Sub-division A of Clonmore Farm) was discussed starting from the Midlands Province, Mberengwa District through to Sub-Districts (Mberengwa North Constituency), Ward 35 and finally the Farm Area.

3.3.1.1 Geographical location of Mberengwa Rural District Council

Zimbabwe is divided into five (5) agro-ecological zones and the main livelihoods in the different provinces and districts were defined by these agro-ecological zones depicted in Figure 4. Zones I and II are suitable for intensive crop production because they are characterised by high annual rainfall in excess of 750mm, low temperatures and high topography. Zone III supports mixed agricultural production, mainly dry land farming and intensive cattle ranching. Zones IV and V are suitable for drought-resistant cultivation as well as cattle ranching and wildlife production. Mberengwa District is in Midlands Province which lies mainly in Zones IV and V.

In general, crop production (food and cash crops), livestock rearing or a combination constitutes the primary livelihoods in the rural provinces and districts. These livelihoods options in turn defined most of the secondary livelihoods options – such as small-scale mining, petty trading and a myriad of off-farm activities. The existence of mineral deposits and mining in some provinces (e.g. Masvingo, Mashonaland East, Midlands, and Mashonaland West) and game ranging (e.g. in Matabeleland North and South) provide alternative livelihoods and the thrust of coping strategies available to households in the different provinces (FAO 2010).

Figure 4: Map showing the agro-ecological zones of Zimbabwe



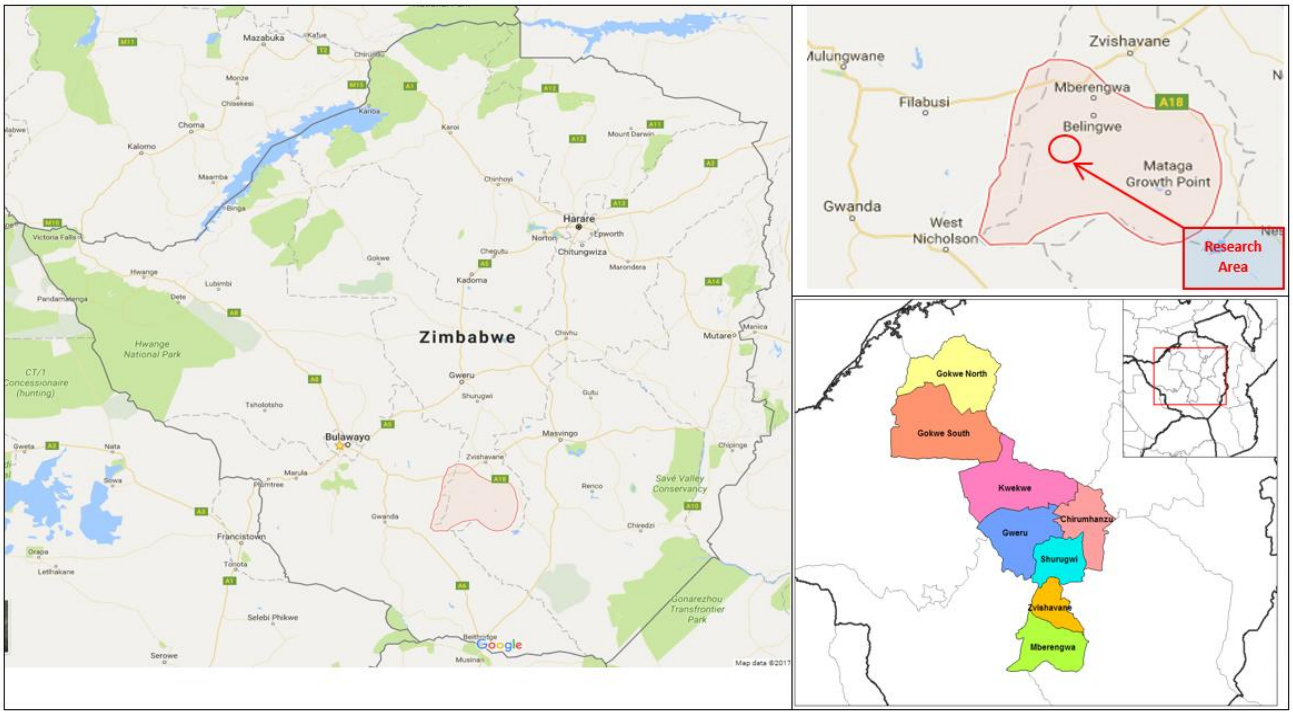
Source: http://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/7BFF49F0B55F020085257664007D5442-map.pdf

Mberengwa RDC has a population of 185 757 of which 86 764 were males and 98 993 were females with an average household size of 4.5 (ZimStats Census 2012). Mberengwa is

mainly rural and has an ethnically diverse society where Ndebele and Karanga were the most widely spoken languages. The population profile was very youthful with 71.1 per cent of its population aged 35 years and below and there were high unemployment levels due to the economic meltdown. However, although unemployment was high, there were high property levels bought from off-farm economic activities and small scale mining proceeds. The district experienced high migration levels to towns and cities as well as outside Zimbabwe, mainly the youth during the economic crises era (Dziva and Kusena 2013).

Sub-division A of Clonmore Farm is situated in Ward 35 in Mberengwa Rural District Council (RDC) in the Midlands Province (see Figure 5). Mberengwa RDC covers 5 066 km² in area and is one of the eight (8) rural district councils in the Midlands Province, established in terms of the Zimbabwe Rural District Councils Act, Chapter 29.13. Its geographical coordinates are 20° 29' 0" South and 29° 55' 0" and is bounded by Gwanda in Mberengwa West, and by Zvishavane in its northern part, to the south it stretches to Neshuro, Chikombedzi and bounded by Manyuchi dam (Figure 5). Mberengwa RDC is the sole local government organ in Midlands Province unlike Vungu RDC, Zibagwe RDC, Tongogara RDC, Runde RDC and Gokwe South RDC that work together with urban councils in their respective districts. The district is divided into sub-districts: Mberengwa North with 12 wards, East with seven (7) wards, West with eight (8) wards and South with 10 wards.

Figure 5: Map showing the location of Mberengwa District in the Midlands Province of Zimbabwe



Mberengwa RDC is in agro-ecological zones VI and V which receives 400–600 mm rainfall per annum with severe mid-season dry spell climate conditions favouring semi-intensive agriculture. Region VI is favourable to cultivation of drought tolerant crops, while the very hot, low lying zone V is suitable for extensive animal husbandry (Agritex-NEWU-Ministry

of Agriculture of Zimbabwe. 2000). The district has high temperatures and prone to droughts, but abundant in minerals like gold, iron ore, emeralds and asbestos. Buchwa Mine, Vanguard Mine, Sandawana and C Mine are all in Mberengwa, thus it is known for its riches in minerals and fauna. Gold is mined at C Mine and other small claims mines scattered around Mberengwa. Emeralds were mined at Sandawana while Vanguard Mine was once a major player in asbestos production till the 1980s when asbestos lost its importance to the world. Chrome was mined at Rhonda and Inyala mines, but these closed down due to the disastrous effects of the Zimbabwean crisis and Zimbabwe's liberation struggle. Cattle ranching was a major farming activity. Besides food from their own farms, most communal farming households rely on other sources of livelihood such as sales of food and cash crops, vegetable gardens, casual labour, remittances, transport services and petty trade. Like many rural communities, most of the people were poor and face food insecurity, (Zimbabwe Election Support Network report, 2008).

Road infrastructure was mainly untarred rural roads with good connectivity network although they could be problematic during the rainy season. Transport was not a problem as there were bus operators supplemented by small vehicle transport providers like mini-buses and kombis plying major routes from towns to thriving rural business centres. The road network systems, coupled with abundant transport provides immediate and easy access to markets by farmers during good harvest seasons.

Parliament Research Department-Zimbabwe (2011) pointed out that high levels of primary school enrolments have been recorded in Zimbabwe since early 1980s, and the net enrolment ratio (NER) increased from 81.9% in 1994, peaking at 98.5% in 2002. About 82.1% of the schools are council owned, and they enroll about 85% of the population. Gender equality at primary schools was highly commendable, with a proportion of approximately 50–50%. Statistics also showed that, 50% males complete primary education compared to 46% of females in the Midlands province.

The district has a number of missionary-run high schools that run up to A-Level, notably Chegato, Musume, Masase and Mnene. After 1980, the government constructed a number of rural day secondary schools also known as "Upper Tops" among them Zvamagwiro, Mabika, Maringambizi, Mbuya Nehanda, Bayayi, Murerezi, Chegute, Svita, Chizungu, Madenyika, Sviba, Makuva, Funye, Vuronga, Mposi, Ruzengwe, Chingoma, Vutsanana, Zvomukonde, Chemimwe, Vutika, Rengwe and Chomusenda. They have helped improve the education standards as well as creating education opportunities for many rural children. The Secondary school Enrolment Ratio has been on a steady increase since the 1980s in Zimbabwe.

There are missionary-run hospitals and clinics. Three hospitals service Mberengwa RDC: the Mberengwa District government hospital as well as two missionary hospitals Musume and Mnene. Some of the hospitals and schools are run by the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Zimbabwe. Non-governmental organisations like CARE have or had health

programmes operating there as well. Most of the clinics were established after independence and have at least one maternity bed and an average of four (4) general beds.

3.4.1.2 Study Site: Sub-division A of Clonmore Farm

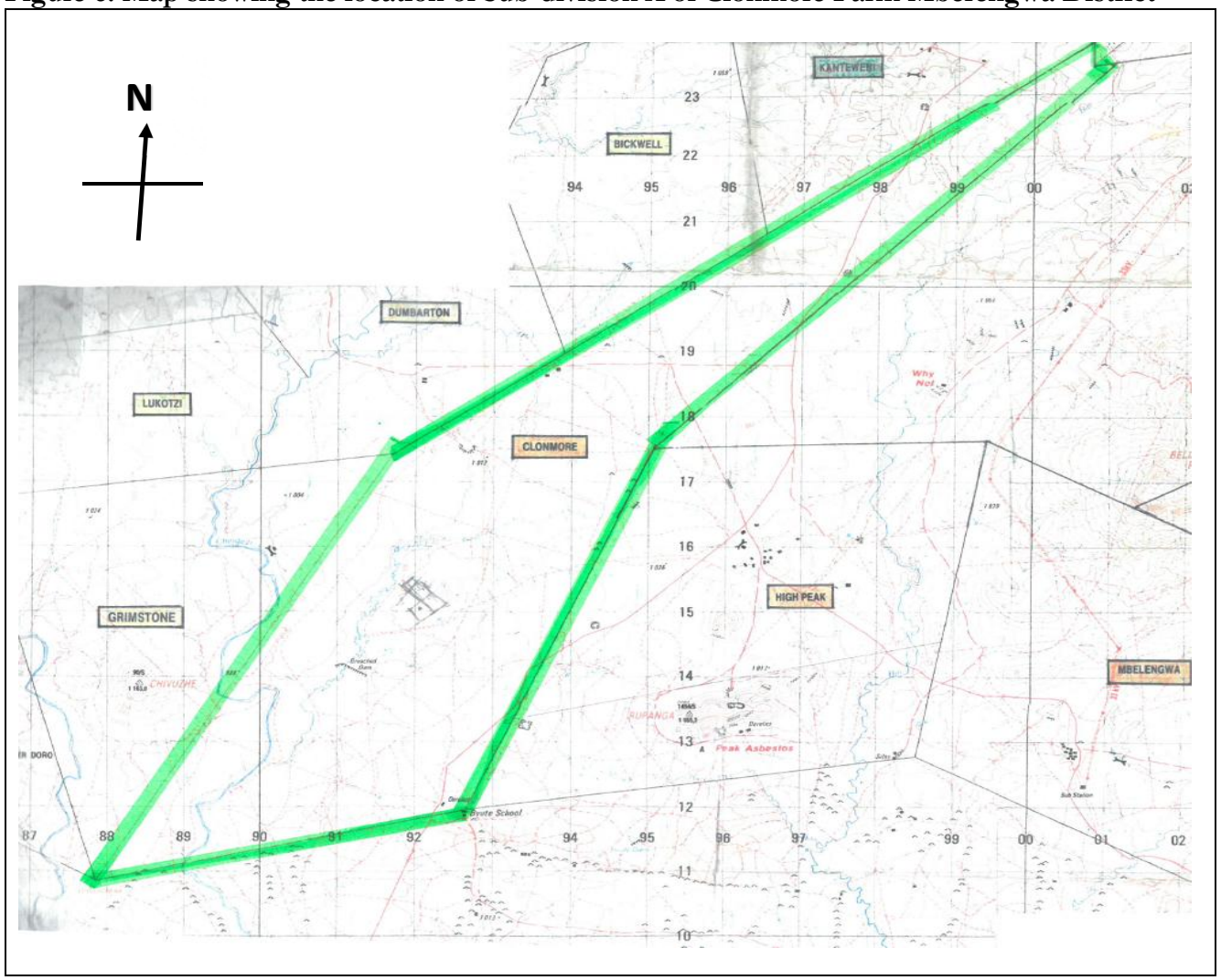
Mkodzongi 2013 argued that emerging evidence from fieldwork studies undertaken across the country indicated that the outcomes of the FTLRP were far more complex: beneficiaries were not a homogeneous group; although elites with political connections got multiple farms and especially bigger farms under the A2 Model; the biggest number of beneficiaries was made up of predominantly rural people in the A1 Model with farming backgrounds. A number of studies further showed that new farmers have organised themselves and new social institutions have emerged in these areas (Scoones et. al., 2010); new identities were being negotiated led to social cohesion and new forms of belonging were established. Moreover, peasant households could now socially reproduce themselves in diverse ways (cropping and livestock, extraction of natural resources, etc.) and livelihood strategies were diversified, new opportunities opened up, access to bigger and better soil quality were also broken down barriers which prevented peasant households from accessing natural resources like minerals, wildlife, and non-timber forests products which were bonded in private landholdings of mainly white landed elites (Moyo et. al., 2009).

These new outcomes which changed the way in which peasant households were now socially reproducing themselves warranted further empirical research in order to fully comprehend their impact on peasant household strategies in light of other studies that were conducted (Moyo et. al., 2009, Scoones et. al., 2009, Mandizvidza 2009, Mkodzongi 2010, Gaidzanwa and Mazhawidza 2011, Gaidzanwa 2004, Gaidzanwa 2011, Dore 2013). Sub-division A of Clonmore Farm was a suitable and appropriate site to conduct this research because it has all the elements and characteristics exhibited by beneficiaries in the A1 Scheme throughout the country. These attributes included: it was one of the first farms to be expropriated in 1999; all beneficiaries were under the A1 scheme–villagisation and provide a good contrast to adjacent villages; it was located in agro-economic regions or zones IV and V, the harshest regions representative of the most difficult survival areas in Zimbabwe, hence it provided fertile ground for understanding the livelihoods throughout the country; located in a completely rural council, unlike other rural areas serviced by town councils, hence provide a baseline for benchmarking rural livelihoods in the poorest areas and results from the research can be extrapolated across the country and Southern Africa.

Sub-division A of Clonmore Farm is one of the former commercial farms in Mberengwa RDC in the Midlands Province that was "taken over" as part of the Government of Zimbabwe (GoZ)'s FTLRP (Figure 6). In 1967 Sub-division A of Clonmore Farm belonged to A.E. York and Company (Deeds file). It was later sold to Belingwe Ranch who acquired a total of 19 farms under the Bilateral Investment Promotion and Protection Agreement (BIPPA) with Sweden (District Administration Office-DAO). Agreements under BIPPA required that the Government of Zimbabwe pay fair compensation in currency of the former owner's choice for both land and improvements (New Zimbabwe

2017). Some of the countries covered by BIPPA included Denmark, Germany, Belgium, Netherlands, Italy, Malaysia and Switzerland. The DAO indicated that out of the 19 farms acquired by Belingwe Ranch, 17 were taken over without compensation to previous owners during the FTLRP and allocated to indigenous people under the three land reform models: A1, A2 schemes and the 3-Tier model. The farm consists mainly of a combination of red clay soils with light sandy soils in some areas and is bordered by Communal Areas (CAs): Chingezi village on the west and Mabika, Rupange, Langeni, Cheshanga, Zvamagwiro, Mucheregwa and Bvute villages on the south, on the east the remaining farm portion for the previous owner and A2 farms as well as vast swathes of grazing land on the northern side.

Figure 6: Map showing the location of Sub-division A of Clonmore Farm Mberengwa District



Source: District Development Fund – DDF

Beneficiaries of fast track land reform in Sub-division A of Clonmore Farm came from varied ethnic and social-economic backgrounds. Women also directly benefited from the FTLRP not only through their husbands but also in their own rights as individuals. While the number of female land beneficiaries remains relatively small, in communal areas it was

difficult for women to independently own land. All beneficiaries in the farm were under the A1 scheme (villagisation model).

Sub-division A of Clonmore was in ward 35 and which consists of 29 villages of which eight (8) villages were part of the study. Ward 35 had a total population of 5 437 of which 2 740 were males and 2 697 were females with an average household size of 5.1 (ZimStats Census 2012). Ward 35 was made up of 29 villages consisting of a mix of CAs and newly acquired farms headed by a councilor. Each village was headed by a headman and of the 29 villages, only one village was headed by a woman. Administratively there was no chief presiding over Sub-division A of Clonmore Farm. The councilor and his eight (8) headmen were responsible for the day-to-day affairs of this area reporting directly to the DAO. The farm was supposed to be officially populated by 262 households however there were 341 households with an average household size of 6.5 translating to approximately 2 217 people.

a) Housing structures

Dwellings in Sub-division A of Clonmore Farm were typically made of brick wall and grass, zinc or asbestos roofing. A typical homestead comprised two or more structures with a grass thatched hut serving as a kitchen and other structures serving as a bedroom(s). The bedrooms were mainly made of brick wall and zinc or asbestos roofing. The roofing of bedroom structures with thatched grass zinc or asbestos could be an indication of the well-being of a family. Families, who "had", compared to the others, would have a zinc or asbestos thatched bedroom structure(s) and a "blair" toilet (ventilated pit latrine) as a measure of improvement of the rural sanitation. Most of the homesteads in Sub-division A of Clonmore Farm had proper "blair" toilets while a few others had pits that were dug awaiting building materials. The minority of homesteads used the bush toilet system.

b) Socio-economic activities

Livelihoods were based on subsistence farming, cattle rearing, small scale mining (gold panning), transport services, small traders as well as prostitution due to the proximity of a thriving Yorks Business Centre which offered a variety of off-farm economic activities. In a good farming year, some households were left with surplus produce from which they could obtain income. The district was affected by the vagaries of weather such that households were always food insecure (Dziva and Kusena 2013). Small scale mining was prevalent as gold deposits were found scattered within the farm. The alternative livelihood base in this area was petty trading and small-scale mining (gold panning) with a majority of households having mining claims and permits within their designated A1 properties or surrounding areas. Wage employment was very low with most people working as informal gold-panners and migrant workers outside the district in towns and cities as well as outside the country.

c) Services

The vibrant Yorks Business Centre serviced the community in Sub-division A of Clonmore Farm and was fast growing into a Rural Service Centre, which provided all basic infrastructure, with a residential component for prostitutes and offered a wide range of services that attracted non-farming activities like welding, hair-dressing, motor mechanic, vehicle tyre repair, shops trading in a variety of goods, grinding mill, drinking beerhalls and night clubs as well as prostitution. High income returns from small scale mining and transportation services provided a major boost to the nonagricultural activities as this in conjunction with prostitution; attracted people from as far afield as Masvingo Province and other districts in Midlands' province. The Business Centre had good road network infrastructure that connects it to the towns like Mberengwa District Centre, Zvishavane, West Nicholson as well as other thriving Business Centres like Mataga, Masase, Mnene and Jeka and also provides easy access to transport for farmers to sell their produce.

Apart from three hospitals in Mberengwa RDC, Sub-division A of Clonmore Farm was serviced by Chingezi Clinic including other villages like Rupange, Cheshanga, Zvamagwiro, Mucheregwa, Chizungu and Bvute. The clinic was established after independence and was never built to service farm residents.

A primary school existed in each of the above listed CAs. "Upper Tops" near Sub-division A of Clonmore Farm was Zvamagwiro which was about 6–10 km away from the farm and offered up to 'O' level. Other "Upper Tops" Mabika and Chizungu offer up to 'A' level educational standards and were more than 10km away. These high schools were very far from the children in Sub-division A of Clonmore Farm because they were never meant to service the new settlements. To alleviate the problem, Zvavashe Secondary and Kushinga Primary schools were under construction near Yorks Business Centre. The two schools were already in operation although not yet completed due to financial constraints because they were financed by the community.

Residents of Mberengwa North draw water from 231 Boreholes and 148 Deep Wells (Parliament Research Department-Zimbabwe 2011). The high number of deep wells and boreholes showed that this was a dry area. There were no dams nearby for livestock to drink from hence livestock sometimes travelled in excess of 10 kilometers for water during the dry season. The main water source was the boreholes for both household consumption and livestock during the dry spell although rain water was used during the rainy season. Most of the homesteads had toilet facilities. People had improved hygiene knowledge, and benefited from access to hygiene enabling facilities at household level and in schools and health centres (DeVillez 2014).

3.3.2 Target Population And Sampling Procedures

A case study approach was implemented targeting households particularly women in Sub-division A of Clonmore Farm. This section explains the target population, sampling

procedures and the case study approach that was implemented to collect primary data. Although this research applied mixed methods it was more inclined to interpretivist approach. Hence it was decided that a sample population of 61 households stratified by women's marital status out of the 341 households would provide sufficient information and insights to answer the research questions. Questionnaire driven interviews were conducted with 61 women participants constituting 18 per cent sample population and in addition 19 key informants were also interviewed. A two-stage sampling approach was implemented at village and household level to ensure a spatially representative sample within the farm and proportionally representative sample per village by targeting eight (8) households in each village. The purposive snowball sampling approach was applied and intended to yield a sample of women respondents stratified by marital status: Married, Never Married, Divorced and Widowed. Women in these categories had varying representations in the different categories and different villages because the numbers could not be predetermined before and during fieldwork.

3.3.2.1 Sampling procedures

Purposive sampling known as theoretical sampling, where participants are selected according to criteria specified by the researcher and based on initial findings was used (Gorra 2007). Purposive sampling was implemented because women participants were grouped according to their marital status which was relevant to this particular research question which investigated women empowerment through land reform. The sample size was fixed at 61 women participants prior to data collection. Although this study used mixed methods, it was guided largely by qualitative approaches that do not necessarily seek representativeness to achieve statistical generalisability, however it aimed to explain and sometimes predict phenomena based on empirical data. It was believed that such a sample stratified by women's marital status provided a balanced understanding of how land reform programmes were affecting women empowerment, hence their livelihoods options and choices. A purposive sample was not statistically representative but represented what Chattopadhyay and Seddon (2002) call authentic experiences of individuals and households in order to suggest more general patterns, trends and tendencies so as to complement data from the interviews.

During data collection the snowballing sampling approach was implemented in the field. Snowballing sampling – also known as chain referral sampling – which is considered a type of purposive sampling was implemented during data collection in order to further identify women participants and key informants. In this method, participants or informants with whom contact had already been made (especially headmen, women participants, councilors, village committee members, etc.) used their social networks to refer the researcher to other people who could potentially participate in or contribute to the study. Snowball sampling was used to find and recruit "hidden women participants and key informants," who were not easily accessible to the researchers. Table 6 show that a proportionally representative sample stratified by women's marital status could not be achieved at the conclusion of data collection although 61 women were interviewed.

Table 6: Sample distribution by women's marital status

Marital status	Total	Per cent
Widowed	32	52%
Married	22	36%
Divorced	6	10%
Never Married	1	2%
Total	**61**	**100%**

Women participants were initially identified through village headmen. Before fieldwork could commence in each village, the headmen were approached, the purpose of the research was explained and permission to conduct the research requested. The village headmen were also asked to assist in identifying the targeted households with women who suited the criteria of the research especially the widowed, divorced and those who had never been married before. Village headmen were helpful in identifying the targeted households because part of their responsibilities included keeping registers and looking after the welfare of households under their jurisdictions, and were actively involved in the actual land allocations. Further, most of the headmen knew other relevant key informants who played prominent roles in the villages, particularly on issues around land reform programmes and thus they were requested to identify them as well. Thereafter, a snowball approach was used to identify additional respondents through probing the interviewed respondents. Relatives, family and friends also assisted in identifying the targeted households as well as key informants.

Once the list of the targeted households and relevant key informants was drawn, each one of them was then approached; the purpose of the research explained and their permission to participate in questionnaire driven interviews was requested. Respondents who agreed to be interviewed duly completed a consent form (Annexure E, F and K) expressing their willingness to participate. Questionnaire driven interviews were successfully conducted with 61 women respondents. Interviews using structured and semi-structured questionnaires were also conducted with 19 key informants: eight (8) government officials, one (1) chief, one (1) councilor, one (1) village chairlady and eight (8) headmen. It was believed that although the sample was not proportionally representative when stratified by women's marital status the sample size provided sufficient information that could provide insights into women's livelihoods and could be generalised nationally and to the Southern African region.

3.3.2.2 Case study

A case study provided in-depth understanding of a single case. The case study approach was strongly associated with the interpretivist or constructionist philosophy (Stake 1995, Yin 2003), and it was implemented because it examined a phenomenon in its natural setting, employing a multitude of methods of data collection to gather information from one or a few entities (groups of people or organisations) (Van Niekerk 2005). The case study was

considered by Benbasat et. al., (1987) to be viable for three reasons: it was necessary to study the phenomenon in its natural setting; the researcher could ask "How" and "Why" questions, so as to understand the nature and complexity of the process taking place and; research was conducted in an area where few, if any, previous studies had been undertaken

A case study approach was conducted in this research in order to get detailed information of the households in Sub-division A of Clonmore Farm. This approach allowed the researcher to explore individuals and organizations, simply through complex interventions, relationships, communities, or programmes (Yin, 2003) and it supported the deconstruction and the subsequent reconstruction of various phenomena. Crabtree & Miller (1999), further argued that this approach afforded close collaboration between the researcher and the participant, while enabling participants to tell their stories. Through these stories the participants were able to describe their views of reality and this enabled the researcher to better understand the participants' actions (Lather, 1992; Robottom & Hart, 1993). Data came largely from documentation, archival records, interviews, participant observations and transect walks (Yin 1994, Zucker 2009).

The main limitation of the case study was that control was minimum as the extent to which the researcher could determine and influence activities was very low. Jones (1985) attested that its weakness was based on its limited ability to contribute positive support to theory. One of the common pitfalls associated with the case study approach was that there was a tendency for researchers to attempt to answer a question that was too broad or a topic that had too many objectives for one study (Baxter and Jack, 2008).

Sub-division A of Clonmore Farm was purposely selected firstly because although similar studies have been carried out in Zimbabwe (Mandizvidza 2009, Scoones et. al. 2011, Mutupo 2011, etc.), we could find no such study had previously been undertaken in Mberengwa. Secondly, its geographical proximity (about 12 kilometers) from the researcher's place of origin - Cheshanga village where the researcher had been resident since 1982 allowed for easy access. The researcher had beneficiary family members resident in the farm (mother, and two brothers including a number of members of the extended family), enabling easy accessibility. The researcher was well known and shared a long history with some of the beneficiaries resident in Sub-division A of Clonmore Farm, hence got cooperation from the respondents. However, this situation may have discouraged respondents from providing accurate information because of high level intrusion into their privacy by a well-known local person who may not be trusted to keep the information confidential, which would not be the case if the individual was a stranger.

3.3.3 DATA COLLECTION TOOLS

This section is dedicated to the tools that were used for data collection. It is important to note that for a study of this nature, different data collection tools could be used or applied. The usual data collection methods encompassed in-depth interviews but could also include other sources of data such as secondary. However, for this study the following data collection tools were utilised: questionnaire driven interviews with purposively selected women in the village using Structured and Semi-Structured questionnaire (Annexure H), Semi-Structured interview guide with key informants (Annexure G and I) and unstructured interviews as well as Transect Walks and Participant Observations. The importance of using a number of data collection tools was that it gave the researcher and the interviewees an opportunity to triangulate data sources. Multiple data sources allowed for engaging in a more participatory approach and assisted in the triangulation of information.

3.3.3.1 Interviews

Kahn and Cannell, (1957) defined interviews as conversations with a purpose. In a good interview the process feels more like an interesting conversation than an interrogation (Creswell 2003). The combination of a good interviewer and a good questionnaire were crucial to the successful interview. The flow of the questions was critical to a good interview. Creswell (2003) argued that the flow of the questionnaire was dependent on six factors: easy to answer questions should be put at the beginning to give the respondent confidence in their ability to help; questions likely to interest the respondent should also be at the start; questions should be asked in a logical order; filter questions should follow each other without being interrupted by other questions; it could be helpful to have an introduction before each change of topic to help the respondent make an easy jump; and personal, emotional or complicated questions should be at the end to avoid people being put off answering further questions.

The way that the interview will be carried out would have a bearing on the framing of the questions (i.e. interviews carried out over the telephone have some limitations compared with face-to-face interviews). Interviews were best conducted with respondents alone in a place that offers reasonable comfort and privacy. Community members could be interviewed in their homes where they were most likely to be found. The interview session could be divided in three stages, introduction and rapport building; interviewing; and closing the interview.

Harrell and Bradley (2009), stressed that when a researcher was interested in determining the relative emphasis on an issue, that is, how strongly someone holds an opinion, both surveys and interviews permitted the researcher to ask for emphasis. They argued further that data are more likely to be generalisable if they were well sampled and collected by surveys or by a large number of interviews. However, this method suffered from memory loss, bias and misrepresentation of information by respondents in some instances.

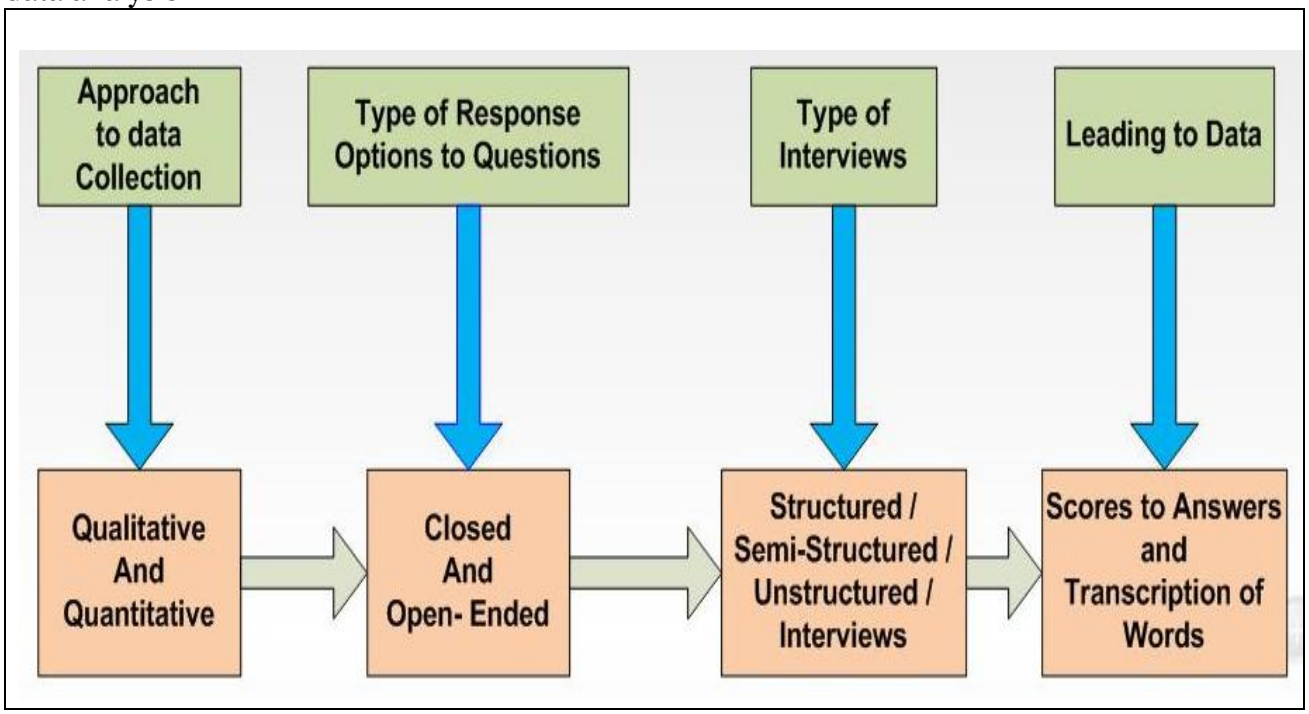
There are three different types of interviews, structured, semi-structured and unstructured and could be implemented through one-on-one, phone, e-mail or focus group. General open-ended questions were asked to allow the participant to create options for responding, voice their experiences and perspectives and information was recorded, then transcribed for analysis. For this research, structured, semi-structured and open-ended interviews were conducted aided by structured and semi-structured questionnaires. In-depth interviews were conducted with women from the sampled households and identified key informants discussed below. Questions asked were both closed and open ended to allow participants independence to freely express their views in some instances. Hughes argued that interviews may be structured and analysed in a quantitative manner, as when numeric data is collected or when non-numeric answers are categorized and coded in numeric form and also surveys may allow for open-ended responses and lead to the in-depth study of individual cases.

Women were interviewed because the study was seeking to establish how land reform programmes were contributing to women empowerment in rural areas. The questionnaires provided first-hand detailed personal information of the respondent and household members including services and economic activities, on circumstances before, during and after the FTLRP. Primary data was collected through in-depth field research face-to-face interviews using structured and semi-structured questionnaires in the targeted 61 households and more than 19 key informants. Face-to-face interviews were also audio-recorded as a backup to hardcopy questionnaires. Audio-recording assisted to capture some of the key discussion points that were not recorded on the existing questions on the questionnaire.

Key informant interviews targeted role players who were and are still active in the FTLRP and land reforms as well as hold influence in the villages. In-depth interviews using structured and semi-structured questionnaires were conducted targeting government officials from District Administration Office, Ministry of Lands, Agritex, ZimStats, District Development Fund, District Home Affairs, District Women Affairs, Mberengwa Small Medium Enterprises (SMEs), District Social Services and Mberengwa Small Scale Mining Association, District Land Committee, War Veterans, ZANU-PF members, Councilor, Chief and Headmen. Participants from the identified group of stakeholders listed above were selected based on their level of participation and assistance they rendered to women during and after land reform processes. Such a selection provided insight into how and in what ways various stakeholders and institutions influenced women access to, and use of land shaping their livelihoods. Institutions like customs, rules, regulations, laws, public agencies played a vital role in influencing women empowerment during and after land reform programs (Ellis and Freeman 2004). This approach was cost effective and efficient in collecting information from such participants because all government offices were located at Mberengwa District Centre which was 50 kilometers away from Cheshanga while

the study area was 15 kilometers away. Figure 7 shows a schematic diagram of how data collection was conducted using structured and semi-structured questionnaires.

Figure 7: Schematic diagram of the implementation of questionnaires and interviews including data analysis



a) Structured Interviews

The structured interview using a questionnaire was conducted with the 61 women participants who were purposely sampled for this study. Bland (2013) pointed out that during the structured interview the researcher asked the respondent a list of predetermined questions about a carefully-selected topic. The researcher also asked the questions ("the interviewer") explaining things to the interviewee (or "respondent" - the person responding to the questions) where he/she did not understand or finds question confusing. Structured interviews were replicable and consistent across interviewees and gave precise answers. Table 7 explains advantages and disadvantages of structured interviews. As shown in table 7 this method was very efficient because it allowed the researcher to ask questions in a consistent and similar manner which in turn improved the comparability of the acquired answers. The method also allowed the researcher to improve some the design structure of some of the questions and through probing, new and supplementary questions could be asked yielding valuable information. However, the improvement of questions and introduction of new questions also meant that some of the respondent were not asked the new questions.

Table 7: Advantages and disadvantages of structured interviews

Advantages	Disadvantages
a) It enables the researcher to examine the level of understanding a respondent has about a particular topic - usually in slightly more depth than with a postal questionnaire. b) It can be used as a powerful form of formative assessment. That is, it can be used to explore how a respondent feels about a particular topic before using a second method (such as observation or in-depth interviewing) to gather a greater depth of information. Structured interviews can also be used to identify respondents whose views you may want to explore in more detail (through the use of focused interviews, for example). c) All respondents are asked the same questions in the same way. This makes it easy to repeat ("replicate") the interview. In other words, this type of research method is easy to standardise. d) Provides a reliable source of quantitative data. e) The researcher is able to contact large numbers of people quickly, easily and efficiently. It is relatively quick and easy to create, code and interpret (especially if closed questions are used). f) There is a formal relationship between the researcher and the respondent with the latter knowing exactly what is required from them in the interview If, for example, a respondent is unable or unwilling to answer a question the researcher (because they are present at the interview) is aware of the reasons for a failure to answer all questions. g) The researcher does not have to worry about response rates, biased (self-selected) samples, incomplete questionnaires and the like	a) Can be time consuming if sample group is very large (this is because the researcher or their representative needs to be present during the delivery of the structured interview). b) The quality and usefulness of the information is highly dependent upon the quality of the questions asked. The interviewer cannot add or subtract questions. c) A substantial amount of pre-planning is required. d) The format of questionnaire design makes it difficult for the researcher to examine complex issues and opinions. Even where open-ended questions are used, the depth of answers the respondent can provide tend to be more-limited than with almost any other method. e) There is limited scope for the respondent to answer questions in any detail or depth f) There is the possibility that the presence of the researcher may influence the way a respondent answers various questions, thereby biasing the responses. For example, an aggressive interviewer may intimidate a respondent into giving answers that don't really reflect the respondent's beliefs. Similarly, a young male researcher asking a middle aged woman how frequently she had sexual intercourse in the past month may be embarrassing for the respondent and make her unlikely to answer truthfully. This is known as the interview effect. g) A problem common to both postal questionnaires and structured interviews is the fact that by designing a "list of questions", a researcher has effectively decided - in advance of collecting any data - the things they consider to be important and unimportant h) May overlook key information as questions are set in advance

b) Semi-structured interviews

Bland (2013) also pointed out that semi-structured interviews consisted of pre-planned questions and probes that enabled unknown but also systematic coverage. This type of interview involved the implementation of a number of predetermined questions and/or special topics. These questions were typically asked of each interviewee in a systematic and consistent order, but the interviewer was allowed freedom to digress; that is, the interviewers was permitted to probe further beyond the answers to their prepared and standardized questions (Berg 2008). A total of 19 semi-structured interviews using a semi-structured questionnaire were conducted with key informants who included eight (8) government officials, a chief, a councilor and a village chairlady, as well as eight (8) headmen.

c) Open-ended interviews

Interviews with open-ended questions gave participants the opportunity to express their opinions and give detailed answers. They were different from closed-ended questions, which gave a set of response choices. A combination of closed and open questions could be used (e.g., asking a closed-ended question, followed by an open-ended question, to allow the participant to explain his or her choice). Open-ended surveys provided rich and unexpected findings, could lead the researcher astray and miss valuable information and were difficult to analyse and replicate

3.3.3.2 Questionnaires

A questionnaire is a group or sequence of questions designed to elicit information from an informant or respondent when asked by an interviewer or completed unaided by the respondent. When an interviewer is involved, the questionnaire is sometimes referred to as an interview and the questionnaire becomes the link between the interviewer and the respondent. (Miles and Huberman 1994 cited in Bland 2013)

Questionnaires are a quick, easy and cheap method to administer to large numbers of people in order to collect people's views, preferences, habits, opinions and demographics. They may be tricky when privacy is important (e.g., asking people about their sex lives, attitudes to abortion). There were two types of questionnaires: Structured and Semi-Structured. The list of questions that made up a structured questionnaire were open ended and close ended, depending on how the questions were framed and asked. Table 8 explains the type of questions that were used in developing questionnaires.

Fall (2012) pointed out that questionnaires differed from interviews in that for questionnaires, respondents could answer in their own time and not be put on the spot, they provided less social pressure and embarrassment, could review and revise answers more easily and could choose not to answer questions. Although many design issues were the same questionnaires were more flexibility in structure and presentation.

Questionnaires were successfully addressed to women participants and key informants during interviews. Their advantages were that they provided systematic and structured questions which guided the manner in which the interview was conducted. This approach allowed the respondents to interpret questions in a consistent manner and during analysis, the responses were consistent and comparable. The problems with questionnaire approach were that at times respondents misinterpreted the questions and in most cases the researcher had to continuously repeat the questions and provide illustrations to guide the respondents on what the questions entailed.

Table 8: Types of questions used in questionnaires

Type of question	Explanation
Open ended questions	These are questions that invite free ranging responses – sometimes called verbatim responses. Such responses are extremely useful for obtaining a deep understanding of the respondents' views and behaviour but they are difficult to capture precisely (the respondent may give a long winded answer that is shortened by the interviewer) and are time consuming to analyse. They are only suited to qualitative and small quantitative surveys.
Closed questions	These questions invite a response that is fitted into a preordained answer. Usually the answers are read out or shown to the respondent and they choose which best fits their reply. Sometimes the answers are not read out (as in a brand awareness question) though the responses are listed and to that extent are "closed". Closed questions are the norm in quantitative surveys. It is vital to ensure that the correct response codes are designed for the question otherwise there will be significant numbers that cannot be placed in any useful response and are put in the dustbin category of "others".
Direct questions	A direct question measures exactly what it appears to be measuring. For example, "How do you travel to work each day?"
Indirect questions	An indirect question usually disguises its true purpose. For example, "Which tour operators have you booked holidays through in the past two years?" This indirect question will also give some idea of how many holidays (if any) the respondent has taken over the last two years. Indirect questioning is usually used if a direct question might bias a respondent's answers to reveal the true purpose of the research.
Multiple response questions	Some questions can receive a number of answers and others only one answer. For example, a question that asks how many brands someone is aware of could generate a list of names and therefore is multiple response. Another question may seek to find out which brand is used most frequently and this could allow for just one response (i.e. single response). Sometimes the questions are marked multi-response so that the interviewer knows that more than one answer is anticipated and allowed.
Prompted questions	A prompted question is used to give a common framework for the answers. The answer options are printed on show cards, within the questionnaire or read out, and the respondent chooses one of them. Prompted questions can help respondents to understand difficult subjects and make it easier for them to answer by indicating what's expected and prompting their memory. It also helps a researcher have some control over the scope of the answers. The drawback here is of course that the questions can become suggestive and leading, and they can also be complicated for the interviewers. Closed questions are prompted.
Unprompted questions	An unprompted question allows the respondent to give their own answer in their own words. Open ended questions are unprompted.
Response codes	The answers to closed questions, each requiring a mark to indicate which has been chosen. This could be by circling a number or ticking a box.
Question grid	Questions may be laid out in grids to save space on the questionnaire. For example, a list of brands could be listed on the page and against these there could be response columns to indicate if the respondent has heard of each brand, ever used brands, is a frequent user of the brands etc. Grids are used to save space and to make it easier for the interviewer and respondent to quickly move through the questions.

Source: Creswell 2003

a) Structured questionnaire

Siniscalco and Auriat (2005) pointed out that a structured questionnaire is one in which the questions asked were precisely decided in advance. The questions were used as an interviewing method hence, the questions were asked exactly as they were written, in the same sequence, using the same style, for all interviews. The structured questionnaire was sometimes left a bit open for the interviewer to amend to suit a specific context. Each respondent's statements were recorded as fully as possible and in the respondent's own words. Open-ended questions were very useful for exploring sensitive issues and investigating topics concerning beliefs, attitudes, and practices. A close-ended question usually provided a set of responses or options from which a respondent indicated his/her choice. Where the study topic concerned factual issues, or was a familiar one with a limited range of responses, close-ended questions were particularly (Siniscalco and Auriat 2005) useful. Structured questionnaires could be self-administered or administered over the telephone or face-to-face.

b) Semi-structured questionnaire

Semi-structured questionnaires comprised a mixture of unstructured and structured questions and some of the questions and their sequence were determined in advance, while

others evolved as the interview proceeded (Siniscalco and Auriat 2005) . They were commonly used where there was a need to accommodate a large range of different responses. The use of semi-structured questionnaires enabled a mix of qualitative and quantitative information to be gathered. They could be administered over the telephone but in this study they were administered face-to-face (Siniscalco and Auriat 2005)

c) Unstructured questionnaire

It is an instrument or guide used by an interviewer who asks questions about a particular topic or issue. Although a question guide is provided for the interviewer to direct the interview, the specific questions and the sequence in which they are asked are not precisely determined in advance (Siniscalco and Auriat 2005).

In this research the structured and semi-structured questionnaires were used as interviewing tools for women participants and key informants during interviews. Three (3) structured and semi-structured questionnaires were used during the interviews: Individual Questionnaire for women participant (Annexure H), Government Officials (Annexure G) and Community Leaders Questionnaire (Annexure I). The individual questionnaire targeted women were constructed using closed- and open-ended questions and had a cover page for capturing administrative information. The individual questionnaire was divided into five (5) sections. Section A covered demographic information, section B income, Section C land access, usage and challenges, Section D household goods and services while section E gather information on sustainable livelihoods. Questionnaires for government officials and community leaders were similar in that they had a cover page for capturing administrative information and the questions were more or less the same and were intended to understand their role with regards to their interaction and assistance to women in the FTLRP.

The individual and key informant questionnaires were successfully utilised during the in-depth interviews. Some questions had to be added during the course of data collection as new information emerged. Some of the participants provided more information than could be captured on the provided space or for close-ended questions however, most of the interviews were audio-recorded and the information transcribed and coded to provide meaningful data for presentation. Due to time constraints, focus group discussions were not conducted.

3.3.3.3 Transect Walks

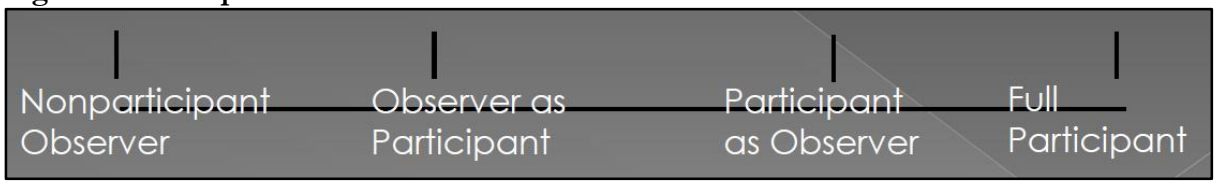
Transect walks were conducted during long drives through each village with key informants such as headmen and relatives who resided in the study area. When participants were identified, their homes were visited and sometimes they were interviewed in their fields as they were busy ploughing. Areas that were covered during transect walks included residential stands, cultivated lands, grazing lands, mining pits, boreholes, rivers, etc. A transect walk is a tool for describing and showing the location and distribution of resources, features, landscape, and main land uses along a given transect (Fauna and Flora

International (2013). Transect walks were used for: identifying and explaining the cause and effect relationships among topography, soils, natural vegetation, cultivation, and other production activities and human settlement patterns; identifying major problems and possibilities as perceived by different groups in relation to features or areas along the transect, including climate change related hazards; an entry point for discussing how things used to be and / or how people envisage they will or should be in the future; monitoring changes over a period of time, including during the course of a project; and in the context of ecosystem services valuation. This tool informed the understanding of how communities use and value biodiversity and ecosystem services, and the location of key resources in relation to different social groups within a community (Fauna and Flora International (2013). A single transect walk is limited to present time; only gets "the current observable situation and features" (World Bank 2013), however having family resident in the farm afforded the researcher an opportunity to observe the situation and features over a period of time before and after people moved in the farm. Transect walks were undertaken with participants and relevant stakeholders (headmen, ward councilors, etc.) in order to understand farming and non-farming livelihoods because they further enhanced the knowledge of livelihoods of the community resident in Sub-division A of Clonmore Farm.

3.3.3.4 Participant observations

Creswell (2003) argued that participant observation allowed the researcher to immerse him or herself into a social setting, enabling him/her to learn first-hand how: the actions of participants were compatible with their words, patterns of existing behaviors, expected and unexpected experiences occurring and trust, relationships, as well as obligations with others were developed. Creswell (2003) pointed out that there was a Participant Observations Continuum because participant observation ranged across a continuum from mostly observing to mostly participating. Oftentimes the researcher found his or herself at different points along the continuum during the data collection process (Figure 8).

Figure 8: Participant observation continuum



Source: Creswell 2003

Creswell (2003) outlined the steps to be followed during participant observations and these were operationalised during fieldwork data collection:

I. Obtain the required permissions needed to gain access to the site.
II. Ease into the site slowly by looking around, getting a general sense of the site, and taking limited notes, at least initially.
III. Identify who or what to observe, when to observe, and how long to observe.
IV. Determine, initially, your role as an observer

V. Conduct multiple observations over time to obtain the best understanding of the site and the individuals.
VI. Design some means for recording notes during an observation.
    a. Descriptive field notes describe the events, activities, and people.
    b. Reflective field notes record personal reflections that relate to insights, hunches, or broad themes that may emerge.
VII. When complete, slowly withdraw from the site.

Participant observations were recorded in a note book during the numerous trips that were conducted during data collection and transect walks. Participant observations helped the researcher to further understand livelihoods choices and options adopted by women particularly to understand relationships between land reforms and sustainable livelihoods. Personal observations and transect walks afforded the researcher an opportunity to record a range of data to supplement information from interviews with household members and key informants. Recorded information included physical conditions of the structures and the mining areas, the infrastructure, every day and community events (there was cleaning of the dip-tank by the community from the eight villages on December 24, 2016) in the area and other data that was important for research analysis. Being in the field and hanging around Yorks Business Centre brought the researcher to other respondents that were not necessarily within the sample providing the researcher access to informal discussions that reflected a lot on the surrounding community and activities in the area.

3.3.3.5 Secondary data

Secondary and administrative data was downloaded from the internet and also collected from the ZimStats Office, Ministry of Lands, District Administration Office, Agritex, Ministry of Mines, and any other available relevant data sources that satisfied the needs and requirements of this research. The ZimStats Office provided data on the population statistics that included demographics, income, education and services which provided a good measure of the welfare of the communities. Administrative registers were obtained from the Ministry of Lands, DAO and Agritex. Deeds register provided insight into the history of land redistribution and change of ownership, tenure status, as well as how livelihoods were influenced and shaped by administrative and traditional systems. Other relevant sources from organisations like the NGOs, etc. were obtained and utilized where they were deemed appropriate. These data provide valuable information on a range of issues: extensions services, external support, financial support, etc. However, the data sources may have suffered from lack of comparability due to differing time-frames they were collected.

Some of the data sources that were brought to the researcher's attention by the Ministry of Lands Official include: Overall Terms of Reference for the Ministry of Lands, Rural Land Act, Rural Land Farm Size Act, Regulation (2001), Fencing Act (20 of 2006), Gazetted Land Consequential Provisions Act (2006), Hippo Valley Agreement Act 2008, Land Tenure Repeal Act (5 of 1979), Constitution of Zimbabwe, Acquisation of Farm

Equipment and Materials Act, Alienated Land (Information Act) (20 of 2002), Land Survey Act (27 of 2012), Statutory Instrument (1 of 2000) as Amended, Public Management Fund Act, A1 Permit Statutory Instrument (53 of 2014).

3.3.4 DATA ANALYSIS

Creswell (2008) argued that data analyses should be based on the research questions and the research design selected for the study specifying the procedures for reducing and coding the data. In this study a combination of the Framework Analysis and Content Analysis methods were utilised to analyse the qualitative information.

The Framework Analysis was utilised because it provided systematic and visible stages to the analysis process, so that others, could be clear about the stages by which the results were obtained from the data (Ritchie and Spencer 1994 cited in Lacey and Luff 2009). According to Lacey and Luff (2009) Framework Analysis was explicitly developed in the context of applied policy research hence, although it is inductive, this form of analysis allowed for the inclusion of a priori as well as emergent concepts, for example in coding. The steps in analysing data could be undertaken in a linear fashion and all data could be collected before analysis begins, but analysis could equally be used when data collection and analysis occur concurrently. Lacey and Luff (2009) identified five (5) key stages of Framework Analysis: familiarisation; identifying a thematic framework; indexing; charting as well as mapping and interpretation. These key stages were implemented during data analysis process in this study.

I. **Familiarisation:** this involved transcription and reading of the data from questionnaires, participant observations and transect walks as well as audio-recordings from the interviews.
II. **Identifying a thematic framework:** the coding framework was developed emanating from both a priori issues and from emerging issues at the familiarisation stage.
III. **Indexing:** A thematic framework was applied to the data, using numerical or textual codes to identify specific pieces of data which correspond to differing themes during coding.
IV. **Charting**: data was used to create charts using headings from the thematic framework so that information could easily be read across the whole dataset. Charts created include thematic ones for each theme across all respondents (cases) or by case for each respondent across all themes.
V. **Mapping and Interpretation**: using the coded data the researcher identified patterns, associations, concepts, and explanations in the data, aided by visual displays and plots.

Framework Analysis was also utilised because it enabled the researcher to visually display ideas from the data as an aid in developing and testing interpretations.

During data collection, the researcher wrote notes on the hardcopy questionnaires when interviews were conducted, notes from participant observations and transect walks were written in a notebook while interview discussions were audio-recorded. Benefits of using a tape recorder included: the researcher could concentrate and listen and respond better; the discussion flowed better when there were minimum distractions; in note taking there was an increased risk of the researcher being more subjective; the entire interview/observation was recorded, which gave a better, more holistic picture of what was going on; the participants felt less observed when they were tape recorded; and during analysis, the researcher had the opportunity to go back several times over the interview discussions.

Notes from questionnaires, participant observations and transect walks as well as audio-recordings from the interviews were transcribed. Transcribing involved recording notes from the interviews particularly the full 'script' of the interview and the aim was to take a full written version of the interview. Transcribing each and every interview was very time consuming hence, the VCL software was used to fast-track the process because the audio speed could be controlled during transcribing. During transcribing, great care was taken to avoid bias. The transcribed information was then manually captured on the computer in an Access database using Key From Paper method (KFP). The entries included coded data and notes from hard copy paper questionnaires, information from notebooks as well as information from audio recorded interviews.

Content Analysis was also implemented to supplement Framework Analysis. According to Prasad (2008) Content Analysis is a procedure for the categorisation of verbal or behavioural data, for purposes of classification, summarisation and tabulation. Content analysis of qualitative data aimed to uncover and / or understand the bigger picture by using the data to describing the phenomenon and what it meant Prasad (2008). Both qualitative and quantitative analysis involved labelling and coding all data in order that similarities and differences could be recognised. All responses from pre-coded questionnaires and unstructured qualitative interview were entered into an Access database table in order for the information to be coded, counted and analysed. A system for pre-coding of identifying and labelling or coding data was developed for this research. Content analysis was used because qualitative data was collected through interviews, questionnaires, participant observations; transect walks, audio recordings and documentary notes. Content was analysed on two levels:

I. Basic level or the manifest level: a descriptive account of the data i.e. this is what was said, but no comments or theories as to why or how.
II. 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.

Content analysis involved coding and classifying data, also referred to as categorising and indexing and the aim of context analysis was to make sense of the data collected and to highlight the important messages, features or findings (Prasad 2008).

The information was subjected to content analysis as follows (Prasad 2008):
1) Copying and reading through the transcript - making brief notes when interesting or relevant information was found.
2) Going through the notes made 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 in any way and listing them as major categories (or themes) and / or minor categories (or themes).
5) Comparing and contrasting various major and minor categories.
6) The process was repeated for each of the transcripts and notes.
7) When the process was completed for all of the transcripts and notes, the researcher collected all the categories or themes and examined each in detail and considered where they fit and their relevance.
8) All the transcript data was categorised into minor and major categories/themes, then the researcher reviewed the data in order to ensure that the information was categorised as it should be.
9) The researcher reviewed all of the categories and ascertained whether some categories could be merged or if some needed to be sub-categorised.
10) The researcher returned to the original transcripts and ensured that all the information that needed to be categorised had been done so.

The process of content analysis was lengthy and required the researcher to go over the data several times to ensure a thorough job of analysis was done.

Quality assurance was conducted through running queries on the database (in Access and Excel) and correcting all mistyped information. The captured data was analysed using Access, Excel and SPSS softwares. SPSS is a statistical package that provided statistical results on relationships among some of the data items and variables.

3.3.5 METHODOLOGICAL REFLECTIONS

While most of the women participants and key informants were successfully interviewed, it was difficult to find some of the targeted participants because they were away on their various personal businesses. Several trips had to be made to locate some of the participants. In some instances, women participants had to be replaced with those immediately available. As for key informants, several trips were made until they were interviewed because owing to the sensitive nature of the FTLRP, only heads of government departments were at liberty to discuss the issues around the FTLRP. The junior staff was not allowed to conduct any interviews. The permission letter (Annexure A) proved to be a vital tool to get permission because all participants and key informants granted permission once they read and saw the official stamp on the letter. At the initial stages of data collection women participants were reserved, however they cooperated fully after they were encouraged to cooperate during the community meeting held 30 December 2016 which was attended by the councillor,

District Chairperson, and his deputy, District Committee members, headmen and village household members.

The researcher intended to conduct fieldwork between 15 December 2016 and 15 January 2017. The Mberengwa DAO was approach firstly on the 18th of December 2016. In the initial meeting, it emerged that due to the sensitivities around the FTLRP, the DAO required to see and go through all the research tools and instruments in order to understand the scope of the research and the nature of questions constituting the research, but unfortunately the researcher had brought only the letter (Annexure A) from the University of Witwatersrand requesting permission to conduct research. A second meeting was scheduled and on 21 December 2016, the researcher met again with the DAO and discussed the research instruments and tools. Permission was granted and a file was opened in the researcher's name and samples of all the research tools were filed with the DAO. The DAO officials also requested a copy of the PhD thesis once the study was completed. Using the letter granting permission for the study to be carried out in the farm, the nearest chief, Bvute was approached on 22 December 2016, notified as well as asked for permission to proceed with the research.

Chief Bvute advised that a meeting will be organised into the New Year 2017 by himself, the Councilor, the eight headmen and the community so that the researcher's request could be discussed and community members notified about the impending research. Due to time constraints it was agreed that while awaiting for the meeting to materialise, the researcher proceed and approach the councilor, headmen, war veterans, targeted households and any relevant stakeholders.

On December 31, 2016 a meeting was held to discuss distribution of farm seeds at Yorks Business Centre among the eight (8) villages. The meeting was chaired by the councilor and attended by members from District Committee (including the District chairperson and his deputy), members of the village committees, village headmen and village households. Unfortunately the chief forgot to invite the researcher to the meeting but luckily the researcher heard about the meeting when some villagers requested for transport to go the meeting as they were running late. The researcher took the opportunity to attend the meeting as well. When the researcher arrived at the meeting, the researcher found that one of the villagers was insinuating that people from South Africa had formed a new party and were busy campaigning and canvassing for votes in the 2018 elections, irrespective of the fact that the researcher explained clearly to villager the purpose of the study during their previous interactions.

Fortunately most of the people knew the researcher, hence the researcher was given the opportunity to explain the study to the District Committee members and the village households. After the explanation, everyone was satisfied because the researcher had a letter from the DAO granting permission for the study to be conducted. After the meeting, all the targeted households were aware of the researcher's impending visits and this ensured that fieldwork was conducted smoothly and improved response rate because in the initial

stages some households were not keen to participate in fear that they may be victimised for participating in an activity that was not sanctioned by gatekeepers in the villages.

Rains were a problem because fieldwork was carried during farming season the car was not able to drive through the mud in some areas. Most of the respondents were only available during lunch time, Wednesdays and Sundays when they were not in the fields. The most productive days were on Christmas Day and New Year's Day because people were more relaxed and in celebratory mood. Fieldwork was successfully conducted and concluded on 10 January 2017 after in-depth interviews were concluded with 61 women participants, 8 government officials, one councilor, one chief one village charlady and eight (8) headmen.

The study employed a qualitative methodological approach through a case study and could be generalised because a sufficient number of participants were interviewed. Triangulation of various data sources ranging from in-depth questionnaire interviews, audio recordings, transect walk notes, personal observations and secondary data helped to ensure reliability and validity of the collected information and results. This study provided in-depth empirical data from the respondents' points of view (women, government officials, chiefs, councilor, headmen and other key informants) who contributed in various ways to how women accessed and used land transformation influencing social relations and rural livelihoods. The research tools were successfully implemented especially questionnaires but they could not accommodate some of the narratives provided by the interviewee's, especially in cases of additional information not structured on the questions. The audio recorder was used in this instance to capture such information which was then transcribed. Unfortunately the audio recorder also run out of storage space before the interviews were completed so the phone was also used in some instances. The researcher personally conducted all the interviews to ensure there was consistency in the manner in which the research was conducted although the researcher was accompanied by one or two relatives during fieldwork.

The FTLRP was a highly sensitive subject because the topic has been highly politicised by the media and those against it. The fact that most of the officials from various government departments knew the researcher worked well because they assisted in introducing the researcher to other relevant officials. The Member of Parliament for Mberengwa West also pledged to assist if the researcher got difficulties in getting access to conduct the study. Permission was speedily granted from the DAOs because some of the officials knew the researcher from school days together. The letter signed by the DAO granting the researcher permission to conduct the study was crucial because all the structures (councilor, headmen and District Committee) in the farm report directly to the DAO and the moment the researcher produced the letter, permission was immediately granted for the study to be conducted.

In the initial stages respondents in the farm didn't want to participate due to fear for possible victimisation, however after the meeting on 31 December 2016, the researcher had instances where neighboring households from the targeted ones would follow asking to be

interviewed. After the councilor and the District Committee explained to the community that they should assist the researcher, households' expectations were raised as they believed that the study was a government initiative that would reward households that were interviewed although it was clearly explained that this was purely an academic study.

Most of the respondents asked what they would get in return although it was made clear that nothing would materialise from the research. In one of the villages, the son was assisting his father (who has health problems) to execute headman duties and expected to be rewarded before permission could be granted for respondents in the village to be interviewed. After the meeting on 31 December 2016 the son eventually allowed the researcher to conduct interviews. It was later also discovered that the son was a former classmates of the researcher's young brother who resides in Johannesburg and came to join the researcher at a later stage. Also a lot of people met by the researcher, although not part of the respondent list was problematic because they were always asking for money or a beer or a drink. This cash-cow syndrome was deftly handled as the researcher was always telling people that he came a long time ago hence all the money was finished due to the many trips carried out for my research.

Challenges of this study included balancing family commitments, high pressured work and the research hence fieldwork had to be conducted during the festive season which was the time when people were busy cultivating their farms. It was difficult to conduct interviews during the week days except on Sundays and Wednesdays including holidays because people were not allowed to work in the fields during these days, hence the researcher could find them home. The researcher had to conduct fieldwork on Christmas Day and New Year's Day because these were the most productive days as people were more relaxed.

The blind spot problem was kept at the back of the researcher's mind and all the necessary notes and details were written down to ensure that nothing was missed out. Because of the dynamics that the researcher was born, brought up and bred in Zimbabwe the researcher might overlook some important aspects of the study as a local person because some of the things seen were normal since the researcher was used to them.

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH FINDINGS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter the research findings are presented. When the random land occupation "jambaja" started in 1999, a number of people from the surrounding CAs (Bvute, Zvamagwiro, Chingezi, Mucheregwa and Mabika) also took up residence in the farm. At first, a few war veterans set base camps in the farm and were subsequently joined by the community members. The research participants indicated that during the early days, the invading people never faced any resistance; instead they were assisted with water and other basic necessities by the farm manager and farm workers. Research participants further indicated that war veterans allocated land to anyone who joined the invasion on a first come first served basis irrespective of gender. Some of the people went back to their original homes after the land was allocated to them and only took up residence in the early 2000s after they had built up their houses. Later, government took over the land allocation process through the Ministry of Lands by creating District Land Committees (DLCs) who were responsible for properly surveying and allocating stands including arable and grazing land to each beneficiary as well as documenting and archiving necessary personal details of the new land owners. Moyo (2013) stresses that the state gradually gained control over the land reform process from the 'illegal occupiers' through creating District Land Committees (DLCs), which involved the government bureaucracy, security agents, ZANU-PF members, war veterans and other social formations (chiefs, farmers associations, etc.). Officials from the Ministry of Lands indicated that under the A1 scheme, each beneficiary was allocated one (1) hectare stand, four (4) hectares of arable land and 11–12 hectares of grazing land which was communally owned. Through transcent walks and participant observations information was recorded which included physical conditions of the structures and the mining areas, the infrastructure, every day activities and community events in the area and other data that was important for research analysis. For instance there was cleaning of the dip-tank by the community from the eight villages on December 31, 2016.

Eleven sections are discussed in this chapter and this is the first section. Section 4.2 outlines the demographic profile and headship. The land reform outcomes in Sub-division A of Clonmore Farm are presented in section 4.3, followed by a discussion on homeownership in section 4.4. Section 4.5 presents services available to households in the farm while 4.6 discuss asset accumulation and household resilience. Section 4.7 focus on challenges experienced during and after the FTLRP while section 4.8 discuss sources of income and economic activities. Women empowerment and sustainable livelihoods are discussed in

section 4.9, while government and community leaders support to FTLRP beneficiaries is discussed in section 4.10 and finally the conclusion is in section 4.11.

4.2 DEMOGRAPHICS AND LEVEL OF EDUCATION

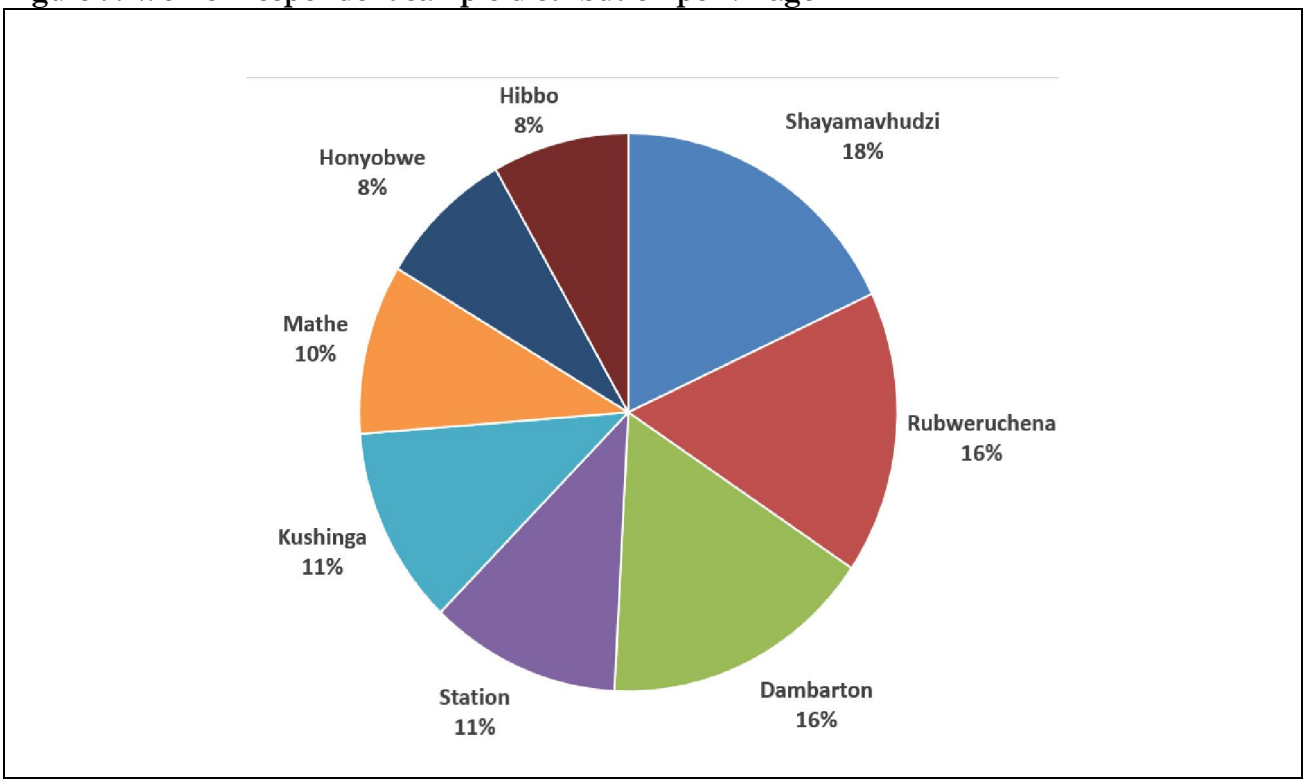
Some of the key things that were important in this study was to establish the demographic profile and education characteristics of the sampled population as well as the marital status, headship and level of education of the surveyed women. Table 9 show the population distribution in Sub-division A of Clonmore Farm as well as the percentage distribution of female- and male-headed households in each village. High percentages of female-headed households are found in Kushinga, Rubweruchena and Dambarton villages with 31, 25 and 25 per cent respectively. Altogether out of the total 341 household, there were 17 and 83 per cent female- and male-headed households respectively in this area.

Table 9: Distribution of female and male-headed households per village

Village Name	Total Households	Female headed-Households	Percentage Female headed-Households	Male headed-Households	Percentage Male headed-Households
Kushinga	45	14	31%	31	69%
Dambarton	40	10	25%	30	75%
Mathe	26	2	8%	24	92%
Honyobwe	25	2	8%	23	92%
Hibbo	28	3	11%	25	89%
Rubweruchena	57	14	25%	43	75%
Station	64	6	9%	58	91%
Shayamavhudzi	56	8	14%	48	86%
Total	341	59	17%	282	83%

Official records show that there were supposed to be 262 households in Sub-division A of Clonmore Farm A however, reported counts by each headmen gave a total of 341 households due to additional "illegal" land allocations implemented by headmen without the knowledge of the DLC. This meant that the carrying capacity of the area was exceeded by an additional 79 households constituting 30 per cent. A total of 61 women respondents out 341 households constituting 18 per cent of the sample were interviewed. Figure 9 illustrate that the distribution of women participants per village was not spatially representative for the eight (8) villages, because targeted women were not equally distributed spatially.

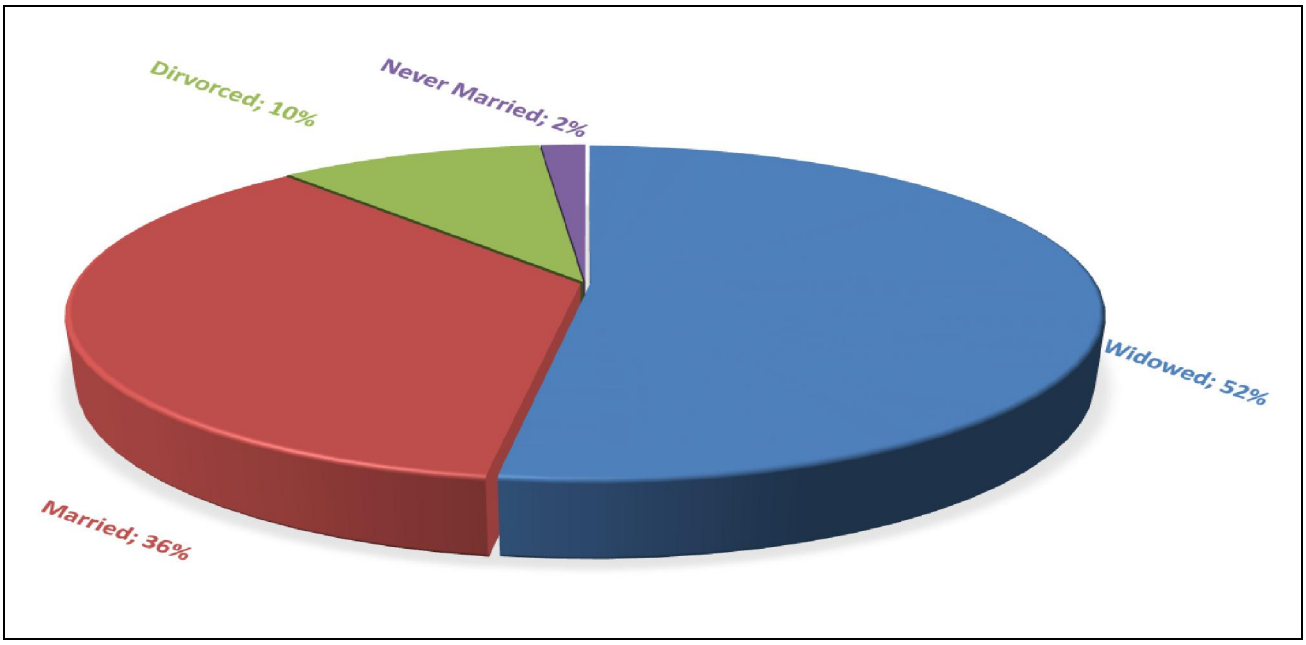
Figure 9: Women respondent sample distribution per village



4.2.1 Marital Status and Headship

Figure 10 illustrate that the majority of surveyed women at 64 per cent constituted female-headed households with 52, 10 and 2 per cent widowed, divorced and never married respectively. De facto male-headed households for married women constituted 36 per cent.

Figure 10: Distribution of participant women by marital status



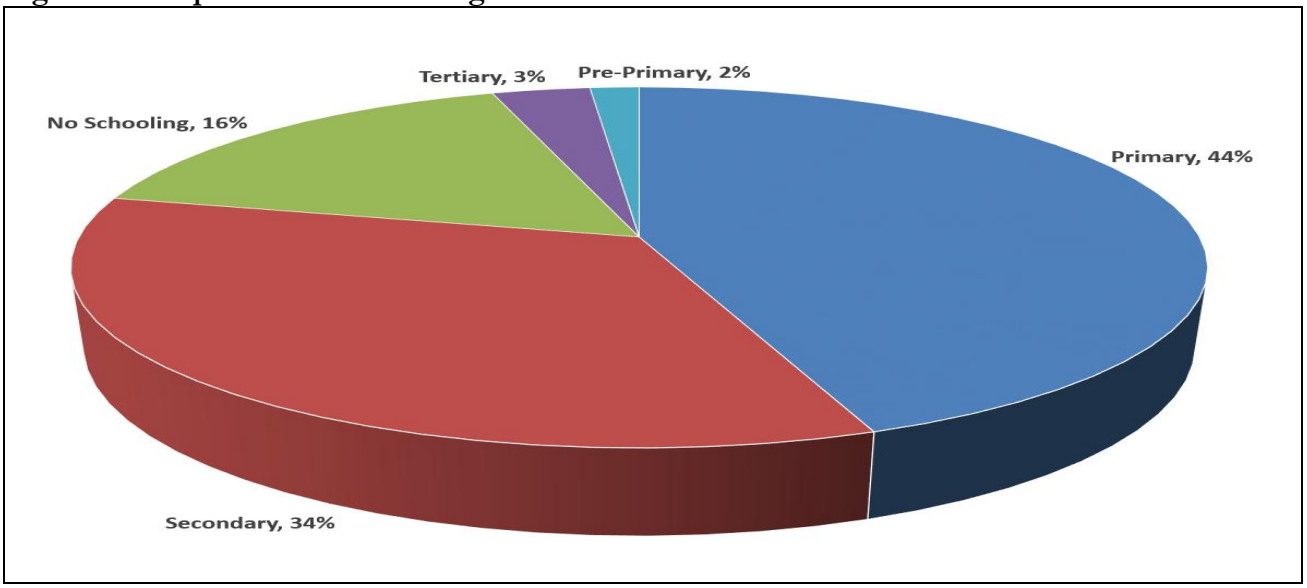
Women in the never been married category constituted the lowest totals at 2 per cent (one respondent) followed by divorced at 10 per cent indicating that marriage was still a strong institution. There were high responses in widowhood at 52 per cent hence, the researcher probed from officials in the Ministry of Lands and other key informants especially the police about high widowhood in this area and some of the reasons advanced included the fact that:

I. Most of the men who settled in the farm were war veterans who married younger wives hence due to advanced age, were most likely to die first, leaving their spouse as sole owners of the land,
II. Men engaged in hard labour clearing the newly acquired land to build homesteads and farming land as well as engaged in gold mining (panning) in unsafe privately owned small mines, hence were likely to die first because of exposure to danger,
III. Men engaged in high risk sexual behaviours especially prostitution at the thriving Yorks Business Centre because this was fueled by high income returns from gold mining (panning),
IV. Men had low health seeking behaviours in the event they were sick from any disease hence ended up dying,
V. As heads of households, men suffered more domestic stress related issues ending up committing suicide (There were few suicide cases that were brought to the researcher's attention).

4.2.2 Participant Women Level of Education

It was crucial to find out participant women's level of education in this study because literacy has been posited to increase women's capabilities and bargaining power, thereby empowering them. Figure 11 illustrate that there were high literacy levels among participant women in Sub-division A of Clonmore Farm: 44, 34 and 3 per cent had primary, secondary and tertiary education respectively, constituting 82 per cent. Only 18 per cent had no schooling or pre-school.

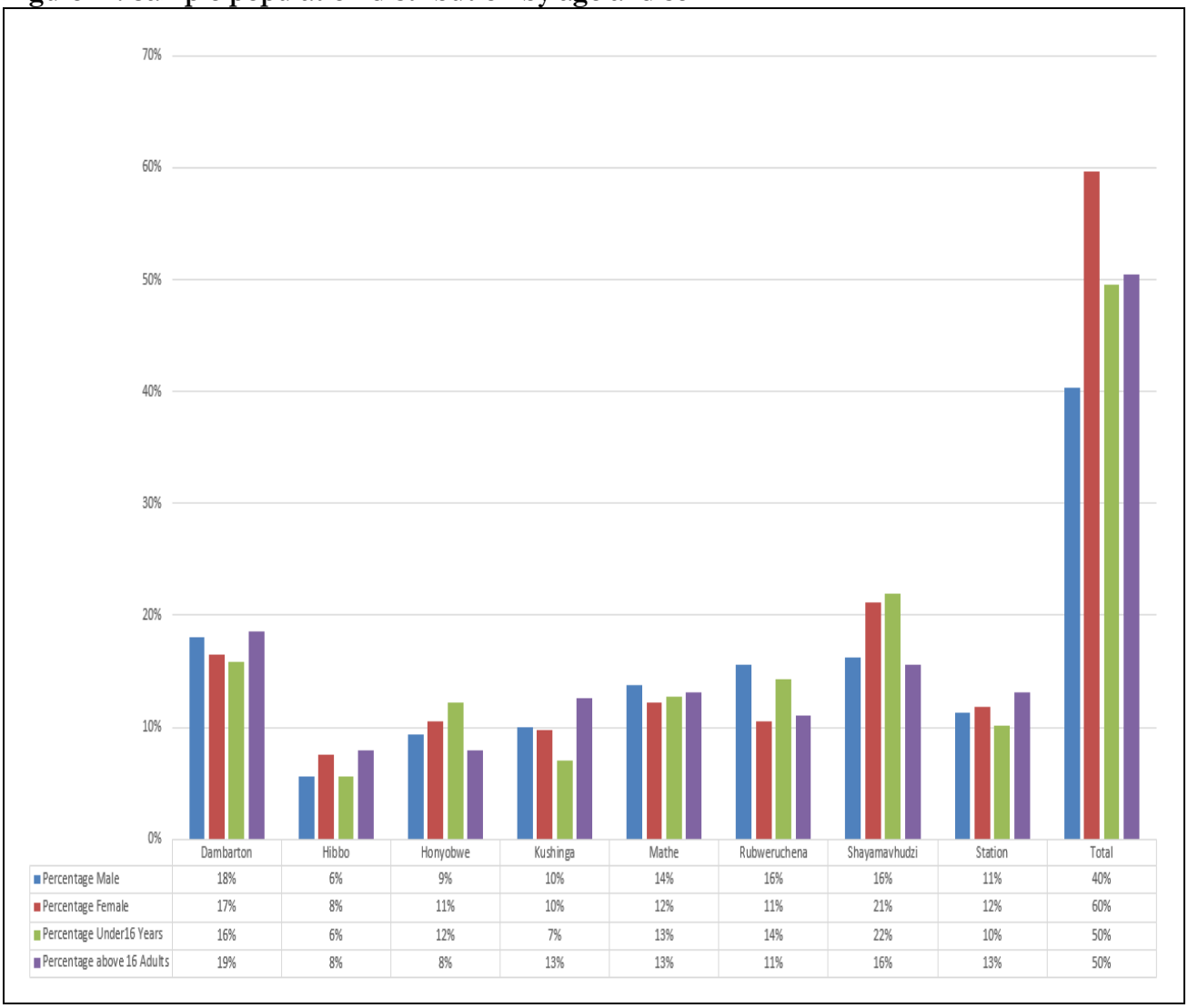
Figure 11: Respondent women's highest level of education



4.2.3 Demographic Features of the Sample population

In view of the above, demographic features of the sample population was one of the important aspects to be established because it gave a glimpse of the demographic dividend of the surveyed population. A total sample of 397 people was resident in the farm, of which 40 per cent were males while 60 per cent were females. Figure 12 show that 50 per cent were under the age of 16 years and another 50 per cent were 16 years and above. The average household size was 7 per household.

Figure 12: Sample population distribution by age and sex



	Dambarton	Hibbo	Honyobwe	Kushinga	Mathe	Rubweruchena	Shayamavhudzi	Station	Total
Percentage Male	18%	6%	9%	10%	14%	16%	16%	11%	40%
Percentage Female	17%	8%	11%	10%	12%	11%	21%	12%	60%
Percentage Under16 Years	16%	6%	12%	7%	13%	14%	22%	10%	50%
Percentage above 16 Adults	19%	8%	8%	13%	13%	11%	16%	13%	50%

Table 10 shows high literacy levels of the sample population overall with 80 per cent people who had attained primary, secondary and tertiary education. Only 18 per cent had no schooling and 3 per cent had pre-primary education. The bulky of household members with no schooling and pre-primary education were young children who were still to go to school. School dropouts were also on the rise due to increasing drought and lack of financial support for school fees from government and development partners, forcing them to engage in paid labour in the small-scale gold mining at an early age.

Table 10: Sample population's highest level of education

Highest Level of Education	Total Persons	Percentage of Persons with Highest Level of Education
Primary	168	42%
Secondary	146	37%
No Schooling	70	18%
Pre-Primary	10	3%
Tertiary	3	1%
Total	**397**	**100%**

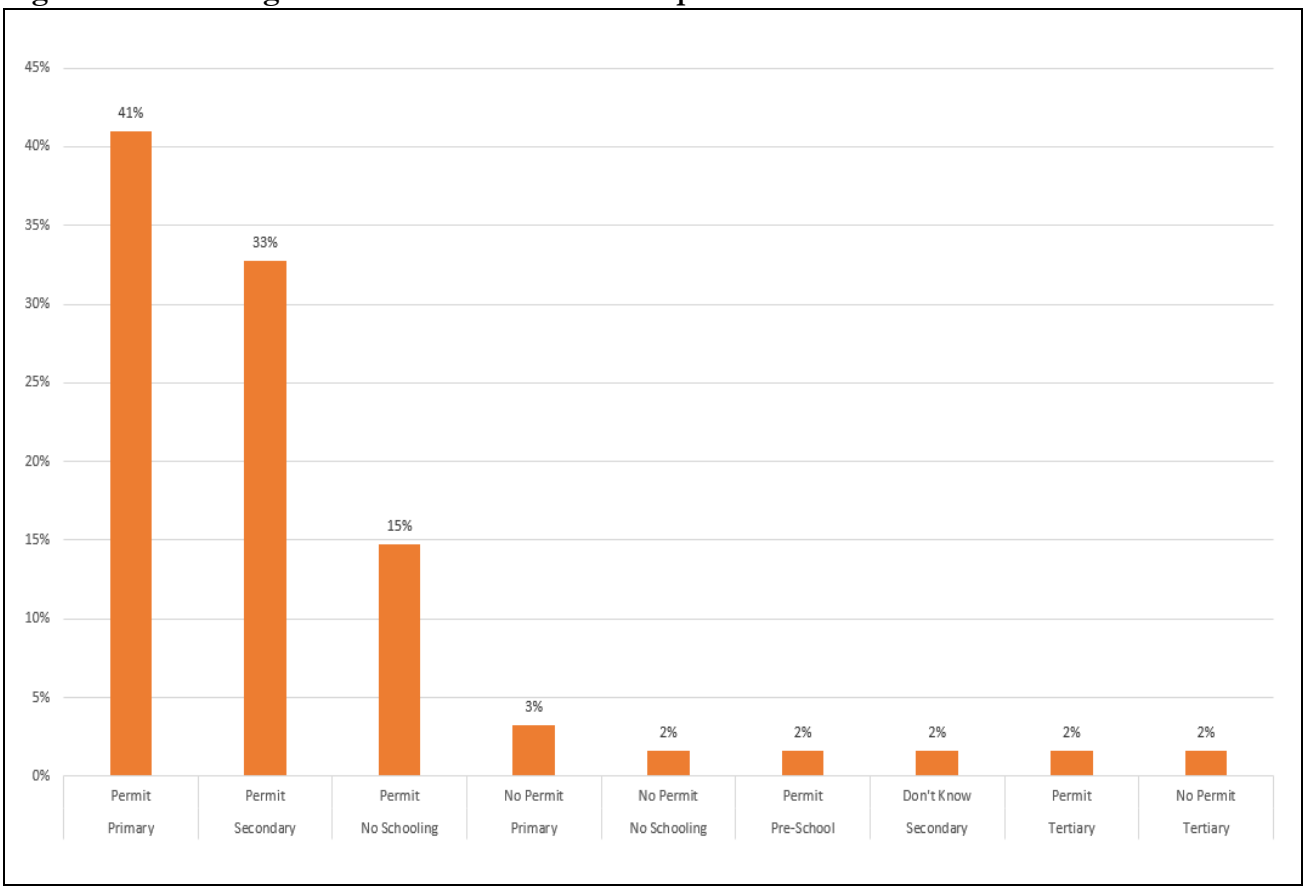
Table 11 show that 25 and 11 per cent women with primary and secondary education had permits independently and jointly, respectively. This proved that education played a vital role in empowering women as they easily understand the importance of ensuring that their names should be registered on the land permits. Also 11 per cent of women with no school had permits independently.

Table 11: Percentage educated women with land permits

Respondent highest level of education	Tenure status	Name on permit	Total	Percentage
Primary	Permit	Wife	15	25%
No School	Permit	Wife	7	11%
Secondary	Permit	Both	7	11%
Secondary	Permit	Relative/Family Member	6	10%
Primary	Permit	Both	5	8%
Primary	Permit	Relative/Family Member	4	7%
Secondary	Permit	Wife	4	7%
Primary	No Permit	No Permit	2	3%
No School	Permit	Both	1	2%
No School	Permit	Relative/Family Member	1	2%
No School	No Permit	No Permit	1	2%
Pre-School	Permit	Wife	1	2%
Primary	Permit	Husband	1	2%
Secondary	Don't Know	Don't Know	1	2%
Secondary	Permit	Husband	1	2%
Secondary	Permit	Relative/Family Member	1	2%
Secondary	Permit	Husband	1	2%
Tertiary	Permit	Both	1	2%
Tertiary	No Permit	No Permit	1	2%
Total			**61**	**100%**

Figure 13 show that 67 per cent women with primary, secondary and tertiary education had permits at 41, 33 and 2 per cent respectively. Also, 15 per cent of women with no school had permits.

Figure 13: Percentage educated women with land permits



4.3 LAND REFORM

Some of the key things that were important in this study and needed to be established were land access, tenure status, land rights and control over land because central to land reforms was the tenure status and rights that governs ownership, access to land as well as use, transfer and exclusion rights over land. There were four (4) indicators to land reforms particularly landownership: land access, tenure status, land rights and control over land and understanding these aspects help us figure out the level and form of women empowerment achieved through the FTLRP. The distribution independently or jointly of land ownership by gender provided a good measure of women empowerment because beneficiaries of the FTLRP were not homogenous, they included elites with political connections who got multiple bigger farms but the biggest number of beneficiaries is made up of predominantly rural people with farming background (Moyo et al 2009; Moyo 2011).

4.3.1 LAND ACCESS

While there were three forms of obtaining land: purchase from the market, through family or social network allocation and government assisted allocations, in Sub-division A of Clonmore Farm, the primary vehicle for land reform was through FTLRP "Jambaja" particularly from 1999, 2000 and 2001 at 8, 85 and 5 percent respectively constituting 98

percent as shown in table 12. The reminder 2 percent of the land was allocated in 2013 through the headmen. The decline in land allocation was because most of the available land had been taken up.

Table 12: Land acquisition and resettlement timelines

Year respondent move to stand	Total	Percentage respondent moved to stand	Year respondent got stand	Total	Percentage respondent got stand
1999	0	0%	1999	5	8%
2000	34	56%	2000	52	85%
2001	4	7%	2001	3	5%
2002	5	8%	2002	0	0%
2003	2	3%	2003	0	0%
2004	4	7%	2004	0	0%
2005	2	3%	2005	0	0%
2006	1	2%	2006	0	0%
2007	2	3%	2007	0	0%
2009	1	2%	2008	0	0%
2010	1	2%	2009	0	0%
2012	4	7%	2010	0	0%
2013	1	2%	2013	1	2%
Total	**61**	**100%**	**Total**	**61**	**100%**

Table 12 also show that most of the women at 84 per cent who acquired land settled in their stands by 2005 with the remaining 16 per cent settling from 2006 to 2013. Some women took time to settle in their new stands because they lacked resources to build housing structures. However, with the threat of being dispossessed if they didn't settle on time, they were forced to build makeshift structures and settled in their newly-acquired land. Most of the women who settled after 2005 did so through marriage because the bulk of the land was acquired by 2001.

Table 13 illustrate that while 95 per cent of the land was obtained through allocation by war veterans and DLC (Jambaja and Family or Social Networks) 27% per cent of the land was later redistributed to beneficiaries through family and social networks. The headmen allocated 5 per cent of the land and this was deemed "illegal" because these stands were not surveyed, they didn't have stand numbers allocated to them hence owners could not apply for land permits.

Table 13: Marital status and how the land was allocated

Marital Status	How stand was allocated	Total	Percentage
Widowed	Jambaja	26	43%
Married	Jambaja	10	16%
Married	Family or social networks	9	15%
Widowed	Family or social networks	6	10%
Divorced	Jambaja	5	8%
Married	Traditional leaders – Headmen	3	5%
Never married	Jambaja	1	2%
Divorced	Family or social networks	1	2%
Total		**61**	**100%**

Table 14 show that by 2000, 55 per cent of the women in the widowed, married and divorced category at 31, 16 and 8 per cent respectively had settled in their land.

Table 14: Land resettlement timeline by marital status

Marital status	Year move to stand	Total	Percentage
Widowed	2000	19	31%
Married	2000	10	16%
Divorced	2000	5	8%
Widowed	2002	4	7%
Married	2012	3	5%
Married	2004	2	3%
Married	2007	2	3%
Widowed	2001	2	3%
Widowed	2004	2	3%
Widowed	2005	2	3%
Married	2001	1	2%
Married	2002	1	2%
Married	2003	1	2%
Married	2006	1	2%
Married	2013	1	2%
Never Married	2001	1	2%
Divorced	2010	1	2%
Widowed	2003	1	2%
Widowed	2009	1	2%
Widowed	2012	1	2%
Total		**61**	**100%**

4.3.2 LAND TENURE OR LAND OWNERSHIP

One of the key things that was important in this study was to establish the tenure status because it provided a measure and level of security to land and investment thereof. Secure land rights for small-holder farmers were building blocks for agricultural production and economic empowerment of rural households because they gave them greater incentive to make production enhancing investments since they were more confident to recoup those investment (Giovarielli. et. al., 2013). Boyce et. al., (2005) supported this view arguing that across the globe, small-scale farmers tended to consistently: grow more output per acre than large-scale farmers, when holding secure tenure land rights small-scale farmers were better environmental stewards, protecting and enhancing soil fertility, water quality and biodiversity hence, democratisation of access to land could be the cornerstone for rural sustainable development. Evidence around the world demonstrated that small, owner-operated farms typically produce more output per acre than large farms cultivated by means of wage labour or tenants due to: high cultivation intensity, high crop intensity, high value crop mix, and high yields per acre (Boyce et. al., 2005).

There were three land tenure schemes provided for in the FTLRP programme: A1 (villagisation) and A2 (individual plots of land classified as small, medium and large-scale

commercial farms) schemes as well as the Tier model (allocated commercial farms as additional grazing to an existing CA settlement). User permits were issued by the Ministry of Lands through the DLC on recommendation of village head or local councilor. A1 scheme had a 99 year lease while the A2 scheme had a 25 or 99 year lease with an option to purchase the land. Table 15 illustrate that most of the women at 33 and 20 per cent widowed and married respectively, own land in their own right independently or jointly because their names were on the land permits, hence had secure tenure status. While a significantly high percentage (52%) of widowed women own land, in 2 per cent widowed cases either both names were on the permit and in another 2 per cent widowed cases the husband's name was still on the permit although the spouse had since passed on. In a further 12 per cent cases the name on the permit was a relative or family member.

Table 15: Percentage land holdings held by women with permits

Marital Status	Tenure Status	Name on Permit	Total	Percentage
Widowed	Permit	Wife	20	33%
Married	Permit	Both	12	20%
Widowed	Permit	Relative/Family	7	12%
Married	Permit	Relative/Family	4	7%
Divorced	Permit	Wife	4	7%
Widowed	Don't Know	Relative/Family	3	5%
Married	Permit	Husband	2	3%
Married	Permit	Wife	2	3%
Married	Don't Know	Relative/Family	2	3%
Never Married	Permit	Wife	1	2%
Divorced	Permit	Both	1	2%
Divorced	Permit	Relative/Family	1	2%
Widowed	Permit	Both	1	2%
Widowed	Permit	Husband	1	2%
Total			61	100%

While the majority of married women had joint titling, in 3 per cent cases the name on the permit was either the wife's or the husband's while in 7 per cent cases the name on the permit was a relative or family member. 7 per cent widowed women own land in their own right independently because their names were on the permit, however in 2 per cent cases either the husband's name was on the permit or a relative or a family member had the name on the permit.

The respondents pointed out the following problems they encountered in relation to land permit allocation:

I. There were two wives' but the permit was in the husband's name alone although he was deceased.
II. One woman was staying on the stand and keeping it for the family hence the permit was not in her name.
III. There were two co-wives residing at the stand and the permit was in both their names, however one of the women had health problems and although they shared the stand she didn't get any assistance from the co-wife and her family.

IV. The stand was given to the woman by her mother but the headman registered the stand in someone else's name on the permit, effectively stealing the stand from her although she was staying on it.
V. Four (4) stands were reserved for government officials and this caused conflict within the farm community.
VI. The mother registered her stand in her son's name on the permit to avoid problems associated with women land ownership if the stand was in her name.
VII. In some cases, the stand was registered in a relative's name on the permit (father, mother, father-in-law and/or mother-in-law), for married, divorced and widowed women hence they didn't have secure tenure status and effective control over the land.
VIII. The stand was registered in the name of mother-in-law and there was trouble ever since her son passed on. The mother-in-law wanted to evict her daughter-in-law from the stand and the case had to be resolved by the Ministry of Lands effectively giving the daughter-in-law secure land rights over the land, hence she was in the process of registering it in her name.
IX. The stand was registered in her deceased husband's name on the permit and change of ownership was supposed to be processed when the death certificate had been obtained but her husband's relatives were refusing to assist her to obtain the death certificate. Husband's relatives were required to sign death notification forms as witnesses because the husband died at home in the CAs as opposed to a hospital or healthcare centre which provides such certification.
X. Five (5) stands that were allocated by headmen were still awaiting formal approval, registration and allocation of stand numbers by the District Lands Committee. However, the DLC and the Ministry of Lands insisted that these allocations were "illegal" hence they were not recognized and won't be allocated stand numbers and permits and whoever own these stands had no legal recourse when they were disposed. All together records show that a total of 79 stands were in this predicament

4.3.3 Land Rights and Control Over land

In view of the above, it was also important to establish land rights because they provided access to a variety of legitimate claims to land and the benefits produced from that land (Schlager and Ostrom 1992, Mainze-Dick et al 1997). A total of 100 per cent women respondents indicated that they were highly satisfied with the land allocated to them as they expressed that; now they have their own land; most of the women used to survive on piece work but now they survive working their own land; now they have more land than they previously had in the CAs. Benefits accruing from the allocated land included agricultural products and access to non-agricultural wildlife, grazing lands and minerals particularly gold. Mining permits could be obtained within or outside the allocated land in the arable or grazing lands.

There was legal recourse for any land allocation disputes through the Ministry of Lands and the DLC as well as courts, however some women were either ignorant of the procedures they should take to get resolution to their problems or they were afraid to tackle men or their relatives, and especially in-laws. Most of the women felt more empowered and acknowledged that they had secure tenure status because their names were on the permits; hence they were willing to do anything to protect their rights to land.

4.4 HOME OWNERSHIP

One of the key things that was important in this study to establish was owner-occupied homes because according to Lastrarria-Cornhiel (2013) as rural households become more feminised and the role of women in agriculture increases, land as a secure place to raise families and as a base for diversified livelihood strategies become more important, particularly for women since they were majorly responsible for family welfare. Most of the women who benefited from the FTLRP had secure tenure status particularly those whose names were registered on the permit hence; they highly value their land and dwelling units' property. Table16 show that 79 per cent respondents didn't want to answer the question about the value of their land and dwelling units' property if they decided to sell, because they thought it was a hoax by which their land could be repossessed and taken away from them. Even under repeated assurances respondents indicated that they never contemplated selling their much prized land. The most common answers to this question were:

"*This land is my life, this land is for my children, where will I go with my family if I sell my land, if I sell this land I will suffer, this is the only available place for me to live with my family so I can't sell, I don't see myself selling this stand unless everybody in the family is dead*".

Table 16 also illustrate that 79 per cent respondents attach the value of their life as the market value to their land and dwellings. Those who responded that they "Don't Know" were mainly in the category of those who were keeping the land for relatives, hence they could not attach any value to the land since it was a temporary arrangement and the land was going to be taken away from them any time. Those who indicated low prize values at 15 per cent were mainly embroiled in disputes or misunderstandings with family over land, hence low values of up to US$3000 reflected their eagerness to get rid of the land and salvage something. For some respondents, low values were an indication of ignorance to market prices attached to land and dwellings.

Table 16: Estimated market land values

Estimated value of property in US Dollar	Total	Percentage estimated value of property in US Dollar
I will Never sell my land in my life	48	79%
USD1000	2	3%
USD1500	2	3%
USD2000	2	3%
USD2500	2	3%
Don't Know	1	2%
USD3000	1	2%
USD15000	1	2%
USD20000	1	2%
USD50000+	1	2%
Total	**61**	**100%**

Beneficiaries built permanent housing structures once they secured the land and got assurances from the government that the FTLRP was irreversible. Figure 14 show that 98 per cent of the main dwellings were constructed of bricks.

Figure 14: Materials used to build the main dwelling structure

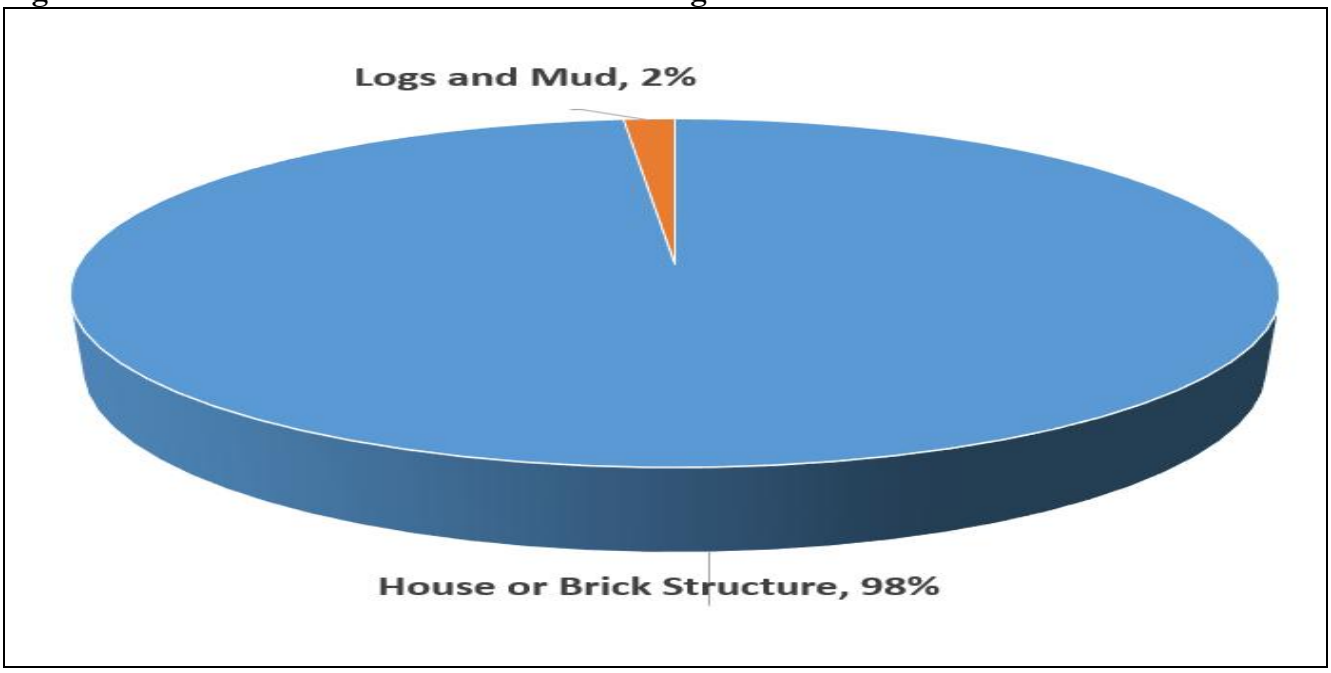
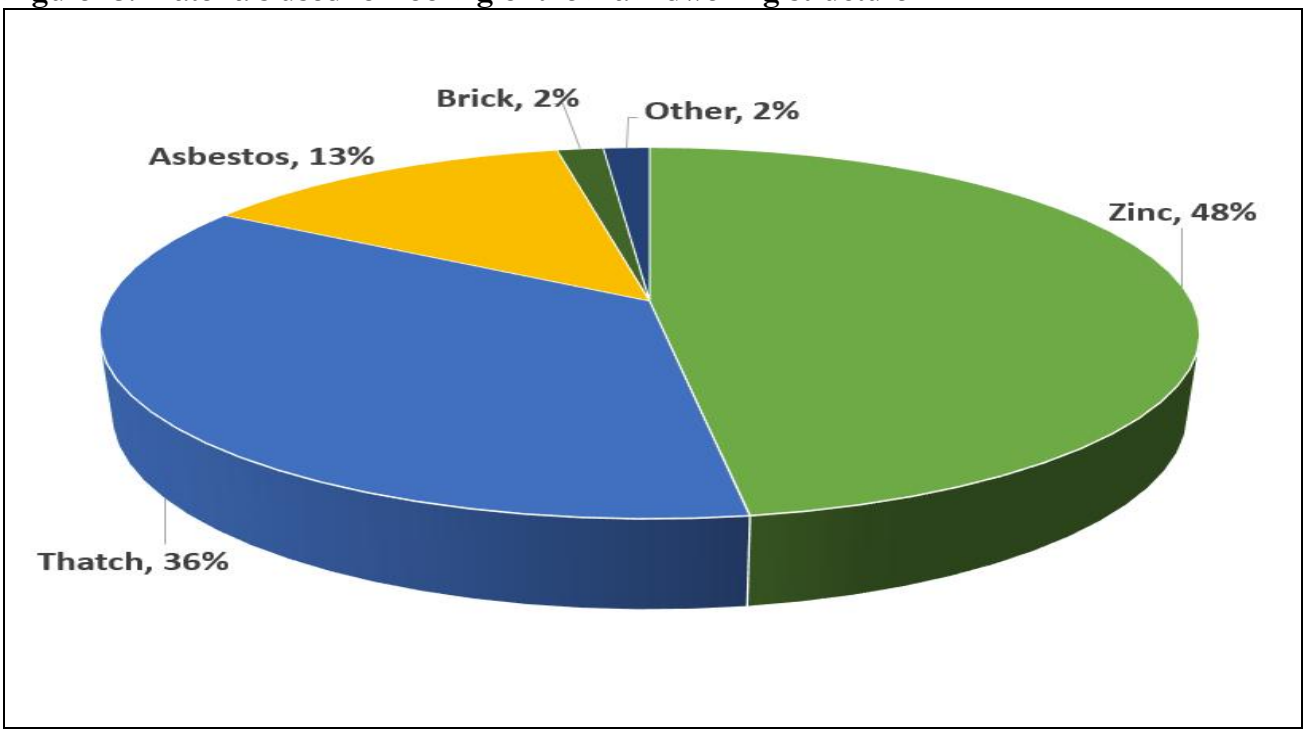


Figure 15 show that 61 per cent of the main dwellings had either zinc (48%) or asbestos (13%) roofing materials reflecting decent housing conditions. This also indicated that living conditions for households in this area were moderate because households could afford to pay for these expenses. Bricks were produced locally so they were not expensive to procure, while roofing materials could be bought in local hardware shops.

Figure 15: Materials used for roofing of the main dwelling structure

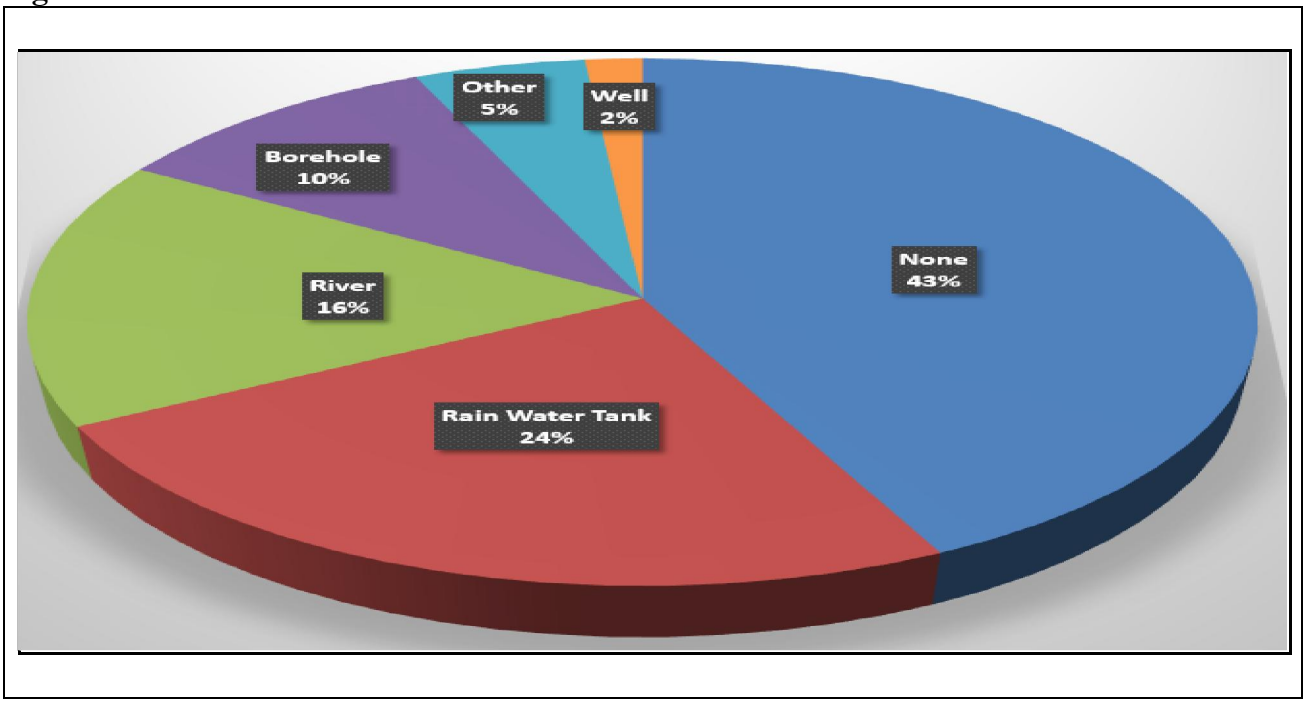


4.5 SERVICES

In view of the above, it was also important to establish the services and facilities that enhance livelihood portfolios and welfare of the established community. There were no nearby schools; however Zvavashe Secondary and Kushinga Primary schools were under construction near Yorks Business Centre. The two schools were already in operation although not yet completed due to financial constraints because they were financed by the community. The nearest Chingezi Clinic was more than 10 kilometers away.

All households got their water from the boreholes for both domestic and livestock. This was problematic because 43 per cent of the households didn't have alternative sources of water which meant they had to travel longer distances to get water for their livestock and domestic use. Figure 16 show that except for tap water at 10 per cent other alternative sources of water like the rain water from tanks, rivers and wells at 24, 16 and 2 per cent respectively were temporary and were only available during the rainy seasons.

Figure 16: Alternative sources of water for households



A total of 100 per cent households used wood as their energy for cooking and heating. Figure 26 show that for lighting, the majority of households used the normal or phone torch, solar and paraffin or diesel or petrol at 77, 13 and 7 per cent respectively.

Figure 17: Sources of energy or fuel for cooking, heating and lightning

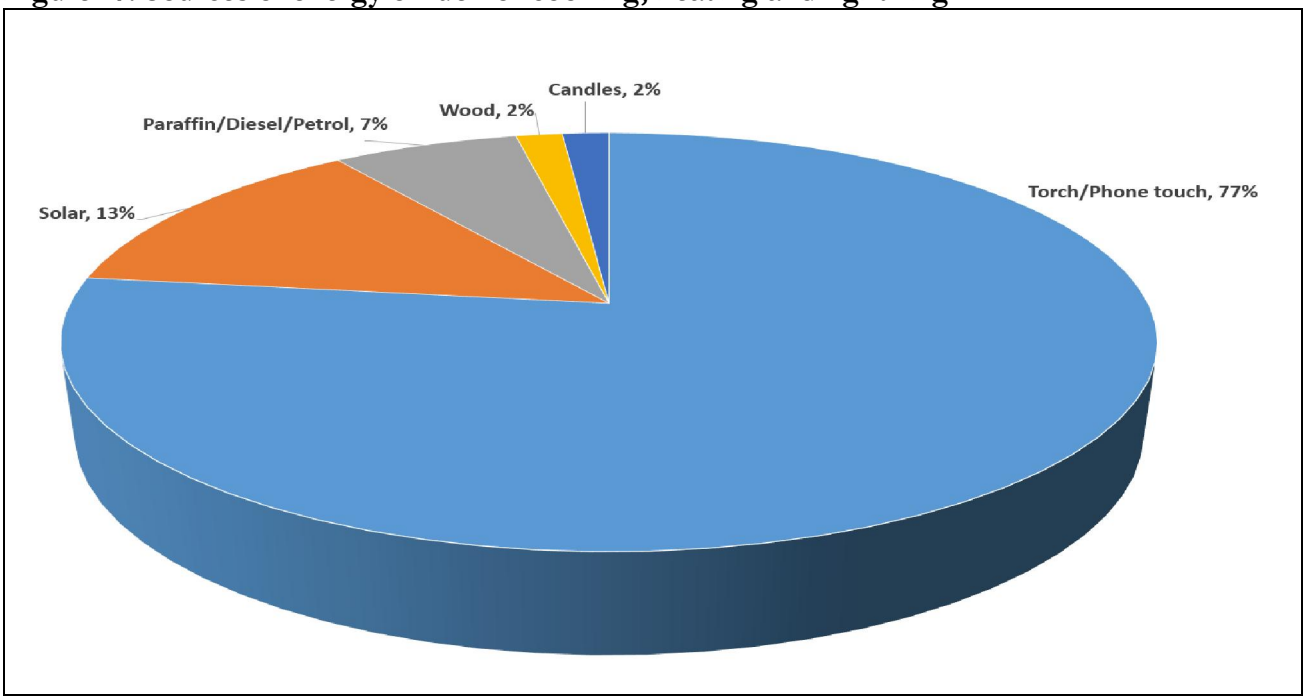


Figure 18 show distances travelled by households to fetch water and wood. The distances travelled provide a good indicator of the time taken by women each day fetching either wood or water which negatively impacted on some of their household chores. 66 per cent of the households fetched their water within a radius of two (2) kilometres while a total of 94 per cent fetched their water within a radius of four (4) kilometres. The remainder 6 per cent of the households fetched water over more than four (4) kilometres. The majority of households at 54 per cent travelled up to two (2) kilometres to fetch wood while a total of 82 per cent travelled up to four (4) kilometres to fetch wood. The remainder 8 per cent travelled more than four (4) kilometres.

Figure 18: Distances travelled by households to fetch water and wood

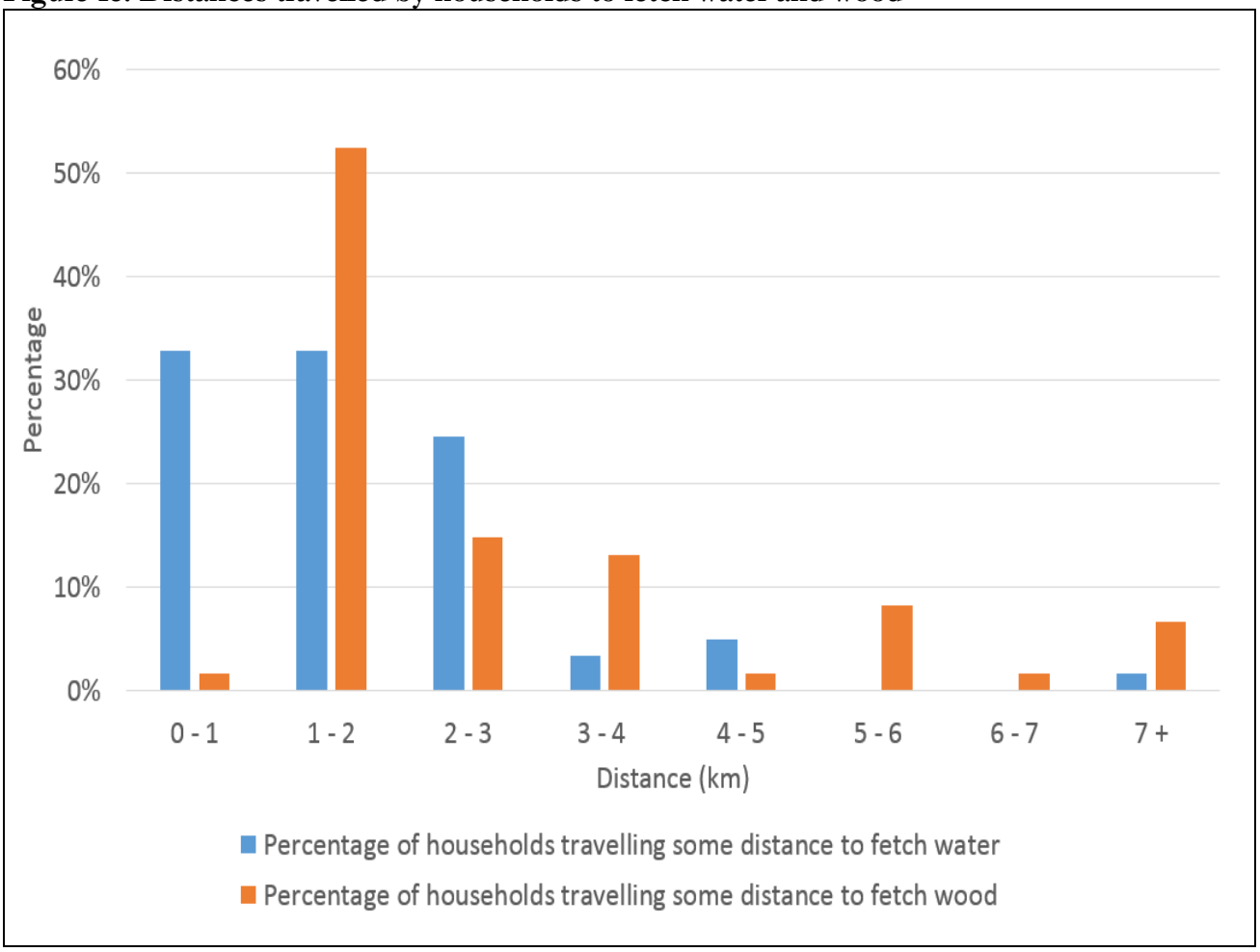
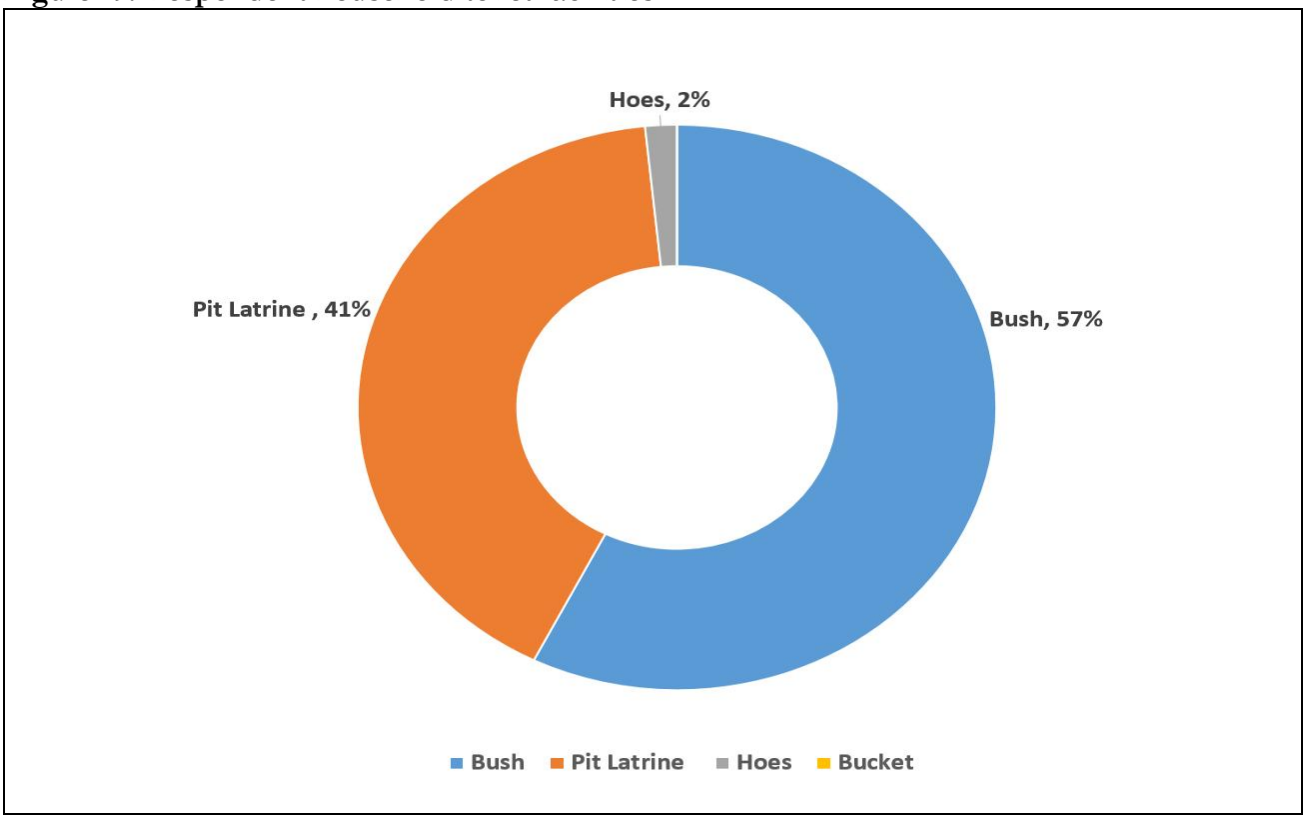


Figure 19 show that 57 per cent households used the bush as their toilet facilities although most of them had already dug toilet pits. Households with pit latrines were 41 per cent while 2 per cent used hoes to dig small pits and bury their waste. The high percentage of single women households without proper toilet facilities was in stark contrast with the high proportion of pit latrines within the study area especially compared to households of married couples as noted during transect walks and personal observations.

Figure 19: Respondent household toilet facilities



4.6 Asset Accumulation and Household Resilience

It was of paramount importance for this study to find out about assets because they constitute stocks which are also considered to be more stable than either income or expenditure measures, hence asset ownership gave a better picture of the capacity of people to manage their vulnerability to poverty.

Figure 20 shows that 59 per cent households own property valued from zero (0) up to US2 500 and 25 per cent own property valued between US$2 500 and US$5 000. Most of the property was acquired after the household settled in the farm and these assets were a measure of the households' welfare and well-being. In comparison the majority of female-headed households were relatively poor compared with the general community welfare as noted from transect walks and participant observations. The household goods items included: motorcar, donkey cart, wheel barrow, plough, hoes, television, radio, cell phone, bicycle, refrigerator, electric or gas stove and computer as well as household goods like beds and pots. The top five (5) household items were wheel barrow, plough, hoes, radio and cell phone apart from beds and pots.

Figure 20: Household estimated property values

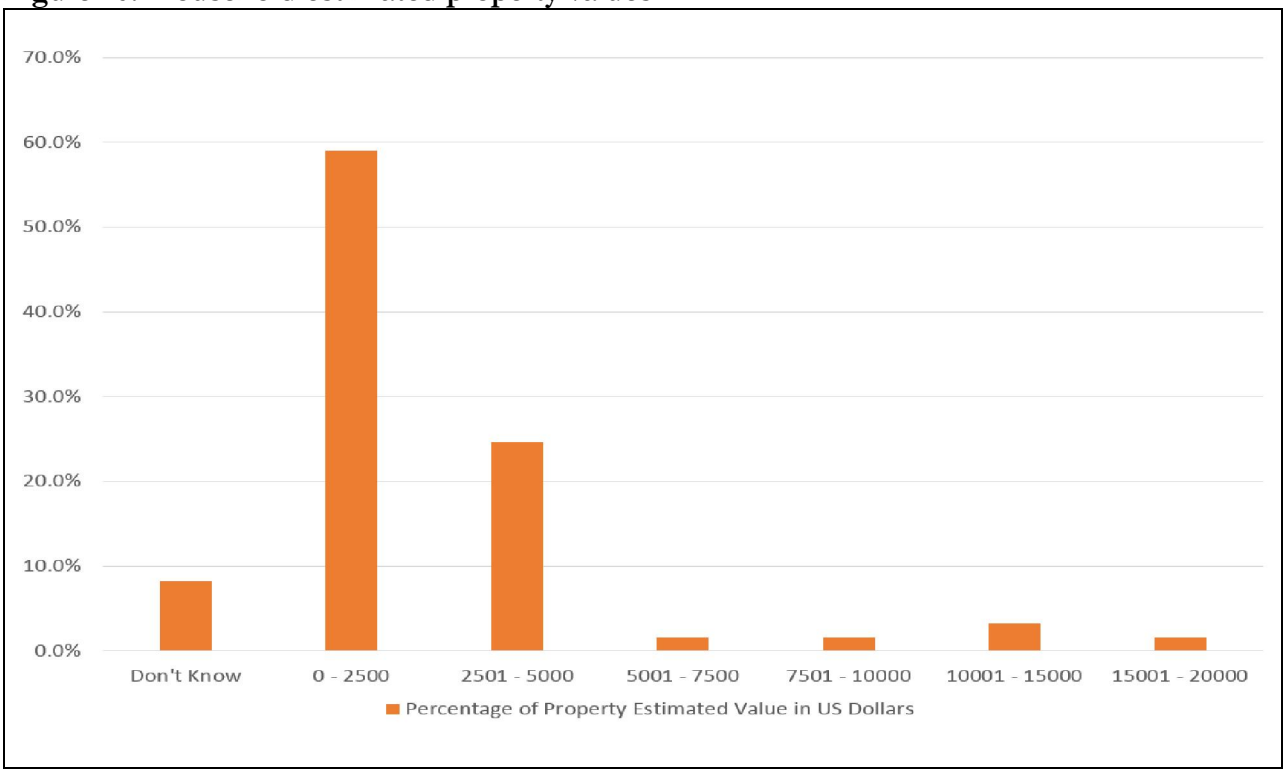


Figure 21 shows that 24 per cent of households had no goats, 26 per cent had between 1 and 5 goats, while 50 per cent had 6 or more goats.

Figure 21: Percentage households by marital status owning goats in a given range

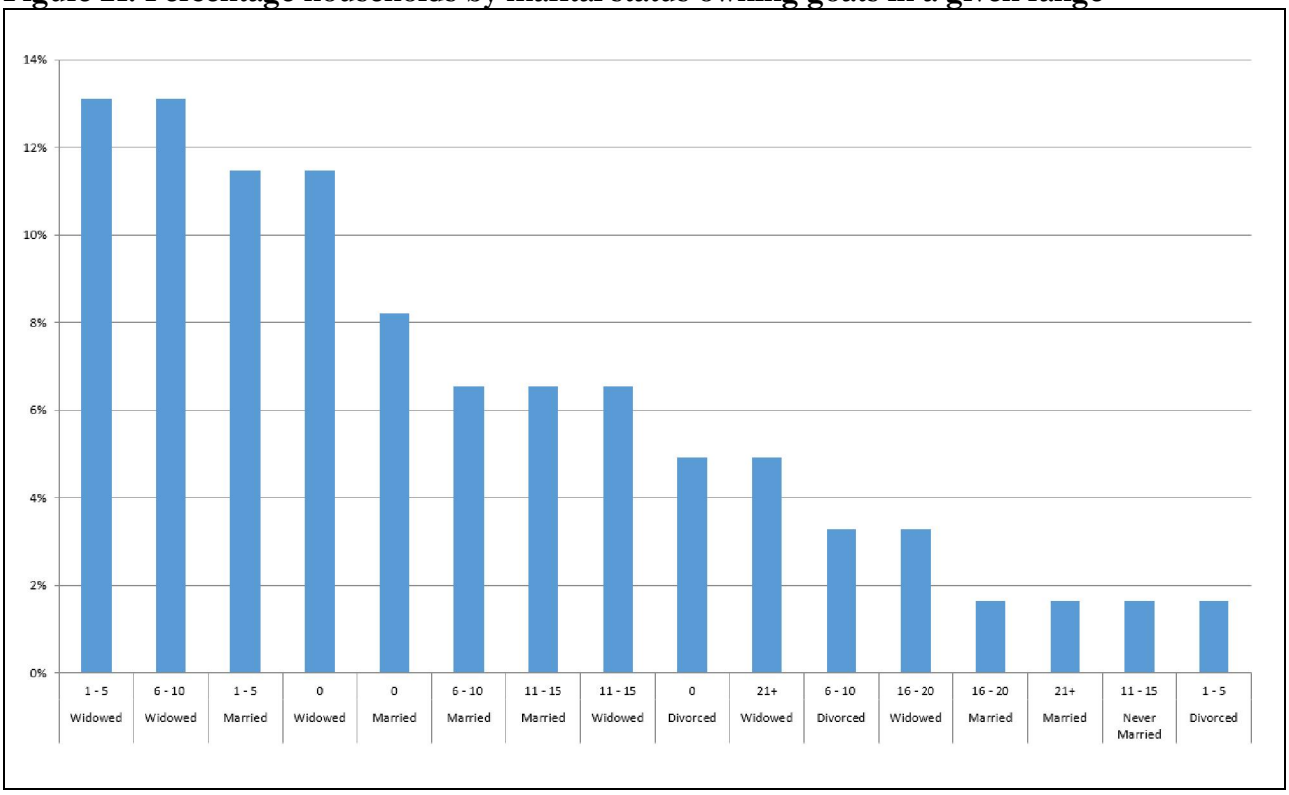


Figure 22 shows that 30 per cent of households had no cattle, 44 per cent had between 1 and 5 cattle, while 26 per cent had 6 or more cattle. Apart from providing draught power, cattle also provided various products such as milk and meat. This meant that 30 per cent of the households didn't have draught power which compromised their agricultural activities during the ploughing season.

Figure 22: Percentage households by marital status owning cattle in a given range

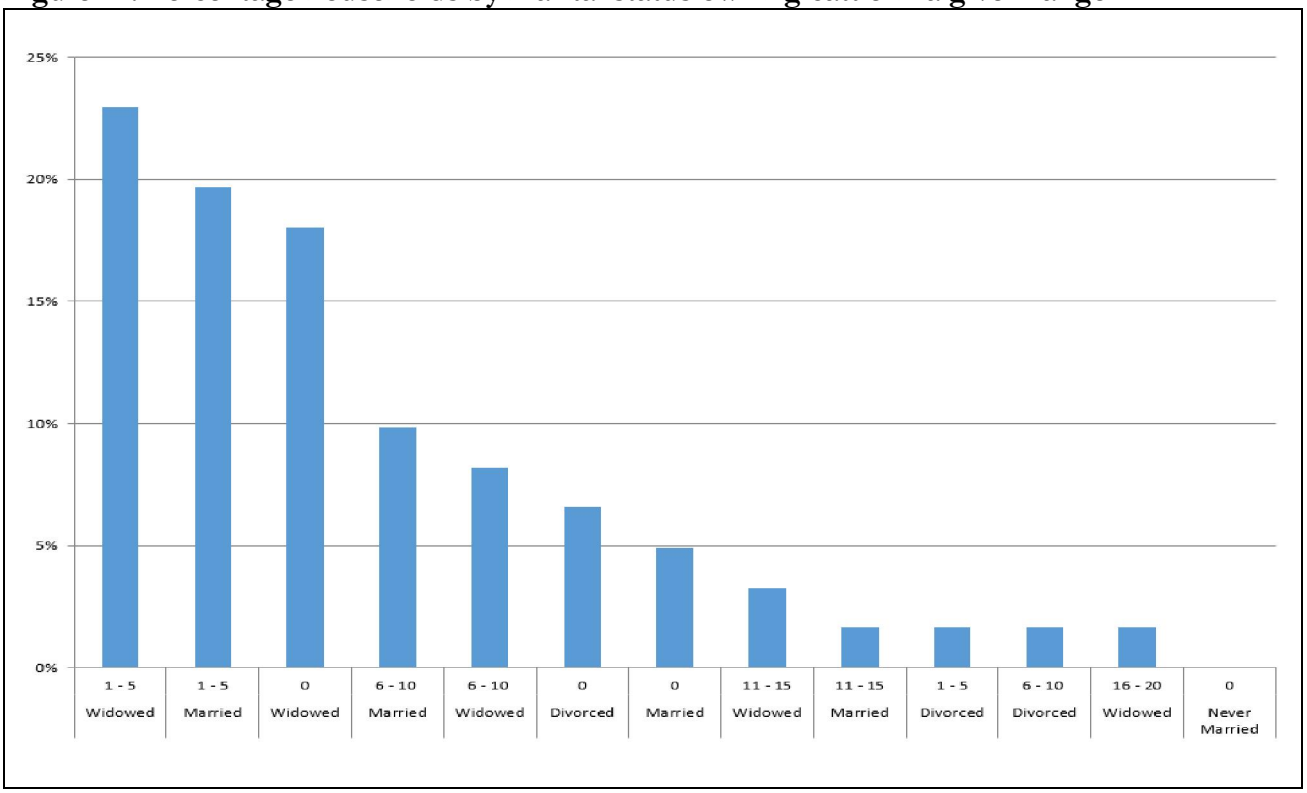


Figure 23 show that 85.2 percent households had no donkeys. Over and above owning cattle, donkeys also provide draught power for various household activities.

Figure 23: Percentage households owning donkeys

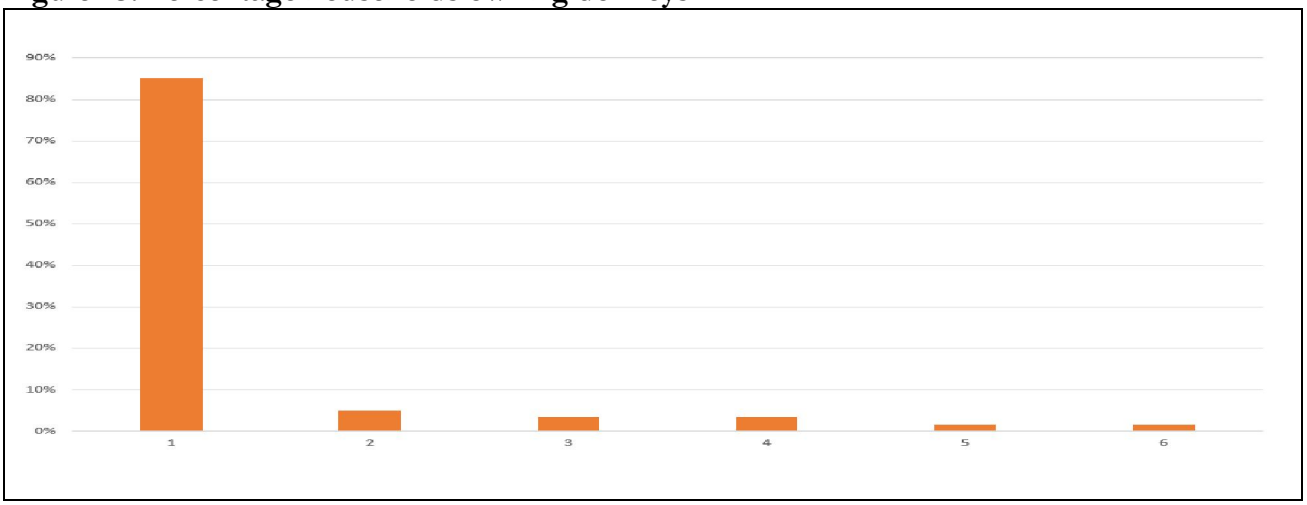
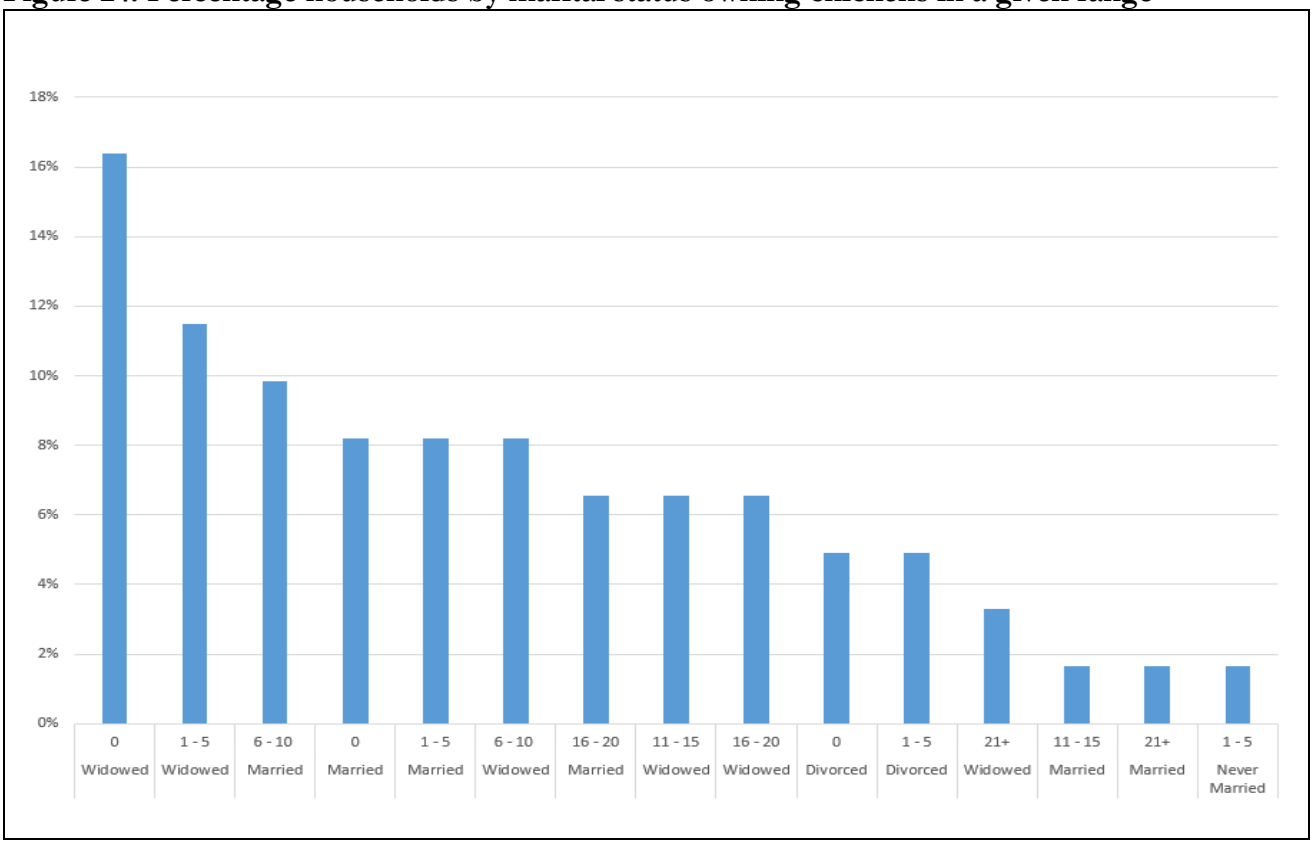


Figure 24 shows that 30 per cent of households had no chicken, 26 per cent had between 1 and 5 chickens, while 44 per cent had 6 or more chicken. Chicken provide a source of income during shock and also could be consumed as part of the relish.

Figure 24: Percentage households by marital status owning chickens in a given range



4.7 FTLRP CHALLENGES AND ASSISTANCE TO BENEFICIARIES

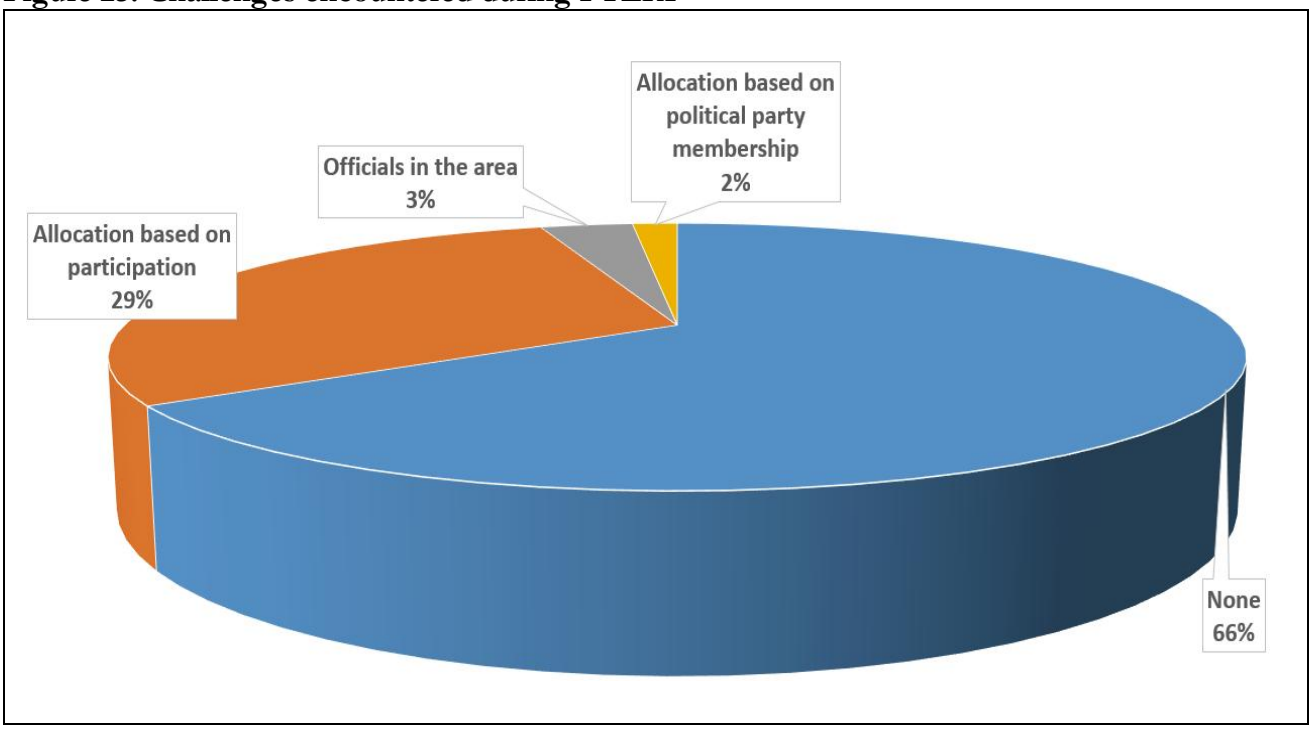
Some of the key things that required to be established in this study were the challenges and assistance offered to the FTLRP beneficiaries because this provided an insight and explanation why the programme would be a success or failure. The struggle for land acquisition and its allocation brought with it its own share of problems during and after the land was acquired. Assistance was also offered to land beneficiaries during and after the land was acquired. The problems and assistance provided to land beneficiaries are discussed hereunder including recommendations as explained by women participants and key informants.

4.7.1 CHALLENGES DURING AND AFTER FTLRP

In view of the above, challenges encountered during the FTLRP were manifest in the fact that the majority of beneficiaries including women acquired land through active participation during FTLRP. Figure 25 show that 30 per cent women participated in the

FTLRP hence they had to walk long distances in excess of 15 kilometres from their CAs to the farm although some were pregnant and/or had health problems. With lack of financial resources, hiring, feeding and paying people to clear the land was a challenge because the land was a jungle of thorny trees at the time of land allocation. The farm is located a relatively dry area and water was a problem to those actively participating in the land invasions.

Figure 25: Challenges encountered during FTLRP



The initial problem during farm invasion was from the farm manager who was hostile and harassed people to the point that one woman indicated that her husband was detained and was later rescued by war veterans. While the government actively supported land invasions, war veterans allocated land based on first come first serve basis. Although the farm manager was hostile in the initial stages, he eventually caved in and assisted those who invaded the farm with water because this is a drought-stricken area with serious water problems. A total of 66 per cent respondents felt there were no serious problems encountered during the farm invasion. Those who were allocated land, one of the major problems was to clear the thorny trees in preparation for building dwellings and cultivated land.

Challenges encountered after the FTLRP included: insufficient grazing land, shortage of water, conflicts due to overlapping land and mining permits, family or kinship conflicts, lack of sufficient government support, problems with government officials and local leaders and customary laws not aligned to secular laws.

Inhabitants of the Sub-division A of Clonmore Farm complained that grazing land was far for livestock, about 12–15 kilometres, because people in the villages to the north of the

farm abandoned their old fields and invaded the grazing lands forcing livestock to graze in faraway places to the north. To compound the problem, the invasion of grazing lands reduced the size of grazing land and its carrying capacity for the livestock forcing them to travel long distances to get proper and adequate pastures.

The area is in a drought-prone zone hence water shortages were prevalent. The main source of water for both domestic and livestock were boreholes but because they were over utilised, they broke down frequently, forcing people and livestock to walk long distances. During the dry season, livestock walked even longer distances to get water from faraway places and were likely to get lost or stolen. Livestock thus drunk water in places that were in excess of 10 kilometres away during the dry or drought season.

Mining emerged as one of the lucrative off-farm income, generating economic activity due to widespread discovery of small-scale gold deposits. There were fierce contestations for mining rights and women faced serious challenges to access mineral deposits because this depended on getting mining permits and having appropriate management skills. Women also faced widespread police harassment and disputes with local people especially men. These problems were caused by overlapping permits between land ownership and mining rights. Women keeping the land for their relatives were worse off because they had problems with the owners of the land if they mined the gold mineral. Mining also brought the problems of gulleys and dongas because people dug mines and neglected to rehabilitate the land once the minerals were exhausted. The Mining Company operating in one of the villages replaced the borehole with tap water and the Mining Company ration water to surrounding households forcing people to go for as many as three (3) days without water. Police were also a problem because they harass people for mining licences and seize their mining proceeds and women were worse off during these harassments.

There were a number of family related problems that were being encountered by women in the new settlements because historically under customary law, the person who inherited was the heir (indlalifa in Ndebele or mudyi wenhaka in Shona) and usually this was the first boy in the family regardless of age. He was supposed to take the responsibility of his deceased father and take care of his mother and siblings. He could however decide not to care for them. This traditional practice has since been superseded by the Administration of Estates Amendment Act Number 6 of 1997 which allows the surviving spouse in a customary marriage/union and family to inherit. This law applies to those married under the Customary Marriage Act chapter 5.07 (formally Chapter 238), if the deceased and surviving spouse lived a customary law lifestyle prior to death and lived together as husband and wife. Some of the problems included one instance where the husband passed on but pension could not be processed for the widow because the husband's family didn't want to help with processing of the death certificate. In another instance the husband died and the widow had problems registering the stand in her own name because the stand was in the mother-in-law's name. Yet in another case, when the husband died relatives wanted to repossess the stand but the case was resolved in Mberengwa by the DLC and Ministry of Lands and she was processing the change of ownership of the stand into her own name on

the permit. One widow explained that her house burnt down and she had no one to assist her to rebuild it. Some women lamented that their extended families did not assist with cattle rearing or to farm or help them plough the land including support with inputs like building materials, farming equipment, cattle, food and seeds.

The majority of single women lamented lack of sufficient government support because land allocation was based on participation. In some cases beneficiaries discovered that their stands were stolen by others who colluded with government officials. Some beneficiaries felt that government needs to ensure fairness on land allocation. Beneficiaries also pointed out lack of government support and access to inputs like building materials, farming equipment, cattle, food, fertilizer and seeds. They also felt that there was limited government support with resources specifically targeting women. Single women complained that the government was not providing targeted welfare support with food and seeds, including farming. Many people lacked farming resources and support from government and development partners. Cooperatives and payment in kind (which is called food-for-work) was required to sustain single women during drought periods because in most instances they didn't have partners who helped them. Lack of water and farming equipment strained women as they failed to maximise their outputs because they spent much of their time travelling long distances to fetch water and collect firewood. Lack of government support in clearing of allocated land and invasion by wild animals also a strained women and much of the land remains under-utilised. Some women had to lease cattle (Muraga) for cultivating but the terms were not favourable to women. Some of the women were unfortunate because their livestock died and had to struggle during the farming season because of lack of farm equipment hence they failed to effectively work on their allocated land. Due to lack of financial support from government to pay fees for children of single women, some of their children were dropouts from school, forcing them into gold panning at very young ages (below the legal age of employment). Government focused its support on vulnerable households especially the elderly and indigent households through welfare that included farm equipment, seeds and crop markets and did not target women. There were problems during re-pegging of stands resulting in many single women complaining that their stands were reduced in sizes.

Some women beneficiaries indicated that they were having problems with government officials and local authorities especially headmen who they accused of reducing the size of their allocated stands. Women complained that some men were getting stands because they were government officials or employees, and also felt men were still discriminating against them on various aspects and activities, hence the need for protection from local officials. One woman indicated that her mother gave her the land but the headman and government officials colluded and registered the stand in someone else's name.

Some of the single women reported that they had health problems such as swollen legs; blindness and accident induced health problems hence they found difficulties performing certain tasks without assistance. This results in food shortage and lack of adequate harvest

as they could not engage in income generating activities hence they were appealing for assistance.

Customary laws and gender biases were still affecting women because some of the single women indicated that they were discriminated on gender basis because their stands didn't have stand numbers and their pleas for this problem to be resolved were not being considered. Also the sizes of some of the single women's stands were reduced by headmen after their husbands died. Some of the single women indicated that their cattle were stolen and they were not getting any help in this regard from local leaders.

Figure 26: Challenges encountered after FTLRP

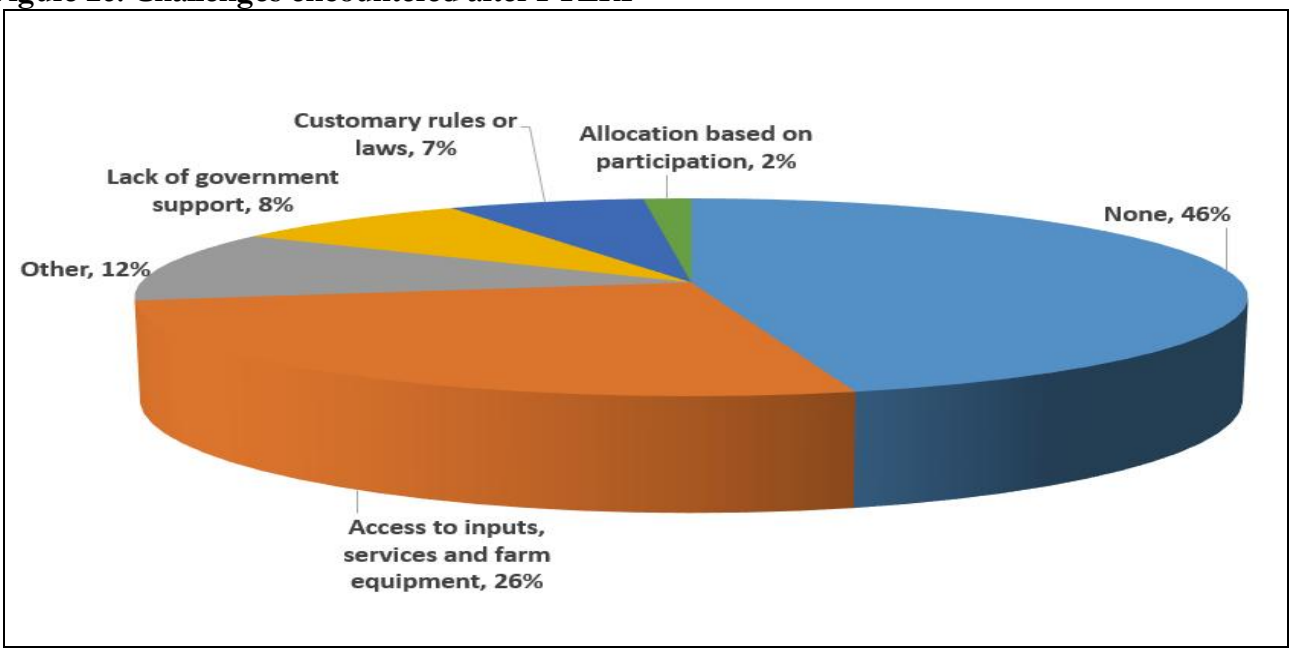
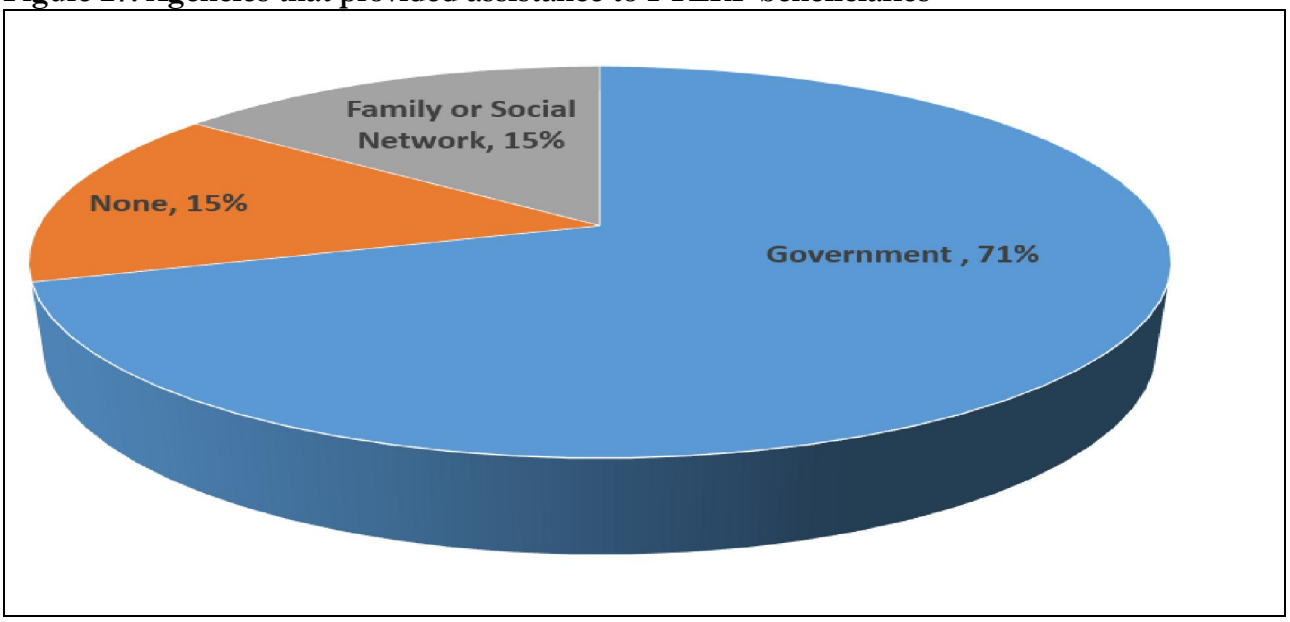


Figure 26 illustrate that 46 per cent of women felt there were no serious challenges after the FTLRP maybe because they were excited at getting land, 26 per cent reported challenges with access to inputs, services and farm equipment because they were eager to maximise their production, 8 per cent complained about lack of government support, 7 per cent reported challenges with customary law, and 12 per cent reported other challenges that included kinship and family related problems.

4.7.2 Assistance during and after FTLRP

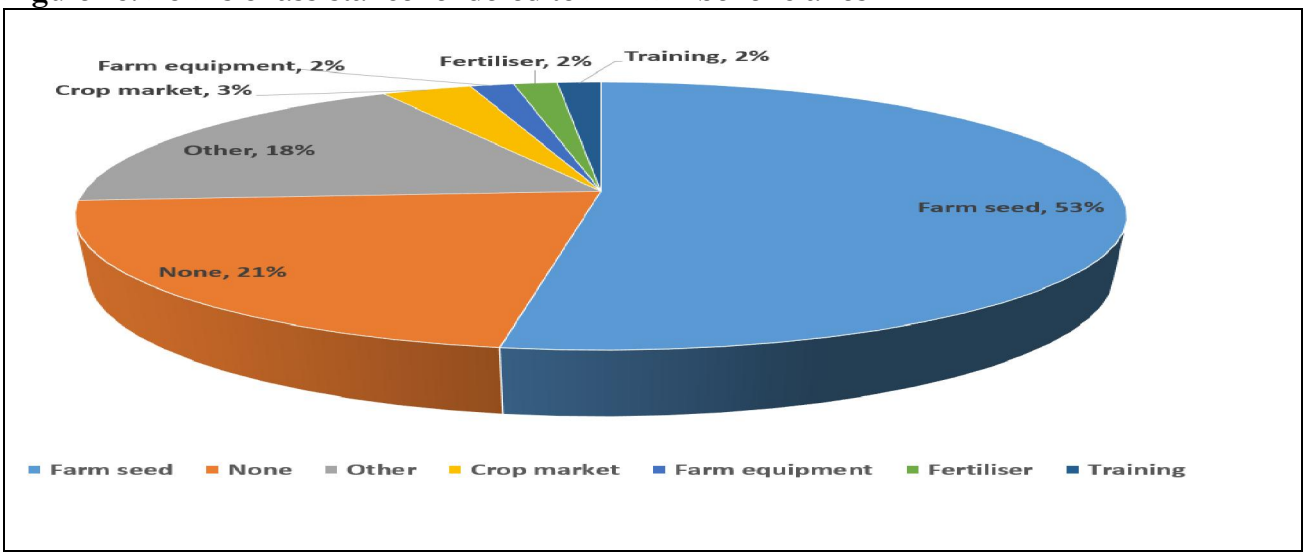
In view of the above challenges, various forms of assistance were provided to FTLRP beneficiaries during and after the land was allocated. Assistance during the course of the FTLRP included that from local authorities, government, social networks, water provision by farm management, clearing of the allocated land as well as provision of farming inputs. Figure 27 show that 71 per cent of FTLRP beneficiaries got government assistance through various government ministries and agencies after they had been allocated land. Fifteen per cent (15%) of the beneficiaries either got assistance from families and social network while another 15 per cent didn't get any assistance at all.

Figure 27: Agencies that provided assistance to FTLRP beneficiaries



During the FTLRP, the farm manager assisted land invaders with water at the bases. The government, chiefs and headmen supported farm invasions and were still assisting in the allocation of land to beneficiaries. Government assisted poor female-headed households with ploughing in the initial stages of land invasions. Government also supported land take-over and created institutions and provided mechanisms that ensured orderly distribution, auditing, verification, surveying, documenting stands owner's details as well as legal institutions for legal resolutions in cases of disputes. Family relations and social networks were used to assist one another during the farm invasions hence the resultant composition of land beneficiaries have close-knit and kin ties. Family and social network ties were used to assist with food and money and also clearing the land for building and farming.

Figure 28: Forms of assistance rendered to FTLRP beneficiaries



After the FTLRP headmen continued allocating land and also identifying needy households who got registered for programmes such as "Food for Work" or "Gulleys" where they were allocated work throughout the year and were paid 50kg maize per month, including 10 kg fertilizer and 10 kg seed, as and when it was available. Figure 28 shows that 53 per cent of beneficiaries were provided with seeds while 21 per cent didn't get any assistance. Another 18 per cent beneficiaries got some other forms of assistance which included cattle loans from other families, etc.

Government provided markets for farm produce, especially maize and other grain products through the Grain Marketing Board (GMB) and also supported needy households with food, fertilizer and seeds through social welfare programmes such as gulleys and Food-For-Work. In these social welfare programmes 50kg food (maize) per month was provided to needy and indigent households as well as senior citizens. The work ranged from rehabilitating roads, gulleys, water reservoirs, etc. On the other hand, senior citizens didn't have to work to get their allocations. Seeds and fertilizer were also provided to senior citizens and selected households on a rotational basis till all households in a particular village were covered over time. The institutions and mechanisms created by government in support of land take over were in full force and worked efficiently to ensure orderly distribution, auditing, verifying, surveying, documenting personal details of the owners of stands as well as legal resolutions to land disputes.

Through social networks, "Muraga" or leasing or renting livestock especially cattle helped some of the female-headed households because they got access to draught power which they used during the farming season. Leasing or renting cattle was a practice of renting cattle from households that had excess and after a certain period or when the cattle multiply; some of the calves were given to the family that rented the livestock as some form of payment. In most cases, family and social networks supported single women beneficiaries with food, seeds, money and cattle for farming. In some cases mothers, fathers, mothers-in-law and fathers-in-law gave their stands to the women beneficiaries including their sons who married women beneficiaries and further supported them with food, clothes and money.

There was a Lands Technical Officer resident at Yorks Business Centre hence, training was freely available on request and as per schedules to all community members. The majority of the women respondents indicated that training in agricultural and sustainable rural activities depended on personal needs. However, while most women indicated that training was helpful they rarely attended the training activities.

Women land beneficiaries' provided a range of recommendations on what needed to be done to improve their bargaining power and livelihood options or portfolios. Their recommendations included: initiation of projects or cooperatives, provision of services, support with farm equipment and inputs, employment, social welfare, community based awareness initiatives, assistance from government officials and community leaders, support with livestock, support during land allocation and in the mining sector

Initiation of projects and cooperatives was seen as one of the means or vehicle that will empower women to improve their livelihoods and effectively utilise the land allocated to them. Women respondents indicated that they needed community based clubs or projects to help them improve their livelihoods. These projects ranged from: chicken breeding, cooperatives if dams were built and water was available, vegetable gardening and irrigation scheme could be initiated including handwork projects like sawing and selling, baking bread and bans, rehabilitating roads and cutting grass for thatching as well as building materials. Most of the women indicated that the water problems needed to be solved because they travelled very far to fetch water. They also recommended assistance with sponsorship or start-up funds for businesses and/or projects like farming, clubs or stokvels. They recommended that government sponsor farming projects and support with payment of school fees, tractors, fertilizer, seeds and funds as well as services and markets.

Improved services was also seen as a vehicle that will enhance the quality of women's livelihoods because the majority of the single women lamented that they didn't have access to cattle for farming as well as dams and boreholes to draw water for domestic use and watering their vegetable gardens. They recommended that government should support women with access to finance so that they could invest in various projects. Government should provide additional services like clinics (or mobile clinics), cooperatives and clubs and improve the availability of water through building dams and boreholes so that projects like irrigation could be implemented. The majority of households indicated that they had dug pit latrines but required assistance with building materials for toilets. The area has termite problem which destroyed structures especially buildings so they needed assistance in solving the problem.

Provision of farming equipment and inputs is what the majority of women beneficiaries request to be assisted with during the rainy season for them to effectively utilise the land and maximise their outputs. One of the well to do respondent who has mining rights and has managed to gainfully acquire various assets such as lorries and electricity etc. from mining proceeds still lamented that she needs support with seeds, farming equipment and farm inputs from government because she had a huge extended family (16 household members) that she is looking after. Most of the single women requested government assistance with materials to build toilets, fencing and farm equipment.

Employment creation was also perceived as a pathway to improve single women's livelihoods because in the absence of husbands and/or live-in partners, single women strongly felt that government had to create jobs for school leavers because this would provide employment for their children who would assist in the subsistence of their households.

It was conspicuously clear that government was the major player providing assistance through social welfare to most of the households headed by the elderly, indigent and those suffering from various health problems (i.e. blind). Respondents indicated that NGOs were

providing support to CAs only to the exclusion of the newly-resettled farms because they didn't want to be involved in the politics of land reform. Most of the women respondents indicated that they needed government assistance with building materials for their toilets hence some used hoes to dig and bury their waste as toilet facilities. The majority of single women respondents were appealing that such welfare services like Food-For-Work (i.e. clubs and gulleys) programmes should involve them throughout the year until harvest time because that helped them with food security. They further indicated that they wanted government to support with school fees and food especially during drought years.

Community based awareness programmes were also recommended because of the rampant problems of land degradation through mining as well as condoms strewn everywhere due to widespread prostitution at the Yorks Business Centre. Women believe these problems were detrimental to the health of their children. Women respondents indicated that there was need for community awareness and enforcement mechanisms to reduce such problems in the community.

The majority of the women respondents indicated that community leaders especially headmen should live in peace and harmony with single women and avoid exploiting them. One woman indicated that the Village Committee had seven (7) members including her but she wasn't participating because she had been away. They also recommended that village committees should support those households trapped in poverty, especially in relation to food shortages, seeds, and other requirements.

Women felt that the government should do something to minimise the problem of lack of sufficient water and grazing lands for livestock because when their livestock travel long distances for water and pastures they were stolen and no one assisted them to get them back. They also requested for initiation of projects that facilitate loaning livestock to enhance their farming capabilities.

While most of the land has been taken up, people still felt that more land should be allocated because there was still a lot of people who were landless.

Mining provided lucrative off-farm returns hence, people felt that government and local leaders should support and help women to get mining permits because most of the women felt threatened and exploited by men, in addition to being harassed by police.

4.8 SOURCES OF INCOME AND ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

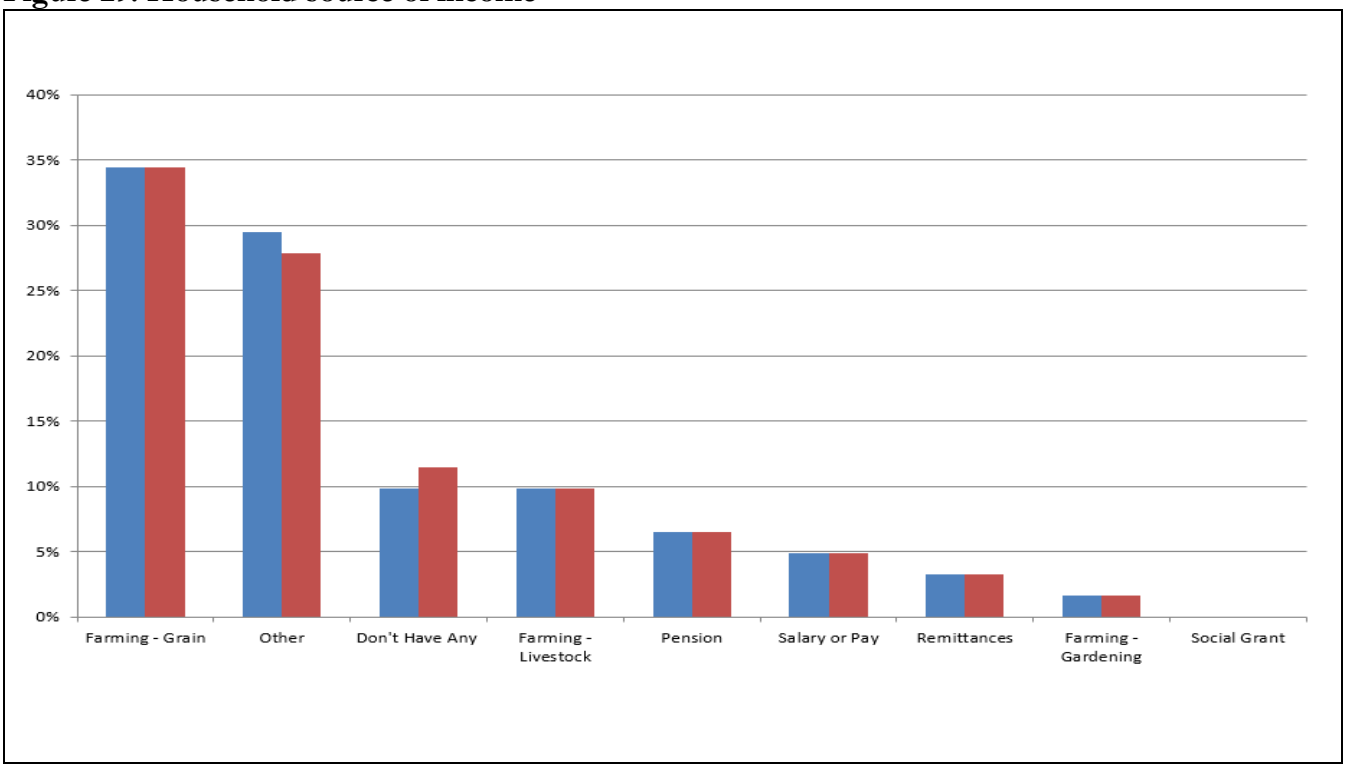
Some of the key things in this study that needed to be established were income sources and economic activities because income is a flow variable that provides an insight into spending patterns of a household and its well-being at a point in time. On the other hand, economic activities help us understand the flow of income within a household, whether it's

temporary, seasonally or uninterrupted throughout the year hence assist us to understand household vulnerability to poverty and shocks.

4.8.1 Household Sources of Income

Sources of income reflected the economic activities engaged by rural households in Sub-division A of Clonmore Farm for their livelihoods. Figure 29 shows that grain farming was both a major and main source of income, followed by other activities (i.e. gold mining, piece jobs, chicken breeding, buying and selling vegetables), local transportation services, small-scale businesses fast foods, hairdressing and cross-border trading) and then livestock keeping at 34, 30 and 10 per cent respectively. Ten per cent of the surveyed households didn't have any source of income reflecting their vulnerability to poverty and shocks. Income from salary or pay was very low at 5 per cent and was reported mainly by government employees, particularly teachers. The low reportage on wage income was a reflection of high unemployment in the formal sector because Mberengwa is a Rural District Council without formal industries and also under-reporting by households working in the informal sector as they overlook the importance of such economic activities and preferred to report formal income generating activities.

Figure 29: Household source of income



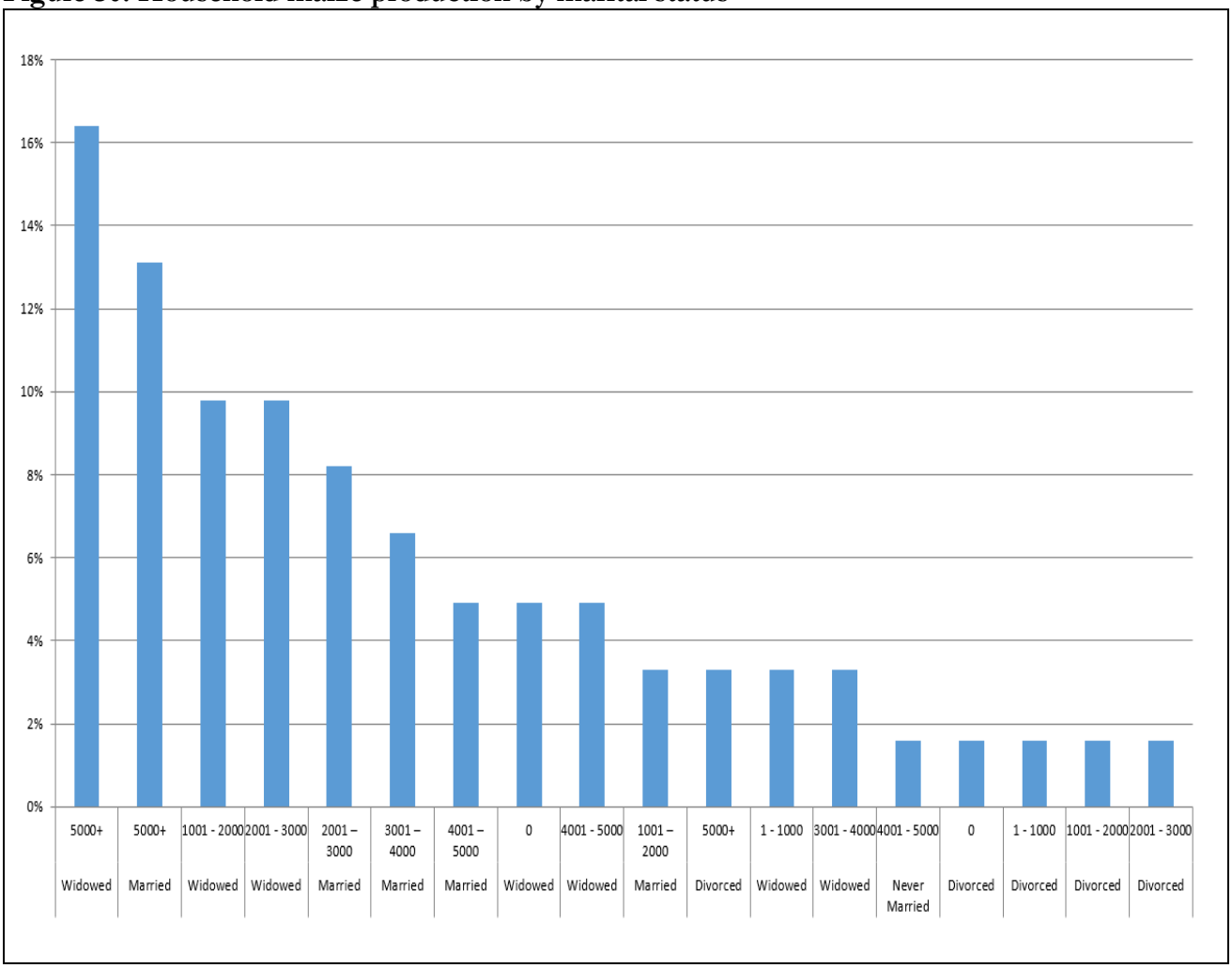
4.8.2 Household Economic Activities

In view of the above, economic activities was one of the key aspects for this study because it helped us understand household livelihood portfolios. Figure 30 showed that the three main economic activities in their order of importance were: grain farming, off-farm activities and livestock keeping. Grain farming included products like maize, sorghum (mhunga), wheat (mapfunde), millet (rukweza), ground nuts (nyimo) and peas (nyemba).

Maize was the main agricultural grain produced in this area, while other drought resistant crops were produced at a smaller scale. Grain agricultural production for both maize and small grain provided a good measure of the level of success of the FTLRP because the primary aim for the land reform was to promote sustainable rural livelihoods through agriculture.

Figure 30 show that all married women produced a ton and more of maize with 13 per cent producing more than 5 tons during a good rainy season. In the divorced and widowed categories, some women produced nothing at all at 2 and 5 per cent respectively, while another 2 and 3 per cent of the divorced and widowed women produced less than a ton. These households were highly likely to be vulnerable to poverty and hunger.

Figure 30: Household maize production by marital status



Literacy has been posited to increase women's agricultural productivity. Table 17 show that 16 and 11 per cent of women with Primary and No Schooling produced 5 tons and more of maize, while the bulk of women with primary, secondary and tertiary education produced a ton and more. 3 per cent women with either primary or no schooling produced nothing while a further 5 per cent of primary educated women produce less than a ton.

Table 17: Household maize production by level of education

Respondent highest level of education	Maize (kg)	Total	Percentage
Primary	5001+	10	16%
Secondary	2001 - 3000	7	11%
No Schooling	5001+	5	8%
Primary	2001 - 3000	4	7%
Secondary	1001 - 2000	4	7%
Secondary	5001+	4	7%
Primary	1 - 1000	3	5%
Primary	3001 - 4000	3	5%
Primary	4001 - 5000	3	5%
Secondary	3001 - 4000	3	5%
Secondary	4001 - 5000	3	5%
No Schooling	0	2	3%
No Schooling	1001 - 2000	2	3%
Primary	0	2	3%
Primary	1001 - 2000	2	3%
No Schooling	4001 - 5000	1	2%
Pre-School	2001 - 3000	1	2%
Tertiary	1001 - 2000	1	2%
Tertiary	5001+	1	2%
Total		**61**	**100%**

The Herald (20/6/17) produced a report on maize yields for the 2016-2017 seasons disaggregated by different farming areas and provinces. The report noted that communal farmers were leading in the maize production for the 2016-2017 farming season as their output increased by 364 per cent, followed by A1 and A2 famers at 326and 296 per cent respectively. Table 18 show the comparative disaggregated maize production from different farming areas or types for 2015-2016 and 2016-2017 seasons.

Table 18: Comparative disaggregated maize production from different farming areas for 2015-2016 and 2016-2017 seasons

Farming area/Type	2015–2016 season maize production (tonnes)	2016–17 season maize production (tonnes)	Percentage increase
Communal Farmers	166 216	770 682	364%
A2 Farmers	162 665	643 790	296%
A1 Farmers	122 358	521 588	326%
Old Resettlement Scheme Farmers	40 359	147 068	264%
Small-scale Commercial Farmers	14 893	64 538	333%
Peri-Urban Farmers	5 325	7 680	44%
Total	511 816	2 155 346	321%

Source: The Herald (20/6/2017)

Table 19 show that the maize yield for the 2016-2017 season disaggregated by different provinces. Table19 also illustrated that Midlands province where the study was conducted contributed 321 394 tonnes of maize and it registered a 517 per cent increase from the previous season.

Table 19: Comparative disaggregated maize production from different provinces for 2015-2016 and 2016-2017 season

Province	2015–16 season maize production (tonnes)	2016–2017 season maize production (tonnes)	Percentage increase
Mashonaland West	143 573	543 622	279%
Mashonaland Central	110 316	455 666	313%
Mashonaland East	89 338	274 491	273%
Manicaland	71 774	267 369	313%
Midlands	52 049	321 394	517%
Masvingo	11 818	150 938	1,170%
Matebeleland North	15 155	67 759	347%
Matebeleland South	17 793	74 287	318%
Harare*	0	0	0
Bulawayo*	0	0	0
Total	511 816	2 155 526	421%

Source: The Herald (20/6/2017)

*Metropolitan urban centres

Small grain production levels were very low although they were the most suitable drought resistant crops for this arid agro-economic region IV and V. Table 20 show that in all marriage categories, some women didn't produce sorghum giving a total of 56 percent. Divorced women didn't produce sorghum at all. Sorghum was produced mostly by married and widowed women.

Table 20: Household sorghum (mhunga) production by marital status

Marital status	Sorghum (Mhunga) – (kg)	Total	Percentage
Widowed	0	16	26%
Married	0	12	20%
Divorced	0	6	10%
Widowed	1001 - 1500	6	10%
Married	1 - 500	5	8%
Widowed	1 - 500	3	5%
Widowed	501 - 1000	3	5%
Widowed	2001+	3	5%
Married	2001+	2	3%
Married	501 - 1000	1	2%
Married	1001 - 1500	1	2%
Married	1501 - 2000	1	2%
Never married	0	1	2%
Widowed	1501 - 2000	1	2%
Total	**0**	**61**	**100%**

Table 21 shows that in all marriage categories, most of the women didn't produce wheat (mapfunde) giving a total of 84 per cent. A few women produced between 50 to 500 kilograms of wheat per year.

Table 21: Household wheat (mapfunde) production by marital status

Marital status	Wheat (Mapfunde) – (kg)	Total	Percentage
Widowed	0	27	44%
Married	0	18	30%
Divorced	0	6	10%
Widowed	50	2	3%
Married	100	1	2%
Married	150	1	2%
Married	300	1	2%
Married	5000	1	2%
Never married	0	1	2%
Widowed	200	1	2%
Widowed	250	1	2%
Widowed	400	1	2%
Total		**61**	**100%**

Table 22 shows that in all marriage categories, most of the women didn't produce millet (rukweza) giving a total of 85 per cent maybe because millet was not a staple food and was used mainly for brewing beer. At most a ton is produced by 4 per cent women.

Table 22: Household millet (rukweza) production by marital status

Marital status	Rukweza (Millet) - (kg)	Total	Percentage
Widowed	0	25	41%
Married	0	21	34%
Divorced	0	6	10%
Widowed	100	2	3%
Widowed	150	2	3%
Married	1000	1	2%
Never married	0	1	2%
Widowed	50	1	2%
Widowed	500	1	2%
Widowed	1000	1	2%
Total		61	100%

Table 23 shows that in all marriage categories, most of the women didn't produce round nuts (nyimo) giving a total of 53 per cent and all other households produce less than a ton. The reason given for low production was that there were serious pests that attacked this crop hence most of the people avoided plant round nuts.

Table 23: Household round nuts (nyimo) production by marital status

Marital status	Round nuts (Nyimo) -(kg)	Total	Percentage
Widowed	0	19	31%
Married	1 -500	14	23%
Widowed	1 -500	11	18%
Married	0	8	13%
Divorced	0	4	7%
Divorced	1 -500	2	3%
Widowed	501 - 1000	2	3%
Never Married	0	1	2%
Total		**61**	**100%**

Table 24 shows that in all marriage categories the production of ground (nzungu) was very low and the highest tonnage didn't exceed 2 tons because the crop was prone to pest attacks. A total of 44 percent households didn't produce ground nuts at all.

Table 24: Household ground nuts (nzungu) production by marital status

Marital status	Ground nuts (Nzungu) - (kg)	Total	Percentage
Widowed	0	17	28%
Married	1 -500	14	23%
Widowed	1 -500	9	15%
Married	0	4	7%
Divorced	0	4	7%
Widowed	501 – 1000	3	5%
Widowed	1001 – 1500	3	5%
Married	501 – 1000	2	3%
Married	15001 - 2000	2	3%
Never Married	0	1	2%
Divorced	1 -500	1	2%
Divorced	1001 – 1500	1	2%
Married	1001 – 1500	0	0%
Divorced	501 – 1000	0	0%
Total		**61**	**100%**

Table 25 shows that in all marriage categories the production of peas (nyemba) was very low and the highest does not exceed half a ton because like ground nuts and round nuts, the crop was also prone to serious pest attacks. A total of 77 per cent households didn't produce peas at all.

Table 25: Household peas (nyemba) production by marital status

Marital Status	Peas (Nyemba) – (kg)	Total	Percentage
Widowed	0	27	44%
Married	0	15	25%
Divorced	0	5	8%
Married	20	3	5%
Married	50	2	3%
Married	40	1	2%
Married	250	1	2%
Never Married	0	1	2%
Divorced	50	1	2%
Widowed	10	1	2%
Widowed	40	1	2%
Widowed	50	1	2%
Widowed	150	1	2%
Widowed	300	1	2%
Total		**61**	**100%**

Livestock keeping was explained under asset accumulation. Other economic activities which contributed to household income were off-farm activities which included: gold mining, piece jobs (e.g. assisting other households in any activity for pay in cash or goods), projects (chicken breeding, buying and selling vegetables), local transportation services, small-scale businesses (fast foods, hairdressing), cross-border trading at Yorks Business Centre, etc. There were a number of business entities at the centre and these included: a butchery, hardwares, fastfoods, hairdressing, grinding mill, nite clubs, petrol station, welding, tyre repairing, retail shops, etc.

4.9 WOMEN EMPOWERMENT AND SUSTAINABLE LIVELIHOODS

Some of the key variables to this study that required to be established were aspects of women's bargaining power and their knowledge of environmental laws because they assisted us to understand women's empowerment and sustainable livelihoods. UN defines women empowerment by identifying five components: women's sense of self-worth, right of choice, right of access to opportunities and resources, right to have power to control their own lives in and outside their homes, and ability to influence direction of social change to create a more just and economic order, nationally and internationally.

Table 26 shows that almost all women felt empowered through the land that was allocated to them because they were producing more than they needed for their family consumption and were also able to sell surplus produce.

Table 26: Women empowerment and livelihood options

Response	Participation increased bargaining power & livelihood choices	Access to land increased bargaining power	Land reform proved livelihoods	Another option other than land reform
Yes	59	60	60	60
No	2	1	1	1
Yes %	97%	98%	98%	98%
NO %	3%	2%	2%	2%

While there was legal recourse for any land allocation disputes through the Ministry of Lands and the DLC, most women were either ignorant of the procedures they should follow to resolve their problems or they were afraid to tackle men or their relatives, especially in-laws. Most of the women felt empowered and acknowledged that they had secure tenure status because their names were on the permits hence they were willing to do anything to protect their rights to land.

Although 97 per cent of the women beneficiaries felt highly empowered some of the women indicated that in some instances they were discriminated based on gender although they were involved in all meetings that determined various community based activities including the re-surveying and pegging of stands. Some of the women indicated that they were involved in village community activities; sometimes they didn't attend meetings although they were invited because most of the time they just sat and listened to what those who had organised the meeting had to say. Some of the answers to how women felt about being empowered through land reform were:

"Now I can take care of myself. If I was home I was going to be dead because I was going to be fighting for land with my brothers. We are being discriminated on gender basis because my stand has not been allocated a stand number and the size of my stand has been reduced because when my husband died the headman took advantage and resized my stand. Now I can farm without any problems or anyone interfering".

One of the woman beneficiaries indicated that she felt highly empowered because she was the chairlady of Hibbo Village Committee which comprised eight (8) members' three (3) of whom were women.

A high percentage (98%) of women beneficiaries indicated that their livelihoods had drastically improved through land acquisition but one respondent felt her livelihood had deteriorated than previously. On further probing, the women indicated that she felt detached from her roots because she was far from her kith and kin hence her quality of life had deteriorated because she had no one to turn to when she encounter problems. Some of the answers to this question were:

"I had nothing but since I came to the farm now I have 17 cows and lots of goats. I'm considered in community activities because I now own my own property. Life is now better than that in CAs because land is abundant and I produce in excess to sell the surplus. Now I have goats and property and I'm very happy. Land has given us secure livelihoods unlike in the CAs".

98 per cent of women beneficiaries indicated that they would like to have alternative livelihoods options apart from agriculture. Some of the alternative options included engaging in buying and selling goods, goats and chicken breeding, others recommended projects and cooperatives. They view these alternative options as a means by which to generate income that could be used to pay fees for their children and buy family necessities as well as inputs for agricultural production.

There was a Lands Technical Officer resident at Yorks Business Centre to provide training and technical support to rural farming communities. Hence, training in agriculture and environmental management was available to empower all community members targeted to any individual on request as well as per schedules. The majority of the women respondents indicated that training in agricultural and sustainable rural activities depended on the person's needs. However, while most women indicated that training was helpful they rarely attended training.

The farm was virgin land when it was occupied in 1999 and 17 years later few households used little farming inputs to increase productivity because the land was still fertile. Figure 31 show that although 64 per cent of the households use cow dung during farming, few households used fertilizer, practiced recycling, crop rotation and reused things as well as limited their livestock at 20, 2, 23, 3 and 3 per cent respectively. This is because the soils were still newly cultivated hence they were not yet exhausted and require minimum intervention for high agricultural produce.

Figure 31: Farming inputs used to increase productivity and environmental management

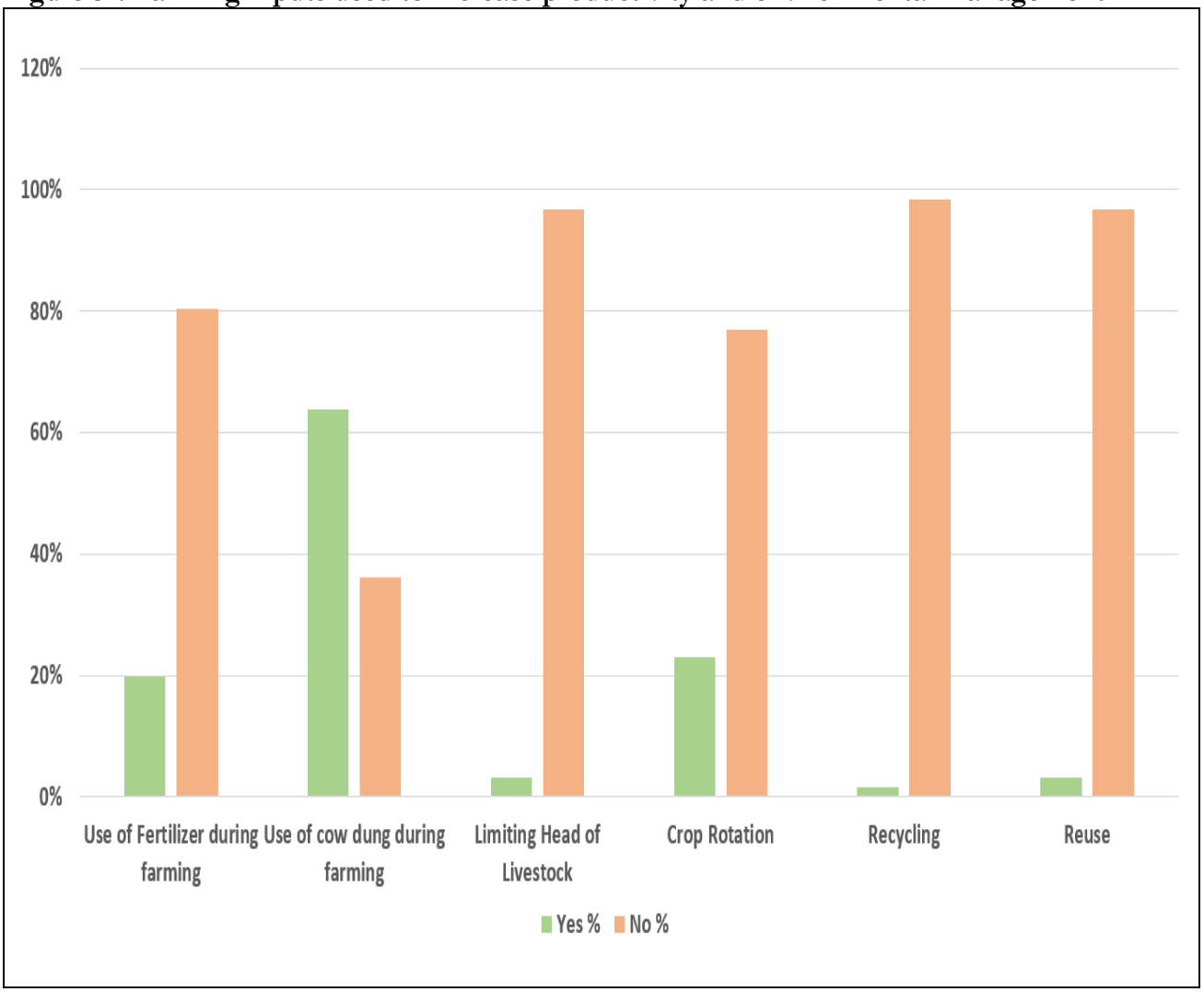
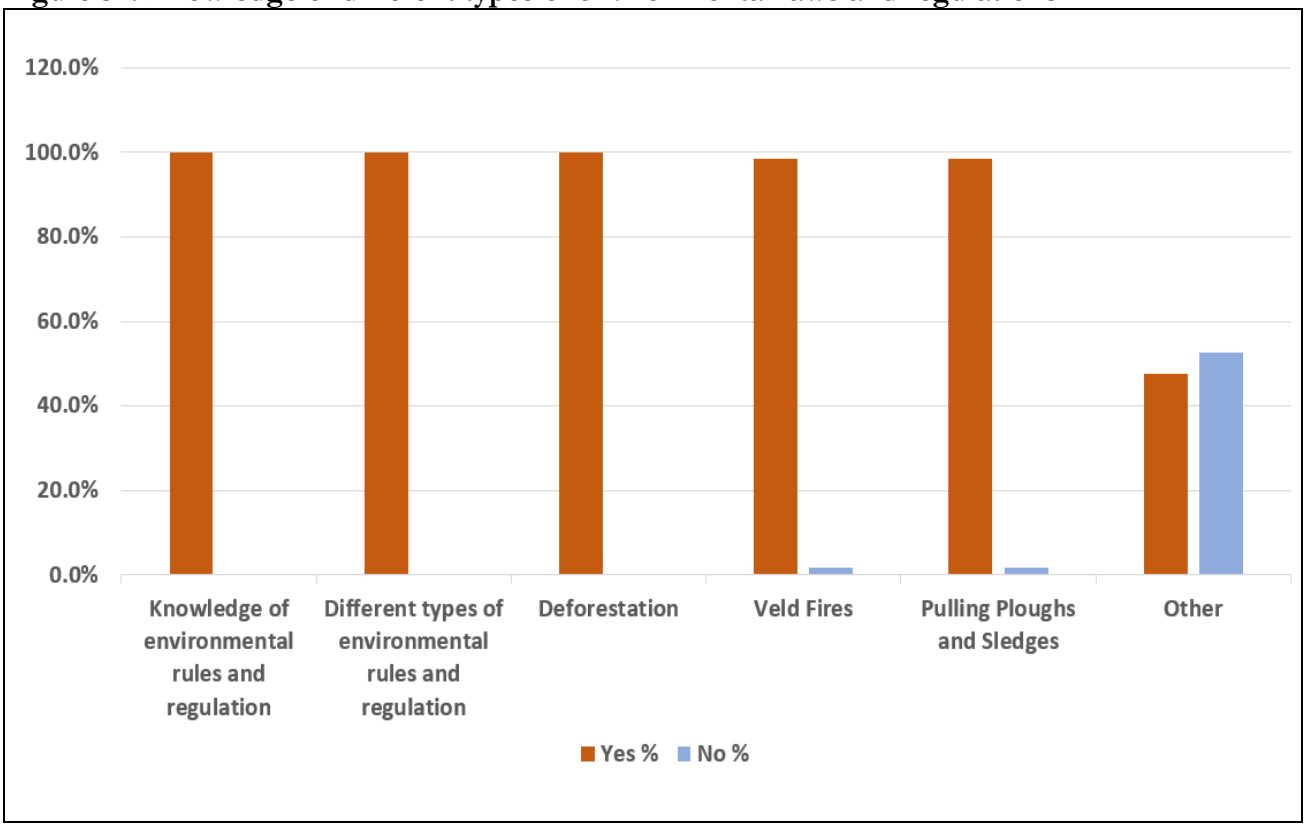


Figure 32 show that 100 per cent of the households had some knowledge about environmental rules and regulations, they were aware of different types of environmental rules and regulation and they knew about deforestation, while 98 percent had knowledge about veld fires and rules around pulling ploughs and sledges to avoid damaging roads and the environment. An additional 48 per cent had knowledge about other environmental rules and regulations which included: filling up gulleys to prevent soil erosion; creating contours to protect farm lands because the land was flat without any contour ridges that control water flow during the rainy season; ploughing across the slope; using "churu – anthill soil" for fertilising the land; not ploughing on unallocated land or someone space; training to be provided to the community on request; avoid digging dongas and rehabilitating mines.

Figure 32: Knowledge of different types of environmental laws and regulations



With all the available knowledge to the community about different types of environmental laws and regulations, the environmental damage caused by gold panning was alarming because when the mineral deposits were exhausted, the miners didn't rehabilitate the land. The gulleys and dongas thus rendered the once agriculturally suitable land unusable for any productive use. There was concern that there should be serious enforcement of the law to rehabilitate the land so that it could be put to productive use once gold deposits were exhausted.

4.10 Government and Community Structures Support to FTLRP Beneficiaries

In view of the numerous challenges experienced during land reforms, it was of paramount importance for this study to establish the role of government and community structures in facilitating the roll-out of the FTLRP because most of the successful land reforms depended on the support provided by the government and community leaders after the land had been distributed. Previous land reforms failed to yield tangible results because of inadequate or lack of government support. Among eight ten (8) government officials interviewed, one was a woman from the Ministry of Lands, while among ten (10) community leaders interviewed, one (1) was a woman – the chairlady of Hibbo Village Committee.

4.10.1 District Administration Office (DAO)

The District Administrator was interviewed and he explained that the DAO deals with all administrative matters within the district and ensured coordination of programmes from different arms of government. The FTLRP was coordinated from the DAO and the chair of the DLC was the CEO from the Rural District Council. The DLC sat and discussed matters relating to land allocations, land audits, dispute resolutions, including surveying of allocated stands, cultivated and grazing lands, environmental management and the entire infrastructure within the farms and how it was maintained including to whom the infrastructure was leased.

4.10.2 Ministry of Lands

The official who was interviewed was a woman employed as a Lands Technical Officer and she pointed out that the overriding factor in the face of law was that land will always remain state property leased to needy households under the 99-year old lease agreement for the A1 scheme. For married couples, when they divorce no one had a right to chase the other part except when one was bought out, otherwise they shared the stand, hence were forced to stay on the land together. She indicated that the roles and responsibilities of the Ministry of Lands included among others:

I. Creating the database of land beneficiaries,
II. Taking stock of the existing infrastructure including buildings within the acquired farms,
III. Assessing and recommending households that applied to lease buildings and engage in businesses of one kind or another,
IV. Assessing the state and condition of the acquired farm including environmental management and environmental degradation,
V. Managing any farm infrastructure including buildings because they were part of the community utilities and did not belong to any individual,
VI. Management of family estate especially the land between couples in as far as dispute resolution was concerned at any point in time, and
VII. Attending to all land related queries within the farms that were acquired during the FTLRP.

The Ministry of Lands also conscientises communities about changes from the patriarchal practices. From a woman's perspective, she pointed out that the majority of land beneficiaries were men hence they tend to think that women were beneath them and they were the sole owners of the land. On the permit there was provision for both names of a couple to be registered but because the name of the husband was registered at the top in many instances, then men thought they were the sole owners of the stand and even some women tended to think likewise. She emphasised that the Ministry of Lands ensured that if the husband was deceased, the land was passed on to the wife and in the case of both husband and wife having passed on, the land was passed on to the children. This procedure involved a lengthy process whereby the Ministry of Lands requested information from the

headman in charge of the village where the applicants were resident, including identity documents for the spouse and birth certificates if children were involved.

The official pointed out a number of problems and challenges faced by the office and women themselves in the resettled areas:

I. Women lacked information and knowledge about their rights and laws that empowered them,
II. Government lacked sufficient resources especially vehicles for officials so that more work could be done on the ground especially by visiting land beneficiaries in the villages and resolving their issues in situ rather than wait for them to come to the offices because some women were not only afraid to approach the offices but also didn't have financial means to travel to the offices to get their disputes and issues resolved,
III. Majority of men were in powerful positions and occupied offices of high authority hence made most of the decisions which adversely affected women and impeded their empowerment,
IV. There were many challenges facing single women related to balancing work and raising their children and during the research one woman indicated that she had to abandon her formal employment because no one was looking after her children during her absence,
V. Some of the women faced eviction from their allocated land because they didn't have stand numbers, because the stands were illegally allocated by the headmen,
VI. Some of the women felt they were not fairly treated by local and government officials as their problems, especially those related to lack of stand numbers and reduction in the sizes of their stands, were not being resolved, and
VII. There seemed to be high levels of widowhood which were still increasing because of high death rates among women's husbands.

The official from the Ministry of Lands recommended a number of interventions that could be put forward to assist empower women beneficiaries:

I. Continuously educate, inform and continuously conscientise women on their rights and laws that empower them,
II. Government should provide more resources especially vehicles for the officials so that more work could be done on the ground especially by visiting beneficiaries in the villages and resolving their issues in situ rather than wait for them to come to the offices because some women are not only afraid to approach the offices but also don't have financial means to travel to the offices to get their disputes and issues resolved
III. There was need to employ more women in powerful positions and for them to occupy offices of authority because women have been empowered by the FTLRP and they could make their own decisions with little interference, a lot still needs to be done to ensure women were completely and totally empowered because a majority of men were in powerful positions in offices hence still made most of the decisions which were detrimental to women empowerment.

IV. Government needed to implement intervention programmes and activities that targeted and focused on single women because many single women faced challenges related to balancing work and raising their children.
V. As for households and women who complained that their stands still didn't have stand numbers, the official indicated that there were no stands without stand numbers found in the middle of other stands because the Land Audit in 2004 and 2009 resolved such problems. Such problems were created by the headmen who illegally allocated land which was deemed not suitable for human settlement resultantly exceeding the approved carrying capacity of the area. These households had no legal recourse when evicted from these stands.
VI. On the issue of high death rates among men in the new settlements, the official indicated that men who engaged in mining didn't take good care of themselves, didn't take serious health-seeking initiatives, most of them were war veterans who married younger wives and were aging and because of the strenuous labour intensive mining activities, they died of natural causes.

4.10.3 Department of Agricultural Technical and Extension Services (AGRITEX)

The District AGRITEX Administrator explained that the department played a vital role during and after FTLRP because it was responsible for the actual planning of the settlements and demarcation of residential stands, arable land and grazing fields for each household in the farm. The ideal sizes in this area for residential stands was one (1) hectare, four (4) hectare for arable land and 12 hectares for grazing land. AGRITEX was also responsible for providing extension services to the new settlements without any particular focus on women, men or youth. Extension services provided among others included seeds for crop production, livestock, fertilizer and training to all needy clients.

According to the AGRITEX official, the problems encountered by women included:
I. Day-to-day problems where men still thought they had more rights than women,
II. When the husband dies, relatives of the men always wanted to take possession of the property including land although the law now prohibited such practices,
III. Lack of adequate working capital because banks were not willing to provide loans to both men and women in the rural areas and especially women,
IV. Women land beneficiaries' livelihoods became a vicious cycle of poverty because of lack of access to cash or financial start-up which was required to generate income which in turn could be used to purchase farming inputs,
V. Beneficiaries initially got land to engage in agriculture but discovered gold deposits, so were focussing more on mining and ignoring agricultural production, and
VI. Younger wives were more aware and realising that laws had changed to protect them but most women were still shy to ask or participate in various programmes because of the fear of backlash from customary laws and harassment from men.

The official recommended that:

I. More needs to be done for women to access capital so they could invest in various projects and improve their livelihoods,
II. There was need for a fair and levelled playing ground not skewed towards any sexes in the provision of service, and
III. Women needed to be encouraged to participate more in various programmes and utilise the laws available to empower them.

4.10.4 DEPARTMENT OF DISTRICT DEVELOPMENT FUND (DDF)

The District DDF Administrator was interviewed and he indicated that the department was actively involved in assisting beneficiaries from the FTLRP without any gender bias towards women. The mandate of DDF was to provide roads for communication, tillage services to all farmers without any gender bias, potable water for consumption and this affect the girl child depending on how much time they spend fetching water for domestic use. Tillage services of one (1) hectare per household were provided immediately to newly-resettled FTLRP beneficiaries between the years 2001 to 2002 free of charge per farm. In 2004, DDF provided on credit services not limited to tillage of hectares depending on how much land was cleared and ready for cultivation. At a later stage, these credits were eventually scrapped off by government because the successive years were drought stricken without major output to enable farmers to repay the loans. DDF also provided transport services for food distribution to drought stricken areas and hunger zones. In 2016 and 2017, Food-For-Work grain was transported from Grain Marketing Board (GMB) to different communities through collaborative efforts where communities provided fuel for the tractors and trucks that were made available by DDF to ferry the food.

The DDF chaired a committee on water, sanitation and hygiene called Rural Wash. There were water challenges because boreholes broke down and needed rehabilitation, maintenance and repair. The official pointed out that some of the projects that were rolled out in Mberengwa because it is a drought prone zone included:

I. Dam water with piped scheme water for 11 villages and townships in Danga area, Mphosi High School, Clinics, Police and Churches.
II. Provided software to communities, one (1) 50 kg bag of maize per month as subsidies mostly for women and vulnerable households,
III. Assisted women and vulnerable households to build toilets where communities assist with digging of pits.
IV. Provided training and teaching on the importance of toilets including challenges that were faced by communities up to nation level posed by open defecation systems.
V. Influenced 190 villages through the Open Defecation Frame to build toilets although most of them were still in progress due to lack of materials and resources for building.
VI. Put in place the Rural Information Management which was a real time system with a central database to ensure provision of services, like training extension staff,

capture information per village, and mapping toilets, boreholes, daily/weekly/monthly usage.

VII. Since 2000 onwards, there have been challenges with resources, and the DDF had attended to:
   a) 90 per cent mostly women issues,
   b) Formation of Sanitation Action Groups,
   c) Trained Extension Staff mostly women who performed better than men,
   d) Employed Village Health Workers, mostly women as they were very cooperative compared to men.

The above programmes were very helpful nationally including the IGATE programme (Improving Girls' Access through Transforming Education). These were World Vision and SMV funded programmes focussing on schools, WASH, sanitation and things that made girls uncomfortable at schools leading to high dropout rates among girls. These programmes also focused on rights and responsibilities of girls and boys in schools, distances travelled by scholars and home activities/chores in an effort of focusing on improving circumstances for the girl child not excluding boys with regards to mensuration issues and natural issues affecting the girl child. Building girl-friendly schools (including disabled children) from primary level, with mirrors, water and lockable cubicles to demystify the stigma from boys. Heads of schools were trained to deal with boys' and girls' issues to ensure girls were comfortable in schools through school development committees and teachers.

4.10.5 SMALL-TO-MEDIUM ENTERPRISES (SMES)

The District SMEs Administrator was interviewed and he explained that the department was playing an active role in supporting beneficiaries of the FTLRP through stakeholder engagements, community level development activities and creation of trusts for women in cooperative groups of around ten (10) members. He explained that among other things:

I. They provided initial assistance although they encourage people to initiate their own projects,
II. They assisted with planning and provisioning of shortages to the cooperatives as well as project monitoring especially farming although they dealt with any project including gardening, livestock production, etc.
III. They encouraged community members especially women to form cooperative societies of around 10 members, helping them register to formalise the cooperative and also offered banking assistance,
IV. For cattle keeping or livestock cooperatives they assisted with food, building the kraals for instance in Shawuro Ward 1 they provided initial funding assistance of US$40 000. They provided further intervention in the form of fencing, cattle feed, water, food and specialist training by sending some cooperative members to Makoholi Research Institute in the town of Masvingo. Up to 30 out of the 45 members affiliated with Shawuro Ward 1 cooperative were trained in various areas

(A-Z) of running the business to ensure all relevant areas of knowledge management were covered.

V. As for gardening cooperatives, ten (10) or more members were recommended to form cooperatives then the department assisted with sourcing the land, markets for the products, linkages with relevant stakeholders, monitoring of the project and formally registering the cooperatives and banking with the Savings and Credit Cooperative Society (SACCO) which had low interest rates and assisted in creating a pool of funds for more investment.

The SMEs worked in partnership with UNDP, Heifer International, Action Firm and technical partners who provide equity (parity), vocational training centres in all aspects on any business mainly in agriculture in the rural areas. They encouraged the bulk of members in any cooperative to be women for instance out of 45 members of Shawuro Ward 1 cooperative, less than 10 were men. The composition of cooperative membership was tailored towards women empowerment because women were the backbone of family upkeep hence a ratio of 80 (women):20 (men) was encouraged for any cooperative formation.

The official pointed out problems encountered by SMEs which included:

I. Conflict among cooperative members due to group dynamics,
II. Some of the conflicts included cooperative members borrowing outsiders the cooperative money or borrowing someone in the group more than they could afford to pay back. Such issues were contained in the booklet as dos and don'ts guidelines,
III. Some cooperative groups invaded space or illegally settle in restricted areas,
IV. There were limited resources for officials to effectively monitor cooperative projects,
V. Cash injection required two (2) years to pay without interest and this formed a revolving fund towards projects for women and youth. Non-payment by projects in operation became a problem and disturbed the revolving fund system,
VI. Women were not yet ready to form cooperatives on their own as they still lacked confidence although laws favoured them they still insisted to partner with men especially when they had to go and present their activities somewhere they would prefer men other than themselves to conduct the presentations. For instance, there was a time where four (4) women were earmarked to go abroad to attend a conference but all of them could not go because they didn't have passports.

The official recommended the following for the SMEs to empower women:

I. It was highly encouraged that cooperative members were thoroughly trained to diffuse and deal with group dynamics.
II. Training should encourage cooperative members to familiarise themselves with by-laws Chapter 24 of 2003 Cooperative Societies Act.
III. For training, they also provide a booklet of up to 70 pages that summarised the most common issues and guidelines on conflict resolution.
IV. There was need to provide more training, networking and exposure for women to realise their full empowerment through:

a. Look and learn study tours so that women could see how other women in different parts of the country were faring, and
b. Women also needed international exposure.

V. More should be done to boost women's confidence especially occupying higher positions, accessing finance and involvement in community development initiatives.

4.10.6 MINISTRY OF WOMEN AFFAIRS, GENDER AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

The District Administrator for the Ministry of Women Affairs, Gender and Community Development was interviewed and he pointed out that the ministry had been taking an active role in assisting women including FTLRP beneficiaries. The ministry assisted women in various ways starting with advocating for equitable land distribution or gender mainstreaming between males and females. They also assisted women by encouraging them to apply for land in their own right like men, encouraging women to farm small grain, asking well-wishers to give women inputs, encouraging women to join associations and cooperatives, facilitating training for women and collaboration with stakeholders like NGOs. They assisted to link women to markets for sale of their farm products and encouraged them to partake in value adding activities like processing food in line with ZimAsset to produce peanut butter and other oil products. For FTLRP beneficiaries, they held Zero Tolerance Campaigns against gender based violence and also encouraging women to take active political role during the FTLRP through the Women's League because the FTLRP was politically motivated.

The official felt that the majority of women felt empowered and their livelihoods had improved because, women were producing more than one (1) tonne from farm produce and sold to GMB or any buyer of their choice. Women's bargaining power had hugely improved because they could negotiate prices for their products with different buyers e.g. GMB vs Ngoko (Farmer) vs Delta (Brewery Company) depending on the offers whether it was livestock or money.

He expressed that problems faced by the Ministry of Women Affairs, Gender and Community Development with regards to women empowerment, including women themselves and these included:

I. The fact that women were not given equal opportunities compared to men,
II. During the FTLRP women were in the background because men were pushing women backwards or men were taking available spaces by force and women didn't have the will and power to contest,
III. Some of the disputes or cases were referred to the magistrate courts especially on instances where the husband passed on and the relatives of the husband and other people wanted to take the land from the widowed women.
IV. The rules and laws were not yet sufficient to cater for women's equitable distribution of land,
V. Support for women was inadequate in various areas that include:
    a) Farm inputs,

b) Labour,
c) Draught power or ploughing equipment,
d) Financial resources, and
e) Other relevant materials

VI. Women didn't have leadership positions so they didn't make decisions hence lacked recognition in decision-making meaning men decided on women's behalf as women took low profile in this area,
VII. Women faced challenges in getting markets and transport for their farm produce leading to some of the products getting rotten,
VIII. Private buyers offered lower prices effectively robbing women of their farm produce,
IX. Women got lower prices for their goods and services in their home areas especially those producing gold hence they got ripped off, and
X. There was also the problem of land boundary disputes between farmers and miners because the two ministries gave overlapping rights to both. Such situations disadvantaged women because they were afraid to take on men.

The official recommended the following to be done to empower women:

I. A quota system that was gender sensitive needed to be applied to ensure equitable distribution between men and women,
II. There should be plans to finance farm activities and access to loans for inputs by women,
III. Processes should be in place to link up women with markets,
IV. Capacity building plans for training women should be in place and implemented,
V. Women needed assistance with training, access to markets, type of seed for farming depending on the areas they stay,
VI. Providing mechanisms and authority for women to get loans from the banks as well as linking women to financial institutions to facilitate loans,
VII. Providing women's development fund through Post Office Savings Bank (POSB) because it was cheaper and had lower interest rates,
VIII. The rules and laws should be fine-tuned to sufficiently cater for women's equitable distribution of land,
IX. Women should get equal opportunities on a 50/50 gender based laws,
X. Title deeds were authoritative and provided security of tenure for women,
XI. For women's livelihoods to be sustainable there was need to link women farmers to relevant markets and build their capacity to improve their production.

4.10.7 MBERENGWA MINERS' ASSOCIATION

The Secretary for Mberengwa Miners' Association was interviewed and he explained that the association played a vital role in empowering and assisting women involved in mining activities. While mine claims were not gender discriminating and guaranteed equal access, the association had created a facility for empowering women involved in mining. The facility assisted women to register their individual mining claims in their own names and

helped with individually capacitating them to operate within the mining community. The association further assisted women with: equipment by identifying funds that could be used to acquire equipment for women through sponsorship and also government had set aside a US$20million fund to assist women, identifying sponsorship funds called seed funds that assisted women to acquire mining equipment including consumables and they could pay back the money at a later stage as well as providing programmes and workshops for women to obtain training on short courses in mine management and financial skills. Other things the association did to empower women included:

I. The association assisted by protecting women mining claims particularly from police harassment and gullible men,
II. The association ensured justice prevailed so as to ensure formalisation of all the mining activities,
III. Mberengwa didn't have a formal industry, hence mining was one of the available avenues that had uplifted women's livelihoods, preventing prostitution, improving child health care and food security,
IV. Mining had also boosted construction of buildings and transport networks in Mberengwa and Zvishavane,
V. Gold mining had also boosted farming because the proceeds from mining were invested in seeds, farm equipment, banking, construction, brick-making and other off-farm activities, and
VI. It's simple and easy that a single mining claim uplifted a lot of people because it employed in excess of 200 staff because most of the gold deposits were massive.

He noted that challenges faced by the Mberengwa Miners Association in its activities to empower women included:

I. Some husbands who didn't understand and disturbed women who were engaged in mining operations,
II. In mining disputes women gave up easily because they were not willing to confront men hence they lost out easily and the association normally came in to assist women, and
III. Germany did a research study long back and established that the reserved areas or former white enclaves were rich with gold deposits. Hence during Rhodesian rule whites enacted an Exploration Prohibiting Order so as to prevent blacks from getting access to mineral deposits.

He recommended the following in the quest to empower and uplift women in the mining sector:

I. Women should be conscientised to embrace empowerment through familiarisation with the rules and laws that protected and empowered them,
II. Women should confront men without fear where disputes arise,
III. Awareness campaigns needed to be carried out to educate women on their rights in the mining sector,
IV. Widowed women should not allow men to peg or assist them in mining because certain men end up pushing these women out of the mining activities, leading

women to end up losing their land and mining rights. This was a case for example that happened which resulted in family disruption in vanguard mine.

4.10.8 MINISTRY OF PUBLIC SERVICE, LABOUR AND SOCIAL WELFARE

The District Administrator for the Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare was interviewed and he explained that the department played an active role assisting women and indigent households through the provision of social protection to the most vulnerable especially women, children, disabled and war victims. The ministry assisted women, the disabled and war victims:

I. To get land by paying special attention to them during land distribution,
II. Providing food security to women, children and the disabled to avert malnutrition and hunger,
III. Providing women and vulnerable households with free farming inputs like fertilizer, seeds, food,
IV. Linking such families with NGOs who gave them livestock (cattle and goats) to improve their livelihoods, and
V. Recommended to development partners and Private Voluntary Organisations which areas to focus on during their poverty alleviation activities.

The official pointed out the challenges faced by the ministry included:

I. Before the FTLRP women could not register land in their names but in male relations' names, for example, a son or husband,
II. There were water and sanitation challenges for everyone because there were few boreholes, hence women suffered because they travelled long distances compromising other activities and chores that needed to be done,
III. Lack of sufficient proper health facilities lead to the outbreak of diseases and women and children suffered worse than men,
IV. Dip tanks and schools were far and this affected children especially the girl child who had to do additional domestic chores after school, and
V. Cultural norms and practices meant women spend most of their time on farming activities while men went away to look for jobs.

He acknowledged that women's livelihoods and bargaining powers had improved through the FTLRP because women had their own land where they produced farm products and own their own livestock which they could sell, unlike small pieces of land they owned in the CAs. The bargaining power of women had been greatly enhanced because with land women had a voice which allowed them to confidently participate in meetings, indicating what and where they needed improvements. Some women already farmed extensively and even employed men.

He recommended that to effectively empower women the following should be done:

I. Land had to be given to those in dire need regardless of gender,
II. Women provided primary care to the family hence when they owned land their well-being and that of their children was guaranteed,
III. Women required assistance with farm equipment especially tractors at the initial stages of land acquisition to kick-start their agricultural activities,
IV. More knowledge should be imparted to women to ensure they knew the types of crops to grow in their different areas, knowledge of cereals and small grain seeds, mixing indigenous knowledge and scientific knowledge,
V. Linking them to markets for their products and stopping them from relying on handouts.

4.10.9 COUNCILLOR AND HEADMEN

All but one interviewed key informants were male: the councillor and his eight (8) headmen were male and the chairlady of Hibbo Village Committee, but only five (5) headmen provided useful information. They indicated that they were involved during the FTLRP because some of them pioneered the land takeover and pegging of stands and some of their responsibilities included: setting up meetings and consultations, pleading with chiefs to support women for registration for social welfare so that they qualified for maize food parcels, allocated stands to everyone including women as some of them formed part of the DLC, assisted women with water, protected women stands from men who wanted to grab them when women went back to look for food in the CAs, maintained order in the village, sensitising and educating the community about land reform, assisted women with completion of application forms, recommendations and land allocation as well as assisting women to build their homes, farming and cattle keeping.

Current problems faced by community leaders were that they could not allocate stands because all the land was already allocated by council at DLC meetings. Although there was no land available, women were still registering on the waiting list especially those getting divorced so they appealed for government to make more land available. While land allocation was quick in the initial stages now it took longer between completing forms and land allocation. Also illegal miners were becoming a very serious problem.

Rules and laws applied during and after FTLRP were fair because there was no gender discrimination during the allocation of stands since it was based on the first come first serve basis without any particularly focus on women. Thus the customary and legal laws and rules were fair because they were gender equitable or didn't favour anyone.

Assistance to women who got stands was in the form of fencing their stands and cultivated lands to safeguard their grain, advising them on farming, encouraging them to form cooperatives, identifying and recommending indigent households that should be enrolled for social welfare as well as advising women on efficient ways of farming.

Most of the women's livelihoods had improved because they came to the farm with nothing, but at the farm they own property like cattle, goats etc., and they also produced grain for consumption and sold the surplus, while some of the women were involved in gold production. One headmen commented that women's livelihoods had improved because even their complexion had improved, however improvement in their livelihoods depended on who could farm, because a few women were lazy and could not improve even after getting land because of problems of lack of farm equipment. Struggling women were being assisted by registering them for social welfare so that they enrolled for Food-for-Work programmes and got food, seeds and fertilizer.

Women's bargaining power had improved because they were given the platform to discuss their issues, community leaders listen to their grievances and they were considered for daily village activities although the numbers engaged depend on the requirements of the task. Women were given priority in most discussions, their opinions and recommendations were taken seriously in promoting community initiatives and women associations. Also women and youth were considered for all the projects that came through. They even asked men and donors to help uplift them. Women were also involved in decision making through village committee meetings. Each village had a village committee comprising of about seven (7) members and must have at least one (1) or more women members. Few women didn't farm enough hence they still felt inferior.

All headmen indicated that community members were sensitised and engage to take measures to ensure the environment and resources were managed sustainably through activities that minimised environmental destruction: control erosion, no cutting down of big trees, filling up gulleys and dongas, keeping livestock in the grazing lands, no pulling of ploughs and sledges on the roads and avoiding veld fires.

Headmen pointed out that most single women needed assistance in the form of food, school fees for their children, social welfare particularly the elderly and indigent households. They recommended that women should be assisted with food and resources especially cattle, jobs, cooperatives and formation of clubs especially stokvels as well as discouraging them from depending on food handouts and promote work ethics.

They recommended that government and donors should assist with farm equipment, seeds and food. Government to provide welfare support in the quest to promote women's sustainable livelihoods including farming inputs. Government should sponsor projects and cooperatives like cattle and chicken breeding, stokvels, saving schemes, buying and selling including support services. Also dams and boreholes should be in place to facilitate irrigation cooperatives. Clubs, farming cooperatives and project members must have a gender mix.

4.11 CONCLUSION

The research findings have been presented and they lead directly to the next chapter that analyses and discuss these findings. The research findings include: land reform – environment, mechanisms, institutions and implementation processes, the demographic profile of the research area and participant women, and land reform – access, tenure, land rights and control over land including challenges, assistance offered and recommendations, homeownership and services, asset accumulation and household resilience, sources of income and economic activities, women empowerment and sustainable livelihoods as well as government and community structures assistance offered to women.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter the key findings of the study were discussed providing underlying reasons and explanations. Results of this study presented in Chapter four show how land reform empowered women and improved their livelihoods. The aim of the study was to investigate the impact of land reforms on women's livelihoods in Zimbabwe, and in particular to: understand the relationship between land reforms and sustainable livelihoods, identify and create an inventory of land reform and livelihood challenges faced by the marginalised people, especially women as well as establish the implications of land reforms to the wider community particularly sub-Saharan Africa, albeit with a bias towards Zimbabwe. The results were analysed and interpreted within the context and background within which research questions were framed particularly the rural livelihoods and gendered asset-based frameworks leading to conclusions provided in Chapter six. Inductive and deductive reasoning was utilised to explain the underlying reasons for the main findings derived from respondents' answers and participant observations and transect walks.

Seven (7) sections are discussed in this chapter and this is the first section. Section 5.2 provides the background of the FTLRP. Land reform as a mechanism to women's access to land is discussed in section 5.3, while section 5.4 discusses the livelihood framework, agricultural productivity and economic activities. Section 5.5 discusses women empowerment and sustainable livelihoods and Section 5.6 deals with barriers to women empowerment. Finally, section 5.7 discusses implications of the FTLRP to Zimbabwe and the wider community

5.2 THE BACKGROUND OF FTLRP

After independence like elsewhere in post-conflict developing countries, Zimbabwe embarked on land reform programmes to redress colonial land ownership disparities. Adams and Howell (2001) argued that two themes dominated the debate in the Southern African region: land redistribution as a quasi-constitutional right and land redistribution as a vehicle for rural development and in Zimbabwe both took precedence further bolstered by political expedience from 1999 onwards. A series of slow land reforms were implemented from 1980 till 1999 based on willing buyer / willing seller policies aimed at redressing colonial imbalances as well as emphasising agricultural productivity and economic efficacy (Lebert 2003, Rugube and Chambati 2001, Moyo 2013). This phase

targeted four groups: landless people, war veterans, the poor and commercial farm workers (Lebert 2003; Rugube and Chambati 2001). By the 1990s the government introduced its policy of compulsory land acquisition with compensation and Lebert (2003) argued that a state-led approach to land acquisition had been in place since 1980 and had changed in scope and pace in response to failures of the land market to make adequate and appropriate land available. With time, external and internal pressures hardened the government's position in relation to willing-buyer / willing-seller approach and from mid-1990s onwards the state increasingly adopted a radical posture on land acquisition (Lebert 2003). Research on land reforms and reallocation programmes from independence until recently paid little attention to how women benefited and consequently responded to land access shaping their livelihood options and/or portfolios.

From 1999 the FTLRP took a serious turn and the land reform programme resulted in significant shifts in landholding by race, class and to a lesser extent, by gender because the FTLRP did not manifestly target gender equity but racial parity, the most pressing socio-economic and political issue of the time (Gaidzanwa 2011). Both A1 and A2 women farmers struggled to access inputs, seeds, fertilizer, finance, labour, extension services, farming equipment and they often did not have collateral and had to compete with men for the limited credit that was available, yet men already owned properties and could draw on their social networks to support them (Women and Land in Zimbabwe 2006). This is consistent with the findings of this study because beneficiaries indicated that they got limited support and government officials pointed out that their operations in support of FTLRP beneficiaries were hampered by serious resources constraints. Gaidzanwa (2011) found that the names on the application forms were those of the men despite their marital status and upon the deaths of the men, women could not change and register the land in their names. However, this study found that through the promulgation of the A1 Permit Statutory Instrument 53 of 2014, laws were enacted to ensure joint titling was mandatory for married couples or those living together like husband and wife and except in few cases where there were contestations, women were able to change the names on the permits as there were legal provisions and mechanisms (courts and the Ministry of Lands through the DLC) to facilitate this process.

The study also found that all nine (9) interviewed head of government departments including the Ministry of Women Affairs, Ministry of Lands, Agricultural Research and Extension and Local Government were headed by men and male dominated especially in the middle and upper positions where decisions on land allocations were made. These findings were consistent with Gaidzanwa (2011) study because only one woman (who is an Lands Technical Officer) from the Ministry of Lands was interviewed simply because the head of department was on extended leave and worse still she was assisted by men to answer the questions although they were junior to her. On follow-up meetings in the

absence of the male junior staff, the Lands Technical Officer indicated that she was the only woman in the office hence all male staff ensured she did not give answers that were not be acceptable to the head of department.

While Lebert (2003) was of the view that it was still to be seen whether these reforms could be sustained and successfully create and support rural livelihoods, evidence from this research and the 2016/2017 season grain bumper harvest demonstrated that after 17 years rural livelihoods were agriculturally productive and agriculture was stimulating other economic sectors (Herald 20/06/17). Before the FTLRP Yorks Business Centre was constituted by a single shop and a petrol station with very few vehicles around, but during the time of research it was a booming value-chain business centre with multiple retail shops, pubs, butchery, hardwares, eateries and various services with abundant transport options. Findings in this study were also in agreement with Moyo et al (2009) who found that livelihoods strategies have been diversified, new opportunities have opened up, access to bigger and better soil quality plots also broke down barriers which barred peasant households from accessing natural resources like minerals, wildlife and non-timber forest products which were bonded in private holding of mainly white landed elites. The study found that small-scale gold mining and a range of other off-farm economic activities at Yorks Business Centre formed an important integral component of livelihood income strategies providing income flows all year round mitigating against poverty and shocks during drought years.

Evidence in this research showed increasing gender parity to land beneficiaries and this was line with the Mutopo (2011) study, who found high-level of women participation in land reform and access to land through various mechanisms: family, formal (traditional) and political processes. Unlike market-based and orderly methods of land distribution that were gender blind, the FTLRP saw the improved coordination of women's organisations that coincided with "uncivil" women's fight for land and land grabbing through the war veterans led land invasions that preceded the FTLRP (Chingarande 2008).

The findings from this study confirm that initially few women benefited independently on their own as was discovered in other studies (Moyo 2013, Gaidzanwa 2011, Gaidzanwa, 1995, Women and Land in Zimbabwe 2006, Utete 2003). The majority of women (70 per cent) benefited either independently or jointly with their spouses or partners. The other 30 per cent of women have access to land but the permit was in a relative's or family members name rendering them insecure. Majority of households (83 per cent out of the total 341 households) were male-headed households which was consistent with other studies that confirm that cultural practices and traditional authorities have always maintained that men were de facto heads of households in the rural areas (Tinyande 2009). This finding may be explained by the fact that with high unemployment in the urban areas, men migrated back to seize the opportunity to possess land and were now curving lucrative income generating activities on the land they got, however this hypothesis needs further research.

Contrary to Adam (1991a) and Pankhurst (1991) assertion that marriage has for some time ceased to be the universal basis of the domestic unit in rural Zimbabwe, discoveries from this research show that the majority of women were married. This was in line with Makura-Paradza (2010) who posited that marriage was the most important relationship of adult women living in communal areas. This result was also aligned with other studies that emphasis the importance of marriage in African societies as Farnworth et. el., (2013) found that many married women received land titles either individually or as part of family and their lives have been transformed because they were more involved in farming operations than in the past and were more able to negotiate on an equal footing with men.

The study also found a rise in widowhood in the resettled farms and the reasons for this were attributed to a number of factors by the key informants as explained in section 4.2.1. Some of the reasons included war veterans marrying younger wives and dying before their young wives, hard labour due to mining and clearing the newly acquired land, risky lifestyle and lack of health seeking habits when ill as well as stress related suicides. This confirms to findings from Makura-Paradza (2010) that singleness was not a transient phase. The reasons were in line with traditional arguments that men's health was more affected by socio-environmental factors. Baker et. al., (2014) asserted that robust evidence from various sources show that in most parts of the world, health outcomes of boys and men continue to be substantially worse than among girls and women. In several studies conducted in Malawi, South Africa, Uganda and Zimbabwe notions of masculinity not only increased the risk of infection with the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV), but also inhibit men from getting tested for HIV, coming to terms with their HIV-positive status, taking instructions from nurses and engaging in health-enabling behaviours (Baker et. al., 2014).

5.3 LAND REFORM: MECHANISMS FOR WOMEN'S ACCESS TO LAND

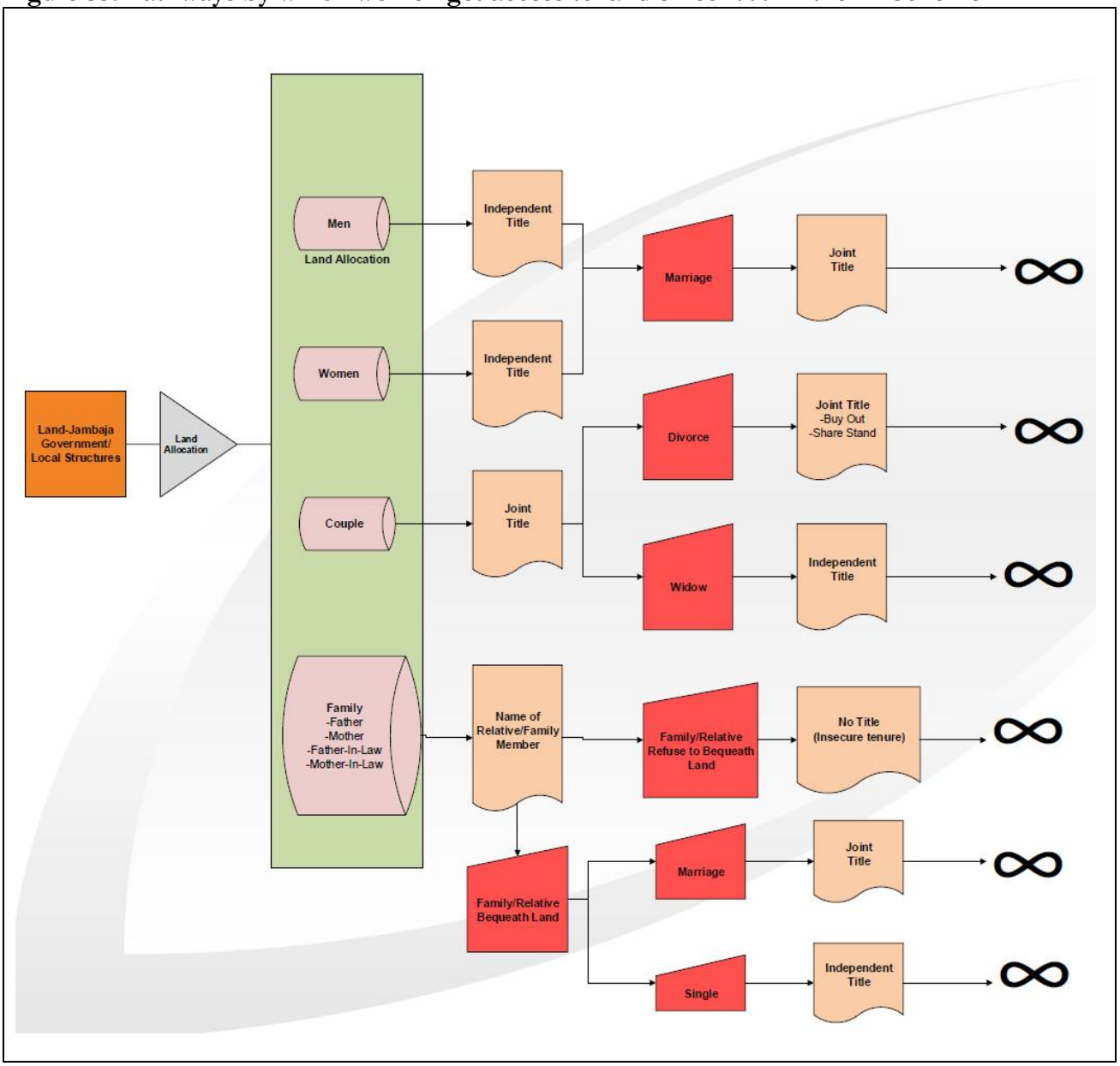
Evidence from this study show that like elsewhere in the developing world, the primary vehicle for women's access to land was through land reforms and inheritance. The fact that all women FTLRP beneficiaries, their menfolk and children fell outside traditional authorities in terms of the Traditional Leaders Act (22 of 2001: Chapter 29:17), meant that with land permits and inheritance laws align to favour women, they were now in a position to own land independently in case of widowhood and/or have to be bought out in case of divorce because they owned the land jointly. Previously under customary law, the person who inherited was the heir (indlalifa in Ndebele or mudyi wenhaka in Shona) and usually this was the first boy in the family regardless of age. He was supposed to take the responsibility of his deceased father and take care of his mother and siblings. He could however decide not to care for them. This traditional practice has since been superseded

by the Administration of Estates Amendment Act Number 6 of 1997 which allows the surviving spouse in a customary marriage/union and family to inherit. This law applies to those married under the Customary Marriage Act chapter 5.07 (formally Chapter 238), if the deceased and surviving spouse lived a customary law lifestyle prior to death and lived together as husband and wife. This was in line with findings from other countries like Mozambique, where through hybrid laws, the State owned all the land in the country and grants land use rights to communities that occupy the land according to customary tenure (FAO, 2010). Its 1997 Land Law allows these communities to abide by their own customary rules and governance structures within their collective holdings, and adapt them as needed as long as they do not contravene principles of the Constitution, including the principle of gender equality in ownership of land. Ideally, this meant that women have full rights to participate in all decisions made about the land (FAO, 2010).

Figure 44 is a schematic representation of the pathways and means by which women have and continue to access land since the land takeovers in 1999 going into the future within the land legal and customary framework parameters. Contrary to dominant literature, evidence from this study has demonstrated that the legal and regulatory framework of the land and inheritance laws, including customary practices have provided and continue to provide the four (4) baskets of land rights to the landless, poor and vulnerable people particularly women in the newly resettled areas. These basket of rights included access to land, use rights, transaction or transfer rights as well as communal rights. These findings were in contrast to Matondi and Dekker (2011) and Scoones et. al., (2011) concerns that in the absence of clear legal instruments and mechanisms, there was uncertainty of the actual bundle of land rights provided for by the FTLRP, however it should be noted that this was prior to the enactment of A1 Permit Statutory Instrument 53 of 2014. Hence land permits provided secure tenure status of land ownership by both men and women or jointly.

According to Sobhan (1993) a genuine land reform requires a profound social transformation because a common feature shared by all successful land reforms was a transformation in the balance of power within the rural community and in the society at large. Evidence from this study showed that the majority of new settlers were diverse ordinary people with multitude affiliations and this was consistent with other studies such as that by Scoones et. al., (2011) who got similar results from a study of four districts (Gutu, Masvingo, Chiredzi, Mwenezi) in Masvingo Province. These results were consistent with Studwell and Jochnick (2016) findings that after WWII, land reform programmes in Taiwan, South Korea and Japan redistributed vast swathes of land to the poor tenant farmers and agricultural labourers and the effort helped to end extreme poverty and hunger.

Figure 33: Pathways by which women get access to land since 1999 in the A1 Scheme



Source: Original work

Transformative land reforms were the primary vehicle to empower rural women by improving their livelihood opportunities and food security as well as a panacea to rural development through increased productivity and economic growth. In Zimbabwe while the initial FTLRP stages were spontaneous, haphazard and characterised by rapid sometimes violent chaos takeover of white owned commercial farms by blacks (Moyo 2013; Rugube and Chambati 2001), it was how these processes unfolded and what they accomplished in the final analysis that was of critical importance. In the initial phases of the FTLRP a lot of criticism was rightfully associated with how the land takeovers occurred as there were no policies and mechanisms to provide clear guidance on how land should be allocated and what should happen after the land has been allocated? Once the land reform process was in full swing, media news blew their trumpets lamenting that poverty

has been exacerbated, the economy has been destroyed, and the 'bread basket' has been turned into a basket case. These concerns were also noted by Scoones et. al., (2011) when they pointed out that most commentary on Zimbabwe's land reform insisted that agricultural production has almost totally collapsed, that food insecurity was rife, that rural economies were in precipitous decline, that political "cronies" had taken over the land and that farm labour has all been displaced – but the reality was much more complex. Results and outcomes of this study indicated that while there were a lot of problems and challenges associated with the FTLRP, there was need to demystify the negative undertones that have engulfed the FTLRP undertaken in Zimbabwe because the resettled areas were proving to be agriculturally productive and stimulating other sectors of the economy. This finding was supported by Scoones et. al., (2011) who found that while of course there were some farmers who produced little and have to rely on the local markets or support from relatives, overall they did not find any pattern of production failure, widespread food insecurity and lack of market integration. Instead, they found a highly differentiated picture, but one which had at its centre a smallholder agricultural production and marketing; one that could, given the right support, be the core of a new "green revolution" in Zimbabwe. This nuanced approach showed that something had happened in the eye of the storm of the FTLRP that had positive outcomes as rural households were now food self-sufficient, their livelihoods were now diversified and agriculturally productive. Other studies confirm these findings as they declared that a number of broad categories of livelihood strategies had emerged from their investigations (Dorward 2009, Mushongah 2009, cited in Scoones et. al., 2011). The slow pace in the improvement of rural livelihoods and agricultural economic recovery was exacerbated by successive years of drought that spanned over a decade.

Dore (2013) argued that in Zimbabwe the fundamental problem was that population growth was not accompanied by the necessary changes in the rules governing property rights to maintain productivity. As a result, technological innovations did not only fail to take hold in the communal areas, but under conditions of population pressure, capital was eventually squeezed out of the agricultural system, inevitably, most communal areas stagnated into pools of poverty and were environmentally unsustainable. Dore (2013) further posited two main arguments for the commercialisation of smallholder production. The first, although not a sufficient one, was that security of tenure was a necessary condition because efficient smallholder farm production and commercialisation also required the transferability of property. The second argument was that enclosing common property or converting it into individual holdings was a necessary step towards ensuring environmental sustainability. Dore (2013) further argued that the evolutionary process of institutional development produces a unified system of land documentation and registration, backed up by the state's enforcement of property rights. Evidence from this

study supports these assertions as it showed that in contrast to the CAs, the FTLRP created a vacuum and opportunities created by the breaking point reached by the two intersecting customary and legal systems. This state of affairs witnessed the confluences of the two systems through a fusion, alignment and re-alignment of the customary and legal systems creating a hybrid model of new land administration legal framework outside of the traditional areas as defined in the Traditional Leaders Act (22 of 2001: Chapter 29:17). This finding was supported by the Matondi (2010) study which found that such high level of investment in the farms suggested that in most resettlement sites there was a sufficient sense of security of tenure to allow investment at a scale, undermining the claim that what was needed was a formalisation of tenure regimes and the offering of some form of title (i.e. tenure permits were only issued from 3 July, 2014 with the launch at Chifundi Farm, Mashonaland West Province where 79 A1 Permits were issued).

This study focused on the A1-scheme (villagisation model) which had a land tenure permit with a 99-year lease. Although the A1 scheme has the touch and feel of a village, administratively the set-up was not purely under traditional structures administered by a chief through headmen. Instead, there were no chiefs in these areas and administration was tailored along legal mechanisms whereby the councilor and his headmen/woman with their seven member village committees report directly to the District Offices. This set-up was confirmed by Scoones et. al., (2011) who found that the origins of the "informal" A1 sites were usually organised in line with local preferences and took on a particular social and political character, organised initially by a "Seven Member Committee". It was these "informal" A1 sites that were formalised into A1 Schemes and the "Seven Member Committee" formalised into village committees presided by the headmen/woman.

Issuing land permits independently or jointly to the owners ushered in a complete departure from the communal setup and has allowed the customary systems of tenure to evolve from the usufruct basis of communal land rights that precluded the use of land as collateral, restricting the ability of communal households to gain access to credits. The setup although unique to Zimbabwe because while it combined elements of both legal and customary systems, providing mechanisms for women to own land independently or jointly through 99-year permits, had similarities with that of Mozambique (Issue Brief 2014). Women could now use the land for agricultural production and permits allowed new farmers to access agricultural funding from financial institutions. These findings confirmed studies conducted in other developing parts of the world where statutory laws created the space for change. For instance in Guatemala and India, state-sponsored land programmes require that land documents be in the name of both spouses or in the name of the female only (Deere and Leon, 2001). The same study found that the proportion of women beneficiaries of Columbia's agrarian reform increased from 11 to 45 per cent after joint titling of land parcels became mandatory and was enforced. However, findings from this research also show that a small proportion of married, divorced and widowed women who had access to land through the FTLRP acknowledge that even though they were staying at the stand,

the permit was not in their names or their husband's name but in the relative's name, particularly the father, mother, father in-law or mother in-law, hence had insecure tenure status because the land could be taken away from them at any time.

Emerging evidence showed that unlike their counterparts in the CAs, widowed women in the resettled areas were also getting secure land tenure in their own right through inheritance after the death of a spouse (Figure 44), hence improvements in the inheritance laws have played a pivotal role in this regard. These findings were consistent with Leon (2003) study in Latin American countries where inheritance was the primary means by which most women became landowners. This showed that with time through marriage and its dissolution, the asset gender gap by sex on land ownership will be reduced as more and more women either share the land parcel with their husbands in case of divorce or inherit the land at the death of their spouse in these types of settlements.

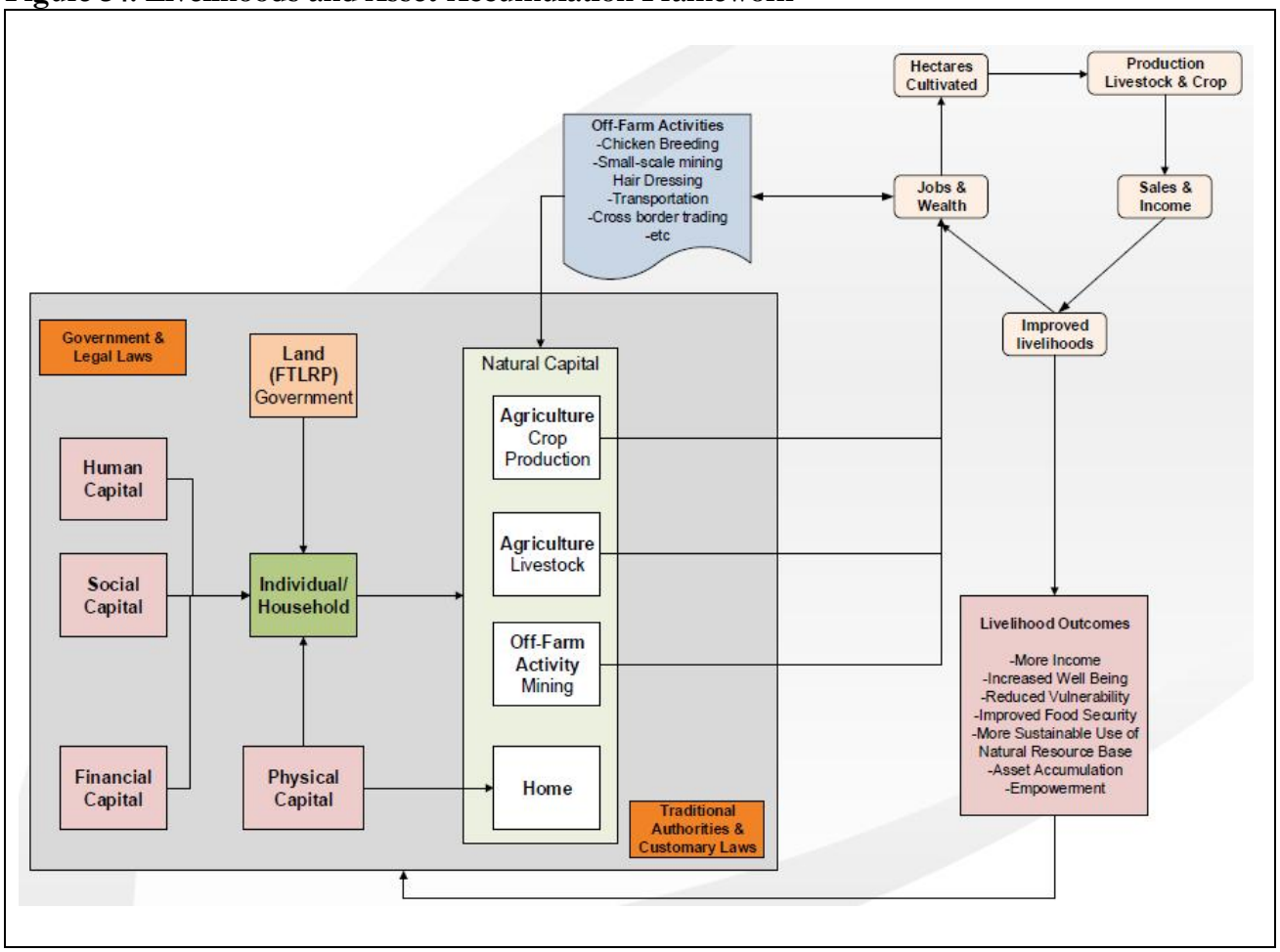
5.4 THE LIVELIHOOD FRAMEWORK, AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTIVITY AND ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

The study was largely informed by the sustainable livelihood framework and the gender-asset based approach to assess the rural livelihoods and women empowerment. Figure 45 is a schematic representation of livelihoods portfolios in in Sub-division A of Clonmore Farm providing an indication of how women have been empowered and their livelihood options diversified. The sustainable livelihood framework presented five main interrelated factors that affected people's livelihoods because opportunities available to an individual within a household depended on assets that they owned – physical, human, financial, natural and social capital assets. These factors worked through mediating circumstances and processes to influence the outcomes of people's livelihood strategies and portfolios. Land reform in this study was defined as a process whereby government policies through the FTLRP redistributed the whole or part of the bundle of property rights on land from landed elites to smallholder farmers or workers, landless poor and peasants achieving a more equitable land distribution. The sustainable livelihood framework and the gender-asset based approach were used to find out whether or not, and how the land has improved livelihoods capabilities and opportunities resultantly empowering women.

There was evidence from the findings of the study that fundamental contributions have been made to the research question. Available evidence from the findings showed that women owned land independently or jointly with their spouses or partners and they were achieving food self-sufficiency at household level including surplus that was sold to satisfy other household needs. These findings were corroborated by Scoones et. al., (2011), who found that in the better rainfall years of 2005/2006 and 2008/2009 the proportion of households producing more than a tonne of maize – sufficient to feed an average family

for a year – was significant across all sites of their study (Gutu, Masvingo, Chiredzi, Mwenezi in Masvingo Province). Kinsey, et. al., (1998) described a theoretical dip in livelihoods immediately following resettlement, followed by income growth and assets accumulation in subsequent years. Available evidence was in agreement with Kinsey et. al., (1998) assertion because in the early years of the FTLRP food production dipped and worsened for more than a decade due to prolonged drought but currently agricultural productivity has greatly improved. Evidence from Dore (2013) showed that before 2000, three-quarters of smallholder maize sales came from only 10 percent of households that were located in the better farming areas and after 2000 land invasions accompanied by erratic rains maize production plummeted to below national requirements and donors stepped in and took over responsibility from the state to support and feed the rural population.

Figure 34: Livelihoods and Asset-Accumulation Framework



Source: Adapted and modified from the Sustainable Livelihood Framework (DFID 1999) and Moeng (2011)

Further evidence was noticed at national level as Herald (20/06/17) quoted Agriculture, Mechanisation and Irrigation Development Minister Dr. Joseph Made arguing that the 2016-2017 season exceeded target and this was attributed to Government's inputs such as Command Agriculture and Presidential Input Scheme, the farmer's hard work and good rains the country received during 2016-2017 season. Dr. Made further said that he was

impressed that all crops including maize, cotton, tobacco, groundnuts, sorghum and millet registered high yields and Zimbabwe was expecting a bumper harvest of 2.7 million tonnes of cereals, with 2.1 million tonnes expected to come from maize and the remaining 600 000 tonnes from small grains such as pearl millet, finger millet, rapoko and sorghum. In these deliveries, smallholder farmers were playing a crucial role by contributing more than 54 percent of the produce. Namibian governor-Ambassador Dr. Samuel Kaveto Mbambo exclaimed that Zimbabwe's successful Command Agriculture Programme was a panacea to hunger and poverty in Africa if replicated by countries facing external threats such as economic sanctions (Herald 2017).

The above findings were consistent with outcomes from other land reform studies conducted in Nepal, where of the total women population, 9.7 per cent were land owners (Ministry of Health and Population 2012), in Bangladesh where 22.6 per cent women were land owners (Kieram et. Al., 2015), Cambodia and Philippines' where 15 per cent women were land owners (Kieram et. Al., 2015). Evidence of successful agricultural production and asset creation and accumulation indicated success with surplus which were in turn reinvested into assets (Currie, 1981). Participant married and single women confirmed that ownership of land has empowered them with liberating statuses that allowed them to work on the land and land based activities with limited or without interference from anyone. Ownership of land has also enabled them to negotiate with men at an equal basis and this was in contrast to Cambodia and Philippines where Issue Brief (2016) found that despite having land titles, women wield little power over the land they supposedly possessed because they were used as fronts by men to evade tax laws and land ceilings.

This study confirmed that A1 communities were self-sufficient, agriculturally and economically viable and a safety net for social well-being of households particularly women. Findings show that land provided by FTLRP was the fundamental natural asset used for building secure homes and capable of creating employment and generating broad based income in rural areas. Evidence concur with Lastrarria-Cornhiel, (2013) argument that provision of land to rural households in view of increased feminisation of rural households and the role of women in agriculture mean availing land as a secure place to raise families and as a base for diversified livelihood strategies and more importantly, particularly for women since they were majorly responsible for family welfare. Evidence through participant observations and transect walks showed that land permits were equal to Homeownership and this was in line with Deree et. al., (2010) findings from the study of women asset ownership in Latin America where she found that the share of urban female homeowners was almost always considerably higher than the share of rural female homeowners because in most instances rural female homeowners didn't need home ownership documents over and above land permits. Land as a natural capital was also being used to mitigate against shocks and poverty because it provided the natural resource stock which included water and aquatic resources, trees and forest products, wildlife, wild foods and fibres, biodiversity, and environmental services.

This study discovered that there were three main economic activities: grain farming, off-farm activities and livestock keeping in their order of importance. While farmers in A1 scheme were doing relatively well in agricultural production of cereals (maize and small grain), some of the single women were affected by lack of draught power and missing male labour as well as essential tools and other productive resources to maximize their outputs. Access to land had spin-off effects to women and youth because numerous off-farm activities sprouted out and apparently were became the second most important income generating activity ahead of livestock keeping. These activities, particularly gold mining and others such as piece jobs (e.g. assisting other households in any activity for pay in cash or goods), projects (chicken breeding, buying and selling vegetables and goods), local transportation services, small-scale businesses (fast foods, hairdressing) at York Business Centre, had immensely enhanced and accorded alternative portfolios to rural livelihoods. These activities provided income flows throughout the year offsetting poverty shocks and vulnerability during the dry season. These findings correspond with Scoones et. al., (2011) who found dynamic entrepreneurship in Masvingo Province where a number of off-farm activities were taking place. The activities included: small-scale irrigators producing horticulture products for local and regional markets; cotton producers selling their products to a wide number of competing private markets; livestock producers and traders developing new value chains for livestock products, linked to butcheries, supermarkets and other outlets.

Land reform maybe the answer to urbanisation because nationally urban centres were experiencing high unemployment following the collapse of many industries during the early 2000s economic meltdown period. Hence, thriving Business Centres like Yorks could be identified as Growth Points and government provide necessary support to improve their economic viability. Moreover, Mberengwa and other completely rural districts had high unemployment rates in the formal sector of up to 95 per cent. Findings from this study showed that income from salary or pay was very low at 5 per cent and was reported mainly by government employees particularly teachers. The low reportage on wage income was a reflection of high unemployment in the formal sector because Mberengwa is a Rural District Council without formal industries and also under reporting by households working in the informal sector as they overlooked the importance of such economic activities and preferred to report formal income generating activities. Income is a flow variable providing a glimpse of the welfare of a household at a point in time and livestock is a liquid asset-stock which is sometimes liquidated as a recovery measure in the rural communities. Hence, access to land was one way to create employment and generate broad based income in rural areas which in turn was used to mitigate against shocks and poverty because land may be the only productive asset for rural communities justifying the fact that the FTLRP addressed the economic needs apart from social injustice and political expedience.

Available evidence showed that diversified livelihoods and asset creation and accumulation were some of the positive spin-off outcomes of the provision of land through the FTLRP, indicating successful creation of other land-based livelihood portfolios. These findings corresponded with other studies for instance in China according to Duncan and Ping

(2001) found that women of Dongfang villages appeared to have greater opportunities than men to work in the service industry in the township centres, the county seat, or in Haikou City and the capital of Hainan Province. Bryceson (2002) found that in sub-Saharan Africa Structural Adjustment and Market liberalisation policies lead to de-peasantisation and de-agrarianization associated with deep-rooted social changes. Diversification of rural livelihoods included rural women and youth earning cash because men were increasingly encouraging women and daughters to work outside the home to make money (Bryceson 2002). Findings of this research indicated that women participants who gained access to land could acquire assets like: motorcar, donkey cart, wheel barrow, plough, hoes, television, radio, cell phone, bicycle, refrigerator, electric or gas stove and computer as well as household goods like beds and pots. As the sustainable livelihood framework shows that land was the natural capital asset, it had to be supplemented by other assets for the land reform program to be successful and these included physical, human, financial and social capital assets (Figure 45).

Numerous studies have demonstrated that in view of the numerous challenges experienced during land reforms, subsequent support services from various stakeholders such as government, NGOs, development partners and community structures facilitate the rollout of the whole land reform process and determined its success or failure (Matondi and Dekker 2011; Miruka 2016; Mandizadza 2009). The positive livelihood outcomes from the FTLRP that were evident in the findings of this study were dependent on the limited follow up support provided by the government and community leaders after the land had been distributed. This finding corresponded with the pathway study done by Miruka (2016) in Ghana, Bangladesh and Malawi where they found that working with women through farmers' field and business schools as well as providing financial assistance to communities enhanced their pathways to secure and resilient livelihoods capabilities as well as meeting the communities' climate resilient food and nutritional security. Mandizadza (2009) also found that government support to FTLRP beneficiaries in Athlone farm was in the form of access to inputs, seeds and fertilizer and was mainly from agencies as GMB, AGRIBANK, Banwx, Maguta and AREX. In this study, support included that from different government departments, community leaders and social networks or family.

Evidence from this research showed that due to constrained capacity, government provided limited support to households that resettled in Sub-division A of Clonmore Farm. However, these households had access to social and political capital because at grassroots level people were organized and moved into farms according to social groups and formations from the surrounding CAs. Land beneficiaries could easily interact with their families in the farm and CAs, commercial markets for their produce, civil society organisations and government agencies for their various needs and requirements. This was in line with DFID (1999) argument that social capital enabled individuals to manage their social networks and connections, patronage, neighbourhoods, and kinship, relations of trust and mutual support, formal and informal groups (common rules and sanctions, collective representation, mechanisms for participation in decision-making and leadership), including commercial markets. Some of the assets flowing from social capital provided to

women respondents included: 27% per cent of the FTLRP land later redistributed to beneficiaries through family and social connections, food, livestock and assistance during the farming season, money, etc. These findings corresponds to what Scoones et. al., (2011) found in their study because they discovered that without state and without the projects of donors and NGOs – and significantly without formal title or leasehold tenure – the new settlers had invested at scale on their land. The findings that NGOs shied away from assisting new landowners for political reasons were consistent with Scoones et. al., (2011) findings.

Heavy investment on the land was evident in the new farm: land had been cleared, livestock had been purchased, equipment and transport (cars) have been purchased, extensive building with permanent materials like brick and zinc roofing had taken place, footpaths and roads for cars had been cleared. A change in status of physical capital provided a good indicator of improved household welfare and these changes had been confirmed across the nation in similar farm settlements by various studies (Scoones et. al., 2011, Matondi and Dekker 2011, Mutopo 2011, Mandizvidza unpublished). There were no nearby schools and health facilities, but the community was in the process of building Zvavashe Secondary and Kushinga Primary schools near Yorks Business Centre. The two schools were already in operation although not yet completed due to financial constraints because they were financed by the community. The nearest Chingezi Clinic was more than 10 kilometers away. Water had been a major constraint to all households because the community was heavily dependent on boreholes for their domestic and livestock needs and these were few, and they broke down often due to overuse and were inadequate. Worse still 43 per cent of the households didn't have alternative sources of water, thus forcing women to walk long distances in search of water during the dry season. Findings also showed that this community was in a dire hygienic distressed situation considering that 57 per cent of interviewed households used the bush or open defecation systems as their toilet facilities. Deforestation was likely to be accelerated considering that 100 per cent households used firewood for cooking and heating. The vibrant Yorks Business Centre serviced the community and was fast growing into a Rural Service Centre, which provided most of the basic infrastructure and services while its growth was fueled by the community's farming and off-farming income generating activities. Such centres may be the answer to the rural growth point concept – which was conceived way ahead of time when the conditions and the environment were not yet conducive.

Evidence from the study showed a dynamic mix in various dimensions of the new farm settlers – predominantly Shona and Ndebele ethnical groups, 50 per cent of the population was aged 16 years and above constituting the workforce in the area, 82 per cent of the population had attained primary, secondary and tertiary education, most of the people had diverse backgrounds and wide connections, hence the community had a completely different outlook from the CAs. These findings corresponded with Scoones et. al., (2011) study which found that overall, the new resettlements were populated by young, more educated people with greater diversity of background, professional skills and connections than their neighbours in the communal areas and old resettlements. Literacy and education

had been posited to increase women's empowerment and bargaining power including their capabilities to utilise land productively. It was evident in this study that due to higher levels of education, the majority of single women produced more than a tonne of maize which was sufficient for an average household and lasted them throughout the whole year. The study also showed that 25 and 11 per cent women with primary and secondary education had permits independently and jointly respectively although 11 per cent of women with no school also had permits independently. Overall, 67 per cent women with primary, secondary and tertiary education had permits. With access to increased farm sizes and high literacy levels, apart from drought constraints, smallholder farmers had increased their productivity consequently improving the country's economic growth, however this area still requires more research. These findings were consistent with Scoones et. al., (2011) who tracked production on 400 farmers over seasons between 2002-2009 and found steady increase in output over time as farms became established, and draught power and other inputs were sourced. It was evident that the new settlements were contributing to secure local livelihoods, national food security, broader economic development and women empowerment.

5.5 WOMEN EMPOWERMENT AND SUSTAINABLE LIVELIHOODS

It was evident that the viability and successful creation of livelihoods and empowerment of women in the new communities was demonstrated by the ability of women to engage in collateral activities which translated to financial capital as they were able to negotiate with men and markets on an equal footing. Although rural people, especially women lacked access to credit facilities, they managed to generate income from excess farm produce and off-farm activities which in turn was used to accumulate other forms of assets. Findings from this study showed that almost all women felt empowered through the land that was allocated to them because the majority were producing more than they needed for their family consumption and were also able to sell surplus produce. Even government officials felt that the majority of women felt empowered and their livelihoods had improved because, women produced more than one tonne from farm produce and sold to GMB or any buyer of their choice. Women's bargaining power had hugely improved because they could negotiate prices for their products with different buyers e.g. GMB vs Ngoko (Farmer) vs Delta (Brewery Company) depending on the offers whether it was livestock or money. Findings of this study were in agreement with theories and other studies that found that despite inadequate support, limited resources and low capital investment, smallholder farmers were highly productive (Cusworth 1990, Kinsey et. al., 1998, Gunning et. at., 2000, Robilliard e. al., 2001, Boyce et. al., 2005, Mutupo 2011, Mkodzongi 2013, Issue Brief 2012). Mutopo (2011) found that only 60 per cent of the people in her study said their lives had improved and 40 per cent reported that their lives had deteriorated; unlike in this study where everyone reported that their lives had improved.

Other studies confirm that before permits were issued out, ordinary women increasingly controlled land in as much as it was not recognised and appreciated (Moyo 2011, Mutopo 2011). While Matondi (2011) posited that it was only women from special interest groups such as war veterans and those with political connections who got land, overwhelming evidence showed that it was ordinary people and especially ordinary women who benefited hugely. This is consonant with Scoones et. al., (2011) who concluded that while the A2 farmers were certainly more "elite" than those who invaded farms and took on small A1 farms, many could not be described as rich or politically well-connected – mostly teachers, extension workers, office clerks and small-scale business people dominated this group. This was confirmed by Moyo (2011) who argued that it was mostly ordinary women who accessed land in large numbers and not so much the politically connected, refuting the political elitism of women's access to land.

Evidence from the study through participant observation and transect walks showed that off-farm and non-permanent mobility livelihood strategies were increasingly becoming important especially for women who were engaging in cross-border trading, petty businesses, selling vegetables, hairdressing, fast-foods, etc. at Yorks Business Centre. Trading of currency especially Rand/US Dollar exchange was prevalent at the Yorks Business Centre as a lot of women crossed to South Africa to buy goods which they resold in their shops and stalls at the Centre. From participant observation and transect walks the researcher always transacted the Rand currency to the US Dollar at Yorks Business Centre because the US Dollar was the preferred currency in Zimbabwe. Most of the traders would preferred the Rand at a time they took trips to South Africa where they bought goods to resell in Zimbabwe and a lot of women were engaging in these cross-border trading activities. This was in line with Mutopo (2011) findings that non-permanent migration strategies were becoming increasingly important in Zimbabwe post-2000, due to challenges that the new farmers faced in dry vulnerable agricultural areas, with insufficient state support, and the collapse of the formal economy which affected agribusiness operations.

It should be noted that unlike in the CAs where women didn't hold positions of power, one village was headed by a woman out of the 29 villages in Mberengwa North and one of the Village Committees was also headed by a woman in Sub-division A of Clonmore Farm, while each village committee was composed of both men and women. Most women felt highly empowered through the land allocated to them with 97 and 98 per cent women respectively feeling that the land they got through participation in the FTLRP had increased their bargaining power and livelihood choices and provided alternative livelihood portfolios. Another 98 per cent of women responded that they would like to have access to other alternative livelihood options. These findings were consistent with Allendorf (2007) who found that women's land rights promoted women empowerment and child health in Nepal. Women in Sub-division A of Clonmore Farm pointed out that they produced more than they needed for their family consumption and sold surplus produce during good farming seasons. Studwell and Jochnick (2016) argued that positive outcomes were experienced after World War II, land reform progress in Taiwan, South Korea and Japan when vast swathes of land were redistributed to the poor tenant farmers and

agricultural laborers thereby ending extreme poverty and hunger. In Colombia land redistribution programmes in the late 1990s improved women's land rights by mandating joint titles for couples instead of exclusive titles for male household 'heads' (Deere and León 2001). They also found out that, women in Colombia received nearly one-third of the land titles that were distributed to individuals rather than couples.

The FTLRP, apart from promoting sustainable livelihood, also promoted diversified off-farm livelihoods in and around the farm. Agriculture was the main economic activity and environmental management practices were in place that included high crop mix and use of cow dung to fertilise cultivated land and improve crop yields per hectare. Although small-scale miners were becoming a problem, the community had knowledge and practiced environmental management activities like avoiding deforestation, veld fires, not pulling sledges and ploughs along roads as well as rehabilitating roads and gulleys. Headmen and some of the women respondents were advocating for enforcement mechanisms to be applied to ensure gold panners rehabilitated the land.

Beneficiaries of fast track land reform in Sub-division A of Clonmore Farm came from varied ethnic and social-economic backgrounds. Women also directly benefited from the FTLRP not only through their husbands but also in their own right as individuals. While the number of female land beneficiaries remained relatively small compared to men, in communal areas it was difficult for women to independently own land. All beneficiaries in the farm were under the A1 scheme (villagisation model).

5.6 BARRIERS TO WOMEN EMPOWERMENT

Information from the study showed that the greatest barriers to women land rights and empowerment during and after the redistribution of land included: insufficient government support, statutory or state laws and policies, socio-cultural laws (customary and traditional), as well as unfair land allocation, access and usage, including inadequate support to market and financial institutions. In some instances, where women didn't have land permits, the FTLRP adversely affected women, resultantly worsening their status and negatively affecting their and their family wellbeing. These findings were consistent with findings in Kenya's 1960s land reforms, where women were negatively affected as freehold tenure rights were registered in the husband's or other male relatives' name (Weiderman 2004). Some of the barriers to women empowerment noted from other studies have been discussed in Chapter 2 section 2.2, while Chapter 4 section 4.7.1 discussed challenges as explained by respondent women and section 4.10 discussed at length challenges explained by government officials and local authorities.

The study showed that while the FTLRP beneficiaries were assisted and supported in various ways by the government, community leaders, war veterans, family and social networks, a number of challenges were faced by women as they were disadvantaged by a

number of circumstances that included legal and customary systems as well as market and financial systems. In the same vain, Matondi and Dekker (2011) found that farmers were not self-reliant but heavily reliant on the government for external support for inputs – in the form of fuel, draught power and inputs. Evidence in this research showed that from the women's perspective, 30 per cent of women participated directly in the FTLRP because access to land was based on participation. Moreover, people had to walk long distances in excess of 15 kilometres from their CAs to the farm although some were pregnant and/or had health problems and most of them had to tend to the family domestic chores. Those who got the land had additional problems of hiring, feeding and paying people to clear the land as well as buying agricultural inputs.

After the land was allocated 46 per cent of women felt there were no serious challenges. This may be explained by the fact that these women were excited at getting new land they own independently or jointly with secure permits, 26 per cent reported challenges with access to inputs, services and farm equipment because they were eager to maximise productivity of their land but lacked enough resources, 8 per cent complained about lack of government support because other community members received support such as fertilizer and seeds. There was no mention of assistance from the NGOs because they exclusively supported households in the CAs to the exclusion of those in the farms. This showed that more still needed to be done to assist women and effectively empower them. These findings were in line with other studies conducted in A1 scheme (Mutopo 2011, Matondi and Dekker 2011, Scoones 2011).

Findings of this study showed that community leaders and government officials alluded to a number of challenges that impinged on women's access to land and consequently their empowerment. These challenges included women's lack of capacity and knowledge of their rights, lacking adequate support for women from local structures, inadequate capacity of government and customary institutions as well as laws – customary and legal laws to facilitate and enhance women's empowerment. Issues around inheritance for women who had access to land through social networks and kinship relations still left them vulnerable to evictions although inheritance laws and tenure permits ensured intergenerational inheritances. Matondi and Dekker (2011) found similar uncertainties in their study when they discovered that when the male plot holder died, farmers in the A1 and 3-tier settlement believed their son will take over, either in collaboration with the remaining spouse or not. However, during their study issues around land tenure permits were not yet resolved. Overlapping land tenure permits and mining claims have also compromised women as they faced stiff contestations from men.

5.7 IMPLICATIONS OF FTLRP TO ZIMBABWE AND THE WIDER COMMUNITY

It should be noticed that as revealed in this study, the market liberal system based on willing-buyer / willing-seller principles in many poor countries has led to acute shortage of land for redistributing to the general masses. In the same vein, the pressing needs for land redistribution in Zimbabwe before the FTLRP was no better than that in the neighboring countries like South Africa, Namibia and the wider Southern African region. Although the FTLRP happened in a highly charged political environment, clear policies and legal mechanism and instruments to facilitate orderly implementation were developed and implemented in due course through legal institutions which aligned customary and legal laws that normally intersect to the disadvantage of women.

Outcomes of this study demonstrated that land was one way to create employment and generate broad based income in rural areas and was also used to mitigate against shocks and poverty because land may be the only productive asset for rural communities. This justified the fact that the FTLRP, while addressing economic needs apart from social injustice and political expedience, had wider implications to Southern Africa and countries in the developing world with similar pressing land issues. Following Zimbabwe's FTLRP, the Southern African Regional Poverty and Development Network (SARPN) hosted a two-day conference on land reform and poverty alleviation on the 4th and 5th of June, 2001 at the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) in Pretoria, South Africa. The central intention of the conference was to establish a set of policy recommendations and guidelines derived from regional perspectives of land reform policy within the context of pro-poor poverty alleviation (Drimie 2001).

In South Africa News24 (03/04/17) quoted the Minister for Small Business Development Lindiwe Zulu saying "South Africa must change its constitution to allow the seizure of land for redistribution to black people without compensation because the country's laws are hindering the transformation of the economy more than two decades after the end of apartheid". After traditional leaders asked President Zuma for a referendum on land expropriation, he responded that a pre-colonial land audit, should be conducted because the principle of willing-seller / willing-buyer was not effective and the "majority of black Africans, in particular" were still poor (Netwerk24 2017).

As for Namibia, The Herald (20/6/2017) noted that when President Hage Geingob visited Zimbabwe, he said he will use the opportunity to learn how to embark on an agrarian revolution following Zimbabwe's successful land reform. He further said that Namibia will convene a second land conference in September to discuss with whites who own vast

swathes of land on how they could share it with the black majority most of who were still poor 27 years after the country got independence.

In Kenya, cattle herders repeatedly invaded farm lands to access pastures for their herds of livestock especially during drought seasons (Mail & Guardian 2017). They said poor rains forced them to cut fences in search of grazing land, accusing ranchers, farmers and conservationists of protecting their own livelihoods at the pastoralists' expense and using security forces to unfairly target them.

The News International (2008) reported that Ecuador's New Leftist constitution, approved by a landslide in a weekend referendum, triggered occupations by impoverished peasants who believed the document authorised them to take over unused land. Peasants in at least four regions of Ecuador took over farms, natural reserves, unused land, and protected woodlands, alleging that the new constitution gave them the right to build homes there.

Following the FTLRP and associated changes in mineral rights which demanded 51 per cent indigenous ownership for all foreign investments, The Herald (11/04/14) reported that African states took a cue from Zanu-PF policies and the wave was spreading across Africa. The Herald (2014) further reported that in 2011, Namibia declared all minerals - except zinc and fluorspar — "strategic" and handed overall exploration rights to newly-created State mining arm, Epangelo Mining Limited, hence foreign investors must partner with Epangelo if they wanted to exploit any strategic mineral in Namibia. Other mineral-rich countries such as Guinea, the DRC and Zambia were pushing through wide-ranging policy reforms (The Herald 11/04/14). The DRC which holds some of the world's largest deposits of copper and cobalt, was amending its mining code to enable the State to hold no less than 35 per cent equity. Guinea, with probably the world's largest deposits of bauxite and iron ore, had a law that gave the State 35 per cent equity in mining projects and the country was also reviewing all mining contracts with a view to raising State participation and boosting mining revenues. Zambia wanted no less than 35 per cent of all mining projects and reforms to this end were under way while Ghana, Africa's second-biggest gold producer, had announced a review and possible renegotiation of all mining to ensure mining profits were "maximised for the good of the country" while Nigeria may renegotiate offshore oil contracts, because "unfair fiscal terms" were costing the country billions of dollars annually in revenue (The Herald 11/04/14). The Herald (11/04/14) further noted that beyond Africa, India started working on modalities for a new levy on minerals extracted from its forested regions and in 2011, Peru enacted a new mining tax and royalty regime using the example of Chile, which in 2010 enacted measures to base levies on net mining income. Mongolia, Peru, Indonesia, Poland and the United States increased taxes and royalties, while others had introduced or were in the process of introducing export levies on raw minerals (The Herald 11/04/14). Indonesia capped foreign ownership at 49 per cent after 10 years of operations while Mongolia capped foreign ownership of strategic minerals at 49 percent (The Herald 11/04/14).

5.8 SUMMARY

The study contributed immensely to the gender and land tenure discourse and provide an insight beyond theoretical conceptualisations by demonstrating how women have been empowered. This is contrary to the dominant literature that reflected the opposite with men being the majority of land beneficiaries in the immediate and unforeseeable future. The discussion of results reflected a high level contextualization of the study in broader literature and theoretical conceptualisation. The study showed that there has been empowerment of women during and after the FTLRP through improved women's access to land and ownership either independently or jointly with their spouses. The study also revealed a number of barriers to women empowerment during and after the FTLRP such as lack of government support, statutory or state laws and policies, socio-cultural laws (customary and traditional), as well as unfair land allocation, access and usage. Both the government and the civil societies provided various forms of support to women and generally there has been an improvement in the household and individual livelihoods of people in the farm. The research constituted a meaningful contribution to the advancement of knowledge relating to the FTLRP in Zimbabwe as it revealed how women benefited and are still benefiting from land reforms.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

In Chapter 4 results of the study were presented and Chapter 5 engaged on a discussion about transformative implications of land reforms and how they promote women empowerment. The purpose of this study was to assess the impact of land reforms on women's livelihoods, and in particular to understand the relationship between land reforms and sustainable livelihoods, identify and create an inventory of land reform and livelihood challenges faced by the marginalised people, especially women as well as establish the implications of land reforms to the wider community particularly sub-Saharan Africa. Women were targeted because they were majorly depend on land and land based activities for their survival as well as shouldering the well-being of their families and household in the rural areas.

This Chapter consists of five (5) sections and this is the first section. Section 6.2 discuses conclusions regarding land reforms and women empowerment. Conclusions regarding the research area and methodology are discussed in section 6.3. In section 6.4 a summary of key findings is provided and section 6.5 discusses recommendations for strengthening women empowerment. This chapter provides conclusive comments based on the study findings leading to the rationale for the recommendations.

6.2 CONCLUSIONS REGARDING LAND REFORMS AND WOMEN EMPOWERMENT

The goal of the study was to answer the question as to how land reforms and related programmes empowered women and improved their livelihoods in Zimbabwe. The study showed that land reforms have opened the space and improved mechanisms for women's access and ownership to land. Land accessed and owned by women have been utilised satisfactorily with regards to economic and agricultural productivity including off-farm income generating activities. Women's empowerment, survival, security, self-sufficiency and food security was linked to their access to land and its utilisation including sustainable environmental activities because they were fully committed to their land and land based activities and protection of the environment from where they derive their livelihoods.

This study demonstrated that the FTLRP like many other land reforms increased women's access to land either independently or jointly with their spouse or partners. While a few women acquired land independently, the majority of women accessed land through marriage, family and/or social networks. This study on transformative land reforms and women empowerment pointed out the fact that although the FTLRP was accompanied by secure land tenure permits and improved inheritance laws which opened up more spaces and mechanisms for women to access and own land independently and jointly, there was need for more improvements in legislative land reform framework in areas pertaining to land ownership and inheritance entitlement for women whose land was bequeathed to them by relatives or family members (mother, father, mother-in-law or father-in-law). The main findings were that land reforms were still gender silent, hence perpetuated gender disparities of unequally land ownership, although women were becoming more assertive and actively participated in land reforms, their domestic roles still disadvantaged them, resulting in less participation and fewer women than men benefiting. Findings from this research showed that inadequate government capacity curtailed successful land reform implementation especially targeting women, hence the FTLRP exacerbated by successive droughts, took close to two decades to start bearing fruits. There were still numerous impediments affecting successful implementation of women empowerment programmes and there were still gaps in property rights, inheritance rights and enforcement mechanisms to successfully realise maximum women empowerment.

The study demonstrated that women who accessed and owned land were committed to engaging in economically productive land based activities, because they were not only providing for themselves and their families, but sold excess produce to markets of their choice. They were also accumulating assets from the proceeds of agricultural production and other land based economic activities such as small-scale mining and other off-farm economic activities. It was therefore confirmed that access to, and ownership of land increased women empowerment, ensuring they were successful in terms of job creation, generating household income and food security as well as self-reliant including negotiating with men on an equal basis including market and financial institutions.

It is evident that generally women were excellent environmental stewards and productively managed the land in their possession in a sustainable manner, while providing food for their families and surplus for sell. This calls for government to formulate policies that promote women and provide more resources as well as launch diversified livelihood programmes in support of land reforms in terms of finance, on-farm activities (mining, fisheries, trade, etc.) and off-farm infrastructure, technical advice, more market opportunities and training for women to enhance their empowerment, self-worth, self-sufficiency, agricultural productivity and ensure food security. Government officials indicated that inadequate government capacity hampered aggressive empowerment of women because it limited women's agricultural productivity although they have potential.

The main conclusion is that while women with access to land engaged in agriculturally and economically productive activities as witnessed by increased in agricultural productivity and

economic development, as well as asset accumulation, land reform programmes were still discriminating against them. Although recently enacted constitutions and statutory laws in many countries protected women's land rights, there were still gaps and lags in the constitutions with regards to gender-equitable property and inheritance laws especially for those women whose land was bequeathed to them by relatives or family members. Insufficient support from government, local authorities and social networks for women has only reduced the level of production but not jeopardised it completely as the majority of women produced more than one tonne of maize in an agricultural season including surplus for sell to the market.

6.3 SUMMARY OF KEY FINDINGS

There is evidence from the findings of the study that fundamental contributions have been made to the research question and its objectives. Available evidence from the findings showed that women own land independently or jointly with their spouses or partners and they were achieving food self-sufficiency at household level and producing surplus that was sold to satisfy other household needs. Further evidence of asset creation and accumulation indicated success with the surplus which were in turn reinvested into assets and agricultural activities (Currie, 1981). Women confirmed that ownership of land had empowered them with liberating statuses that allowed them to work on the land and land based activities with limited or no interference from anyone. This study showed that A1 communities seem to be self-sufficient, agriculturally and economically viable and a safety net for social well-being of women and their families. However, this assertion requires further extensive research to confirm this perception. Majority of women viewed the land as a life time asset which they will never sell and not just for earning livelihoods but as well as for their generational families to inherit.

Women were successfully diversifying their livelihoods, creating and accumulating assets as positive spin-off outcomes of the provision of land through the FTLRP. With limited government support, smallholder farmers were successfully curving out agricultural livelihoods and accessing social capital that enabled them to diversify their livelihood strategies. The physical outlook of the farm had completely changed from a forested remote quite place to a new vibrant community that sprouted out with permanent housing structures and relevant infrustructure. The composition of the new community was heterogeneous and diverse in ethinicity, class, skills, connections, gender and generational compostion. Village committees were now formalised and ran the day to day activities of the village although there was lack of cooperative projects.

Women had been empowered and were engaging men and financial institutions for collateral activities. Although rural people especially women lacked access to credit facilities, they managed to generate income from excess farm produce and off-farm activities which in turn was used to accumulate other forms of assets reinvested in

agricultural production. Women's bargaining power was hugely improved because they could negotiate prices for their products with different buyers e.g. GMB vs Ngoko (Farmer) vs Delta (Brewery Company) depending on the offers whether it was livestock or money.

Findings of this study were in agreement with theories and other studies that found that despite inadequate support, limited resources and low capital investment, smallholder farmers were highly productive (Cusworth 1990, Kinsey et. al., 1998, Gunning et. at., 2000, Robilliard e. al., 2001, Boyce et. al., 2005, Mutupo 2011, Mkodzongi 2013, Giovarielli. et. el., 2013)

Barriers to women empowerment through land reform were discussed in Chapter five, section 5.6. Findings showed that around 30 per cent of women actively participated in the FTLRP which was a good indicator of women empowerment and knowledge about benefits accruing from the land reform. After the land reform process, a myriad of problems were experienced by women. These problems ranged from extended years of drought, limited access to government support, unfair treatment by local leaders and men in general, lack of farming implements, lack of inputs and services, as well as conflicting legal and customary laws. There was no clear inheritance laws around land bequeathed to family members leaving women vulnerable to land dispossession. However, evidence showed that smallholder agriculture should be pursued as a means of ensuring food self-sufficiency and household, community and national economic development as shown in Table 5.12 where A1 and A2 schemes contributed 30 and 24 per cent respectively to maize production giving a combined total of 54 per cent for the 2016/2017 farming season. This lends to the question – is smallholder agriculture now ushering a "Green Revolution" in Zimbabwe? It is still to be seen if these improved smallholder agricultural productivity was going to be sustained, stimulate and revolutionaries' economic development.

The implications of the FTLRP was discussed in Chapter 5 section 5.9 and showed that a lot more still needed to be done in many countries that face critical land and mineral rights issues in order to offset the Zimbabwe situation as it unfolded in a haphazard manner in the initial stages. More proactive and progressive land reforms with clearly designed and developed policies including implementation mechanisms should be adopted to avoid knee jerk reaction at crises stage.

6.4 CONCLUSIONS REGARDING THE RESEARCH AREA AND METHODOLOGY

The general aim of this study was to assess the socio-economic implications of land reforms particularly FTLRP on women empowerment and their livelihood portfolios. A case study of Sub-division A of Clonmore Farm targeting women in Mberengwa District-Midlands Province was utilised to assess to what extend the land redistribution had positive outcomes

to resettled households and to find out how their household capabilities and livelihood strategies were impacted since resettling in the farm. The study population was made up of 341 households and interviews were carried out with 61 women respondents, as well as 19 key informants. Mberengwa RDC is in the dry agro-ecological zone IV and V with severe mid-season dry spell climate conditions favouring semi-intensive agriculture particularly cultivation of drought resistant crops and extensive animal husbandry. It was selected due to difficulties in accessing many rural areas given the sensitives and politics associated with the FTLRP and the fact that it represented one of the harshest environments for eking out a living in rural livelihoods, hence provided a good benchmark for rural economic activities.

The study employed both quantitative and qualitative research methods due to their complementary strengths. Quantitative research was utilised partly in the design of the data collection instruments such that the majority of analysis and collection of the data was in numeric form. This allowed the information to be more readily analysed and interpreted. Qualitative research, on the other hand, allowed for direct encounter with the world through interacting with women respondents and key informants while collecting and analysing information chiefly non-numeric, focusing on exploring, in as much detail as possible the day to day livelihoods activities of women participants.

Qualitative research methods were not prescriptive hence allowed events and issues to be understood adequately only if they were explored in context and led to the discovery of a myriad of other aspects of women's successes and barriers in the "new" community. The discoveries and understanding unravelled through close contact with the community, participant observations and transect walks led to the researchers' perception that women were successfully accessing and owning land through secure tenure permits unlike their counterparts in the CAs, improving and diversifying their livelihoods and have been greatly empowered although numerous impediments were limiting their productive capabilities and livelihood strategies. Close interaction with women also revealed that a small proportion of single women were failing to adequately utilise their land because they lacked productive assets and the necessary support from government, local authorities, family and/or social networks.

Through transect walks, interaction with women, key informants and various community members at various forums, people's actions were observed and meaning attached to them. This approach made it possible to understand the various hidden ways and mechanisms women were using to access land, and engage in their income generating activities in order to succeed. Qualitative research types that were utilised included: Structured, Semi-Structured and Open-ended Interviews, Structured and Semi-Structured Questionnaires, Transect Walks and Participant Observations. These methods were also used for data triangulation and validation.

The ethical requirements and clearance for students authenticated the research and allowed the research process to be transparent and consultative enough to uncover information as agreed with the participants. Research tools such as the consent forms and information

sheets including ethical clearance instruments and approvals from the DA's office and the District Committee improved the level of trust between the researcher and the participants who were interviewed and this enhanced the response rate from women participants.

6.5 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR STRENGTHENING WOMEN EMPOWERMENT

In view of the above discussions in the previous sections and chapters, a number of recommendations could be made on how land reforms could empower women and improve their livelihoods. Issue Brief (2014) argued that it should be noticed that increased appreciation of the part played by women in the rural economy calls for the need to address the many barriers to women's secure land rights. This meant not only to address formal, legal rights, but also taking action to make those rights real for women on an equal basis with men. The study showed that there was a lot that still needed to be done in terms of policy formulation and implementation, training, input support, etc. to ensure the FTLRP achieved its maximum potential. From the findings of this study, in order to empower women through land reforms, areas that needed to be looked into included: legal and regulatory frameworks, customary laws and practices, government capacity and support by local authorities, community participation, women's perspectives and government officials as well as local leaders perspectives.

6.5.1 LEGAL AND REGULATORY FRAMEWORK ON LAND REFORMS

Evidently from the findings it was recommended that continuous review of the legal and regulatory frameworks on land reforms in different countries to suit local circumstances was not only necessary, but a precondition for equitable gender distribution of the land. This was consistent with Issue Brief (2014) findings that innovative practices and programming have been developed to facilitate gender-equitable property rights in many parts of the world. These innovations provided valuable examples of how the complex issue of women's rights to access and own land could be addressed in different contexts. In developing strategies to address these issues, some of the recommendations are:

I. Improvement of Statutory laws - while in a number of developing countries laws have been enacted that protect women's land rights, these laws need to be strengthened and implementation mechanisms should be in place and enforced.
II. Formalisation of customary laws – It has been noted that in other countries, governments have recognised and strengthened customary laws in ways that emphasise the rights of women, especially inheritance laws. Such approaches have improved women empowerment hence, they should be extended and embraced by other developing countries.

III. Hybrid laws have demonstrated substantial vast improvement to women empowerment through strengthening their land rights as shown in Mozambique where the state owns all the land in the country and grants land use rights to communities that occupy the land according to customary tenure. Its 1997 Land Law allows these communities to abide by their own customary rules and governance structures within their collective holdings. In Zimbabwe, the new communities under FTLRP were governed under a hybrid legal and customary system which ensured women own land independently or jointly with their spouses.
IV. Inheritance laws around land bequeathed to family members should be reviewed and strengthened to protect women especially after the death of their husbands because this study showed that such women were insecure and vulnerable to evictions. This should be enforced with the assistance of local leaders especially headmen and councillors as well as government officials.
V. Laws that promote equitable land distribution should be enacted and enforced to ensure that gender parity in land ownership was achieved during land reform and redistribution processes.

6.5.2 Government Capacity and Support by Local Authorities

Most of the successful land reforms depended on the support provided by the government after the land had been distributed. More support could be provided by development partners, social networks, policies, and community authorities, changes in customary and secular laws. Previous land reforms failed to yield tangible results because of lack of government support. Adequate institutions and mechanisms were required to build the capacity of government officials through gender training and other tools. This also calls for equitable gender representativity in high positions in government and local structures. This will ensure full participation by women in decision making ensuring that officials understand the laws that protect women's land rights.

6.5.3 Community Participation

Embracing equitable gender representatives in local structures ensured engagement with local leaders and other community-level actors for women participation in local activities. Most of the resistance to women's land rights could be found at the community level especially where men dispossessed women of their land, hence focusing on community level can help protect women and bring about real change. During the FTLRP, protection of women by war veterans helped women to hold on to their land and further protection by headmen and legal mechanism continued to assist women realise their property rights.

6.5.4 WOMEN'S PERSPECTIVES

Focusing on women themselves could have a profound positive outcome enabling women to realise their land rights. Women land beneficiaries' provided a range of recommendations on what needed to be done to improve their bargaining power and livelihood options or portfolios. Their recommendations were discussed extensively in Chapter 4 section 4.7.3. These findings were consistent with other numerous studies conducted in different parts of the world.

6.5.5 GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS AND LOCAL LEADERS PERSPECTIVES

Findings showed that government and local officials provided a range of recommendations on what needed to be done to empower women and improve their bargaining power and livelihood options or portfolios, hence they needed to be engaged in the formulation of policies and strategies targeting to empower women. Their recommendations were discussed extensively in Chapter 4 section 4.10 which covered various government departments and key local leaders and informants.

6.5.6 SMALLHOLDER FARMING – "GREEN REVOLUTION"

The integrated government economic development policy should put agriculture, particularly smallholder farmers and women at the core of rural development because emerging evidence demonstrated that women were playing a critical role in agriculture. Agricultural production was proving that it could stimulate other sectors of the economy and with adequate support for women; agriculture could usher in the "green revolution" in Zimbabwe.

6.5.5 GROWTH POINT STRATEGY – RURAL DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY

There is need for government to revisit the growth point strategy as a policy for service delivery to rural communities to usher and promote economic development in rural areas. New centres of service delivery were emerging in previously remote areas driven by economically viable resource bases and these needed to be supported by government injecting infrastructure and other developmental programmes in order to transform them into "nerve-centres" of economic development. There were a number of business entities at the centre and these included: a butchery, hardwares, fastfoods, hairdressing, grinding mill, nite clubs, petrol station, welding, tyre repairing, retail shops, transportation services, etc. These off-farm business activities were providing women with a wide range of opportunities to engage on income generating economic activities and for this reason, off-farm economic activities ranked second after agriculture as the main livelihood portfolio.

It is in these "never centre" areas where women were increasingly engaging in a wide range of off farm income generating activities providing services like hair dressing, fast-foods, petty trading, as well as buying and selling goods from neighbouring countries like South Africa.

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Annexure A: Permission letter

School of Geography, Archaeology and Environmental Studies

Private Bag 3, Wits 2050, South Africa Enquiries: GEOGRAPHY: TEL: +27 11 717-6500+
ARCHAEOLOGY: TEL: +27 11 717-6045+
http://www.wits.ac.za/geography/

To whom it may concern

RE: **Coleman Dube**

Dear Sir/Madam

This letter serves to introduce the above named person who is currently registered as a PhD student in the Faculty of Humanities and pursuing his studies in the School of Geography, Archaeology and Environmental Studies, at the University of the Witwatersrand in South Africa. Part of the requirements for his studies is conducting fieldwork which contributes significantly to the development of his thesis. And as such Mr. Dube is currently conducting his research in Zimbabwe and his topic is entitled: "*The Impact of Land Reform on Women's Livelihoods in Ngoko-Mberengwa District of Zimbabwe*". The topic endeavours to identify how the reforms programmes have influenced/or improved the food situation of vulnerable rural women and what policy interventions can be instituted in order to contribute to national development. I will be grateful if you can assist him in anyway possible and your assistance will be appreciated.

Should you require any additional information, please do not hesitate to contact me on the details stated below. May I take this opportunity to thank you in advance for your support and understanding.

Yours faithfully,

School of Geography, Archaeology & Environmental Studies
University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg
Private Bag 3, Wits 2050

Prof. Danny Simatele

Danny.Simatele@wits.ac.za

Tel No. +27117176515

Please assist the above-mentioned researcher in any possible way. Permission granted. For further clarification about him/her please do not hesitate to contact the D.M's office.

MIN. OF LOCAL GOVT, URBAN & RURAL DEVELOPMENT
DISTRICT ADMINISTRATOR
21 DEC 2016
P.O. BOX 69, MBERENGWA
ZIMBABWE TEL: 051-8-231/2

Annexure B: Research Clearance Certificate

Research Office

HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (NON-MEDICAL)
R14/49 Dube

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE	**PROTOCOL NUMBER: H15/05/08**
PROJECT TITLE	The impact of land reform on women's livelihoods in Ngoko-Mberengwa district in Zimbabwe
INVESTIGATOR(S)	Mr C Dube
SCHOOL/DEPARTMENT	Geography and Environmental Studies/
DATE CONSIDERED	22 May 2015
DECISION OF THE COMMITTEE	Approved unconditionally
EXPIRY DATE	10 June 2017

DATE 11 June 2015 **CHAIRPERSON** (Professor T Milani)

cc: Supervisor : Dr D Simatele

DECLARATION OF INVESTIGATOR(S)

To be completed in duplicate and **ONE COPY** returned to the Secretary at Room 10005, 10th Floor, Senate House, University.

I/We fully understand the conditions under which I am/we are authorized to carry out the abovementioned research and I/we guarantee to ensure compliance with these conditions. Should any departure to be contemplated from the research procedure as approved I/we undertake to resubmit the protocol to the Committee. **I agree to completion of a yearly progress report.**

_____ _____/_____/_____
Signature **Date**

PLEASE QUOTE THE PROTOCOL NUMBER ON ALL ENQUIRIES

Annexure C: Request to access information from government officials

School of Geography, Archaeology and Environmental Studies
Private Bag 3, Wits 2050, South Africa Enquiries: GEOGRAPHY: TEL: +27 11 717-6505 •
ARCHAEOLOGY: TEL: +27 11 717-6045 •
http://www.wits.ac.za/geography/

REQUEST TO ACCESS INFORMATION – GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS

My name is Coleman Dube; I am a PhD Researcher at the University of Witwatersrand (WITS). The research I wish to conduct for my Doctoral degree is titled ***"The Impact of Land Reform on Women's Livelihoods in Ngoko-Mberengwa District in Zimbabwe."*** I request access to information related to my study which may include maps, land allocation databases, etc.

The information that will be provided in this study will assist in understanding the impact of land reforms on women's livelihoods and sustainable development in the rural areas of Zimbabwe. It is believed that land reforms are a vehicle to rural development. The study seeks to understand the challenges faced by women during land reforms, relationships between land reform, women livelihoods and sustainable development. The study will therefore find out how best land reforms can be conducted to empower women and create sustainable rural livelihoods.

Please be assured that individual information will be kept with highest degree of confidentiality and will not be disclosed at any stage and only aggregated information will be included in the final research report. This survey is for my PhD studies and the results will be used solely for academic purposes. The results will assist planning, policy-making, monitoring and assessment of similar land reform projects.

Access to relevant information will greatly assist in achieving the purpose of this research. Please complete the attached consent form to show that you agreed to assist with access to information for the purpose of this research. Should you have any questions or comments please contact me (the researcher) or Dr. Danny Simatele (Research Supervisor) on the details below. Please let me know if you need results of this research.

Regards

Coleman Dube
Wits PhD Researcher

Researcher: Coleman Dube – Coleman.Dube@student.wits.ac.za **Cell: +27828882394**

Supervisor: Danny Simatele – Danny.Simatele@wits.ac.za **Tel: +27117176515**

Annexure D: Request to access information from women participants

School of Geography, Archaeology and Environmental Studies
Private Bag 3, Wits 2050, South Africa Enquiries: GEOGRAPHY: TEL: +27 11 717-6503 •
ARCHAEOLOGY: TEL: +27 11 717-6045 •
http://www.wits.ac.za/geography/

INFORMATION SHEET – WOMEN PARTICIPANTS

My name is Coleman Dube; I am a PhD Researcher at the University of Witwatersrand (WITS). The research I wish to conduct for my Doctoral degree is titled ***"The Impact of Land Reform on Women's Livelihoods in Ngoko-Mberengwa District in Zimbabwe."*** I invite you to participate in this research and this will take one (1) hour of your time.

The information that will be provided in this study will assist in understanding the impact of land reforms on women's livelihoods and sustainable development in the rural areas of Zimbabwe. It is believed that land reforms are a vehicle to rural development. The study seeks to understand the challenges faced by women during land reforms, relationships between land reform, women livelihoods and sustainable development. The study will therefore find out how best land reforms can be conducted to empower women and create sustainable rural livelihoods.

Please be assured that individual information will be kept with highest degree of confidentiality and will not be disclosed at any stage and only aggregated information will be included in the final research report. This survey is for my PhD studies and the results will be used solely for academic purposes. The results will assist planning, policy-making, monitoring and assessment of similar land reform projects. Some of the information will be audio taped to ensure I accurately capture your land reform experiences. Afterwards the tapes will be destroyed.

Participation in this survey is voluntary and anyone may refuse to answer any question or withdraw at any time. Also complete the attached consent form to show that you agreed to participate in this research. Should you have any questions or comments please contact me (the researcher) or Dr. Danny Simatele (Research Supervisor) on the details below. I therefore, kindly seek for your help to participate in the interview to achieve the research purpose. If there are any questions you don't wish to answer, please feel free not to respond to them. Please let me know if you need results of this research.

Regards



Coleman Dube
Wits PhD Researcher

Researcher: Coleman Dube – Coleman.Dube@student.wits.ac.za **Cell: +27828882394**

Supervisor: Danny Simatele – Danny.Simatele@wits.ac.za **Tel: +27117176515**

Annexure E: Consent Form for Government Officials

School of Geography, Archaeology and Environmental Studies
Private Bag 3, Wits 2050, South Africa Enquiries: GEOGRAPHY: TEL: +27 11 717-6503 •
ARCHAEOLOGY: TEL: +27 11 717-6045 •
http://www.wits.ac.za/geography/

CONSENT FORM – GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS

TO WHO IT MAY CONCERN

I hereby consent to participate in this research study and also help Mr. Dube to access relevant information. The purpose of the study was explained to me. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I may refuse to answer any particular question, voice recording, photography or withdraw from the study if I so wish without any negative consequences. I expect my responses to be kept confidential.

Name of the Government Official:.....

Designation.....

Date: .....

Signature: .....

As researcher I am bound by the aforementioned and agree to the conditions mentioned on the consent form. I undertake to adhere to the conditions.

Name of researcher: Coleman Dube

Date: .....

Signature: .....

Annexure F: Consent Form for Women Participants

School of Geography, Archaeology and Environmental Studies
Private Bag 3, Wits 2050, South Africa Enquiries: GEOGRAPHY: TEL: +27 11 717-6503 •
ARCHAEOLOGY: TEL: +27 11 717-6045 •
http://www.wits.ac.za/geography/

CONSENT FORM – WOMEN PARTICIPANTS

TO WHO IT MAY CONCERN

I hereby consent to participate in this research study. The purpose of the study was explained to me. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I may refuse to answer any particular question, voice recording, photography or withdraw from the study if I so wish without any negative consequences. I expect my responses to be kept confidential.

Name of the Participant: .....

Date: .....

Signature: .....

As researcher I am bound by the aforementioned and agree to the conditions mentioned on the consent form. I undertake to adhere to the conditions.

Name of researcher: Coleman Dube

Date: .....

Signature: .....

Annexure G: Questionnaire for Government Officials

School of Geography, Archaeology and Environmental Studies

Private Bag 3, Wits 2050, South Africa Enquiries: **GEOGRAPHY:** TEL: +27 11 717-6503 •
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http://www.wits.ac.za/geography/

GOVERNMENT OFFICALS QUESTINNAIRE

This research project investigates the role of land reform programs in empowering women and influencing their livelihood choices. It aims at identifying underlying mechanism and barriers influencing women empowerment and how the land reforms particularly the Fast Tract Land Reform Programme (FTLRP) relates to women livelihoods and sustainable development.

You have been selected because you are an official who is involved in the FTLRP and I will be very grateful if you agree to participate in the interview and complete the questionnaire with my assistance. I will also request you to provide a narrative on your experiences during land acquisition that I will audio-tape.

Responses are confidential and individual respondents will not be identified by name or village in the final report. The project has been subjected to ethical review in accordance with the procedures specified by the University of Witwatersrand Ethics Committee and has been given a favorable ethical opinion for conduct.

By completing the questionnaire with my assistance you have given consent for your responses to be used for the purposes of this research project. In this regard, I will kindly request you to complete the consent form.

Many thanks for your support

ADMINISTRATIVE INFORMATION

Name of Ministry/Department.....

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

No.	Question	Answer	Comment / Sub Answer
1.	May I ask your designation or job title?	1. Executive Manager 2. Manager 3. Supervisor 4. Other (Specify)	
2.	Gender	1. Male 2. Female	
2.	Please tell me more about the role of your organisation or establishment with regards to land reform?	1. During FTLRP ..... 2. After FTLRP	
3.	Are you in a position to discuss the role played by your organisation in assisting women during the FTLRP? ***(A***	.....	
4.	Are you in a position to discuss the challenges faced by your organisation during the FTLRP with regards to allocation of land to women? ***(A narrative that should be recorded if permission is granted)***	Explain.....	

5.	Can we discuss your recommend for your organisation for future land reform process with regards to allocation of land to women? ***(A narrative that should be recorded if permission is granted)***	Explain.....	
6.	Are you in a position to discuss the assistance you provide to women who were allocated land during the FTLRP? ***(A narrative that should be recorded if permission is granted)***	Explain.....	
7.	Can you share with me challenges faced by your organisation in assisting women who were allocated land during the FTLRP? ***(A narrative that should be recorded if permission is granted)***	Explain.....	
9.	Do you think the rules, laws and systems applied to allocate land to women are sufficient and should not change? ***(Explain your Answer)***	1. Yes 2. No	Explain.....
11.	In you view, do you think allocation of land to women has improved their livelihoods? ***(Explain your Answer)***	1. Yes 2. No	Explain.....
12.	In you view, do you think allocation of land to women has improved their bargaining power in the society? ***(Explain your Answer)***	1. Yes 2. No	Explain.....
13	Are you in a position to discuss your recommendations how women who were allocated land should be assisted to maintain sustainable livelihoods? ***(Explain your Answer)***	1. Yes 2. No	Explain.....

Annexure H: Questionnaire for Women Participants

School of Geography, Archaeology and Environmental Studies

Private Bag 3, Wits 2050, South Africa Enquiries: **GEOGRAPHY:** TEL: +27 11 717-6503 •
ARCHAEOLOGY: TEL: +27 11 717-6045 •
http://www.wits.ac.za/geography/

INDIVIDUAL QUESTIONNAIRE

This research project investigates the role of land reform programs in empowering women and how they influence their livelihood choices. It aims at identifying underlying mechanism and barriers influencing women empowerment and how the land reforms particularly the Fast Tract Land Reform Programme (FTLRP) relates to women livelihoods and sustainable development.

You have been selected because you are part of the beneficiaries of the FTLRP and I will be very grateful if you agree to participate in any interview and complete the questionnaire with my assistance. I would also request you to provide a narrative on your experiences during land acquisition that I will audio-tape.

Responses are confidential and individual respondents will not be identified by name or village in the final report. The project has been subjected to ethical review in accordance with the procedures specified by the University of Witwatersrand Ethics Committee and has been given a favorable ethical opinion for conduct.

By participating in the interview and completing the questionnaire with my assistance you have given consent for your responses to be used for the purposes of this research project. In this regard, I will kindly request you to complete the consent form.

Many thanks for your support

ADMINISTRATIVE

Household No.....
Village Name.....
Headman.....

SECTION A: DEMOGRAPHICS

No.	Question	Answer	Comment / Sub Answer	
1.	Are you in a position to tell me your marital status?	1. Married 2. Never Married 3. Divorced 4. Widowed		
2.	Can we discuss the size of your household?	Grand Total ☐	Total Males ☐	Females ☐
3.	Are you in a position to discuss your household age composition?		Children below 16 ☐	Adults 16+ ☐

4.	Are in a position to share with me your highest level of education?	1. No Schooling 2. Pre-primary 3. Primary 4. Secondary 5. Tertiary		
5.	Can we discuss the highest level of education for household members?	1. No Schooling 2. Pre-primary 3. Primary 4. Secondary 5. Tertiary	Total..... Total..... Total..... Total..... Total.....	

SECTION B: INCOME

No.	Question	Answer	Comment / Sub Answer
6.	Are you in a position to share with me sources of your income and total income per month?	1. Salary/Pay 2. Social Grants 3. Remittances 4. Farming – Grain 5. Farming – Livestock 6. Farming - Gardening 7. Pension 8. Other (Specify)	1. $..... 2. $..... 3. $..... 4. $..... 5. $..... 6. $..... 7. $..... 8. $.....
7.	Among the sources you have indicated, is it possible to indicate which one is your **MAIN** source of income?	1. Salary/Pay 2. Social Grants 3. Remittances 4. Farming – Grain 5. Farming – Livestock 6. Farming - Gardening 7. Pension 8. Other (Specify)	9.

SECTION C: LAND ACCESS, USAGE AND CHALLENGES

No.	Question	Answer	Comment / Sub Answer
8.	Is it possible for you to indicate when you moved to this stand?	1. Month ..... 2. Year.....	
9.	Are you in a position to discuss when you got this stand?	1. Month ..... 2. Year.....	
10.	Are you in a position to discuss with me how this stand was allocated to you?	1. Political Party Membership 2. Political Connection 3. Hold Position in	

		Government/Politics 4. Government Office Allocation 4. Traditional Office Allocation 5. Family /Social networks 6. Inheritance 7. Donation 8. Other (Specify)	
11.	Can we discuss the challenges you faced during the FTLRP? ***(A narrative that should be recorded if permission is granted)***	1. Customary rules/laws. 2. Officials in the area (Chiefs, Headmen, Councilors, War Veterans) 2. Government Officials 3. Allocation based on political party membership. 4. Legal/Secular laws. 5. Allocation based on participation 6. Other (Specify)	Registering in male names, males in government offices favoring men, Zanu vs MDC etc,
12.	Can we discuss the challenges you are facing after the FTLRP? ***(A narrative that should be recorded if permission is granted)***	1. Customary rules/laws. 2. Officials in the area (Chiefs, Headmen, Councilors, War Veterans) 3. Government Officials 4. Lack of government support 5. Tenure Systems 6. Secular laws. 7. Allocation based on participation 8. Access to inputs, services and farm equipment 9. Other (Specify)	Inheritance laws, laws at lands offices
13.	Are you in a position to discuss the support you are getting after you got the stand?	1. Farming Equipment 2. Farming Seed 3. Fertilizer 4. Crop Market	

		5. Crop Transport 6. Training 7. Other (Specify)	
14.	Can you share with me who is providing this support?	1. Government 2. NGOs 3. Family/Social Networks 4. Other (Specify)	
15.	Are you in a position to share with me the benefits of accessing the land? ***(A narrative that should be recorded if permission is granted)***	1. Land ownership 2. Access to wildlife 3. Access to minerals 4. Other (Specify)	Diversification of livelihoods
16.	Can we discuss whether participation in the FTLRP and access to land has increased your bargaining power and control over livelihood choices?	1. Yes 2. No	Explain your answer
17.	Can we discuss whether access to land increased your bargaining power in the society?	1. Yes 2. No	Explain your answer
18.	Do you think land reforms including the FTLRP has improved your livelihoods?	1. Yes 2. No	Explain your answer
19.	Are you in a position to discuss whether another option other than land for livelihoods will be OK with you?	1. Yes 2. No	Explain your answer
20.	Are you in a position to discuss your recommendations for the future land acquisition programme with regards to women? ***(A narrative that should be recorded if permission is granted)***	1. Government Institutions 2. Traditional Institutions 3. Political Frameworks 4. Forms of Tenure Systems 5. Policy Makers 6. Defined Mechanisms to Support women 7. Other (Specify).....	
21.	Are you in a position to share with me your tenure status?	1. Owner 2. Renting 3. Lessee	

		4. Other (Specify).....	
22.	If your answer to Q16 is option 1, are in a position to share with me if whether you have a **Tenure Certificate?**	1. Yes 2. No 3. Other (Specify).....	
23.	Can we discuss the estimated value of your land and housing property?	$.....	
24.	Can we discuss the agricultural activities (grain) you produce?	1. Maize 2. Sorghum 3. Millet 4. Round nuts 5. Ground nuts 6. Peas 7. Other Specify).....	1. Total Kg..... 2. Total Kg..... 3. Total Kg..... 4. Total Kg..... 5. Total Kg..... 6. Total Kg..... 7. Total Kg.....
25.	Can we discuss the agricultural activities (livestock) you possess?	1. Cattle 2. Goats 3. Sheep 4. Pigs 5. Donkeys 6. Other (Specify).....	1. Total ..... 2. Total ..... 3. Total ..... 4. Total ..... 5. Total ..... 6. Total .....
26.	Can we discuss the agricultural activities (vegetables) you produce?	1. Root 2. Leaf 3. Fruit 4. Other (Specify).....	1. Total Kg..... 2. Total Kg..... 3. Total Kg..... 4. Total Kg.....
27.	Are you in a position to discuss other economic activities you engage and the financial value you derive from them ($/month)?	1. Mining 2. Selling Products 3. Fishing 4. Other (Specify).....	1. $..... 2. $..... 3. $..... 4. $.....

SECTION D: HOUSEHOLD GOODS AND SERVICES

No.	Question	Answer	Comment / Sub Answer
28.	What is the type of main dwelling?	1. House or Brick Structure	

	(Record by observation)	2. Traditional Dwelling (Roundavale wit thatched roof) 3. Mud Structure/Informal Dwelling 4. Other (Specify)	
29.	Which of the following best describes the MAIN dwelling and OTHER dwelling(s) that this household occupies? ***(Record by observation)***	1. Brick 2. Zinc 3. Asbestos 4. Thatch 5. Other (Specify)	1. Roof 2. Wall
30.	Are you in a position to provide me with the estimated the value of your household goods? ***(Probe)***	$.	
31.	Can we discuss whether you have the following in working order?	1. Motorcar 2. Chart 3. Wheel Barrow 4. Plough 5. Skoforrow. 6. Hoes 7. Television 8. Radio 10. Cell phone 11. Bicycle 12. Refrigerator 13. Electric / Gas Stove 14. Computer	1. Yes 2. No
32.	Of the goods indicated above, which ones did you buy after you moved to this stand?	1. Motorcar 2. Chart 3. Wheel Barrow 4. Plough 5. Skoforrow. 6. Hoes 7. Television 8. Radio 10. Cell phone 11. Bicycle 12. Refrigerator 13. Electric / Gas Stove 14. Computer	
33.	Are you in a position to discuss your household's MAIN source of water?	1. Borehole 2. Well 3. Dam 4. River	

		5. Rain Water Tank 6. Water Tank 7. Other (Specify).....	
34.	Also does what is your household's ALTERNATIVE source of water?	1. Borehole 2. Well 3. Dam 4. River 5. Rain Water Tank 6. Water Tank 7. Other (Specify).....	
35.	Can you provide me with the distance (KM) travelled by the household to fetch water?	.....Km	
	What is the household's MAIN toilet facility?	1. Pit 2. Bucket 3. Bush 4. Other (Specify).....	
36.	Are you in a position to discuss the type of energy/fuel your household use for cooking, heating and lighting?	1. Solar 2. Paraffin/Diesel/Petrol 3. Wood 4. Candles 5. Animal Dung 6. Other (Specify).....	1. Cooking..... 2. Heating..... 3. Lighting.....
37.	If you use wood for any of the above, what is the distance (KM) travelled by the household to fetch wood?	.....Km	

SECTION E: SUSTAINABLE LIVELIHOODS

No.	Question	Answer	Comment / Sub Answer
38.	Are you in a position to discuss activities you undertake to ensure that land and other resources are preserved for sustainability?	1. Fertilizer 2. Cow dung 3. Limit head of animals 4. Crop rotation 5.Recycling 6. Reusing 7. Other (Specify)	
39.	Are you aware of any law/regulations that promote environmental	1. Yes 2. No	Explain your answer.....

	sustainability?	3. Other (Specify)	1. Customary 2. Government
40.	Can we discuss whether besides land that you own, there is any other sources of livelihoods? Please list them.	1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. Other (Specify)	Explain your answer.....

Annexure I: Questionnaire for Community Leaders

School of Geography, Archaeology and Environmental Studies

Private Bag 3, Wits 2050, South Africa Enquiries: GEOGRAPHY: TEL: +27 11 717-6503 •
ARCHAEOLOGY: TEL: +27 11 717-6045 •
http://www.wits.ac.za/geography/

COMMUNITY LEADERS QUESTIONNAIRE

This research project investigates the role of land reform programs in empowering women and influencing their livelihood choices. It aims at identifying underlying mechanism and barriers influencing women empowerment and how the land reforms particularly the Fast Tract Land Reform Programme (FTLRP) relates to women livelihoods and sustainable development.

You have been selected because you are an official who is involved in the FTLRP and I will be very grateful if you agree to participate in the interview and complete the questionnaire with my assistance. I will also request you to provide a narrative on your experiences during land acquisition that I will audio-tape with your permission.

Responses are confidential and individual respondents will not be identified by name or village in the final report. The project has been subjected to ethical review in accordance with the procedures specified by the University of Witwatersrand Ethics Committee and has been given a favorable ethical opinion for conduct.

By completing the questionnaire with my assistance you have given consent for your responses to be used for the purposes of this research project. In this regard, I will kindly request you to complete the consent form.

Many thanks for your support

ADMINISTRATIVE INFORMATION

Name of Traditional Area/Village/Ward.....
Code.....

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Please tell me your job title?
    1. Chief
    2. Headman
    3. Ward Councilor
    4. War Veteran
    5. Other (Specify).....

2. May I ask your gender? Male [1] Female [2]

3. Were you involved in the FTLRP? Yes [1] No [2]

4. Describe your role in land reform (FTLRP) in your community?
   Discuss your role from the beginning till present.....

13. If yes please explain the type of assistance provided.....

Organisation	Representative	Type of assistance

14. Discuss recommendations how women allocated land should be assisted to maintain sustainable livelihoods.....

Annexure J: Request to access information from Community Leaders

School of Geography, Archaeology and Environmental Studies
Private Bag 3, Wits 2050, South Africa Enquiries GEOGRAPHY: TEL: +27 11 717-6503
ARCHAEOLOGY: TEL: +27 11 717-6045
http://www.wits.ac.za/geography/

INFORMATION SHEET – COMMUNITY LEADERS

My name is Coleman Dube; I am a PhD Researcher at the University of Witwatersrand (WITS). The research I wish to conduct for my Doctoral degree is titled ***"The Impact of Land Reform on Women's Livelihoods in Ngoko-Mberengwa District in Zimbabwe."*** I invite you to participate in this research and this will take one (1) hour of your time.

The information that will be provided in this study will assist in understanding the impact of land reforms on women's livelihoods and sustainable development in the rural areas of Zimbabwe. It is believed that land reforms are a vehicle to rural development. The study seeks to understand the challenges faced by women during land reforms, relationships between land reform, women livelihoods and sustainable development. The study will therefore find out how best land reforms can be implemented to empower women and create sustainable rural livelihoods.

Please be assured that individual information will be kept with highest degree of confidentiality and will not be disclosed at any stage and only aggregated information will be included in the final research report. This survey is for my PhD studies and the results will be used solely for academic purposes. The results will assist planning, policy-making, monitoring and assessment of similar land reform projects. Some of the information will be audio taped to ensure I accurately capture your land reform experiences. Afterwards the tapes will be destroyed.

Participation in this survey is voluntary and anyone may refuse to answer any question or withdraw at any time. Also complete the attached consent form to show that you agreed and also give permission for your community members to participate in this research. Should you have any questions or comments please contact me (the researcher) or Dr. Danny Simatele (Research Supervisor) on the details below. I therefore, kindly seek for your help to participate in the interview to achieve the research purpose. If there are any questions you don't wish to answer, please feel free not to respond to them. Please let me know if you need results of this research.

Regards



Coleman Dube
Wits PhD Researcher

Researcher: Coleman Dube – Coleman.Dube@student.wits.ac.za **Cell: +27828882394**

Supervisor: Danny Simatele – Danny.Simatele@wits.ac.za **Tel: +27117176515**

Annexure K: Consent Form for Community Leaders

School of Geography, Archaeology and Environmental Studies

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CONSENT FORM - COMMUNITY LEADERS

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

I hereby consent to Mr. Coleman Dube to conduct his research study in my Village/Traditional Area. The purpose of the study was explained to me. I understand that participation is voluntary and that I and/or my people may refuse to answer any particular question, voice recording, photography or withdraw from the study if they so wish without any negative consequences. I expect their responses to be kept confidential.

Name of the village Councilor /Headmen/Chief: .....

Designation: .....

Date: .....

Signature: .....

As researcher I am bound by the aforementioned and agree to the conditions mentioned on the consent form. I undertake to adhere to the conditions.

Name of researcher: Coleman Dube

Date: .....

Signature: .....

Annexure L: A1 Permit



26/06/14

№ 21340

$20.00

MBERENGWA RURAL DISTRICT COUNCIL
(SETTLEMENT PERMITS) BY-LAWS, 2006

FIRST SCHEDULE (Section 3)
MBERENGWA RURAL DISTRICT COUNCIL: LAND SETTLEMENT PERMIT

Settlement Permit No: MTM135/21340

ISSUED TO

Full Name: DUBE SHINGAIRAI

I.D. No.: 03-052559 C03

Date of Birth: 15.05.47

Village/Farm Name: KUDZANAI/KRAAL OF CLEVEDORE

Headman/Stand Number: 281

Chief:

Council Ward: 35

SPOUSES

1.
I.D. No.:
2.
I.D. No.:
3.
I.D. No.:
4.
I.D. No.:

PROPERTY RIGHTS

Arable Land: 15 ✓ Hectares/Acres
Cattle (No.): 8
Donkeys (No.): 4
Sheep (No.): —
Other (Specify): —

The validity of this certificate is subject to the payment of all levies and charges due to Council.

SIGNED:

District Administrator

Chief Executive Officer

Chief