

https://dspace.org/

The fast track land reform programme (FTLRP) and the youth in Umguza district, Matabeleland North: Zimbabwe

Nyamupingidza, Mandlenkosi Taurayi

2018

https://hdl.handle.net/10539/27236

Nyamupingidza, Mandlenkosi Taurayi (2018) The fast track land reform programme (FTLRP) and the youth in Umguza district, Matabeleland North: Zimbabwe, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, <http://hdl.handle.net/10539/27236>

Downloaded from a DSpace repository. https://dspace.org/



The Fast Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP) and the youth in Umguza District, Matabeleland North: Zimbabwe

---

Mandlenkosi Taurayi Nyamupingidza 1500160

Supervisor Professor S Kariuki

A Research Report submitted to the Faculty of Humanities, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in fulfilment of the requirements for The Master of Arts Degree in Development Studies.

Johannesburg, 2018

Declaration

I declare that this research report is my original, unaided work and that, to the best of my knowledge, it has neither been previously submitted nor currently being submitted to any other University for a degree or an award. Where someone else's work has been used, due acknowledgment has been given and reference made accordingly

_____

Mandlenkosi Taurayi Nyamupingidza

29 March 2018

Dedication

To my daughter, Thandiwe Taiwana Nyamupingidza, I hope one day this thesis will inspire and motivate you to fight for our land.

Acknowledgements

First I want to thank God for His endless mercy and grace.

I also want to thank my supervisor Professor Samuel Kariuki for his invaluable contribution in nurturing this project from its infancy to its maturity.

To my wife Sithembekile M Chisiiwa, and my daughter Thandiwe Nyamupingidza, I thank you for your support, you have been the pillar of this thesis.

To my parents Mr. and Mrs. Nyamupingidza, your prayers and support have made a huge impact in my life and will continue to do so.

To my brother Pedzisai Nyamupingidza, my academic life would not have been possible without your immense contribution.

To my friends, Mpumelelo Phakathi and Trace Mangava our friendship transcended academic life it became a sense of strength during difficult times.

Asante Sana.

Abstract

The Fast Track Land reform Programme (FTLRP) in Zimabwe is a contentious issue particularly with regards to beneficiaries. However not much is understood about the impact of the FTLRP on the youth as literature has often failed to investigate the challenges that youth have in accessing land, particularly in Matabeleland North. This is troubling considering that Zimbabwe is a youthful country with a high unemployment rate. The research investigated whether the youth accessed land, the means they used and the livelihoods that they developed. The research was qualitative with Umguza District utilised as a case study. The data collection methods used were in-depth interviews and observation. The sample comprised of twenty individuals who were between 18-35 years during the FTLRP. Data collected from the interviewees and observation was analysed using Thematic Content Analysis. The findings of the study revealed that few young people in particular women accessed land with those that accessed land under-capacitated which led to under-utilisation of the land. Lack of resources negatively affected the livelihoods that the youth developed during and after the FTLRP. This means that the FTLRP has largely failed to be a vehicle outside traditional means that young people can access and utilise land for sustainable livelihoods.

Abbreviations

FTLRP:	Fast Track Land Reform Programme
SRL:	Sustainable Rural Livelihoods
MDC:	Movement for Democratic Change
Zanu-PF:	Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front
ZAPU:	Zimbabwean African People's Union

Contents

Declaration ii
Dedication iii
Acknowledgements iv
Abstract v
Abbreviations vi
List of Tables ix
List of Figures x
Chapter 1 1
1. Introduction and Background 1
1.1 Statement of the Problem and Rationale 4
1.1.1 Cardinal research objective 7
1.1.2 Research question 7
1.2 Thesis structure 7
Chapter 2 9
2 Literature Review 9
Introduction 9
Conceptual Framework 9
2.1 Conceptualising Access 9
2.2 How Access can lead to Sustainable Rural Livelihoods 13
2.2.1 Critique of Sustainable Livelihoods Framework 16
2.3 Youth: Conceptualisation and empirical analysis 17
2.3.1 Youth Cultural Perspective 18
2.3.2 Youth Structural/ Transitional perspective 20
2.3.3 Youth and Agency 23
Literature Review 24
2.4 Youth and Access to land 24
2.5 Land reform: Conceptualisation and empirical analysis 26
2.5.1 Land Reform in Africa 26
2.5.2 Historical perspective of Land Reforms in Zimbabwe 28
2.5.3 Fast Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP) 30
2.6 Factors affecting FTLRP Beneficiaries 33
2.6.1 Political factors 33
2.6.2 Economic Factors 35
2.6.3 Social factors 36

2.6.4 Land reform and youth livelihoods 39
Chapter 3 41
3 Methodology 41
3.1 Research design 41
3.1.1 Case study: Umguza District 41
3.1.2 Sample 44
3.2 Data Collection 46
3.2.1 Participant Observation 46
3.2.2 In depth interviews 48
3.3 Data Analysis 49
3.3.1 Thematic Content Analysis 49
3.4 Limitations 51
3.5 Ethical issues 51
Chapter 4 52
4 Research Findings 52
4.1 Introduction 52
4.2 Access to land 52
4.2.1 Few Youth Beneficiaries 53
4.2.2 Politics as a barrier of entry 61
4.2.3 Socio-economic influence 64
4.2.4 Conclusion 71
4.3 Challenges in Utilising Land 71
4.3.1 Lack of access to capital 72
4.4 FTLRP and Youth Livelihood Strategies 79
4.4.1 Livelihood diversification 80
4.4.2 Migration 89
4.5 Conclusion 89
Chapter 5 90
5 Conclusion and Recommendations 90
Reference List 100
Appendix A: Interview Guide 109
Appendix B: Verbal consent Form 110
Appendix C: Participant information Sheet 111
Appendix D: Ethics Clearance 113

List of Tables

Table 1 Livelihoods Framework.....15

Table 2 Land Reform Phases and Land Acquired 29

Table 3 Surplus produce sold 81

Table 4 Employed labour 86

List of Figures

Figure 1 Map of Zimbabwean Districts.....42
Figure 2 Map of Matabeleland North Districts.....43
Figure 3 Map of Umguza.....44

Chapter 1

1. Introduction and Background

It is gradually becoming clear that a young person with no access to resources is a disempowered individual. For youthful countries such as Zimbabwe, with a proportion of youth aged 15-34 years constituting 36% of the population (Zimstat 2012), access to land for young people has become increasingly important. Access to land is a recurrent feature of conflict today as land is an essential productive asset all over the world as it sustains people's livelihoods through important activates such as agriculture and mining (Moyo 2005). The importance of access to land arguable can lead to poverty alleviation (Deininger 1999, Janvry and Sadoulet 2001 and Lipton 2009). Access to land enables different social groups such as women, the disabled and youth to fight poverty In more impoverished communities particularly those in rural areas. Above all, access to land for young people is not only good for the youth but the whole country. Therefore, it is imperative to comprehend how the youth manoeuvred during the Fast Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP) to access land and the general impact of the programme o the youth.

Without sufficient access to land, poverty alleviation mechanisms and livelihood strategies for young people are likely to fail. The youth can positively impact on the persistent rural poverty, increasing rural-urban migration, high levels of unemployment and low agricultural productivity. However, a lack of meaningful transference of ownership of land to the youth can render these efforts meaningless. Deininger and Binswanger (1999) argue that in the rural areas of countries in the developing world, the principal means of generating livelihoods comes from land and is the primary vehicle for investing, accumulating and transferring wealth between generations. This statement captures the essence of land access for development purposes, particularly in Zimbabwe. Without adequate access to land economic, political as well as the social way of life is disrupted. The inter-generational aspect with regards to access to land is quite interesting as it supposes that young people are likely to get land from their parents which is not necessarily the case. The youth have found themselves pushed or pulled out of rural areas due to the failure to access land. Thus, it becomes clear that the question of accessing land is vital to address several issues such as poverty, migration and wealth redistribution.

It is through interventions such as state-led land redistribution programmes that issues relating to access to land should be addressed. Previously disadvantaged groups such as the youth look upon such initiatives as the FTLRP in Zimbabwe as a corrective measure that will enable them to access land and possibly improve their livelihoods. The effects of the land reform initiative vary for different beneficiaries but a young country as Zimbabwe it becomes imperative that the process should have positive benefits for the youth as failure to do so will eventually lead to a disempowered future population.

Access to land has been a significant inclination for many people for centuries with social, economic as well as political constructions. Demain (2006) notes that African identity, in general, has been associated with land which made land more than just a necessary resource. Colonialism led to a phase of dispossession, as Africans were dispossessed of their land by the colonisers mostly from Britain, France and Portugal. As Africans were dispossessed, their identity, as well as means of production, were taken away from them, leading to increasing poverty. It is from this position of land dispossession that the concept of land reform as a process of land repossession emanates from. White, Borras and Hall (2013) state that, land reform is defined as "a redistribution of property or rights in land" with most definitions having several categories of beneficiaries such as women, the youth, small farmers and the rural poor to name just a few. Therefore, land reform becomes the vehicle in which disadvantaged people are given access to land to ensure political, social and economic growth.

As stated earlier, various definitions exist regarding land reform, but for this research, it is defined as a narrow redistribution of land, usually to a limited group of beneficiaries (Jacobs 2010) such as the poor, women and the youth. Several debates around land reform focus on the impact of land reform, for example, Besley and Burgess (2002) who argue that the type of land reform, i.e. state-led or market-led affect development. Debates in Development Studies focus on whether land reform is good for poor people and whether it will lead to development because many land reforms have not achieved the results and effects set out leading to disagreements about the effects of the reforms especially on reducing poverty (Holden, Otsuka and Deininger 2013). Kariuki (2004) argues that "land reform aims to strike a delicate balance that responds to the political and economic imperatives that shape the nature of the political transition of a given country." Deininger (1999) and Lipton (2009) argue for land reform and see it as being beneficial to poor people and developing countries through the reduction of inequality and poverty. Griffin, Khan and Ickowitz (2002) agree as they provide a critical analysis on what constitutes successful land reform from a global perspective with an overview

of regional experiences such as Latin America, former Soviet Blocs, Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa. The contribution by Griffin, Khan and Ickowitz (2002) is crucial because they argue in favour of redistributive land reform which they note has been successful in East Asia for some reasons with the main feature of this being confiscation. State-led land reform has become a much more preferred approach to land redistribution as evidenced by the Zimbabwean FTLRP as well as the recent proclamations in South Africa regarding expropriation of land without compensation. One can argue that the limitations that the market-led approach has regarding equitable as well as accessible land redistribution have made the state-led land reform a much- preferred alternative.

Reviewing literature, Sender and Johnston (2004), give an analysis on the arguments for land reform citing evidence from Sub-Saharan Africa, noting that the theoretical reasoning supporting land reform and the efficiency of small farm production is weak. Most importantly they note that the most impoverished rural people are unlikely to benefit and are harmed by these redistributive policies. This critique is crucial as it shows that land reform can have adverse effects on a country which may leave the beneficiaries disadvantaged. However, from these arguments, beneficiaries are often grouped as one homogenous entity and do not focus on specific groups such as the youth. When they do, it is usually women and farmworkers who have had some considerable analytical work. Therefore, it is clear that there is a need for more literature on how the land reform process affects the youth particularly in Sub-Saharan Africa where the colonial, legacy of the settler governments led to massive dispossession of the native black people and where the mantra for land repossession is gaining momentum.

Zimbabwe was colonised in 1890, with the arrival of British settlers from South Africa leading to the dispossession of Africans of their land. The harsh and often violent manner of the land dispossession led to increasing resentment of the white settlers which culminated into the First and Second Chimurenga. Moyo (1995) asserts that these conflicts were essentially a struggle for the repossession of lost land and dignity. The objective of land repossession was the main topic during the Lancaster House Conference which was convened to end the armed struggle between the black liberation movements (Zimbabwean African People's Union (ZAPU) and Zimbabwe Africa National Union (ZANU) and the Rhodesian government. The 1990 -1999 period was critical to Zimbabwe's land reform programme as the Lancaster House agreement, which had constrained the programme in the 1980s, had come to an end. The government responded to this by amending the Constitution through the 1991 Land Acquisition Act to facilitate the purchase of farms (Thomas 2003). Despite this, land policies that were

implemented by the government between 1980 and 2000 were mostly unsuccessful. The turning point in the 1990s came in 1997 with the introduction of the state-driven approach to land reform, as opposed to the 1980-96 period which represented a relatively "slow track" land redistribution programme, characterised by a market-driven approach to land reform (Moyo 2005). The 2000 to 2010 period saw the continuation of the state-led Fast Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP).

1.1 Statement of the Problem and Rationale

Young people are often marginalised as a social group with agency and resolve which has led to their categorisation as marginalised and immature. This process is due to lack of knowledge and understating of who young people are and their capabilities especially when it comes to resource allocation. Sumberg, Lintelo and Wellard (2012) argue that "a lack of research and research that is theoretically and historically informed obstructs the policy framing and responses to the problem of youth in Africa." They argue that social difference must be central to the analysis of youth in agriculture because not all youth are the same. Understanding the role that youth play in agriculture is imperative, but it all starts with whether the youth do have access to land or not. Policy framing, as well as societal perceptions, are the primary causes of this problem. Chinsinga and Chasukwa (2012) argue that in Malawi young people are marginalised from land reform successes due to delayed land reforms and absence of a supportive policy environment. White (2012) notes there are several challenges that the youth have faced in accessing land while still young, and it is these challenges that need to be understood.

Quan (2007) notes that limitations in young people's access to land can become highly problematic if other sources of livelihoods are not available for them which can lead to increasing social conflicts. In addition to this, due to limited access to land which the land reform programmes are supposed to correct, young people become alienated and end up migrating, becoming homeless and impoverished as land is a productive resource. Anyidoho, Lintelo and Wellard (2012) state that, notwithstanding the fact, in Africa, the two most important development concerns are food and young people yet it is ironic that policy responses to these are often based on 'common knowledge.' Reliance on common knowledge leads to policymakers to create policies that target the youth as one homogenous group especially when it comes to developmental policies which is problematic because youth have unique needs and wants that are specific and contextual.

White (2012) states that youth unemployment and underemployment are severe challenges in most countries especially in the developing world and are more severe in rural areas with small-scale agriculture being the single most significant source of employment. As a result, access to land becomes one of the most important things for young people. For this to happen, land which is a national resource must be distributed in a fair and equitable manner ensuring that young people must be afforded the "opportunity space" (Anyidoho, Lintelo and Wellard, 2012) to access and utilise the land. The concept of exclusion rather than inclusion became a severe flaw in the FTLRP.

Murinda (2014) notes that the majority of youth are employed in the informal sector at 87% yet they constitute 56% of the economically active population with more than 60% depending on agriculture in rural areas as land reform beneficiaries. He also states that youth unemployment rate is at 14, 5% and this shows that land is an essential resource in as far as the youth employment is concerned.

The study sought to understand whether young people accessed land and what they did with it to add to the debate about FTLRP beneficiaries in Umguza District, Matabeleland North. Cliff et al (2011) state that Matabeleland North is the only province where there is a spatial gap in knowledge about the province. The findings of the study would be important in understanding the means that people use to access resources, how they use those resources to create livelihoods. The results findings could open new avenues that could be exploited by future researchers specifically on the effects of land reform on the youth in other areas and comparisons with other vulnerable groups in society. The findings of the study should offer insight to policymakers and the youth themselves on different ways that they can use to access land during a land reform programme. The findings will also shed more light on the how the FTLRP has affected the youth and how the government and other stakeholders can assist the youth with the various challenges that they now face. The results will seek to show that the youth are not a homogenous entity and the means they use to access land, the effects that they experience are not uniform but unique which will lead to a different approach to policy formulation not only in Zimbabwe but in other countries where land reform is still a contentious issue.

Zulu (2009) presents qualitative research on the youth and land reform in Umguza focusing on local perceptions of the FTLRP in the Umguza resettlement scheme in Zimbabwe. His research is imperative as it gives empirical evidence on the perceptions of both beneficiaries and non-

beneficiaries of the programme. He raises some pertinent issues affecting beneficiaries such as elite capture, political patronage, ethnic conflicts between the Shona and the Ndebele, as well as noting gender disparities with few women accessing land (10%). Interestingly, Zulu states that, of the land beneficiaries, "55% were in the age group that ranged from 45- 55 years, with 27% in the 55+ group and the least number were in 30-35 age range at 5%." Noticeably, there was a disturbing trend of very few (5%) young people in their mid-thirties and below who were beneficiaries. Marongwe (2011) argues the same noting that nine percent of beneficiaries of the FTLRP in Goromonzi district were youth which shows that the youth are marginalised in the allocation of land in Goromonzi and this leaves us questioning the impact of the FTLRP on the youth. What challenges the youth faced during the FTLRP? What were their experiences during the FTLRP and did these make them to fail to access land. What are their experiences now after the FTLRP? Have their lives changed since the end of the FTLRP both those who benefitted and those who did not?

The study aimed at having an in-depth understanding of the role of the youth in the FTLRP mainly on how they accessed land in Umguza District as well as the effects of the programme on their livelihoods. Of interest were the means they used to access it, the challenges that they faced and the effects of the FTLRP. Ribot and Peluso (2003) state that gaining access to resources is essential hence I wanted to question how the youth managed to gain or failed access to resources such as land. What mechanisms the youth used and how they maintain them at the present moment. The research was of historical significance as the focus was on people that were youth during the height of the FTLRP. Hence in this regard they are now ex-youth. However their experience as youth is still very important to us to understand their challenges and viewpoints of the programme.

The research intended to establish facts about the impact of the FTLRP on the youth in Zimbabwe from the perspective of the youth. Anseeuw and Mathebula (2008) argue that investigating land reform at the beneficiary level is needed to understand the position of beneficiaries better within each community and to assess their behaviour in as far as the project is concerned.

By using a qualitative approach, the study sought to develop an in-depth understanding of the impact of the land reform from the experiences of the youth. To have a more focused study, the researcher employed a case study approach. Umguza District in Matabeleland North,

Zimbabwe was the case study and data collection there was both primary and secondary sources. The primary sources included observation and unstructured interviews. Participant observation was utilised as it enabled the researcher to learn more about the youth. The respondents were young who accessed land and as well as non-beneficiaries. The purpose was to have a critical comparison to assess the impact of the FTLRP on the youth. A Thematic content analysis was used to critically analyse the data from the respondent's interview transcripts, observation notes as well as secondary sources.

1.1.1 Cardinal research objective

- A critical review to understand how the youth accessed land during the Fast Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP) in Umguza District, their experiences and livelihood implications.

1.1.2 Research question

- What mechanisms did the youth use to access land?
- Was there any differentiation between the youth in accessing land?
- What were the livelihood implications of the FTLRP on the youth?

1.2 Thesis structure

Chapter 1 serves as an introductory chapter where the concept of land reform, and youth land access are introduced. The chapter explored briefly the reasons why access to land as a resource is vital to people, in particular, the youth as it serves as a starting point for socio-economic development. The historical background to the importance of land from a global to a local perspective are discussed which exposed that land has been a contentious issue cutting across time and geographical location. Issues about the importance of land to the youth are discussed, and critical research questions posed.

Chapter 2 focused on the literature review were various debates, and contestations regarding land and the youth were analysed and discussed. Different means which people use to access land are discussed with land reform identified as one of these methods. Ribot and Peluso's (2003) access theory which is useful for, "for identifying the constellations of means, relations, and processes that enable various actors to derive benefits from resources." The purpose of the

chapter was to identify the gaps in the literature that could serve as the basis of the research and where the study could bring more insight.

Chapter 3 explained the methodology that was used in the study. A presentation of the research design which was qualitative was done. The data collection methods and instruments were discussed in detail here. The target population was people who were considered young people during the FTLRP in Umguza District. The sample of 20 youth was explained as well the means of arriving at that sample.

In chapter 4, findings of the study were presented. The presentation focused on the mechanisms that the youth used to access land and the challenges that they faced. I also outlined and discussed the differences within the youth. The findings were led by the research questions which were premised on access to land. The mechanisms which youth used included social, political as well as economic means. The challenges that the youth faced were also discussed and these included socio-cultural reasons, climate, politics, gender and economic challenges. From these challenges, a discussion of differences between the youth merged and these differences was discussed. The views of the respondents were discussed in this chapter together with findings of other scholars on this topic.

Chapter 5 presented the conclusion of the study together with some recommendations including those for further research. The chapter is divided into three sections one on the overall conclusion, recommendations and lastly areas for future research.

Chapter 2

2 Literature Review

Introduction

In this section, conceptual framework and literature review pertaining to access to resources and in particular, land were discussed. The first section dealt with various concepts regarding what access and how people gain access to resources. Ribot and Peluso (2003), Sen (1990) and Scoones (1998) were used to explain the linkages between access and resource utilisation leading to the creation of livelihoods. The concept of youth was also interrogated to understand the different ways in which young people are understood and constructed. An attempt was made to understand various ways in which people gain access to land with the emphasis on land reform and how it has been understood from a global, regional to the local perspective looking at the different contestations especially regarding the FTLRP and its effect on beneficiaries.

Conceptual Framework

2.1 Conceptualising Access

Access is an important concept when it comes to land as it dictates what and how people come to utilise resources which may be beneficial to their livelihoods. Chambers and Conway (1991) state that access is the opportunity in practice to use a resource such as land. It is this conceptualisation that this research is built on.

Schlager and Ostrom (1992) define access as a right to enter a defined physical property, for example, a farm or mine.Those who have resources such as financial, human, natural, physical and social capital are usually well positioned to have access to resources such as land. Ribot (1998) argues that access or the ability to benefit is based on a broader set of factors and is not obtained using "one legal or extra-legal mechanism." Schlager and Ostrom (1992) then point out that the ability for the users (land users) to enjoy the benefits of the resource (land) is defined as withdrawal which means that for the young farmers the benefits that they accrue from access to land is known as withdrawal. There is, therefore, need to understand what and how young people can withdraw from the land. Ribot and Peluso (2003) define access as the ability to benefit from things including material objects (such as land, persons (labour), institutions, and symbols**.**

Ribot and Peluso's conceptualisation of access (2003) was as the primary theoretical framework to analyse how young people accessed land. Their conceptualisation entails:

1. Identifying and mapping the flow of the particular benefit of interest from one individual to another.

2. Identifying the mechanisms by which different actors involved, such as the youth, gain, control, and maintain the benefits flow and its distribution was the central area of concern in the research wherein the theory assisted in bringing out the various mechanisms that the youth used to gain, control and maintain access to land.

3. An analysis of the power relations underlying the mechanisms of access involved in instances where benefits are derived (Ribot and Peluso 2003). Power relations are essential to understanding how land was distributed between the influential and less inflential members of the community. In resource allocation, there is always exclusion (Schlager and Ostrom 1992) with politicians for example usually having the right of exclusion as they can determine who has an access right, and how that right are transferred from one individual to another. Hall, Hirsch and Li (2011) note that exclusion can either be a condition or a process of which my interest in on exclusion as a condition which relates to situations in which large numbers of people lack access to land or in which land becomes private property. They argue that exclusion is structured by power relations which relate to regulation, the market, force and legitimation (Hall, Hirsch and Li 2011). Sikor and Lund (2009) bring out the issue of legitimacy noting that not all forms of power are legitimised with same equal effect showing that power relations may vary. Scoones (2009) argues that "politics and power thus must be central to livelihood perspectives for rural development." which brings to fore the importance of power and politics in the process of accessing land.

Ribot and Peluso (2003) refer to gaining access, as the means by which access is attained. Accessing land for the youth should, therefore, bring socio-economic resource that gives them specific benefits. The theory is thus instrumental in helping frame the question or inquiry therefore of what these benefits are and how the youth came to acquire them. The conceptualisation is relevant because it focuses on natural resources of which land is one of them. This analysis is necessary in articulating the manner in which the youth gained access to land and whether the mechanisms they used were any different to those used by other age

groups. It also aided in the identification of mechanisms that led to some youth accessing land and others failing to do so. Ribot and Peluso (2003) distinguish between ability and rights with their focus more on ability than rights. The result is the focus on social relations that can "constrain or enable people to benefit from resources without focusing on property relations alone." These social relations can relate to issues such as culture and traditions which in patriarchal societies has limited women and young people's ability to access which brings in the distinction between property rights that usually focuses on issues of ownership. In this research ability to access land is equally as important as ownership because without access chances of ownership are limited.

Another central aspect that the conceptualisation brings to the study is on who benefits from things such as land and through what processes they can do so and this will help in understanding if the youth benefitted from the FTLRP through accessing land and through which processes or mechanisms. This conceptualisation will enable the researcher to analyse the concept of access to land in Umguza. Of particular interest in this conceptualisation is the structural and relational mechanisms of access and how technology, capital, markets, knowledge, authority, social identities, and social relations can shape or influence access. Youth who have access to these structural and relational mechanisms will be better positioned to benefit from processes such as the FTLRP than those who do not which will enable the researcher to understand why there may be differences between youth who benefited from the FTLRP and those who did not.

The aspect of powers is brought in as these constitute various mechanisms, processes, and social relations that affect people's ability to benefit from resources. In the context of the FTLRP in Umguza District, these powers can be defined as political, cultural, economic as well as institutional. Political-economic strands can be seen through the political mechanisms that determined who accessed the land and how. The cultural strands are derived from the patriarchal society which is based upon the culture and traditions that maintained that women and young people played second fiddle to men and as such weakened their position to access resources.

Berry (1989) argues that access depends on the participation of an individual in social institutions as well as an investment in social relations which can also be seen as access through social identity (Ribot and Peluso, 2003). They state that access is often mediated by social identity or membership in a community or group, including groupings by age, gender, ethnicity,

religion, and status. The question that we ask now is, does access through social identity lead to improved access of resources. They state that "non-state authorities, such as community leaders, religious leaders, or village chiefs, can also control resources and allocate access selectively along identity lines." Individuals and institutions construct social relations which they reproduce and confirm differences including those relating to property rights (Lund and Boone 2013) which helps in understanding how the youth have been affected by social identity and if this played a role in them accessing or failing to access land. Therefore it is clear that this access framework will play a critical role in enabling me to structure my research question and data analysis in as far as youth accessing land during the FTLRP in Umguza.

Access is a dynamic entity which continually shifts bringing out differences between people who control resources and those who maintain their access through these people (Ribot and Peluso 2003). Of importance, the conceptualisation helps us have a clear understanding of why some people or organisations benefit from land, whether or not they have rights to them. Peluso and Lund (2011) define land control as those practices that create or consolidate forms of access, claiming, and exclusion for a period. According to Ribot and Peluso (2003), access control is the ability to mediate others' access to resources which is the case in Zimbabwe where the state controls access to the land, and the inhabitants of the land have offer letters which have a 99-year lease. In Zimbabwe, The minister of Lands and Rural Resettlement remains the agent reasonable for offering and terminating access to land. Thus, in essence, the government has both access control as well as land control which helps understand why people often feel implied to support one political party because failure to do will mean failure gain access, control and maintain their land. The law sanctioned the FTLRP and as such the mechanism of access for the youth was rights-based access.

It is important to understand how the process of accessing land occurred during the FTLRP and using this theory will be beneficial as it differentiates between different types of capital such as financial, social and political capital. For example, youth who have access to money may be able to purchase land and use their financial capital to access to resources such as land. Political capital is also crucial in understanding access to land in the FTLRP as people with Zanu-PF connections managed to access land (Sadomba 2008). What mechanisms are used and how they maintained them. They note that to maintain access subordinate actors often transfer some benefits to those who control it (Ribot and Peluso2003) which enables the questioning of the benefits the youth transferred to the Zanu PF party who controlled the land during the FTLRP. This related to what Ribot and Peluso (2003) referred to as access to authority, which is often

selective along social and economic lines which meant that those who have access to people in power would have better access to resources than those who do not.

2.2 How Access can lead to Sustainable Rural Livelihoods

Lund (2008) argues that access to land and property is vital to people's livelihoods in rural, peri-urban, and urban areas in Africa. Therefore in an endeavour to understand how access to resources leads to young people being able to create the livelihoods that they desire, it is essential to understand what capabilities they need to have to achieve this. Sen (1993) states that a "capability of a person reflects the alternative combinations of functions the individual can achieve and from which he or she can choose one collection." In this context, capabilities refer to the ability of the youth to use the land for the betterment of their lives. Aspects of the capability approach, therefore, give a background to understanding how the ability to access a resource may be the means of achieving a particular end. Denying young people access to resources, means that they are being denied the ability choose from different combinations that which they can choose to become and do with the land. The failure to functionings (Sen 1993) enables young people to be able to achieve a sense of well-being which might refer to a lack of poverty meaning they have already been denied a capability. Access to land becomes the means to achieving economic, social and to an extent political well-being becomes the end.

Therefore, that one has to understand what capabilities are to understand how they may lead to livelihood strategies. To ensure a means of living, a livelihood should encompass capabilities, assets, and activities (Serat 2008). Hussein and Nelson (1998) define livelihood capabilities as comprising the ability to gain a livelihood including the capability to manage stress and shocks to be dynamically adaptable and to explore and exploit opportunities. These capabilities become the ability to have access to make use of resources. Chambers and Conway (1991) note that livelihood capabilities are a component of capabilities which enable one to be able to make use of livelihood opportunities that arise and be able to cope with stressors and shocks. The capabilities here refer to what the youth as beneficiaries can do with the different assets such as financial, human, natural, physical and social capital. Serat (2008) argues that sustainable livelihoods enable one to make use of the potential that people have through their skills, social networks as well as through access to physical (land) and financial resources. With regards to livelihoods in the developing world, Rigg (2006) argues that livelihoods in the rural areas of developing countries are dependent on small-holder agricultural production and this shows the importance of land to many people in rural areas who depend on it for on-farm and off-farm

activities. It is these off-farm activities which are add-ons (Rigg 2006) to the primary livelihood strategy of farming for the youth.

Sustainable Livelihoods Framework

The Sustainable livelihoods Approach gained dominance in the early 1990s through a paper presented by Chambers and Conway. Chambers and Conway (1991:24) note that there is a need to have a framework that we understand better how more people can be able to gain their livelihoods in rural areas. The SL approach for Conway and Chambers focused especially on the rural poor within which enhancing capability, improving equity as well as increasing sustainability applied. Under improving equity Chamber and Conway (1991:22) note that giving priority to the capabilities, assets and access of the poorer including women. Here the redistribution of assets such as land is identified which tallied with the objectives of this research.

Solesbury (2003:17) states that he Sustainable Livelihoods Framework provided a powerful focus in operationalising SLA. Different Sustainable Livelihoods Frameworks have been developed to help in livelihood analysis. One such framework is the DFID framework. According to the UNDP (2017:3) argues that the application of the SLF requires the consideration of the aspects such as an understanding of vulnerability in a given context, a strategy to protect livelihoods as well as an analysis of different types of capital

Scoones (1998) links access to resources (for example natural resources such as land) with livelihoods, particularly how policies such as the FTLRP influence livelihoods. As Rigg (2006) points out there is often an assumption that land redistribution (being one way of addressing the issue of access to land) will lead to the end of poverty. He, however, argues that modern rural areas in the South are becoming increasingly disengaged from farming and ultimately land. It is in this light that the sustainable rural livelihoods was utilised to add depth to the analytical lenses to contextualise the impact of the FTLRP on the youth and their livelihoods. The framework adopted from an individual perspective to understand how the FTLRP influenced the livelihood outcomes of the youth. Scoones (1998) states that a differentiated view socially to assessing livelihoods is therefore important, one that disaggregates the selected units of analysis for example, a village and assesses individuals and or groups of social actors and their relationships about the range of relevant dimensions of difference and resource

control and distribution. This brings to fore the need to focus on the livelihoods of the youth in Umguza and how the FTLRP has affected them particularly in relation to control of land. Of importance also are whether the youth managed to reap any benefits or not. Scoones *et al* (2011) note that there are beneficiaries who

1. dropped out : left the farm altogether,
2. are hanging: local labour and those who are keeping the plot for future purposes
3. Stepping out: survival diversification, local off farm activities, Cell phone farmers
4. Stepping up: real farmers, part-time farmers and patronage farming

Table 1 Livelihoods Framework

Contexts, Conditions And Trends	**Livelihood Resources**	**Institutional and organisational structures processes and**	**Livelihood Strategies**	**Sustainable livelihood outcomes**
Youth and FTLRP	Natural, social, financial and economic capital	Institutions and organisational structure	Agricultural intensification	Livelihood and sustainability
Contextual analysis of conditions during the FTLRP	Analysis of livelihood resources	Analysis of Institutions and organisational influence on access to livelihood resources	Analysis of livelihood strategy portfolios	Analysis of outcome of the FTLRP in as far as creating sustainable livelihoods for the youth
What conditions(political, economic and social) prevailed during the FTLRP that might have	What resources (capital) did the youth have or needed to	What role have political and social institutions played in influencing youth access to	How has the FTLRP led to agricultural intensification?	How has the FTLRP led to an improved well-being for the youth? Have their

aided or impede the youth in access land	have to access land	livelihood resources (land)		livelihoods adapted to the environmental changes

Source Scoones 1998: 4

2.2.1 Critique of Sustainable Livelihoods Framework

The framework is an important approach that can be utilised to analyse different factors that affect how livelihoods are shaped. Levine (2014:15) argues that challenges faced by using standard SLF can be overcome through starting with what people are doing to make a living rather than starting by addressing the context that shapes them which is often the case with classic SLF. However according to Serat (2017) the framework has several weaknesses which include the fact that it underplays certain element of the vulnerability context, makes assumptions about capital assets, fails to pay particular attention to inequalities of power and underplays the fat that improving the livelihoods of one group can undermine those of another. For example when a policy like the land reform occurs it can improve the livelihoods of land beneficiaries but at the same time undermine the livelihoods of dispossessed owners such as the white commercial farmers in Zimbabwe.

The DFID framework can be understood as a tool or checklist to understand poverty in responding to poor people's views and their own understanding of poverty approach has also limitations in its application. Hamilton-Peach and Townsley (2) note that one weakness of the DFID framework is that its "horizontal" arrangement of the DFID framework suggest a sequential reading and makes the all-important linkages between the different elements in the framework less obvious and, apparently, of relatively less importance. They argue that the effect of this is that the understanding of the poor themselves gets lost along the way. They in turn propose rearranging the framework whereby these linkages have been given greater salience and the relations between different elements have become more immediately apparent.

Hamilton-Peach and Townsley (2004:2). In addition to the IFAD framework has immediately put social processes such as gender, age, class around the poor and made them more explicit than in the original SL framework. The rationale has been that are these are factors that influence the relations of the poor with everything else in the framework. Thus, it is clear that the hub model proposed by Hamilton-Peach and Townsley (2004:2) has made fundamental

changes to the SL framework by improving on aspects such as the social processes through unpacking them and focusing more on the poor. This substantiated by Ludi and Slater (2008:4) who note that certain aspects such as social relations or social differentiation, power relations, exploration of cultural variables and the historical experiences which shape people's livelihoods and strategies which are under emphasised. They argue that one of the key challenges in using livelihood approaches is to ensure that they do not result in a value-free and power-neutral analysis. According to the UNDP (2017:3) another limitation of SLFs such as the DFID is that a differentiated livelihood analysis needs time, financial and human resources which development projects often lack these resources. This eventually undermines the effectiveness of the application of the framework.

However, the approach does have weaknesses to it which limit its applicability. Small (2007) states that the SRL does not integrate these ideas into a theoretically consistent whole as processes of social change are left undefined which creates challenges in the utilisation of the framework. Scoones (2009) states four current failings of livelihoods perspectives are evident from the lack of engagement with procedures of economic globalisation, the lack of consideration to power and politics and the failure to link livelihoods and governance debates in development, long-term changes in rural economies and broader questions about agricultural change. As well as the challenges of environmental sustainability. From these failings, it is essential concerning the study to unpack the shifts that have occurred in rural economies due to land reform. Land reform has altered the social structures in agrarian societies shifting as well the power and politics within the communities. Power has shifted in some communities from traditional leaders to government workers who are responsible for the distribution of land.

2.3 Youth: Conceptualisation and empirical analysis

It is imperative to understand youth and issues that affect them from their perspective, but this is usually problematic because the term ‘youth’ is barely understood. White (2012) and Wyn and Dwyer (1999) note that there is a need for a more interactive research process in understanding the youth and this requires assessing the construction of the youth and how young people with their meanings actually experience it. Eguavoen (2010) supports this stating that more knowledge about youth livelihoods in Africa is needed due to the different conceptions about the social category “youth.” The term youth is defined in different terms

depending on the context. Durham (2000) points out the importance of the way in which the youth are conceptualised noting that it is through these lenses that "relations and constructions of power are refracted, recombined, and reproduced." Thus a negative conceptualisation of the youth will have a detrimental effect on the youth's claim to power and legitimacy especially when it comes to resources. Durham (2000) notes that scholars have tended to use the term youth as a social "shifter" which is a term that "works not through absolute referentiality to a fixed context, but one that relates the speaker to a relational, or indexical, context" as an alternative for providing a universal definition. The conceptualisation helps researchers to find different meanings to the term youth depending on the context that arises is especially helpful when focusing on the socio-cultural context of youth where there is no rigid definition of youth and where contradictions exist. There are mainly two perspectives that are used to understand the concept of youth. These are the structural/transitional perspective as well as the cultural perspective. The structural/transitional perspective is one that uses phases to distinguish between childhood and adulthood.

2.3.1 Youth Cultural Perspective

Gough, Langevang, and Owusu (2013) note that cultural approach to youth focuses on the present or lived experiences of young people. There is, however, a gap between construction and experience (White 2012). This perspective tries to understand young people through the ways they behave. Cultural practices may also be done to identify young people. In Africa cultural practices are often marked by specific routes of passage such as male circumcision to marks one's independence

The socio-cultural construct of youth has different meanings depending on the culture (Durham 2000, Waldie 2004, and White 2012), traditions, and location (Bennel 2007, White 2012) which is often non-linear. As Durham (2000), Abbink (2005), Leavy and Smith (2010) put it, youth is a historically constructed social category. History has shaped the way youth have been defined and are expected to conform. Youth are judged based on these historical lenses which to a large extent have not changed with the modern times to adapt to appreciate the impact of processes such as globalisation. Leavy and Smith (2010) note that the meaning of youth is subject to change over time and have different meanings in different contexts. Lintelo (2012) agrees that young people in developing countries today are more likely to spend more time in school and get married later that the older generation.

Durham (2000) notes that anthropological studies have shown that social categories are culturally constructed. Culture plays a vital role in defining who young people are. In a traditional context being young carries with it certain expectation as roles. Waldie (2004) notes that traditions, roles, and status rather than physical age determines who young people are. The lack of a collectively accepted definitions or concept of youth has made it difficult for policy implementers to understand the needs and wants of youth. Thorsen (2007) argues that classification of one into different social categories is a negotiated process which is true as certain individuals in society may be classified as adults by their status economically or politically even though they belong to a younger age group.

Thorsen (2007) points out that it is essential to analyse the impact of perceptions in shaping the youth's identity which is due to the influence that society has through culture in shaping the way young people view and perceive themselves. Cultural perceptions are imperative because of the subjective way in which the term youth, is constructed socially and has been used to marginalise young people.

2.3.1.1 Youth and Gender

The concept of youth is a differentiated concept, one which is pregnant with contestations based on gender. Abbink (2005) notes that the gender dimension has been given a peripheral role both in literature and policies. He notes that in Africa the debates around the youth is important because it has been discriminated both as an age group and socially. The role of society in defining the youth leads to the engendered differentiation of young men and women. The term 'youth' is largely associated with men more than women especially in a patriarchal society where young men are perceived as more powerful and deserving than young women. Boratav (2005) notes that young people identify youth as being male. She notes that gendered mechanism of social control play an important role in shaping what young people perceive to be youth. These mechanisms dictate how young people should behave.

Chisholm and Bois-Reymond (1993) postulate that systematic social inequalities have a tremendous effect on youth transitions. They note that gender relations are part of these social inequalities and these lead to a gender-specific adult. Marriage is seen as a way young marginalised women access resources and this cascades into adulthood as well. For young women, marriage is seen as being the process that signifies the right of passage from being a child to adulthood. Bennel (2007) agrees that poor young rural women transition quicker into adulthood than males due to marriage and childbearing. He, however, points that as they grow

women's autonomy decreases whereas that of males increases which brings out the discriminatory gendered mechanisms that give rise to social inequalities that characterise the heterogeneous nature of young people.

The most important attribute of gender in understanding access to land is legitimacy in accessing land for young people. Understanding young women's challenges need an appreciation of women's challenges as a whole. Young women are subjugated to the same challenges that women in general face when it comes to accessing resources. There has been a more significant push for women's rights since the post-cold war era (Razavi 2007) which have sought to empower women and given them equal status as men.

2.3.1.2 Youth and socio-economic differentiation

Abbink (2005) notes that being young in Africa is synonymous with negativity such as being disadvantaged, vulnerable and marginalised in both the economic as well as political sense. Anyidoho, Leavy and Asenso-Okyere (2012) corraborates this in their analysis of African national policies portray youth mostly as deviants noting Ghana, Malawi, Senegal and Kenya; marginalised and vulnerable, population problem citing policy documents from countries such as Ghana, Malawi and Senegal. Waldie (2004) asserts that there are economic differences between youth, for example, a poor young person may remain a young person much longer than a wealthy young person may. High unemployment rates in rural areas (White 2012) may explain why rural youth remain in poverty as compared to their urban counterparts and this is substantiated by Bennel (2007) who states that rural youth tend to lack economic independence and autonomy which is enjoyed by their urban counterparts. Economic differences may have an adverse effect on rural youth when they try to access resources where their urban counterparts are present as the urbanites might have economic power over the rural youth. This is usually the case as urbanites have more financial or economic power because they have attained higher education and thus are better positioned to access better-paying jobs than their rural counterparts.

2.3.2 Youth Structural/ Transitional perspective

Geldens, Lincoln, Hodkinson (2011) assert that the structural perspective has tended to focus mainly on the economic sphere and, specifically, on the movement of adolescents through education and into work. The structural perspective is usually subjective with young people perceived to be immature, radical, dangerous and problematic (Waldie 2004), human capital

and in a period of transition between childhood and adulthood (White 2012). Lintelo (2012) reiterates this noting that the transition from being a young person to adulthood is based on phases such as moving from education to employment and being married. This phase presents youth as people who have not yet matured into independent and empowered individuals who are unable to determine their future and therefore hold a subordinate position to adults (Gough *et al* 2013). These perceptions and beliefs have exacerbated the marginalisation of youth in society. This leaves adults as the apparent guardians of economic as well as political powers much to the disadvantage of the youth. This marginalisation is not unique to youth in Africa only but is a global phenomenon but differentiated according to geographical location and context.

Chisholm and Bois-Reymond (1993) note that certain changes are occurring in the definition of youth based on transitions, with a change in how the transition between childhood and adulthood occurs. They argue that the previous rites of passage have changed with youth becoming more individualised and with much more freedom attained through processes such as education. Today young people especially in urban areas, take longer to finish school than in previous decades. They also point out that the concept of youth as a social condition is becoming inconsistent with changes in gender relations as well as generational power relations. Young women are gaining more recognition as young people and also between older people and younger generations. This critical approach is essential in understanding how the youth in rural areas are also transitioning between childhood and adulthood with regards to accessing land especially with regards to young women.

Age is a criterion used to define young people which through the biological construct (Waldie 2004). This means that the youth are defined as an age group usually between 15 to 35 years (Lintelo 2012, Anyidoho *et al* 2012), although this is not constant as different countries and organisations have different age ranges. The inconsistency in a fixed age cohort has meant that the youth are understood differently in different countries. White (2012) argues that this definition of youth based on age "can lead to confusion for those who look to statistics for indicators of the state of the nation's youth." Governments in developing their policies tend to focus more on the structural perspective with an emphasis on passage between childhood and adulthoods of which is on age as a criterion. This is noted by Anyidoho et al. (2012) who note that countries define youth based on different age groups, for example, Ethiopia 15 – 29 years, Ghana 15 – 35 years, and Kenya 15 – 30 years. The African Charter defines the youth as every person between the ages of 15 and 35 years. The Zimbabwean Constitution of 2013 defines the

youth as persons between 15 and 35 years of age and will be the operational definition of the youth because the government uses this definition when formulating policies which affect the youth such as the FTLRP. It should, however, be noted that this is a limited definition because the youth have differentiating features such as gender, income, culture and other aspects that affect their livelihoods. Lintelo (2012) states that age-based definitions can be insensitive to culturally specific notions of youth, childhood, and adulthood." The limitations of the conceptualisation of the youth based on age have led to their marginalisation as they fail to access resources such as land as they are considered young thus incapable of owning and controlling these resources.

Locality is one differentiating concept that distinguishes the youth. Each area has its context in which the youth experience their lived conditions. Regarding land and agriculture, common locality differentiators are urban, peri-urban and rural youth. Bennel (2007) states that youth transitions vary from one region to another thus making distinguishing between who is rural and urban. Youth transitions are relevant to the study as Umguza is a rural area which is influenced by Bulawayo an urban area. Hence it is critical to understand if this has influenced the way the youth in Umguza and those from Bulawayo. He points out that the transition that rural children make into adulthood is quicker due to the short transition from school to work. White (2012) refutes this stating that it prolongs the transition as they are enrolled longer in education. Thus Bennel (2007) concludes that youth as a transitional stage barely exists for the vast majority of rural youth. He also argues that rural youth are heterogeneous with distinct groups of rural disadvantaged youth which including the disabled, ex-combatants and orphans.

White (2012) argues that youth boundaries are also class-specific which entails that defining youth according to statues and occupation. This status and occupation tend to resonate around concepts of employment and education. Working class people will consider themselves as adults because they are now independent whereas their counterpart is in the same age range who are still in school or college will consider themselves as being youth.

For this research both the structural/transitional and cultural perspective were used. This was due to the fact that both perspectives played a role in influencing how the youth accessed land. In defining young people, definitions usually have both the structural and cultural perspective. For example Furlong, Woodman and Wyn (2011) note there is more of a convergence in the understanding of youth with most definitions having a combination of both the cultural as well as structural perspective. From the cultural perspective issues such as socio cultural dimension

play an integral part in resource allocation in Zimbabwe. However, as a government initiative the FTLRP also was influenced by the structural/transitional perspective which sees young people as belonging to a certain age group that is between 18 and 35. It therefore became prudent that I use both youth perspectives to accommodate these viewpoints.

2.3.3 Youth and Agency

The various approaches to defining youth all relate to the concept of agency. The distinction between the phases of childhood and adulthood is one based on agency. Society views children as people lacking agency whereas adults have free agency. Coffey and Farrugia (2014) note that the nature and conceptual meaning of agency remain ambiguous and is not thoroughly understood. Dale and Sparkes (2011) state that agency is the "actions of individuals and groups that as individual actions, leadership and drivers of change in communities." It is this form of agency that the research focuses on. Newman and Dale (2005) view agency as the force behind the social action of which actors such as the youth must be aware that they possess agency. Abbink (2005) asserts that agency refers to the active role that the youth have in deciding and shaping their destiny and providing answers to the problems that they face whereas, Waldie (2004) notes that the youth have no voice. These arguments then bring the question that did the youth show or have an agency when it came to the FTLRP or where there any factors that inhibited this show of agency. In the understanding of agency, social capital becomes of importance. In essence, social capital appears to have a role in the creation of agency (Dale and Sparkes 2011). Newman and Dale (2005) state that actor agency allows an individual or group to increase access to other critical forms of capital to overcome barriers and solve problems which is interesting having noted that Ribot and Peluso (2003) refer to different forms of capital as being instrumental in accessing resources. The research then seeks to if the youth had actor agency to utilise their different forms of capital to access land and overcome any challenges and solve unemployment and poverty challenges.

Literature Review

2.4 Youth and Access to land

Access to land has been one of the primary objectives of the land reform, particularly for the marginalised youth. The problems that the youth face regarding access to land is captured by the arguments presented by White, Borras and Hall (2013) who note that very little is known and written about generational issues in land control. Access to land in Africa is a challenge for the youth due to socio-cultural, political as well as economic reasons. It then becomes important to understand different ways that young people can access land to ensure that they create sustainable livelihoods. Janvry and Sadoulet (2001) discuss various ways in which individuals gain access to land in ownership ranging from formalised to informalised ways. These ways include intra-family transfers which are conventioanl methods in most parts of Africa, community membership, sales and rental markets and special programmes which include expropriative land reforms. They argue that there is need to be wary of simplistic and universal solutions to challenges of land access seeking idiosyncratic approaches and flexibility in arrangements instead.

Land can also be accessed through family transfers' particularly inter-generational transfers (Quan 2007); Mutopo (2011); Bezu and Holden (2014); Portilla (2017). Quan (2007) argues that due to the scarcity of land there is growing tension between the youth and older generations. Bezu and Holden (2014) identify inheritance as one of the main avenues that young people use to access land in Ethiopia where the land is inherited from one's parents and or relatives. The FTLRP, therefore, became another means of accessing land outside family transfers. Mutopo (2011) argues that land access from family-level negotiations has not been given much attention in the FTLRP yet these mechanisms have been fundamental and have changed the role of women in land access and utilisation in a patriarchal culture. It is through inheritance that individual's access land, with male children, often having a better chance of accessing land than women. Also, allocation of land to other family members is also typical with extended members also accessing land via their family connections. Janvry and Sadoulet (2001) note that several categories tend to be excluded from access to land and these include girls in general, divorced women, illegitimate children, orphans, return migrants. Bezu and Holden (2014) note that young women have a lower expectation of land inheritance than young men. Janvry and Sadoulet (2001) point out that due to the emergence of land markets, land access via inheritance has been changed with the freedom to deviate from traditional ways with

previously disadvantaged groups such as women benefiting from this. In terms of livelihoods, Bezu and Holden (2013) note that parents through inheritance or gift is too small to establish a meaningful livelihood

In addition to intra-family transfers individuals also access land through community membership and informal land markets. Yaro (2009) argues that land in most of Africa is controlled by the customary system which is governed by well-intentioned social and cultural rules meant to grant equal access to families within communities. Access is usually based on patriarchy and traditional customs, especially in rural areas. Cotula (2007) notes that many people in rural Africa access to land through local land tenure systems with the youth accessing land through inter-generational access. He notes that the perception that youth are not interested in the land but in jobs in urban areas has led to the marginalisation of the youth in accessing land which is a challenge, especially where alternative livelihoods are concerned. By association of membership in a particular community, an individual can access land. The arguement is supported by Deininger and Binswanger (1999) who state that when the community rather than an individual owns the land, whatever market exchanges exist ar generally limited to the community. In Africa, this is mostly done through the local chief or other village heads. Deininger and Binswanger (1999) and Janvry and Sadoulet (2001) note that access to land via membership in communities that have control over resources remains very important. The discussion brings to fore the argument that being part of one group enables one to reap benefits of resource excluding another individual who is not part of that community or groups which leads to conflict over inclusivity and exclusivity. Those with the social capital can access land and benefits associated with that whereas those who are not part of the community will always struggle to access these resources.

Kidido, Bugri and Kasanga (2017) point out that youth have also used land rentals and customary license to access land in Ghana which has been due to the challenges in accessing land ownership on a permanent basis through other traditional means such as inheritance. Janvry and Sadoulet (2001) state that individualisation of property rights has led to people accessing land via land sales and land rental markets. In this instance, the land is sold to prospective buyers by owners of the land. Land is an essential productive resource and the challenges that arise in accessing it make it a valuable resource. Janvry and Sadoulet (2001 argue that via land rental, poor households can eventually progress toward the desirable goal of land ownership through an ‘agricultural ladder. The argument is substantiated by Deininger and Binswanger (1999) who point out that land rental markets are other means by which poor

people gain access to land. However, this is dependent on whether poor people have access to credit markets which can offer them a loan to either rent or buy a piece of land. It thus becomes clear that credit facilities must be made accessible to prospective landowners to facilitate rentals and buying of land. In addition to this Quan (2005) asserts that for sales and rental markets to be a success there needs to be secure land. In Zimbabwe's case, there is still tenure insecurity. Razavi (2007) asserts that liberalisation policies may have an adverse effect on the ability of low-income women to access land through markets.

People access land can through special programmes such as parcelisation and titling mainly through extensive programmes of expropriative land reform that give access to land to the selected beneficiaries (Janvry and Sadoulet 2001). Jacobs (2010) defines land reform as a narrower redistribution of land, usually to a limited group of beneficiaries such as the poor, women and the youth. The effects of the land reform were mostly adverse for the beneficiaries in countries such as Chile and Peru noting that only a small minority of the beneficiaries of 60 years of land reform in Latin America have become viable entrepreneurs. This has led to the interest how the youth during the FTLRP accessed land and how the process has affected them. Hall (2005) and Moyo (2011) argue that land reform has fuelled new inequities in access to land and farm input and markets and that land access biases against women, youth and immigrants. The argument is an exciting observation as it sets into focus the impact that the land reform might have had for the youth, particularly disadvantaged youths who are unemployed and have little influence politically or socially.

2.5 Land reform: Conceptualisation and empirical analysis

2.5.1 Land Reform in Africa

As with the global literature, literature on land reform in Africa does not explicitly focus on the youth. Discussion about land reform in Africa focuses on issues of restitution (Dermain 2006), redistribution and land tenure perspectives (Cliff 2003; Moyo 2004; Kariuki 2004; Walker 2005; Hall 2007). Bernstein (2003) gives a historical overview of land reform giving insight on Namibia, South Africa and Zimbabwe showing the historical similarities and differences which influenced the type and pace of land reforms in these countries. These are important in enabling us to understand the processes that these countries have in as far as conducting their land reforms is concerned since they share a shared history of colonialism. Cousins and Scoones (2010), on the other hand, give a detailed argument on the viability of

land reform through a review of land reform experiences in South Africa, Namibia, and Zimbabwe from different paradigms that have been put forward to explain the land reform. The historical context of land reform cannot be under-stated particularly different ownership of and access to as a result of the colonial legacy which is what underlies conflict over land in Southern Africa land (Moyo 2000). This conflict is what has led to the growing calls for land reform in Zimbabwe, Namibia and recently in South Africa which gives rise to the deduction that without resolving the land question, there can be little socio-political development in Africa.

The role of the youth in land reform in the African context is not different from the global one. The youth are still seen as a marginalised homogenous entity and are packaged together with women, the poor, farm workers and the disabled. Hall (2005) notes that in South Africa the targeted beneficiaries of land redistribution were the poor, women farm workers and the youth. The problem of analysing the youth in this manner is that when one tries to look at policy formulation, the policies tend to be abstract and not practical because they are looking at these social groups with one lens yet their needs and aspirations are very different. Guillaume-Gentil (2014) acknowledges the importance of the youth in agricultural countries noting however that few countries have so far developed policies that focus on youth in agriculture with Ghana in 2009 supplementing its National Youth Employment Programme with a new Youth in Agriculture Programme. However, only 25% the participants are young people which shows that young people are not prioritised when it comes to practical implementation of policies especially where land and agriculture is concerned

Another important aspect of land reform in Africa is the role which the state plays. The state has often been monopolised by the ruling party (Marongwe 2011) with little separating party politics from government politics. According to Marongwe (2011), citing Fanon (1965), “the state and the party continually impose themselves on the peasantry, creating the space for private advancement, inequality in the acquisition of wealth and its monopolisation”. Lahiff (2007) points out that the 1997 White Paper on Land reform cast an extensive net, and although particular groups such as the youth, the unemployed and farm workers are mentioned by name, no specific strategies have been developed to ensure that such groups benefit. This shows that the youth tend to be marginalised as well with other scholars choosing to ignore them or to group them up with other marginalised groups.

Hall (1998) brings in an essential aspect of equity noting that experience with land reform elsewhere in Africa has shown that efforts to redistribute rural land to 'the disadvantaged' or to

the 'rural landless', have tended to reinforce existing societal structural forms. Reinforcing existing societal structural forms has given rise to new dimensions of inequality within beneficiary communities and this is a thought-provoking debate as it brings to the fore issues to do with creating inequality while trying to eradicate inequality.

2.5.2 Historical perspective of Land Reforms in Zimbabwe

Zimbabweans have historically had the need to reclaim their land which was forcibly taken from them during the period of colonialism. The Zimbabwean government of 1980, therefore, had a considerable burden to redistribute land to landless black Zimbabweans to redress the racial inequalities that governed land ownership. According to Sachikonye (2003) 6,000 white commercial farmers, owned 15.5 million hectares of land, while 8,500 small-scale African farmers had 1.4 million hectares with an estimated 700,000 indigenous communal farming households, subsisted on 16.4 million hectares in 1980. However, the means in which the government has undertaken land redistribution over the history of the country has mainly influenced by changing political and economic contexts (Moyo 2006) rather than purely socio-economic needs. It is argued that the Zanu-PF led government has used the land issue whenever it suited them politically as well as economically. The Zimbabwean land reform is explained in terms of phases from 1980-1989, 1990-99 and 2000 onwards.

Moyo (2006) chronicles the history of land reform in Zimbabwe from 1980 to 2004 identifying four broad phases of land reform in from the market-led land reform era (1980-1986), policy review and reduced acquisition (1987-1996) negotiated land acquisition (1997-2000) to the FTLRP (2000-2004). Moyo (2011) identifies three phases with the 1980-185 period characterised by market sales of land led by state land acquisition and redistribution as well as intensive illegal land occupations. The second phase was from 1986 to 1997 characterised by land acquisition through the state to acquire some land through expropriation and market mechanisms. The last phase began in 2000 to 2010 and entailed intensive land expropriation alongside ‘illegal land occupations. ’ Sachikonye (2003) also views the land reform process from three phases 1980-1989, 1990-99 and 2000-2002.

Palmer (1990) adds to this specifically focusing on the period from 1980-1990 stating that the land reform during this period primarily focused on resettlement with a target of 162 000 black families as beneficiaries of this land reform process by 1984. However, by 1989 only 52 000 families had been resettled on 2,713,725 hectares. During the period between 1980- 1990 the Lancaster House agreement limited the ability of the government to access land leading to the

government to fail to meet its targets constantly. (Goebels 2005). It is clear that at this point land reform was seen as a holistic process and the youth was taken as a collective social group with women and other social groups. However, in literature such as Palmer's, no mention of beneficiaries regarding the youth is articulated as the beneficiaries are assessed on a racial basis which is limiting as we would want to know how much land the youth received. However, despite this, the land reform programme in the period from 1980-1989 was seen as a success (Sachikonye 2003)

Moyo (2000) gives a holistic picture on land reform from 1990 to 1999, stating that the principal tendency during the 1990s seemed to be a steady adjustment of the strategy of forcibly acquiring under-used land with partial compensation for land improvements, towards a policy of using donor funds to buy willingly offered land. Moyo (2006) argues that the period during 1980-1997 was characterised by a state centred market assisted approach where over 65 percent of the 3.6 million hectares of land was transferred to low income families by 1997. In addition to this, the second phase contributed with an addition of 400 large-scale black farmers who accessed 400,000 hectares of land with the third period in 1997 adding 250,000 hectares of land (Moyo 2006).However, Sachikonye (2003) argues that this period had a reduced sense of urgency as evidenced by less than 20,000 new settlers received land between 1990 and 1997. It evident from this phase as well that the number of beneficiaries still varies according to different sources.

The above discussion shows that the land reform programmes before the FTLRP had done significant work in as far as redistributing land to poor landless Zimbabweans. However, this was not enough and this led to the need to redistribute more land and this led to the FTLRP. From 2000 to 2001 the FTLRP began with 80 000 families resettled on 2.5 million hectares of land of compulsorily acquired land between June and December 2000 with a further 2.5 million hectares planned to be resettled by the end of 2001(Lupiya and Hakata 2001). Overall the land reform in Zimbabwe has been redistributive with over 80 percent of the fifteen million hectares of land, which in1980 were controlled mostly by 6,000 white farmers, had been transferred to over 240,000 between 1980 and 2009 (Moyo,2011).

Table 2 Land Reform Phases and Land Acquired

Period	**Total ha acquired**	**Average ha acquired /yr**	**No of households settled**	**Context**

1980-84	2, 147, 855	429571	30000	Constitutional constraints
1985-90	447, 791	74632	20000	Land Acquisition Act 1985
1992-97	789, 645	157929	20000	Land Acquisition Act 1992
1998-2000	228, 839	76279	1000	Land reform negotiations
2000-2004	12,387, 571		135000	Compulsory land acquisition under fast track
Total 23 years	16001701	190217	201000	

Source: Moyo 2006: 146

It can be deduced that from the above table that the FTLRP has managed to acquire more land (16, 001, 701) and in the process resettle a large number of households (201 000) as compared to previous phases of land reform.

2.5.3 Fast Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP)

There is significant literature on the land reform process in Zimbabwe from 1980 to the recent FTLRP (Moyo 2000a, 2000b, 2005, 2011; Chaumba, Scoones and Wolmer, 2003; Thomas, 2003; Dermain, 2006). The FTLRP was initiated as a political project to resuscitate waning support for Zanu-PF in the wake of the formation of a strong opposition party the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC). The crucial elections as well as a recurring poor performing economy (Jacobs, 2000; Chaumba et al., 2003; Moyo, 2011) as well as agitation for land 'from below' (Sachikonye 2003) characterise the background of the FTLRP. The majority of landless people had long waited for access to land through different forums but this had not been adhered to by the government. These different forces culminated into a tense standoff between the government and the people most of which were ruling party's supporters. The process started off with farm invasions and occupation primarily led by ZANU PF supporters and war veterans and soon invaded farms transmuted into 'fast-track' resettlement areas (Chaumba et al., 2003) spearheaded by land committees (Moyo and Yeros, 2007) which were mainly made up of war veteran and Zanu-PF supporters. This was not a new tactic as Moyo (2006) states that the majority of the land transfers occurred in a context of land occupations by peasants especially from 1980 to 1985. In essence, the programme started in 2000 (Scoones et al., 2011)

with 2900 white farmers served with eviction notices (Goebels 2005) with varying dates of completion. Moyo (2006) states that the FTLRP was meant to be undertaken in an accelerated way with little domestic support which led to its radicalised manner (Moyo 2004) exacerbated by the intense polarisation between the government and the Commercial Farmers Union on the issue of compensation.
Scoones et al. (2011) allocated to new farmers over 4500 farms making up 7.6 million hectares, representing twenty percent of the total land area of the country

According to Moyo (2006), the key elements of the FTLRP were to

1. To speed up the identification for the compulsory acquisition of land for resettlement
2. Fast-tracking the planning and separation of acquired land and settler emplacement on the attained land
3. To provide limited necessary infrastructure and farmer support services.

The FTLRP thus had to acquire large tracts of land (11 million ha) within a relatively short time (4 years) to resettle hundreds of thousands of families

There were several intended beneficiaries of the FTLRP including women and youth. Youths graduating from agricultural colleges and others with demonstrable experience in agriculture' (Zimbabwe Government, 1998 in Sachikonye 2003) were target beneficiaries of the FTLRP. Moy and Yeros (2007) note that the "first 18 months of the FTLRP entailed two parallel actions the coordinated and uncoordinated land occupations on about 20 percent of the large farmers' land; and the state-led expropriation of 80 percent of the large farms." The number of beneficiaries is contested with estimates varying over the total amount of land acquired as well as the beneficiaries who accessed land. Sachikonye puts the figure as of 2002 at 11 million hectares, transferred from about 4,000 mostly large-scale white commercial farmers to about 300,000 small-scale farmers. Moyo (2011) on the other hand states that the FTLRP officially benefited 168,671 families resettled on 9.2 million hectares with most of them accessing it via government allocation.

The FTLRP has led to a new agrarian structure which is small scale which is important in this region because the large-scale commercial enterprises absorbed within the FTLRP were devoted mainly to livestock ranching, which in turn implies a different kind of transformation in agrarian structure (Cliff et al., 2011). The area of livelihood outcomes of the FTLRP is

important. However, Cliff et al. (2011) also neglects to mention the youth in his review of beneficiaries touching on literature on women (Mutopo 2011), farmworkers (Moyo and Yeros 2004; Chambati 2011) and beneficiary allocation (Marongwe 2011) which also does not focus on the youth but mostly on who got the land based on political connections..

Moyo (2001) asserts that the FTLRP is understood in various dimensions which are very complicated with a political (partisan and non-partisan, electoral and non-election orientated) framework and objectives and a socially grounded dimension which invokes existing sentiments in favour of land repossession based upon grievances over historical injustices. There is a hierarchical structure that emanates from the discussion about the FTLRP with the army and political elites at the top and children, youth and, women at the bottom. The different players that took part in the land occupations have a distinct social, political and economic dimension to it. There is the politically powerful versus the weak (Moyo, 2011) were those aligned to Zanu-PF were able to maximise on those political connections to access land which meant that the process of accessing land for various potential beneficiaries rested on the political capital that the individual had rather than their capability or whether they were intended beneficiaries.

The other dimension was the rich versus the poor. This context referred to the economic/ financial capital that an individual should have had to be able to access the land and utilise it effectively. In addition to this was the young versus the old (Chaumba et al. 2003; Bernstein 2003; Dermain 2006) and the men versus women (Moyo 2004; Goebel 2005). It is from this background that the complexities of understanding the FTLRP become exposed principally if one focuses on the contestations around the impact of the land reform process. It becomes clear that to understand the effects of the land reform. One needs to break down these concepts and assess the multidimensional impacts of the land reform. It is from this framework that I will look at the impact on the youth from an economic, political as well as social dimension to try and capture these concepts.

Sachikonye (2005) argues that the effects of FTLRP were mostly negative as the combination of disruptive land reform, unemployment and landless-ness have in particular proved to be more detrimental to vulnerable groups such as the youth as they have fewer resources, rights and opportunities compared to other categories. The youth were manipulated and exploited during the land reform process. Unemployed youth were mobilised by ZANU-PF in the run-up to FTLRP in 1999 to engage in the land occupations (Moore 2001; Moyo 2001; Chaumba,

Scoones, & Wolmer, 2003; Bernstein 2003: Derman 2006). This manipulation and exploitation are significant because it brings to light the issues of inequality and how the youth have been subjugated to unfair practices by the political parties to their detriment. Sachikonye (2005) asserts that the FTLRP generated insecurity and uncertainty for the youth and that as far as the youth are concerned, with limited education and skills, there are very few if any, opportunities for employment or self-employment. This becomes even more problematic if the youth do not have access to land which they can use to develop themselves. Hamauswa and Manyeruke (2012) point to a lack of political will on the part of the government for the lack of progress towards availing land to the youth which is seen in the National Youth Policy meant to empower the youth which fails to integrate the land reform and the agricultural sector and employment creation particularly for the youth

From the above literature, it is clear that the land reform from 1980 to the FTLRP is limited when it comes to beneficiary assessment, particularly with regards to the youth as it largely dwelt on number of families were given land and on how many hectares.

2.6Factors affecting FTLRP Beneficiaries

2.6.1 Political factors

Ashley and Carney (1999) argue that any attempt to enhance poor people's access to assets and to transforming structures and processes will rapidly confront political issues. In understanding the FTLRP in Zimbabwe, it is difficult to separate politics from the programme as it was a political operation which had political ramifications for both beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries The FTLRP became a Zanu-PF project which was engineered by Zanu-PF and its associations to compensate and appease its members from 2000-2004. Marongwe (2011) gives empirical evidence of who benefited from the FTLRP noting that the debate is highly controversial and is at the heart of opposing interpretations of the programme. The issue of beneficiaries is controversial and raises much tension because the programme set to repossess land from white commercial farmers who were said to be sympathetic to the Movement for Democratic Change an opposition party which had gained momentum and support from these farmers as well as ordinary Zimbabwean affected by a shrinking economy. This may explain the political discord that often characterises discourse on the beneficiaries of the FTLRP and Marongwe gives the empirical basis for these contestations which this study will seek to unpack.

As Chaumba et al. (2003) note, "the criteria for settler selection has not been transparent, vague and subject to cronyism." Literature highlights the beneficiaries of the FTLRP to be mostly Zanu-PF political elites, war veterans (Sadomba 2008), army officers or senior government employees (Sachikonye 2003; Marongwe 2011; Matondi 2012), chiefs (Moyo and Yeros 2007) who were driven by self-interest leading to multiple farm ownership (Moyo 2005) and non-elites (Marongwe 2011; James 2014). These beneficiaries used the political influence to ensure that they gained access to land through utilising their political capital as well as networks. For war veterans, the FTLRP was seen as the fulfilment of political promises which had gone for close to twenty years without being implemented. It has to be noted however as Marongwe (2011), and James (2014) point out that it would be misleading to argue that no ordinary Zimbabwean benefitted from the programme although it is arguable that those who got the best and biggest farms used the system of patronage to do so. If the beneficiary criteria were premised on political capital the research will seek to identify if the youth had this capital as literature shows that it was mostly older more powerful individuals who accessed land. The study will seek to either corroborate this or refute this with regards to Umguza District.

Access to A2 land allocation was influenced by political associational brokering while for A1 allocations it was both social as well as political factors. As argued earlier it was the big shots from the civil service, war veterans and Zanu-PF leaders who got the best pieces of land because they used their political influence to manipulate the process. According to Scoones et al. (2001), A1 farms were small-scale resettlement farms (37 hectares) whereas A2 farms were commercial farms (318 hectares). To access these farm participation in land occupations and negotiations with local leadership structures was critical (Moyo, 2011). Failure to be in good relations with the political as well as traditions structures meant that one would struggle to access land. Due to the influence and power of customary law in rural areas, traditional leaders have played an important role in the land reform process with the state co-opting the chiefs in the process of land redistribution. According to Goebel (2005), the emerging role of traditional authorities in the land reform process marginalises women and will negatively affect them.

In essence political patronage (Hammar and Raftopoulos 2003) negatively affected unpopular and minority groups as they were often overlooked by bureaucrats and politicians in favour of party supporters and other affiliates with political capital (Deininger, 1999; Cliffe et al., 2011). As a result, this meant that deserving marginalised groups such as the youth and women were overlooked during the land redistribution process because they lacked the political capital to benefit from the patronage system. Corruption has also been evident with some beneficiaries

especially the elite renting the land to the former White owners (Sachikonye, 2004; Cliffe et al., 2011). Corruption was also present in accessing the land with individuals bribing officials to access the land. If political patronage played any role in the redistribution of land in Umguza, it would largely be shown arguably, by the skewed political beneficiary scale towards Zanu-PF members.

However, the so-called 'ordinary' (James, 2014) Zimbabweans did manage to access land albeit in smaller sizes With regards to A1 farms, Marongwe (2011) asserts that there is consensus that the majority of A1 beneficiaries were 'ordinary' Zimbabweans. These so-called ordinary Zimbabweans are of interest to the study as we want to ascertain who these ordinary Zimbabweans are and if the youth were part of them.

2.6.2 Economic Factors

Financial capital also played a significant role in determining who got what in the FTLRP leading to those with more financial capital to access land and utilise it better. As Scoones (2015) points out, the A2 farmers allocated the larger farms were a richer, middle-class group of people who were mostly former civil servants. Wealth status was important as it determined what the beneficiaries could do with the land once they accessed it. This led to urbanites gaining access to 34% of all the land that had been allocated by the end of 2003 with differentiated groups such as rich and influential rural people, including rural based businesspeople, teachers, civil servants, political leaders, and chiefs among others, constituting about 10% of the beneficiaries in this group. (Moyo 2004). This shows that the economic variable had a tremendous influence on who accessed land and those who did not access it, with this skewed favourable towards rich and affluent people.

Economically, the intended beneficiaries of land reform are often poor and marginalised groups whom the process aims to develop. However, the process in itself also tends to alienate these groups**.** Deininger & Binswanger **(**1999) remark that the other challenge that the youth face as beneficiaries is access to credit markets. This is a significant problem in Zimbabwe where youth do not have much savings as a result of the weak economy and high levels of unemployment. As they do not have money and access to credit, they are often sidelined by the rich and powerful elites who have easy access to credit and farms. Without any support from the government through credit schemes and farm inputs, the youth feel discouraged to engage in the land reform process. However, Moyo (2004) states that the rural poor, as well as some

urban poor, managed to gain access to land and constituted about 87% of all beneficiaries who had access to 66% of the land so far redistributed, under the A1 scheme.

It is important to note that the economic situation in Zimbabwe at the beginning of the FTLRP was marked by an economic slowdown, with an increasing unemployment rate. This could have had a negative effect on the youth who were at this time looking for sources of employment both in the rural as well as urban areas. Therefore, if money was a factor that was necessary for their accessing land, one can deduce that this would have been a mammoth task. The youth as argued earlier are marginalised and disadvantaged and in most cases, due to their economic background. This factor will contextualise the manner in which the youth were able to access land or be denied access due to their economic capital.

2.6.3 Social factors

With regards to the FTLRP, it is imperative to acknowledge that ii was a reform with the need for land 'from below' (Sachikonye 2003). It thus becomes important to ascertain how those ‘from below’ were portrayed regarding social factors.The way society is structured has an element of exclusion and inclusion which essentially determines who accesses land during a land reform process which can lead to segregation and discrimination. Lipton (1999) states that there have been factors such as gender (Walker, 2003; Moyo 2004; Goebel 2005; Pedersen, 2015), race and ethnicity (Green 2006; Moyo 2011) which have become barriers to marginalised groups accessing land.

2.6.3.1 Gender

Pasura (2010) argues that during colonialization women lost their autonomy over land. His argument sets forth the disempowerment of women’s control and access to and over land in a historical perspective. It shows that women’s gender inequalities are historical in nature and have been perpetuated. Jacobs (2000) and Pasura (2010) further argue that customary law has been used to further gender inequalities through the subjugation of women to unfair and the main impediment to women’s access to land. (Pasura 2010) concludes that women were apparently supposed to access land in a world devoid of men. He further argues that power and gender relations in institutions such as the village. This brings in the role that traditional institutions through the customary law have in the granting of women access to land.

Women have traditionally had challenges in accessing land both in the customary ways such as inheritance which has marginalised and disadvantaged women and young girls (Janvry and Sadoulet 2001; Thu 2012), marriage which is seen as one way in which women can access land but does not lead to ownership (Yaro 2009), intra family relations (Quan 2007) which have forced women to embrace specific roles to attain a certain status and formal ways which still have weak legal provisions through discriminatory laws which undermine women's land rights (Goebel 2005). Patriarchal societies have tended to favour men's access to land that women in general and fighting this is a challenge (Walker 2005). Categories excluded from access to land are the weaker household members that include girls, divorced women (Janvry and Sadoulet 2001), women farmworkers (Moyo and Yeros 2004). Jacobs, Lahiff and Hall (2003) note that the use of use of the household as the primary unit of redistribution reinforcing existing biases against women's independent rights to land because most patriarchal society's cases a household is usually male-headed.

Gender is one factor which hinders women from accessing land through different mechanisms such as land reforms. Traditional patriarchal society marginalises women as it gives precedence to men over women for example through inheritance laws (Janvry and Sadoulet 2001). In cases where customary law and norms are codified (Thu 2012) societal inequalities such as the marginalisation of women in patriarchal communities can be exacerbated. The socio-cultural norms have dictated that women play a peripheral role in leadership (Walker 2005), as they are unwilling to take on positions of leadership or face substantial obstacles to doing so (Hall 2009) which has further undermined their chances to access land. As to why the state has not led to widespread gender equality Connell (1990) argues that the state is historically patriarchal as a result of concrete social practices which are nonetheless changing. Goebels (2005) further points out that that the state backtracked from a program of gender justice by retreating before the male-headed family. Ellis and Allison (2004) argue that with regards to women, the inter-relationship between land access and livelihood diversification is particularly disadvantageous to them bringing out the importance of redressing this issue through land reform.

The importance of land reform programmes as a means to redress the historical injustices that have been caused to women is thus identified. Hall (2009) recommends the usage of "land reform as a measure to bring about greater gender equity through prioritising women's land needs." Agarwal (1998) argues that a gender-egalitarian approach to land reform will not only lead to welfare improvement and poverty alleviation but will likely achieve production

efficiency which has implications for livelihoods as well because as more men migrate to urban or rural non-farm livelihoods, rural households will be more dependent on women thus bringing out the need for a more gendered perspective on land and livelihoods (Agarwal 1998). The misconceptions that women are not interested in land is demystified by Hall (2009) who notes that the gender difference in demand for land is quite small. Moyo and Yeros (2004) and Mutopo (2011) note that in the FTLRP a few women managed to acquire land individually with the majority of them accessing it through men and particularly through marriage and cultural contracts. This correlates with Moyo's (2005) assessment that women individually gained an average of "between 12 and 24% of the smallholder land allocations and an average of between 5 and 21% of the commercial land allocated." This is disappointing statistics for a country that has a 48 % of women and contradicts Moyo (2011) stance that the FTLRP increased women's access to land ownership. It proves to a certain point that the FTLRP failed to be an egalitarian process as it failed to distribute land to women equitably. This is acknowledged by (Hall 1998) who notes that land reforms lead to inequitable outcomes amongst beneficiary communities with women especially young women being marginalised. Therefore, mechanisms should be put in place to ensure that young women are afforded the chance to access land because failure to do so will lead to future gender inequalities on land ownership.

In policy frameworks, households are identified as male-headed households and this has tended to discriminate against women as women have failed to access land on the same stature as men. Jacobs (2000) states that the head of a household is a man undermines women's position with regards to land. Discrimination of women occurs through the size of the farm with male-headed households having access to extensive plot sizes on average than women (May, Stevens and Stols 2002). They state that this may be due to that fact that women-headed households are less likely to use the land for production than male-headed households. Land redistribution alone does not automatically yield 'egalitarian agrarian relations' (Moyo 2011) which has been evident in the social relations that have characterised Zimbabwean communities. It, therefore, means that there should be more that is done to ensure that women receive an equal chance of accessing land. To reduce these gender disparities Moyo and Yeros (2004) and Nyaya (2014) state that the land reform programme should focus on individuals within households instead of focusing on households where the assumption is that the women will access land through their husbands. However, as Jacobs (2000) argues, despite the fact that gender equity in land issues will not necessarily lead to gender equity for women, it is nonetheless a welcome progressive

step. There is need to ensure that young women in Umguza District access land not only to reach an equal number of beneficiaries but for the trickle-down effect that empowering women has in strengthening household food security through improved livelihoods.

Literature, therefore, shows that gender is indeed a barrier to women's ability to access land which will become important in understanding the number of females who accessed land during the FTLRP. Having noted that households are often seen as being male headed it become interesting to assess how the FTLRP viewed female-headed households and if they were discriminated against or had preferential treatment.

Other than gender, the FTLRP is seen as a racially motivated programme which was also about settling a historical racial injustice which had seen the majority black people dispossessed of their land. In that context the FTLRP was about reclaiming land from white settlers and redistributing it to 'landless' black people. Ethnic identity also played a role in determining who accessed land during the FTLRP. The history of Zimbabwe played an important role in the struggle for land between white and blacks but another dimension has been the ethnic one which has often pitted the Ndebele against the Shona. Moyo (2011) notes that the FTLRP excluded some people on ethnic grounds during the FTLRP especially with regards to people from 'Mashonaland' within the Matabeleland provinces' conservancies and peri-urban farms. The issue of 'outsiders' Moyo (2011) became a significant concern for both beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries as outsiders were denied access land to solely based on their ethnic as well as region. The issue of local preferences (Scoones et al., 2011) became of importance as local people needed to access land as much as outsiders did. Ethnicity thus influenced where the beneficiaries preferred to be allocated land because people wanted to be near areas where they were originally from or closer to where they were ethnically from (Moyo 2011).

2.6.4 Land reform and youth livelihoods

Land reform has the potential to transform youth livelihoods globally either positively or negatively. Eguavoen (2010) argues that little academic attention has been taken to understand the livelihood constraints that the youth face as they need to eke a livelihood for themselves and their families at the same time. This parallel structure of livelihoods presents challenges for young people as they may fail to acquire assets that they need to pursue independent livelihood strategies. Focusing on Ethiopia, Bezu and Holden (2003) point out that the size of

the farm matters when it comes to youth and livelihoods noting that the smaller the size of the cultivated land the less attractive it is for the youth to see land cultivation as a viable livelihood strategy. However, it is equally important to understand whether the youth have the capacity to utilise the bigger pieces of land fully. Young people in Zimbabwe, are motivated by land as a resource as it is about gaining good agricultural land with secure tenure (Chaumba et al., 2003). However in their study Chaumba etal. (2003) state that different livelihoods strategies are implemented by young people in these new settlements with prostitution being one such livelihood strategy employed by young women who do not have any resources to kick-start their new lives in the resettlement areas.

Chapter 3

3 Methodology

3.1Research design

The research design was mainly qualitative in nature. Bless, Higson-Smith and Sithole (2013) state that qualitative research uses words or descriptions to record aspects of the world as language provides a more sensitive way of recording the human experience. The interpretive paradigm emphasizes the importance of people's lived experiences, and that people perceptions and experiences are subjective and that the objective is to gain a detailed understanding of reasons, beliefs and motivation (Hennink, Hunter and Ajay 2011). This was important to the research as the research questions needed one to understand the reasons behind the youth being target beneficiaries and what mechanism they used to access land and what challenges they faced. It is also important to reiterate that the research was historical in perspective focusing on the period between 2000- 2008 and hence the impact of the FTLRP on the youth between this periods was focused on. This is because as noted in the literature review the period was the most critical one during the FTLRP.

3.1.1 Case study: Umguza District

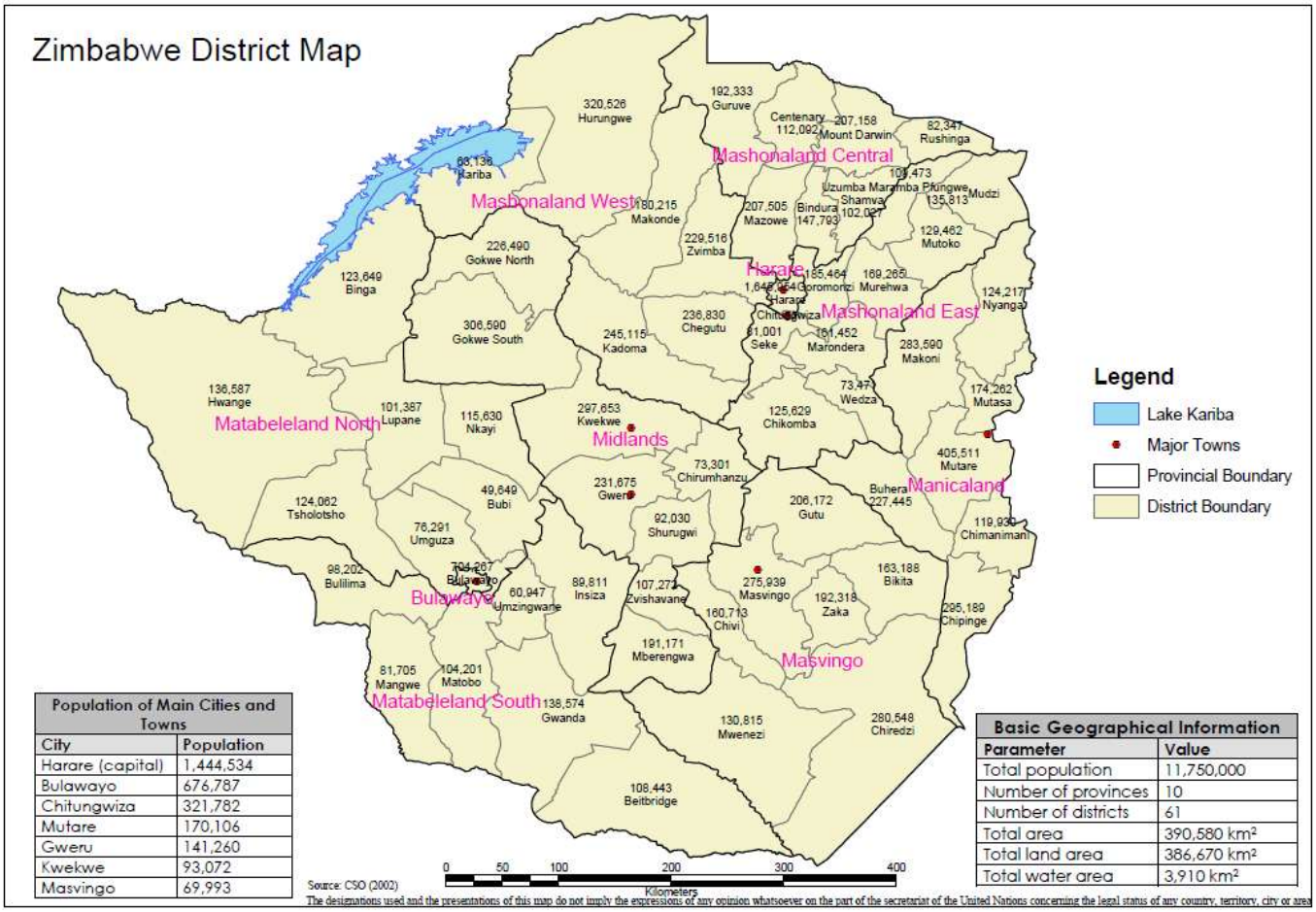
According to Punch (2006), the research strategy has to be identified based on whether the study is qualitative or quantitative. As alluded to beforehand, the study was qualitative in nature and the research strategy employed was a case study. Fidel (1984) states that a case study has a two-pronged approach, one to achieve a comprehensive understanding of the event under study and secondly to develop general theoretical assumptions about the observed phenomena. It thus becomes clear that the case study enabled me to understand the role of the youth in the FTLRP in Umguza and coming up with theoretical conclusions about the programme and the youth based on Ribot and Peluso's theory of access. Simons (2009) notes that the advantage of a case study is that it enables the experience and complexity of programmes and policies to be studied in depth and interpreted in the precise socio-political contexts in which programmes and policies are enacted such as the FTLRP.

Umguza District was used as a case study because it was pivotal to answering the research question as to how the land reform programme benefited the youth. Umguza District has 19 wards with 89 687 people and is found in Matabeleland North (Zimstat, 2012). In 2015 Matabeleland North was ranked the province with the highest levels of poverty at between

81.85 and 85.7% with Umguza District having a poverty prevalence of 79.9% (Zimstat 2015). Also, as stated in the literature review, there is limited research on the FTLRP in Matabeleland North. Umguza is close to Bulawayo which is the second largest city in Zimbabwe. Its Rural District Council (RDC) offices are also located in Bulawayo.

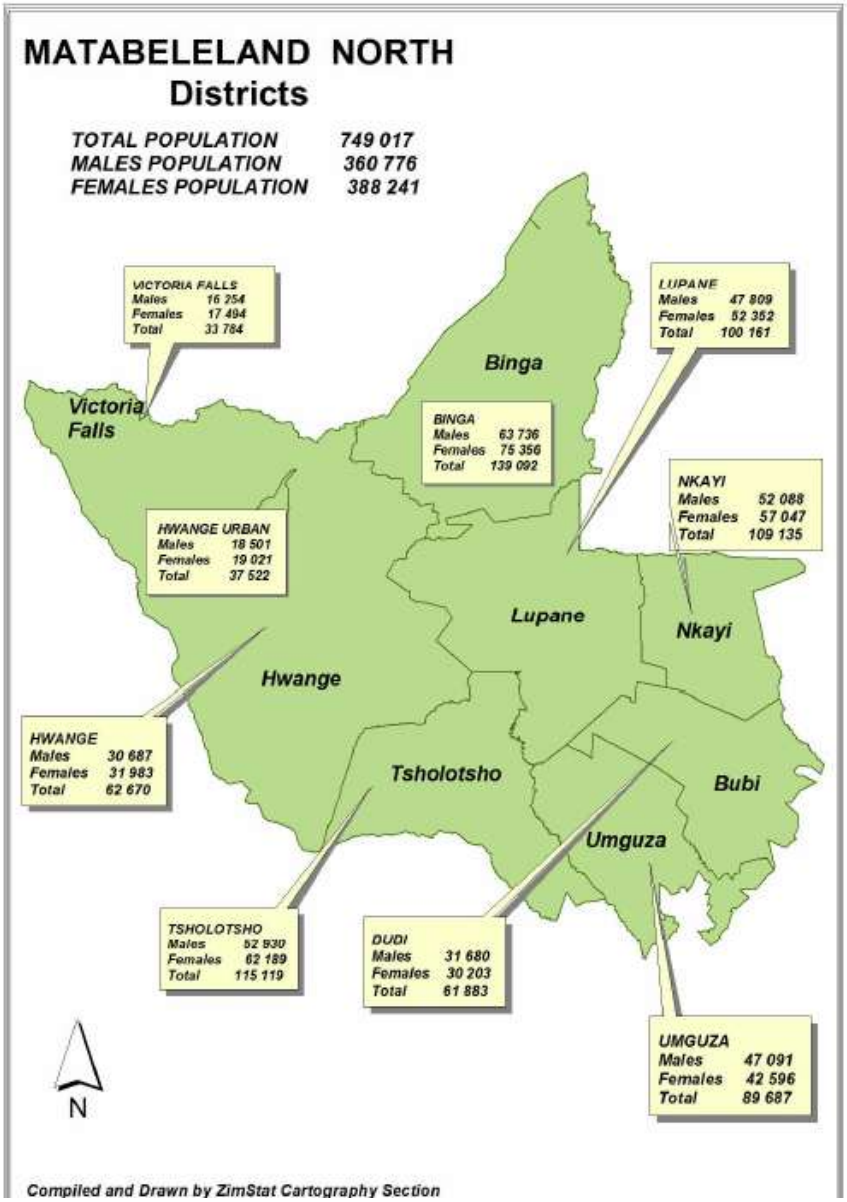
I focused on the youth in Umguza as Zulu (2009) focused on beneficiaries as a collective. This means that my research will give an in-depth look into how the FTLRP affected the youth. Zulu also focused on perceptions whereas I will focus on the experiences and effects of the FTLRP on the youth. It is important to ascertain whether their perceptions have actually become reality and whether they still think the same of the FTLRP.

Figure 1 Map of Zimbabwean Districts



Source**:** UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs 2012

Figure 2 Map of Matabeleland North Districts



Source: Zimstat 2012

Figure 3 Map of Umguza



Source: Google Maps 2018

In the district I focused only on A1 farms which were mostly accessed by the general population. These farms have an average farm size which is significantly between 39 and 45 hectare (Sachikonye 2003).

3.1.2 Sample

The target sample was people who were between the ages of 15 and 35 during the FTLRP as they were part of the youth age criteria. It should be made clear that most of these beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries are no longer youth (ex-youth), however, they were youth during the FTLRP hence their inclusion in this research. As stated earlier the idea is to understand the experiences of the youth during the height of the FTLRP that is between 2000 and 2008.

The research intended to assess how the youths experienced the FTLRP and how it has affected them over the years. Purposive sampling was used to identify the target sample. McNeil (1990) notes that purposive sampling occurs when a researcher chooses a particular group or place to study because it is known to be of the type that is wanted. In this research, the youth was the group that I was interested in because there is not much literature on them especially from

Matabeleland North. Snowballing will be used to find the participants who benefited from the land reform as they may be few in number starting with Mr Ndlovu a local community leader in Umguza. This is because there is no documentation that is available to state how many youth benefited from the land reform and where they are located especially those that were between 15 and 35 during the FTLRP. Baker (2006) notes that snowball sampling is a good method to use because participants who have been referred by a friend may be more willing to talk with the researcher. To find more respondents as asserted by Baker (2006) I will engaging respondents as research assistants to refer me to the next informant. The sample criteria were as follows:

Total Number: 20 Respondents/ Informants were interviewed. The total population of Umguza District stood at 90000 people based on the 2012 Zimstat population census statistics. However taking into account that literature review noted that the FTLRP had few youth beneficiaries the number of interviews was set at twenty which was noted would be sufficient for data to reach saturation point. The intended data collection methods that is in-depth interviews and participant observation also required a significant low number of participants. It has to be noted that during the research, saturation point was reached during these interviews hence there was no additional need to increase the number of interviewees. The researcher was confident that the interviewed number was sufficient as noted by the challenges in accessing these twenty informant as the number of youth beneficiaries was low and the data collected was sufficient as it was detailed..

Age: 15-35 during FTLRP. Verifying the eligibility of potential respondents was done at the beginning of the interview to ensure that only people within this criteria were interviewed and observed.

Gender: 10 women and 10 men. This was to ensure that the study has gender representation. Experiences of women are equally important as they showed what and how they went about the FTLRP.

Land Status: 10 beneficiaries and 10 non-beneficiaries. Non-beneficiaries were identified from the nearby township in Nyamandlovu, farm workers as well as vendors who were in Umguza District during the FTLRP.

3.2Data Collection

I was the primary instrument for both collecting and analysing the data using the following data gathering methods.

3.2.1 Participant Observation

Participant observation was utilized to as a data collection method. Participant observation was an ideal data collection for the research problem as well as the research strategy. It enabled me to familiarize with the community, their way of doing things before embarking on interviews. Jorgensen (1989) asserts that case studies conducted by way of participant observation attempt to describe comprehensively and exhaustively a phenomenon in terms of a research problem. The observation was overt as I was the research instrument and I was engaged in the data collection with the daily activities of the participants being interrupted. Bless, Higson-Smith and Sithole (2013) state that participant observation is the recording of events as observed by an outsider.

I utilized the Observer-as-Participant approach in this study. According to Baker (2006) observer-as-participant allows the researcher to be known to the participants, to conduct short interviews still remaining strongly research-oriented. This approach seemed more relevant than other approaches such as Participant-as-Observer. The Participant-as-Observer required more time to develop relationships up until they become friendly. This process leads to several disadvantages as identified by Baker (2006), citing Gold (1958) such as the researcher over identifying with the participants as well as vice versa. However, the Observer-as-Participant approach also had several disadvantages. According to Baker (2006), citing Gold (1958) the brief encounters with insiders limit "opportunities for gaining knowledge of total situations. This meant that I had to use the in-depth interviews and secondary sources to add more data to the missing information and to address issues of validity and reliability.

On the criteria of observation Baker (2006) states that to get rich and in-depth information, it is important for the researcher to know the best times to observe and meet with individual insiders, as well as whom she/he should interview. Therefore to achieve this my criteria was:

- Who: Both beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries
- What: people did in the resettlement area
- Where: in their homesteads, field and workplaces
- When : during the day as they engage in their daily activities

To have a through observation, I observed using the following guide:

- How the youth in Umguza went about their daily activities
- Possible differences between homes of non-beneficiaries versus beneficiaries (size of a homestead, livestock kept, farming activities, labour employed or self-employed, etc.
- Possible differences between male and female-headed homes.
- Any outfits or signage depicting political affiliations such as posters, clothes and slogans on walls
- Visibility of local public services such as veterinary services, schools and hospitals

Having being raised in Matabeleland language and culture were not largely barriers to the study. Culture was an important aspect as the people I was observing were largely older than I was hence I was careful to take that into account. As my presence was known to the community my observations were not seen as criminal. However, the disadvantage was that people could have changed their behaviour once they know they are being observed. I used a guide to assist me in my observation. To limit this I used in-depth interviews which enabled me to probe deeper and also uncover what cannot be observed.

Observation took place over a week in September and two weeks in November and one week in December 2017. The varying times were done so as to achieve reliability. According to Adler and Adler (1994) in Baker (2006) varying the time and the place in order to "ensure the widest range of observational consistency increases the reliability of the data collected. The observations were largely unstructured with important aspects pertaining to the study being observed and recorded. These were then put across to respondents during interviews to ascertain their meaning.

I used field notes as my data collection techniques to record what I observed based on the observation guide. The date, time, place and the beneficiary name were recorded on my notepad as well as a voice recorder and were transcribed on a daily basis to ensure descriptive validity which is the factual accuracy of the account as reported by the researcher (Johnson 1997 in Baker 2006). The field session provided a detailed, coherent description of what I had observed and felt. Analysis of notes occurred as notes were being prepared and while the researcher was still in the field to identify emerging themes. These themes were important when I was transcribing and also when I formulated additional interview questions.

3.2.2 In depth interviews

In-depth unstructured interviews were used in the research to get detailed data on the land reform process and how it affected the youth. The interviewees were people who were youth during the FTLRP in Umguza District. Simons (2009) notes that the purpose of in-depth interviewing is to understand the interviewee's perspectives on the topic. Greenstein (2003) asserts that a combination of observation and interviews allows the researcher to grasp the meanings people attach to their everyday activities. This adds depth to the study by ensuring validity.

I developed an interview protocol then developed an interview guide to have the key points that will be asked. The guides were translated into Ndebele a local language in which I am fluent. The questions were open-ended and will be asked verbally so as to grasp the experiences of the participants and where there are questions the participant is able to elaborate.

Before embarking on the interviews, I liaised with Mr Ndlovu u to establish relationships to facilitate entry into the research site. He was instrumental in the land reform programme during the height of the land occupations. He helped me to identify gatekeepers and key informants. After this, he introduced me to several key members of the communities who were young people during the FTLRP. This made snowballing easy for me as these people knew other people in their age group whom they were with during the programme. After identifying the respondents I then proceeded to conduct the interviews.

The interviews were conducted at various locations such as in homesteads, marketplaces, in fields but mostly in the homesteads of the interviewees. After identifying the respondents from the sample, I visited them at their homesteads where I introduced myself. Rapport was initiated through asking general questions about themselves and their family before engaging on the research questions.

The participants described to me how the FTLRP occurred and how it affected their lives. Certain keywords which were stated in Ndebele through proverbs and metaphors which I did not understand were taken down and later asked during the interview for further explanation. These words became important during the data analysis as themes emerged from them. As the events of the FTLRP occurred years earlier and the respondents could have suffered from memory loss, the interview questions started from earlier events to the most recent ones. The

questions elicited that the respondents narrate their experiences, describing what they did, how they did and how they felt during that time.

The details of the interview were transcribed for data analysis. The main challenge with in-depth interviews is that the land reform programme is a political issue and participants were not willing to share their views with the researcher. The most important aspect here was for me as the researcher to create rapport with the participants before engaging with more sensitive questions. Another challenge is that of memory as the FTLRP happened close to 20 years ago hence I will develop probing questions that will enable the respondent to remember events to the best of their ability.

3.3 Data Analysis

3.3.1 Thematic Content Analysis

Thematic Content Analysis (TCA) is a descriptive presentation of qualitative data (Anderson 2007). Clarke and Braun (2006) note that it is useful for for identifying and analysing patterns in qualitative data. Thematic content analysis produces meaning, helps to gain understanding done specifically on the interviews and observations which were done. It is an important tool that aims to identify recurring themes and is often used on various documents and interview transcripts (Van Zyl lecture). Alhojailan (2012) argues that thematic analysis is important for analysing the data when the research's aim is to extract information to determine the relationship between variables and to compare different sets of evidence that pertain to different situations in same study .This was important since the study focused on two aspect of the youth beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries of the FTLRP. I utilized the guidelines provided by Anderson (2007) which entail

1. Making copies of interview transcript. This was done so as to retain unedited copies for further analysis as other copies will be used identify important themes. Several copies were made also for security reason so as to have backup copies which were also secured to ensure privacy.
2. Important relevant descriptions from interview transcripts, secondary and observation notes were highlighted. Braun and Clarke (2006) note that the researcher needs to be familiar with the data so as to make analytical observations. When this is achieved important relevant themes are identified and these were ones relating to how youth accessed land and experiences they encountered in the process of doing so

3. Highlighting the descriptions makes it easy for me to codify the descriptions. Braun and Clarke (2006) state that coding is an analytical process which capture both a semantic and conceptual reading of the data. Distinct units of meaning were then outlined from these highlighted descriptions. Descriptions relating to how the respondents accessed land and the challenges that they faced during and after the FTLRP was captured as best as possible. These descriptions captured the experiences of the respondents and there was great need to capture them without distorting their meaning.
4. From these distinct units, themes were then identified rising from key words that were used by respondents in their descriptions, secondary sources as well as from my observation notes. The themes were broken down into specific strands to produce meaning and gain understanding of the findings from the study. Braun and Clarke (2006) state that a theme is a coherent and meaningful pattern in the data relevant to the research question. Keywords relating to means of access, politics, cultural norms, to name just a few were identified and noted. Some key words which had important meaning in Ndebele but lost meaning in translation were left in Ndebele so as to capture the essence of the respondents' descriptions.
5. Effort was made to have few detailed themes from the descriptions so as to have a detailed analysis. This was done so as to avoid lay spreading too thin the data collected and diluting the data through unnecessary themes. The themes were important in sorting information in an orderly manner for detailed analysis. Themes differentiating youth such as gender, political background and income were identified. Challenges and benefits that the youth came across were also themes identified from which several sub themes were identified and discussed. From the transcriptions, themes were identified and flagged and entered into relevant themes for analysis. Important and relevant quotations and excerpts from secondary sources, observation notes and transcriptions were used through content analysis.

Thematic content analysis was also used to analysis information from secondary sources to collaborate findings and to find gaps and contradictions within the findings.

To draw conclusions, Greenstein (2003) advices the use of patterning which refers to noting recurring patterns or themes. The themes assisted me to conduct a systematic evaluation of information to identify what was collective to the youth and also to identify aspects which were only specific to certain individuals as these were considered imperative as well.

3.4Limitations

Limitations in the research included having few respondents particularly beneficiaries as they were few youth who benefited from the land reform programme. There were few female beneficiaries as well which meant that it took longer to identify and interview them. The political upheavals in November 2017 relating to the ouster of Robert Mugabe also delayed the data collection as the researcher and participants felt the situation was volatile. Another limitation was that there was not much literature on the FTLRP in Matabeleland North, particularly Umguza District. In addition to this, there was limited literature which focuses on the youth and the FTLRP. During the research, there was a challenge in accessing data on the number of beneficiaries as the Lands Officer responsible for Umguza District stated that they did not have information dating back to the early 2000s. I also visited Umguza Rural District Council were efforts to get an interview with councillors were futile and I was referred back to Umguza Lands and Resettlement Office. The only viable option was to conduct interviews with the beneficiaries themselves on the ground. The assistance given by relevant officials was contact details of key participants in the wards who assisted during the interviews. It has to be reiterated that the issue of FTLRP beneficiaries is a much contested topic politically and socially and hence there is always difficulty in accessing documents pertaining to these beneficiaries. Notwithstanding these challenges efforts were made to get reliable and valid information from other data collection methods such as interviews and participant observation.

3.5Ethical issues

Ethical considerations were taken when conducting the research as it was an important aspect of research. The land reform as stated earlier was a contentious issue and great care was taken to ensure confidentiality and to gain informed consent from the participants and gatekeepers in Umguza such as traditional leaders and councilors. The participants were made aware of my identity, the institution I was coming from, the topic of my research and the purpose of my presence in their community. Ethics were maintained during data collection. Firstly, clearance was sought and granted by Umguza Rural District Council for me to conduct the research. This enabled me to engage community leaders in the district who assisted me in mobilizing the community. Police clearance was also granted by the police in Umguza District based in Nyamandlovu Centre.

During the course of the interviews and observation, I was also aware of ethical issues such as being sensitive to differences of age, gender, class and culture. No filming or photographs were

taken during observation to protect the identity of the participants. This was due to the fact that the political climate in Zimbabwe is very volatile especially towards elections. Confidentiality of the participants' identity was maintained during and after data collection. This was done through using interview numbers rather than the original names for the interviewees to avoid detection and possible retaliation from anyone aggrieved by the information given.

Chapter 4

4 Research Findings

4.1Introduction

This chapter presents findings from the research in Umguza District. The findings will be discussed and analysed in detail bringing out the main contestations using the literature discussed in Chapter 2. The literature helped the researcher to understand the role of different political, institutions as well as socio-economic factors that influenced the distribution of land to the different beneficiaries. How beneficiaries gained controlled and maintained their access to land as well as the power relations that underlined this in accessing land was also identifies and discussed. The chapter gives an oversight on the role that the youth played in the FTLRP and whether the programme has benefitted the youth both as beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries of land. Themes emanating from the interviews are discussed in detail with the intention to unravel the intricacies that underpinned access to and utilisation of land in Umguza during the FTLRP. The findings of the research were:

1. Few young people benefitted from the FTLRP
2. The youth were massively under-resourced before and during the FTLRP
3. Livelihood diversification and migration are the livelihood strategies used by the youth. This livelihood diversity is born out of necessity and not a choice and is about coping strategies (Ellis, 2000).

4.2Access to land

Bezu and Holden (2013) note that rural livelihoods depend heavily on natural capital and therefore access to land is a crucial determinant of livelihood strategies and poverty reduction (Ellis and Alison 2004). Ellis and Alison (2004) articulate that increasing inability of young people to access enough land to take up farming as their principal occupation as one of the factors driving deagrarianisation in Sub Saharan Africa. The research findings show that few

young people accessed land and the reason for this was because of the gerontocratic socio-cultural factors which were also political. These all compounded the ability of the youth to access land. The youth had, therefore, to navigate past these barriers which needed a sense of agency and capability in their own right something which not all youth had.

4.2.1 Few Youth Beneficiaries

The first thing that became apparent in the field was the low number of youth beneficiaries which was not surprising as literature had already shed light on the FTLRP and the main actors. However, it was important to understand the reasons why so few young people we able to access land. The youth in Umguza District faced various challenges during the FTLRP from the point of gaining access, maintaining and utilising the land. Scoones (1998) acknowledges that different people have different access to different livelihood resources. Therefore these challenges were diverse ranging from political, socio-economic as well as cultural. It is important to note that an individual could be faces a combination of challenges. Cultural challenges stemmed from the perceptions that were held by the community with regards to the youth and land. Political challenges were the most acknowledged overall challenges that the youth stated noting that politics determined who accessed land and who did not. In essence, the socio-cultural construct of youth has been evident as the main challenge that led to few youths accessing land as culture (Durham 2000, Waldie 2004, White 2012)), traditions, and location (Bennel 2007, White 2012) all were identified as variables that affected the ability of the youth to access land. For young women, socio-economic as well as cultural challenges posed a more significant obstacle to their quest to attain land. Although there were these challenges that the youth faced, some youth managed to overcome these challenges and access land. An in-depth analysis is made to show how some youth turned these challenges into opportunities to access land and how others failed and became non-beneficiaries.

4.2.1.1 Divergent perceptions on Youth and land

Different perceptions were held by people during the FTLRP. The most widely held perception was that the youth did not want land and this undermined their chances of accessing land. Perceptions play a significant role in determining the way society behaves and structures itself, particularly, in resource allocation. The negative perception of the youth stems from the gerontocratic (White 2012), patriarchal cultural beliefs that are held in most parts of rural Zimbabwe. As the findings reveal, they also stem from the way the youth themselves view

agriculture. However, it is also essential now to interrogate what and why the youth think and view land.

From the interviews conducted it became clear that the youth themselves held polarised views regarding land and the FTLRP. From one participant's views, the negative perception was revealed.

"*I was never really interested in land and agriculture…I thought it was for desperate people…I now know I was wrong……" (Interview 11, Nyamandlovu Centre, November 2017).*

This admission by non-beneficiaries gives basis to the perception that a significant number of young people were not interested in the land during the FTLRP. Of the interview respondents 60% of non-beneficiaries pointed out that they were interested in land and 40% stated that they were not. Of the 10 women interviewed only 2 women stated that they had no interest in the land with a majority of 8 stating their interest. These were part on the non-beneficiaries who evidently did not manage to access the land. This finding resonates with the literature on youth perceptions on land and agriculture (Bennel, 2007; Cotula, 2007; Sumberg et al., 2012, and White, 2012; Leavy and Hossain, 2014). Shaw (2003) quotes the mantra of MDC youths as say, 'we do not need land, we need jobs' during the FTLRP as a basis for these claims which brings to fore questions about agency to say whether the youth wanted land. The argument is that without any meaningful drive or agency from the youth to access land it becomes clear why there were few youth beneficiaries. There had to be first a conscious need and agency by the youth to want to access the land and make efforts to access it to enable them to become beneficiaries. The youth viewed rural life and agriculture as an occupation and career or livelihood for older people. As the participant further explained,

"*we were born here (rural area,) and we all wanted to go and work in the urban areas where there was a better life." ……" (Interview 11, Nyamandlovu Centre, November 2017).*

The apparent limited and reduced lifestyle the youth experienced in rural areas has made some of them to want to migrate to urban areas (Chinsinga and Chasukwa 2012**)**. The lack of successful role models in the agricultural sector especially young people has made agriculture seem to be a livelihood for older people than a viable livelihood option for young people. The land is accessed by older people who want to settle down and need a homestead. Very few young people interviewed stated that they sought land to engage in economic activities. The language commonly used by young people when they eventually seek land is that *"sifuna*

imizi" (loosely translated meaning we want homesteads). The mentality of seeking homesteads shows the mentality that young people held about land. They see it as a means of accessing a home after they return from working in urban areas. There is there a need for a paradigm shift when it comes to the way people view land. Land is a valuable resource that can be used for social as well as economic reasons. It cannot be reduced to a resource that people need to engage in subsistence farming primarily by young people who are viewed as being innovative and energetic (Waldie 2004).

Nonetheless, there is also a need to understand why the youth have taken such a position to initially shunning land. It has to be understood, however, that not all youth lacked agency to access land but were constrained by access challenges. However, as Tadele and Gella (2012) and Swarts and Michael Aliber (2013); Bezu and Holden (2013) point out that it has more to do with lack of access to land than lack of interest that has seen most young people fail to engage in agriculture. Hall (2009) collaborates this, noting that the highest level of demand for land is among those who are relatively young i.e. the 26–35 age group which then brings doubt to the arguments that the youth are uninterested in the land. The interest in land from the youth was stated however barriers to entry were detrimental to the efforts of the youth. The youth cited several reasons why they did not partake in the FTLRP with most of them citing political and economic challenges as the main disincentives. Moreover, the manner in which the youth viewed agriculture itself helped explain why few young people were willing to embark on the FTLRP to access land. To those that made an effort to access land, the contrary opinions became a significant obstacle. According to one participant,

"*We were given peripheral roles in the distribution of land. The authorities did not see us as serious beneficiaries as farming was seen as the prerogative of older people who were also war veterans. This is despite the fact we were at that time the most active and vocal during the occupations" (Interview 13, Imvana Farm, November 2017).*

It becomes clear that the viewpoint at that time, as evidenced by this interview, was that young people were seen to be inexperienced farmers and not serious about farming. These perceptions which were held by the older generation cannot be undermined. Older people as the custodians of land play a leading role in the distribution of land either via family transfers or through programmes such as the FTLRP. Their perceptions, therefore, do matter in this regard. White (2012) states that youth are denied access to land by local gerontocratic structures which give

the older generation control of land resources and make them reluctant to transfer this control to the next generation. This cynical and biased perception is not unique to Zimbabwe only as stated by Swarts and Aliber (2013) who note that this perception often plays against the youth in policy formulation and implementation and this causes the youth to be marginalised in programs such as the FTLRP. Consequently, this negatively affects the youth in creating sustainable livelihood strategies. It is from this perception that challenges emanate from such as accessing the land and inputs which is vital for starting and sustaining livelihoods. It is with this respect that, Waldie (2004) argues that there is a need to understand what young people to build livelihoods around rural areas as it will shape the conceptions and perceptions that society has about young people and land.

4.2.1.2 Gender Analysis

As discussed above socio-cultural beliefs dictate how land is transferred to or accessed by young people. The socio-cultural perspective of youth has different meanings depending on the culture (Durham 2000, Waldie 2004; White 2012), traditions, and location (Bennel 2007, White 2012) which is often non-linear. The manner in which the youth particularly young women have been defined by culture has been segregatory as well as discriminatory connotations which undermine the role that young people play. One hopes as Agarwal (1998) argues that a gender-egalitarian approach will be utilised when redistributing land to beneficiaries.

Few Female Beneficiaries

On the other hand, one emerging theme from the study was that a large number of FTLRP beneficiaries were male with only a few female respondents. In comparison with the wider population there was approximately 1 female farmer in every 10 households. This represents a less than 10% beneficiary rate. Finding female beneficiaries who individually accessed land proved to be a significant challenge as opposed to finding male beneficiaries. This ties in with what Mutopo (2001) notes that women have been minority beneficiaries of land reform programmes in Zimbabwe yet women farmers are heavily dependent on land (Anaafo and Guba 2017). Minority female beneficiaries is due to misconceptions that women just like the youth do not want land and that giving a woman land is culturally retrogressive. Conversely, as the findings showed this is not entirely true. Hall (2009) agrees, noting that the gender difference in demand for land is quite small. The reasons why there were so few beneficiaries was because

young women faced additional challenges in accessing land which was primarily due to the fact of their gender and age. As one interviewee noted,

"*It was difficult for us as women especially single women to access land because you know as women we have more responsibilities than men. I also had to stay in the open with men I did not know which puts us in danger. Some women left as they did not feel safe and others had their husbands to stand in for them. I was single and so had to persevere."(*Interview 17, Imvana Farm, December 2017 Nyamandlovu*).*

Land Reform cannot solve Gender Problems

The finding corroborates with what Moyo (2011) states noting that land redistribution alone does not automatically yield 'egalitarian agrarian relations.' This is a challenge to young women who hope to access land through state-led land reform programmes. This is reiterated by Goebels (2005) who argues that the state backtracked from a program of gender justice by retreating before the male-headed family. Other than state machinery, patriarchal societies through cultural traditions have tended to favour men's access to land that women in general and fighting this is a challenge (Walker, 2005). Single-women headed households are one of the most vulnerable households yet they are denied access to land. Sachikonye (2003) states that although women head a third of all households, their access to land is limited.

However, as despite these challenges evidenced by the above interview, the FTLRP managed to present women with an opportunity to access land (Manjengwa, Hanlon and Smart 2014) away from the family level negotiations (Mutopo 2011). Scoones et al. (2011) concur noting that women played a pivotal role in the farm invasions. One participant noted that,

"*The process was difficult for everyone …both men and women, but I can say that it was a challenge for most women. We did not have the security nor guarantee that we will have these farms in our names. So I had to find ways of persuading the land officers to register me for this piece of land. However, I am happy because this farm is mine" (Interview 17, September 2017, Mt Pleasant Farm: Nyamandlovu).*

The above interview shows that women had to negotiate and bargain (Mutopo 2011) for them to access land from male officials who controlled the land redistribution process. Quan (2006) notes that women's land rights have been subsidiary to and derived from men's rights. Thus the gender inequalities that women face in the informal systems also permeates to formal state systems forcing women to use alternative means to weave their way into accessing land. This

negotiation and bargaining also depends on social and economic capital as women need assistance from fellow male friends and relatives to access land. This means there that those without these forms of capital will consequently fail to access land depriving them of land-based livelihood strategies. It thus becomes a concern when government programmes such as the FTLRP still do not see women farmers as able people who can do more with the land as compared to men. This is identified by Moyo (2005) who asserts that individually women only accessed between 12 and 24% of the A1 farm allocations and an average of between 5 and 21% of the commercial land allocated. This discrimination isolates women hence most of them failed to access land. Chaumba, Scones & Wolmer (2003) acknowledge this noting that very few young, unmarried women have settled in Fair Range or Gonarezhou.

According to White (2012), agrarian societies are typically sites of patriarchy in both gender and generational relations and this became evident from the findings that the main beneficiaries of the FTLRP were mainly older men with few young women accessing land individually. Young men due to rural-urban migration tend to leave the rural space leaving young women taking care of the family and having to also seek land in competition with older men who are seeking land for retirement purposes.

The challenge of Productive as well as Reproductive Roles

In addition to these challenges, young women were burdened with the challenges of accessing land, engaged in eking a livelihood as well as their reproductive roles. As one participant noted, as they had children and livestock which they had to look out for at their respective homes.

"I had young children back then….whom was I going to leave them with….who was going to feed them…….(Interview 05, Nyamandlovu Centre, September 2017).

The finding corroborates with assertions made *by* Moyo and Yeros (2004) and Mutopo (2011) that in the FTLRP a few women managed to acquire land individually with the majority of them accessing it through men and particularly through marriage and cultural contracts. Through these reproductive roles, it becomes clear that women had more challenges than men due to their gender which made them fail to access land. Women were forced to choose between waiting for days at end squatting on a farm and eking a living for their children.

The study also revealed that marriage is not only important in family transfers but also in state-led land reform programmes such as the FTLRP. Exogamy (Agarwal 1998) has tended to be a major factor identified by society to deny women land. The argument has been that giving

women land is disadvantageous to the community as they may marry out of the community which is why in most societies land is given to men who are expected to remain in the village. One of the differences which had an impact on the ability of women accessing land in Umguza was the issue of marital support. From the study, it became clear that women who were married or had male companions stated that the process for accessing land was not as complicated as it was for single women. For some of the non-beneficiaries, this is what led them to fail to access land. The main challenge was that the process needed people to be at the site of resettlement for extended periods of time. So it became easy for those who had husbands to manage the time spent at the invaded farm and time spent at their respective homes. However, this proved to be much of a challenge for single women who found it difficult to be at these two places at the same time. Some of the non-beneficiaries stated that they were vendors and as such could not leave their wares unattended to join the process. Thus the reproductive roles of women ended up undreaming their productive roles as they could not access land which could have positively impacted on their livelihoods.

Differentiation between Women

Mutopo (2011) argues that during the FTLRP there was also a differentiation between wives and women heads of households with married women have a better social standing than non-married women in most patrilineal societies in Africa such as Umguza District. According to Georg-Stauth (1990), this is in line with the argument that women's status in class societies does not depend on property relations but on social mechanisms outside the household that deny women an adult position. Societal perceptions also played against single women as they were mistrusted by both men and married women. Culture and tradition played against them as patriarchy ensured that they were looked down upon.

"*When people see you dancing and ululating to slogans they think you are a prostitute. No one took us seriously then because we were young women. I am lucky to have this land."(Interview 17, Mt Pleasant Farm, December 2017).*

The above comments bring to fore the socio-cultural challenges that women faced during the programme. It speaks to the perceptions that young people are faced with and takes it a step further to bring out the perceptions that are targeting women. It is apparent that politics as well as accessing land are domains which are culturally identified with males. Razavi (2007) acknowledges this noting that in many cultural contexts access to and ownership of land is closely intertwined with male gender identities.

The finding corroborates what Chisholm and Bois-Reymond (1993) and Bennel (2007) who state that systematic social inequalities have had a tremendous adverse effect on youth transitions, especially on young rural women. Quan (2005) notes this stating that women faced discrimination and disenfranchised in both formal and customary systems of land tenure and as Thamaga-Chitja, Kolanisi and Murugani (2010) conclude this negatively affect their efforts at deriving land-based livelihoods and food security. Anaafo and Guba (2017) argue that this fundamental neglect of women farmers has diverse effects on food security as they remain the most significant labour force in agriculture. Thus, as noted by Frost and Sawa (2017**)** one of the greatest challenges limiting the success of young female agri-preneurs is unequal access to key assets, such as land, finance and information services. Thus it becomes clear that young women are denied an opportunity to access land which limits the opportunities to develop livelihoods that they can pursue independently without the control and dominance by men or by the very society in which they live in. Hence, it becomes arguable that disempowering young women is disempowering the agricultural sector and threatening food security of a country thus

4.2.1.3 Migration

The high migration rate of young people has also fuelled this negative perception as few young people are seen to be actively engaged in agriculture. Bezu and Holden (2013) note that rural-urban migration often occurs in areas where there is severe agricultural land scarcity. Although young people have indeed migrated to Bulawayo and neighbouring countries, not all youth have aspirations to migrate and abandon agriculture. As postulated by Hussein and Nelson (1998) migration can also be seen as a part of livelihood diversification as the youth have migrated due to failure to access land and the hope of a better lifestyle in urban areas. This leaves the remaining youth with fewer chances of accessing land because the available options such the FTLRP are closed to them. The perception that the youth were not interested in the land was substantiated by claims that some youth who accessed the land have sold their land and moved elsewhere. According to one participant, a non-beneficiary,

"T*here were some young people who got land and abused it. They have tainted the all the young people. We have seen some who got land and have gone to South Africa…it's really bad…" (Interview 16, December 2017, Ngoma Township).*

The above statement shows that there are indeed some young people who managed to access land but did not engage in any meaningful agriculture to create any significant livelihoods. This withdrawal from work on the land (Leavy and Hossain 2014) gives rise to negative mentality

about land and agriculture. The position gives an indication why this has become a widely held assumption with youth viewing agriculture as a "laborious and unattractive lifestyle", "dirty work" (Bennel 2007; Chinsinga and Chasukwa 2012) and a "dead end" (Tadele and Gella 2012). They opted to sell the land some of which was held for speculative purposes (Mutondi 2012) which fuelled the already simmering negative perceptions about the youth. Participants associated this with the high cost of farming and the erratic climate which led to drought during the early years of their resettlement. Tadele and Gella (2012) note that very few young people and their parents consider farming as a possible option for a future livelihood with other young people seeing agriculture as a last resort. This shows that despite some concerns from the youth that they wanted the land the behaviour of those who accessed land have given substance to this perception.

4.2.2 Politics as a barrier of entry

One notes that land reform is a political project (Hall 2003) and as such, it can either be used to reward political supporters and punish perceived political enemies. It is from this position that young people were denied access to land. From the youth perspective, the FTLRP was a chaotic process that was premised on political segregation and discrimination which made equal and fair access to land very difficult. This resulted in a few "politically chosen" individuals given access to the land (Sachikonye, 2003; Scoones et al., 2003; Sadomba, 2008; Marongwe, 2011; Scoones et al., 2011; Matondi, 2012). The findings of the study confirm the propositions of Ribot and Peluso (2003) that ascertain that certain institutions control resource access such as land. Zanu-PF as a political organisation led the FTLRP and as such controlled who accessed land. The benefits accrued to Zanu-PF related to maintaining its political power by ensuring that only its supporter's access land and that they remain dependent on it to maintain their access to the land. This means that as long as these beneficiaries remain, landholders, they remain aligned to Zanu-PF because it is the party that gave them the land.

From the findings, Zanu-PF as the ruling party managed to effectively use institutions such as the Lands Office as well as its party offices to ensure that youth that were affiliated to Zanu-PF accessed land and those that did not support it failed to do so. This access to authority (Ribot and Peluso 2003) enabled those youth with political connections to benefit and those without to fail. The much-held assumption that the youth were sympathetic to the opposition MDC and giving them land was tantamount to giving it to the MDC who were seen as sell-outs. Most of

the people associated with MDC were deemed as enemies of the programme and were to be denied access to land. According to one non-beneficiary, it was difficult for her to access land as she was a well-known MDC supporter.

This was captured by the following divergent participant's responses,

"*I was denied land because I was not part of the "committee" (Zanu-PF)…They knew I was an opposition supporter … I would write down my name but would never get anything be it land or whatever from government …" (Interview 15, December 2017, Nyamandlovu Centre).*

The discrimination based on politics played a big role in determining which youth accessed land. The context was that young people were seen as being supporters of MDC. According to Zamchiya (2011) these 'ordinary' people with 'wrong' or weak political ties in a highly politicised landscape failed to access land as they were perceived to be undeserving.

Thus it was clear that those who supported MDC or were not seen to be supporting Zanu-PF or the FTLRP should not benefit from it. It also became clear that the FTLRP did bring benefits to those who supported it as noted by this beneficiary,

"*It is no secret here that I am a Zanu-PF member…I am here because of Zanu-PF....I am grateful to the party for enabling me to have land that I call my own….if it were not for Zanu-PF and the FTLRP I do not know where I would be…." (Interview 7, Imvana Farm, September 2017).*

This finding resonates with Moyo (2011), that navigating the political dynamics associated with land occupations and allocation processes was crucial. It also corroborates what Sachikonye (2003) argues that it was youth mostly belonging to Zanu-PF who accessed land during the FTLRP. It became clear that the benefits accrued to Zanu-PF youth members did not only end with accessing land but also had incremental benefits that included accessing inputs such as seeds and fertilisers. Scoones (1998) refer to this as 'sequencing.' To Zanu-PF supporters having that political capital became a precursor to for gaining access to other livelihood resources. The same was also true for opposition members as failing to be Zanu-PF sympathiser meant exclusion from access to land and other benefits and a livelihood strategy. It thus became clear that most A1 land reform beneficiaries are clients of patronage networks

(Hammar and Raftopoulos, 2003; Sachikonye, 2003; Zamchiya, 2011) and this negatively affected unpopular and minority groups such as the youth.

Ribot and Peluso (2003) note that to benefit from resources, one needs to take note of constraints established by the specific political-economic frames within which one seeks access to resources. Bearing this in mind, it became clear that some youth accessed land through Zanu-PF because they understood that this was the best way to navigate through the process to access land. In this regard, it becomes clear that there was nothing wrong with those that used this route to access land as it was a mechanism of access that proved useful and productive.

However, one non-beneficiary revealed that not all Zanu-PF youth members received land as he as a youth member of the party failed to access land.

"You had to be part of the top officials in the party (Zanu-PF) to get land. Many people think that you only had to be Zanu-PF to get land that is not entirely true. You had to be at least in the top six or to be influential or well known to get land as a young person here (Interview 16, Nyamandlovu, December 2017).

The above statement proves as Scoones (1998) argues that there was a need to cluster different livelihood resources to access land. Evidence gathered showed that belonging to Zanu-PF was one of the means to access land but was not the end in itself. Influence and being well known were also essential ingredients that were needed. The effect of this was that there are more young people who did not get land as opposed to those that got it. According to Ribot and Peluso (2003) the above scenario is defined as access control, as Zanu-PF officials had the ability to mediate others' access to land. Youth gained access to land through Zanu-PF and without any approval from the party, access was denied. Some of the youth that benefitted from the FTLRP were those who had gained access through association with Zanu-PF and associated organisations such as War Veterans Association, civil service.

Gender analysis on Politics

Politics played a big role in undermine women's ability to access land in Umguza. Of the 10 women interviewed, 70% stated that politics influenced whether they accessed land or not. It is interesting to note that 60% of the female non-beneficiaries stated that politics had played a major role in undermining their ability to access land. Politics in Zimbabwe has tended to become a violent and often male dominated area with women playing a secondary role. The

situation became even more sensitive and gender biased against young women who had to compete with men and older women. This precarious position led to young women being left out of the process especially if they were also suspected of supporting the MDC. As noted earlier in interview 15 a female non beneficiary, her affiliation with MDC became one of the reasons she was denied land

4.2.3 Socio-economic influence

4.2.3.1 Economic capital

Apart from political influence, socio-economic status also played a role in determining who accessed land and how. Scoones (2015) states that during the FTLRP those who accessed land were younger, better educated, more connected to urban settings (Moyo 2011) and had better access to even limited capital as they had jobs (Sachikonye 2003). This was pointed out in one of the interviews,

"Some of the people you see here are civil servants…they were able to buy land from those who had multiple farms and from the officials themselves…" (Interview 06, Mt Pleasant Farm, September 2017).

The civil servants used their financial capital to access land when they identified that they could not access land via the political front or access to authority. Zamchiya (2011) notes that civil servants benefited because they were not considered an overt political threat hence they could access the land without many challenges. As deduced from the interview accessing land through financial capital also had elements of corruption (Sachikonye, 2004; Cliffe et al., 2011) which enabled some young people to benefit and others to miss out.

The local youth who were unfortunately not well-resourced socio- economically failed to access land and found themselves forced to eke their livelihoods as employees. What this meant was that those youth of a lesser socio-economic standing faced challenges in accessing land whereas those of a higher standing could negotiate their way into accessing land. As postulated by (Thorsen, 2007) that being youth is negotiated, it became apparent that certain youth in Umguza were able to negotiate their way into accessing land based on their economic status. Rich young people are able to negotiate (Thorsen 2007) past the youthful category by using various methods such as money. Waldie (2004) asserts that there are economic differences between youth, for example, a poor young person may remain a young person much longer than a rich young person may. Most of the non-local beneficiaries were civil servant were from

urban areas (Moyo 2011) 'Cellphone' farmers (Scoones 2011) who were able to use their financial capital to access land.

Another participant brought in a different perspective highlighting the economic aspect that was used by people to access land. Though there were few employed people in number, it became clear that having an influential position in the district during the FTLRP enabled the young people to access land. It however became a challenge to the majority of other young people who were not employed at that time due to the economic situation in the country to access land and hence could not use their economic muscle. A process that was supposed to uplift the unemployed youth failed to do so as only a handful of them accessed any land. This finding corroborates what Bennel (2007) argues noting that rural youth tend to lack economic independence and autonomy which is enjoyed by their urban counterparts

The effect of this was that economic differences were also observable in the state of the youth both the beneficiaries and the non-beneficiaries. Regarding beneficiaries, the state of the farms tended to highlight the level of income that the individual had which also influenced the level of production that was done on the farm. On the side of the non-beneficiaries, the poor non-beneficiaries were found to be working as farm labourers or engaged in other non- farming related activities such as touting at the Nyamandlovu Centre or selling produce at the roadside. This confirms Waldie's (2004) assertion that there are economic differences between youth with rural youth tending to lack economic independence and autonomy which is enjoyed by their urban counterparts Bennel (2007)

A clear indication of the economic differences was between the civil servants and the local people who were either unemployed or had become subsistent farmers. Beneficiaries who had a source of income from other activities such as civil servants stated that from accessing land, they did not have many challenges from accessing and utilising the land. Although they cited several challenges such as lack of inputs, there was a vast difference with the local beneficiaries who noted that they had challenges from accessing the land and beginning their lives at their farms. Ribot and Peluso (2003) state that access to markets affects the ability to benefit from resources than just owning the resource. This was the case in Umguza with the beneficiaries who did not have access to capital (equipment and finance) facing many challenges.

The income gap revealed that not all youth could be seen as a homogenous group as they have several intrinsic differences within this age group that requires more in-depth investigation,

especially when investigating issues relating to resources. Income just like gender becomes a differentiating factor as it determines what the youth can and cannot do or have. This affects their access to resources and their production capabilities. For example, it was observed that when it came to tilling the land, the wealthy youth were able to rent tractors and those that had livestock were able to use them as drought power. However, for the poor youth, they had to ask for cows from their neighbours or had to use hoes which was labour intensive and which reduced productivity as they had to cultivate smaller pieces of land as compared to other farmers in the area. This meant that they only managed to produce enough food for consumption which meant that they had to seek other sources of income to supplement their produce.

Most of the non-beneficiaries in Nyamandlovu are employed as farm labourers or as vendors selling the produce from these farms. From the study, it became clear that the crucial evidence as to who owns a particular farm is through observing the infrastructure on the farm. It was observed that the farms owned by the civil servants tend to have modern infrastructures such as boreholes, fencing around the farm, livestock, solar panels and paid farm labourers. In contrast, farms owned by local people tend to have wells if any, depends on family labour, production is subsistence-based and the perimeter fences are made of tree branches and few livestock if any. Due to the fluctuating economic muscle, the farms which are owned by civil servants tend to be well maintained and more productive than the local owned farms. The youth in these farms use the farms for subsistence farming as they have challenges accessing inputs to use the farms to earn a source of income efficiently.

Women and Economic Capital

For the financial resourced youth or 'small capitalists' (Moyo 2004) farmers access to labour was not difficult as they had access to financial capital from bank loans, savings and other sources which enabled them to hire labour in their farms. As White (2012) argues youth boundaries are also class-specific with those on the upper class being able to afford certain inputs that lower class youth could not afford. However, when it comes to gender differentiation, women are disadvantaged more than men, hence the observation that fewer beneficiaries were young women. Even when it was difficult to access land they had to use alternative methods which included bribery. One female beneficiary noted that she ended up bribing an official with some money to get her name on the list of people after she had failed to do so on her own.

"I had to bribe one of the officials there to access this land. *There was nothing else I could do, it was that or me not getting this land. I do not regret it at all*." *(Interview 13, Imvana Farm; Nyamandlovu, November 2017).*

According to Ribot and Peluso (2003), the mechanisms of access operate differently and as seen from the case of the civil servant's membership in a particular organisation or using money were mechanisms utilised. This finding corroborates what Mutopo (2011) argues noting that for women access to land is based on negotiation and bargaining. Thus it becomes clear that for women who had the financial capital to negotiate and bargain their way into accessing land this became a viable option. This enabled civil servants to, first of all, gain access fairly quickly and also enabled them to maintain their hold on the land. This argument is captured by Moyo and Yeros (2005) who note that social differentiation is evident within and between the peasants, middle capitalist farmers, and large-scale farmers, based on differential access to means of production. Those youth with access to the means of production managed to develop their pieces of land more than the ones that did not.

4.2.3.2 Social Factors

Ribot and Peluso (2003) state that resources can be accessed through social identity. From the study, social identity was one of the mechanisms that were used by young people to access land. This means that there are people who accessed land through being associated with a particular institution or people. It is what was termed by participants as 'connections'. Bebbington (1999) emphasises on social capital arguing that it is a critical precursor to access being made possible. The most significant beneficiaries of this were the civil servants from the various government departments who used their status in the community to access land. Both beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries highlighted that those with financial capital managed to access land. Employed individuals in both Umguza District and Bulawayo accessed land much more efficiently than unemployed people who were originally from the Umguza. One such beneficiary stated that,

"I was teaching here during the FTLRP …I took advantage of that to get this piece of land…the people who were giving land knew me and that made the process easier for me

(Interview 15, Mt Pleasant Farm, Nyamandlovu, December 2017).

This statement highlights the influence that being in a position of influence has in accessing resources.Scoones (1998) identify this social capital as being a key resource that an individual

needs to pursue a livelihood strategy. Those individuals who seek to access a certain resource like land need to make use of their social capital which includes networks and relations. Social capital appears to have a role in the creation of agency (Dale and Sparkes 2011). The reasons why so many civil servants managed to access land is due to their ability to exploit their network as police officers, teachers to collectively influence the process of accessing land. Bebbington (1999) confirms this argument noting that government actors have been able to widen resource access and control in rural areas due to their social capital. It has to be noted that some of these beneficiaries were not from the District, therefore, they identified being a government worker as a shared identity between themselves and this became their unifying identity.

For unemployed people and non-civil servants, Ribot and Peluso (2003) help understand how they accessed land noting that access to state and other authorities tends to be selective along a number of economic and social lines. This means it is about what one can offer those in power to access land and this may come in the form of money and social networks. As teachers in a rural area, teachers are usually accorded respect. In this case, the beneficiary made full use of her social influence in the community to access the land. Ribot and Peluso (2003) refer to this as access via the negotiation of other social relations in which in this case it was through her profession. Access via social relations is especially helpful where one has failed or acknowledges that she or she cannot access resources because they do not belong to the community and hence cannot use access via social identity.

Social networks are important for those people who are known to the community they live in and this excludes those who are not from the area. For example people who were not from Umguza found it difficult to access land as opposed to those that were from the area unless they had economic and/or political connections. As one participant noted,

> "*I am originally from Shurugwi. I came here to look for work at Nyamandlovu Centre…I tried to access land but because I was not from the area I failed". (Interview 14, Nyamandlovu Centre, November 2017).*

However, some people were also from other areas but still managed to access the land such as teachers and police officers. This is because they were able to take advantage of different social identities and social relations to acquire or accumulate resources using different notions of legitimate or authoritative access (Ribot and Peluso 2003). Just as the teacher did, although she

was Shona, she understood that using her credentials as a teacher was more influential than using her tribe which could have created tension in the area.

Social Structure

As a result, there was a skewed social structure concerning age in Umguza District with more beneficiaries being of the older generation and few young people.Perceptions discussed earlier lead to skewed distribution with there being more legitimacy for the older generation to access land more than the youth. The FTLRP was spearheaded by the war veterans who cited the liberation war as the basis of their grievances for the need for land. They argue that they deserved the land more than the young people as they had paid the ultimate price for the land. There a marked difference between age groups in Umguza and these have taken a partisan pattern with the older generation. This has led to marked skewed distribution patterns between the old and the young regarding land access and ownership. Ribot and Peluso (2003) state that social identity plays a vital role in accessing resources. In this regard, this was a problematic situation with most young people being forced to leave their homes in search of jobs in other areas leaving only the older generation with access to land and other resources.

In terms of capacity, the older generation also had more capacity to utilise the land more than the youth as evidenced by the level of production on the farms. The older generation were more established with more resources on the farms such as livestock.

"Because most of us had not been gainfully employed it had been difficult for us to save any money to use as capital on these farms." (Interview 17, Mt Pleasant Farm, December 2017.)

The above revelations corroborate Abbink's (2005) claim that being young in Africa is synonymous with negativity such as being disadvantaged, vulnerable and marginalised in both the economic as well as political sense. This meant that they had to depend on the little income that they had to kick-start their lives on the farms which was not the case with other farmers who were much older as they had managed to save some money and had previously owned some properties which they had in their communal areas. As a result, this created a vast observable difference in the state of the farms between the youth and the older generations

Despite what Chaumba, Scoones and Wolmer (2003) point out as especially politically united communities research findings point out to tribal tensions were between both beneficiaries as well as non-beneficiaries regarding the FTLRP. Zimbabwean societies are ethnically diverse and there is usually tension in government programmes when it comes to resource allocation

such as land. From the interviews both beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries decried the fact that most of the beneficiaries were from other tribes especially the Shona tribe. The informants identified 'ethnic politics' (Chaumba, Scoones and Wolmer 2003) as one of their grievances towards the FTLRP. This was mainly due to historical, political differences between these two ethnic groups the Ndebele and the Shona with the Ndebele being associated with Zapu and the Shona with Zanu. This finding is supported by Zulu (2009) who states that only 25 percent of land beneficiaries were from Umguza. This has created a tense atmosphere between the local people and the new farm owners. However, due to their political influence and power, most of the tension and animosity is usually hidden and it is only conveyed in covert ways. Nonetheless, the tension and animosity is not shared by all Ndebele people. One beneficiary noted that,

"When this programme started people here said it's a Zanu-PF thing and did not want to participate. I was very active from the word go and Shona people came from Bulawayo to access land and the lucky ones got. It is now that this programme is over that people complain about Shona people because they are seeing the money they are making. We also have Ndebele people making money as well so I do not see the problem."(Interview 08, Mt Pleasant Farm, November 2017)

As stated by Zulu (2009) the main reason given by respondents as to the relatively small number of local people engaged in the programme was that most young people in Umguza preferred to either work in Bulawayo or go to Botswana and South Africa in search of jobs. Most of the youth in Umguza have grown up in a rural area which has largely failed to give them any growth opportunities. Many as evidenced by the 60% of responses from non-beneficiaries are not happy with remaining in a rural area especially working for as low as 100 dollars a month. It is from this perspective that most preferred to leave their homes in search of better opportunities in urban areas. As a result, this left a gap which was eventually filled by other tribes who had also migrated to Bulawayo and Umguza in search of opportunities. It is this migration which has led to an influx of Shona people in Matabeleland and which has led to more Shona people accessing land in Umguza. It can thus be deduced that a combination of political and well as economic issues can be alluded to as the main causes for the tribal disparity in accessing land in Umguza

4.2.4 Conclusion

Thus, one can note that the youth faced a multitude of factors that undermined their ability to access land. These factors were multi-faceted and interlinked that they combined to ensure that only a handful of youth managed to access land effectively. The research results thus demonstrate what Bezu and Holden (2003) argue that youth in the rural south have limited potential to obtain agricultural land that can be a basis for viable livelihood. It so becomes arguable that without accessing land very few opportunities could be availed to youth in the rural areas to create any meaningful livelihood strategies that could lead to poverty reduction.

4.3 Challenges in Utilising Land

The nature of the distributional outcomes must be examined from the social and class character of the beneficiaries, especially their heterogeneous farming capacities and support requirements (Moyo 2004). The challenges that the youth faced in utilising the land had a bearing on their capacity to develop livelihood strategies which could result in positive outcomes. The youth needed to have various forms of capital which could enable them to pursue a livelihood strategy. The different forms of capital which were essential in the shaping of these strategies included natural, financial, human as well as social capital. The researcher noted that the FTLRP had to factor several issues relating to the position of the youth to ensure that when they accessed the land they could to utilise it. However, due to nature of the FTLRP itself, none of these mechanisms was put in place to support and capacitate an already vulnerable and marginalised youth. It, therefore, becomes clear that the youths were destined to fail in their endeavour to create sustainable livelihoods that could cope and recover with stresses and shocks (Scoones, 1998).

It is important to note that both men and women faced the same challenges in utilising land. There were no exceptional differences between them as they all highlighted generally the same predicaments in accessing capital, lack of collateral and poor climate conditions. Thus in this section there was no gendered analysis of how the challenges that the youth faced.

4.3.1 Lack of access to capital

The few land youth beneficiaries faced a multiplicity of challenges soon after accessing land. Of the 10 beneficiaries 7 highlighted the fact that they were massively under-resourced when they began their journey as farmers. In particular, lack of resources meant that there was substantial reliance on traditional productive inputs which became a major setback for the youth. Thu (2012) states that access to land for livelihoods is much dependent on labour and capital investment to maintain long-term access. Forty percent of the beneficiaries stated that they did not own any significant assets that they could use productively when they settled at Umguza. The productive assets referred to include livestock, seeds, fertiliser, ploughs and irrigation equipment. The respondents stated that they had basic equipment such as hoes and axes which they had used in their communal areas with most of them depending on their parents or relatives equipment to farm their pieces of land. This is despite that fact that one of the key elements of the FTLRP was to provide limited basic infrastructure and farmer support services (Moyo 2006). It became difficult for them to settle down at Umguza especially for those who had come from outside the province as they had to buy equipment from Bulawayo as it increased the cost of settling in the area which undermined their quick start to their new lives. This corresponds with Bradstock (2005) view that land should be given to marginalised people in reduced amounts near their homes so that they can utilise it with nominal external sustenance, especially from government. For example, only thirty percent of the youth beneficiaries had any livestock at all and had to rely on their own labour for farming activities.

"The price of cattle is high today as it was during the time we got land…I can say that now it's better for me because I am more settled…at that time I had virtually nothing…I saw the importance of cattle during the planting season…those who had cattle or access to them managed to plant in time but for me I had to wait for next season…" (Interview 07, Imvana Farm, November 2017).

The manner in which the FTLRP was carried out with people needing to camp on occupied farms for prolonged periods of time with no guarantee that they would receive the land explains the lack of traditional productive inputs can be explained by. Hence one had to first secure access to the land before embarking on accessing productive inputs**.** This was also a challenge for most who did not have the financial resources at the time to go and buy them. Scoones (1998:8) note that having basic infrastructure and production equipment is essential for one to

craft their livelihoods. Those beneficiaries that do not have these basic infrastructure and production equipment will face challenges in pursuing any livelihood strategy.

"*We had to lend some of the equipment from our relatives and friends from as far as Tsholotsho to kick-start our farming activities…so it was really difficult for us then."(Interview 04, Imvana Farm, September 2017)*

The interview showed the precarity that the youth faced in the initial stages of the programme. Manjengwa, Hanlon & Smart (2014) confirms this noting that new farmers received little support from the government and that A1 farmers were largely occupiers who had no infrastructure and equipment to begin their new lives. The youth, therefore, had to wait until their parents, relatives or friends were finished using the equipment they wanted to use for them to begin ploughing. Another participant noted that,

"*I had no yoke nor a scotch cart to use …these are important things to us as farmers. You cannot till a large piece of land using a hoe my son…and as I said we had no access to tractors…so we were really in a bad position (Interview 06, Mt Pleasant, November 2017)."*

There was no mechanised or modern equipment which was observed on the farms with only a few cows and ploughs evident in the homesteads. As it was planting season, many of the people were busy working on their farms. Taking into account that these beneficiaries have been on their pieces of land for close to twenty years one would expect that they have acquired a number of inputs that would have made them to be self-sufficient. However it was noted that most of the beneficiaries still do not have sufficient inputs to engage in productive agriculture

Upon receiving the land another challenge that manifested itself was the clearing of land. The youth pointed out that they were given pieces of land which were not cleared as opposed to the older generation who were given already existing farms which were already cleared. The clearing of land took considerable time as the youth did not have money to hire labour and machines and had to clear the land using axes and hoes which took a long time and the first rainy season passed without them having planted anything. Scoones *etal* (2011) also notes that most new farmers had to start from scratch with limited infrastructure with land clearance averaging about $385 per household. The living conditions during that time were pathetic with the youth living in makeshift tents and mud huts. As they did not have the resources to clear all the land only small patches of land were cleared which meant that most of the farms were not fully utilised which also contributed to the limited productivity of the farms. However for the well-established beneficiaries clearing the land was not much of a problem as they were

able to hire labour from the unemployed youth. This in itself created employment for the youth and also some beneficiaries who worked on these farms to also supplement their income. This shows that clearing land had two-fold effects that it hindered production on some farms and also at the same time created much-needed income for some unemployed youth.

The beneficiaries also brought out the issue of gerontocracy when it came to the procurement of inputs with young people who were allocated land being marginalised when it came to accessing inputs. The interviewees pointed out that most of their efforts to access resources from government offices were in vain at that time. The lack of inputs has generally meant that the youth had continuously been subjected to poor yields which negatively affected their livelihoods. Inputs such as fertilisers and tractors have been mainly unavailable to youth to use for agricultural purposes.

"What can one do without proper seeds and fertiliser….We needed these things when we got here but accessing them at that time was a challenge…There were so many people who wanted these inputs and the government could not provide everyone…." (Interview 06, Mt Pleasant Farm, November 2017)."

The lack of proper seeds and fertilisers could have negatively impacted the yields that the beneficiaries such as Interviewee 06 got during the early stages of the FTLRP. With poor rainfall conditions, it is important that the youth have access to drought-resistant seeds as well as fertilisers to ensure that they improve on their yields. The beneficiaries also cited the lack of financial support for lack of diversity with the farming community.

"Funds were and still are difficult to come to us here….we have the skills to do many projects here such as poultry farming but the challenge is it is expensive and as you can see we do not have the resources to do it ourselves….(Interview 17, Mt Pleasant, December 2017) .

As interviewee 17, explained without accessing funds, there was little that the youth could do regarding developing their farms and being productive. Lack of finance is one of the most challenging factors that young people have in agriculture (FANRPAN 2011; Frost and Sawa 2017). The impact of this was evident in the limited diversity and productivity on the farms. The beneficiaries stated that they had many ideas as to what they wanted to grow on their farms but lack of funding led them to grow and rear traditional crops and livestock. One beneficiary noted,

"*I wanted to engage in market gardening and sell in Bulawayo produce like potatoes and tomatoes…but due to lack of financial and technical support I am restricted to crops such as maize, sorghum. The only livestock I have here are road runners and goats. (Interview 08, Mt Pleasant, November 2017).*

Thus, it can be understood, from Interviewee 8's explanation, why 90% of the beneficiaries today are still growing the same traditional crops. The arguenment is substantiated by Deininger & Binswanger **(**1999) who remark that the other challenge that the youth face as beneficiaries is access to credit markets. The lack of funding has also led to limited diversity as few farmers engage in winter farming or irrigation.

"*We have long wanted to setup irrigation facilities but the costs are just too much for us" (Interview 07, Imvana Farm, November 2017).*

It became evident from the study that 80% of the beneficiaries stated that they only farm during the rainy season as they do not have the resources to carry out irrigation which is also necessary for winter irrigation. Even the farmers who had boreholes in their farms stated that equipment necessary for irrigation such as generators and pipes was expensive that they only used the water for consumption purposes or limited irrigation for gardens only. This has meant that the beneficiaries have failed to tap into water resources that Umguza is well known for especially for those who reside in Nyamandlovu. A lack of access to technology which Ribot and Peluso (2003) say is access to technology can be attributed to this. Thus one can also draw the nexus between different types of access and how they affect one's livelihood. With abundant underground water resources, the beneficiaries have benefitted little from it because they do not have access to water pumps need to draw the water from below. One such technology which beneficiaries alluded to was tractors. Tractors have been an essential need for the youth because most of them lacked cows to use as draught power when they accessed the land, which left them to depend on their labour which restricted their productivity as they could only cultivate small pieces of land. District Development Fund (DDF) hires out tractors to farmers. Though, the process for accessing these tractors and other equipment is equally challenging as accessing the land itself. The government mechanisation projects that were spearheaded by the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe also did not benefit many of the youth in the District. Manjengwa, Hanlon & Smart (2014) note that although there had been intermittent subsidies and support for the new farmers the beneficiaries had to depend on their resources. Inadvertently, this has left the

majority of the youth in the District to rely on their neighbours for assistance or merely using hoes.

Lack of Collateral

The critical challenge for lack of funding has been the lack of collateral which can be used by the farmers to access finance at the banks. The farmers stated that banks had not been accepting any loan requests due to the legal issues surrounding their offer letters leading to a financial challenge not only for the youth but many farmers across different age groups in Zimbabwe. However, for the youth, this has been a significant challenge because unlike other age groups most of the youth stated that they did not have any savings or any properties that they could have used as a start-up or as collateral. As a result, this has led to many of them relying on their labour and resources to eke a livelihood on their pieces of land.

"*With the crippling financial situation then in the country we were not able to do much on our land…however being here was better than being unemployed." (Interview 10, Imvana Farm, November 2017.)*

Thus it becomes clear that despite the financial challenges that the youth faced during the FTLRP, accessing land became a vehicle towards self-empowerment and self-employment. This meant that for some youth during the FTLRP getting a piece of land was the best way of securing a source of livelihood although this has proven to be a complicated process as well. The underlying reason for the vulnerabilities that the youth found themselves in is that they believed that they would be assisted by the government to set up their new lives. As stated by one interviewee,

"*We are under the impression that the government will at some point come and offer us money, equipment and all which we needed to become prosperous farmers. However, up to now most of us have rarely benefited from any government initiative. (Interview, Mt Pleasant Farm, September 2017).*

The above sentiments were supported by another beneficiary, who pointed out that,

"With no government support there was little we could do at that time" (Interview 02, Imvana Farm; September 2017).

Financial support is essential in capacitating new farmers be they young or old. As Moyo (2011) agricultural productivity generally declined due to reduced and uneven access to inputs

and output markets. It nevertheless, is imperative that young farmers be given the necessary financial; as well as technical support to enable them to access inputspromptly. However, during the FTLRP Zimbabwe underwent a hyperinflation period which undermined the countries mechanisation and input programme schemes. This meant that there was an overwhelming competition for the little financial as well as technical resources of which the youth failed to access. As a result agricultural productivity declined due to reduced and uneven access to inputs and output markets (Moyo, 2011).

The Matabeleland climate affected the youth in as much as it affected all land beneficiaries in the district. One of the participants noted that,

"*Despite the fact that we have fertile soils…We cannot do much without rain …. …"*
(Interview 07, Imvana Farm, November 2017).

Poor climate Conditions / High Dependence on Rainfall

It was observed that most of the beneficiaries are dependent on rainfall for their agricultural activities. As stated earlier on the lack of irrigation facilities has meant that the beneficiaries largely depend on rainfall such that any low rainfall negatively affected their productivity and yields. All the beneficiaries state that they were dependant on rainfall and were trying all they can to engage in the measure that conserves water. According to Moyo (2006), the period from 2001-2005 was characterised by poor rainfall distribution which affected crop production in the country. Some of the youth have engaged in what is called "Gatshompo"[1]

"This has had some benefits for those who have used it but it is said to be time consuming.
"We have used different methods to try and cope with the climate here including using Gatshompo" (Interview 07, Imvana Farm: November 2017).

It is clear that beneficiaries have come up with different coping mechanisms for these challenges including poor rainfall conditions.

The effects of the poor rainfall periods for the youth beneficiaries have been exacerbated by the lack of safety nets that other age groups or beneficiaries had such as savings and experience in farming activities. Most of the beneficiaries stated that their preferred crop was maize which is not best suited for the province because *isitshwala* is a staple food in the area and is produced

[1] Gatshompo is a dry planting method which is part of conservation farming where farmers dig holes before planting and do not cover the whole hole with sand so that water drains into the hole and remains there for a longer period.

from maize. It is also linked to access to markets as there is a readily available market for maize in the domestic and regional market whereas other products like sorghum and millet which are conducive for this market are not on demand. As there is a fixed price for maize which is bought by the Grain Marketing Board (390$ per tonne as at February 2017), it is easy to understand why farmers prefer this crop. This led to the youth to feel the severe effects of the poor climate during the duration of the FTLRP not only on their crops but livestock as well.

"*Our livestock and crops have suffered greatly since we moved here….we depend a lot on rainfall …if it doesn't rain we are forced to sell our livestock at very low prices and this negatively affects us....If you do not sell you will watch your herd being wiped out (Interview 08, Mt Pleasant Farm, November 2017)*

This could have led some of the beneficiaries to abandon or even sell their pieces of land as they found the challenges of farming too much to bear. As one participant noted,

"*We have seen some young people who got land and have gone to South Africa…its really bad…"(Interview 16, non-beneficiary: Ngoma Township).*

It was made clear that the poor rainfall had affected every part of rearing from crop farming to livestock rearing. Thus a combination of poor rainfall, lack of irrigation equipment and lack of diversity has meant that few farmers have engaged in other crops such as wheat. Poor rainfall has not only affected beneficiaries but also non-beneficiaries who depend on the farmers produce. This was captured by one vendor, who stated that,

"*The lack of rainfall has affected us badly over the years…if the farmers do not have any produce it means we also have nothing to sell…" (Interview 14, Nyamandlovu Centre, November 2017).*

Thus the poor climatic conditions have to a certain extent negatively affected land beneficiaries as well as non-beneficiaries through reduced yields and as a result few products to sell. Mabhena (2014) articulates the challenges of crop farming in Matabeleland and states that it is not a viable livelihood strategy due to consistent droughts. He recommends the livestock rearing as a better livelihood strategy. However, the youth stated that the cost of accessing livestock in Umguza is exorbitant hence the reason why few of them pursue it as a livelihood strategy. Prices of cows in Umguza range from 350$ to 500 $ depending on the age and breed of the cow. For young people, the cost of cattle rearing is high considering that during drought

years there is a need to buy stock feed which is also beyond their reach especially during the early years of the FTLRP.

4.4 FTLRP and Youth Livelihood Strategies

Youth livelihoods were negatively affected by the FTLRP with few young people managing to create and sustain livelihoods. The above-mentioned challenges in accessing land and the different form of capital meant that few sustainable livelihoods were created. The youth could not exploit the available livelihood resources (land, underground water, financial, labour) due to several constraints which have been discussed. Rigg (2006) captures this noting that in rural areas where livelihoods are fundamentally founded on agriculture, poverty is a product of resource failures and inequalities, and central to this are the distribution and productivity of the land. This has been the argument of this research which notes that the poverty levels experienced by the youth stem from the unequal distribution of land which is coupled by lack of access and capital to effectively and efficiently utilise land. This has led to agriculture being shunned by young people and has at the same time exacerbating poverty in the rural areas as the youth fail to create and sustain agricultural livelihoods. Regarding livelihood strategies, the effect of the FTLRP on the youth are captured by Manjengwa, Hanlon and Smart (2014) statement that most rural Zimbabweans are relatively poor and cannot support themselves only from farming in the communal areas. This was the case in Umguza with the youth having had to follow diversified livelihood strategies. Hussein and Nelson (1998). The outcome of the strategies have to a large extent been negative with the youth failing to have substantive growth in terms of infrastructure, food security, financial independence. This has seen most of the youth engaged in other activities which are not agriculturally related to make ends meet.

To the beneficiaries, the FTLRP has meant a more direct involvement in agriculture as farmers whereas for non-beneficiaries there was a trickledown effect. The findings here confirm what (Scoones 2015) note that, beneficiaries were seen to either be “stepping up”, “stepping out’,

'hanging in" or "dropping out". For most of the youth beneficiaries, they are now stepping up. However, during the height of the FTLRP, some dropped out as stated earlier due to the various challenges they faced.

4.4.1 Livelihood diversification

Due to the various challenges that the youth faced in accessing land and the subsequent challenges in utilising that land few youths managed to have sustainable livelihoods. In fact, the researcher found that most of the beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries ended end up pursuing different activities to survive. Agriculture did not have immediate livelihood strategy benefits for the youth which meant that most of them had to do different activities to earn a livelihood. Most of the beneficiaries became subsistent farmers engaging in agriculture for survival needs. Ellis (2000) necessity refers to involuntary and desperation reasons for diversifying. Most of the youth stated that they engaged in most of these activities out of necessity and not out of choice. However, there are others who also have engaged in diversification by choice as they seek an extra income. From the research, it became clear that non-beneficiates have engaged in diversification mainly due to necessity whereas for beneficiaries it has been due to choice. For beneficiaries, diversification has tended to be seasonal with some engaged in other activities such as vending to augment their household income. As argued by Ellis (2004) the "cyclical levels of activity implied by seasonality apply as much to landless rural families that depend on agricultural labour markets for survival as for farm families".

"Farming has become our way of living here…." (Interview 09, Mt Pleasant Farm, November 2017).

The youth have engaged in agriculture through farming and rearing livestock. It is through the products that the youth get that they survive on. Most of the respondents stated that they grow maize which they grind into mealie meal to make *isitshwala* (sadza) a staple food in Zimbabwe. Hall (2006) notes that livelihoods of beneficiaries tends to be subsistent in nature with production focusing on maize. The most important outcome of the FTLRP was that it allowed certain youths to access land thereby leading to livelihood diversification. As alluded to earlier the youth who accessed land were mostly civil servants who had already a steady income from their jobs. The motive behind accessing land was financial as most of them sought to farm to sell their produce. The harsh economic environment in Zimbabwe during this period where

high inflation rates eroded civil servant's income can be atrributed to this. Therefore the youth needed to have a secondary income to bolster their already weakened income.

The lack of resources that the youth faced during the FTLRP led to the failure to create sustainable livelihoods. According to Bradstock (2006) the low asset status of beneficiaries tends to negatively impact on the ability of the beneficiaries to make any sustainable livelihoods out of agriculture and thus avoid poverty. This corresponds with the research findings which showed that due to the fact that most youth who accessed land had virtually no inputs and capital to kick-start their lives most of them had failed to have sustainable livelihoods with most of them stepping out (Scoones etal., 2011). As argued by Scoones (1998) this is livelihood diversification aimed at coping with temporary adversity or more permanent adaptation of livelihood activities

4.4.1.1 Selling surplus produce

One strategy aimed at coping with temporary adversity or more permanent adaptation of livelihood activities utilised by the youth includes selling their produce at the Centre to make a living especially during off seasons. However, it has to be noted that not all youth in the District are engaged in agriculture as the main livelihood strategy. Others have engaged in non-farm activities as a transition from one way of making a living to another (Rigg 2006). The youth have also engaged in non-farm activities such as vending which was the most cited form of non-farm activity. Engaging in off-farm activities was also mostly done by women who were also non-beneficiaries and this relates to the claim made by Rigg (2006) that access to land is no longer is a necessary condition for reducing poverty in rural areas as farming is just one activity among many in the countryside. The emergence of several off-farm activities has proven that young people can create livelihoods. In a good year, the youth stated that they have managed to sell surplus produce to earn valuable money. As one respondent noted,

"In previous good seasons like last year, we have managed to sell some maize, watermelons, sweet reeds and ground nuts to people from Bulawayo and surrounding areas." *(Interview 08, Mt Pleasant Farm: November 2017.*

Table 3 Surplus produce sold

Interviewee	**Produce**	**Source**	**Market**
Number 05 (non-beneficiary)	Focuses on market gardening produce	Nearby Plots Nyamandlovu	Nyamandlovu Centre

	cabbages, Tomatoes, onions and potatoes		
Number 12(non-beneficiary)	*Focuses on farm produce Imfe* (sweet reeds),	Nearby Plots Nyamandlovu	Nyamandlovu Centre
Number 14 (non-beneficiary)	Market gardening produce, cabbages, onions , green and red pepper, Imbida (vegetables	Nearby Plots Nyamandlovu	Nyamandlovu Centre
Interview 09 (beneficiary)	Farm produce: predominantly maize and watermelons. Road runners, *amajodo*	Self	Nyamandlovu Centre Bulawayo markets
Interview 04 (beneficiary)	Farm produce: predominantly maize	Self	Nyamandlovu Centre
Interview 08 (beneficiary)	Farm produce maize, watermelons, sweet reeds and ground nuts	Self	Nyamandlovu Centre Bulawayo markets

This money has proved useful to the beneficiaries as they used it to buy inputs which they did not have. As earlier noted by the respondents they lacked access to inputs which they needed to utilise their land effectively. The youth have however managed to produce some surplus produce in good seasons, and they have sold these mostly to Bulawayo markets. It has become a welcome form of financial capital that the youth have not received from formal institutions due to various reasons. However, one challenge that was noted was the fact that most of the non-beneficiaries had common sources of produce which made competition stiff as they sold similar products to a similar market. This has made them to charge lower prices which have affected their profits margins. Most of them were located within Nyamandlovu Centre which was strategic as the centre is situated along the Bulawayo- Victoria Falls road.

On a positive side, it was also noted that the beneficiaries were reinvesting that money into their farms which showed that despite the challenges in utilising the land there was some

considerable work which was being done by the youth in terms of improving their farms. One beneficiary said,

"I used that money to buy other basic commodities such as cooking oil, sugar and also to pay school fees for my children. But most importantly I have also over the years managed to but a few cows which you see. We have people from Nyamandlovu Centre who come here to buy the produce from us, so in one way we are helping each other (Interview 09, Mt Pleasant Farm : November 2017)

From these assertions, it is apparent that he has been able to "step up" and develop by building up their capital (Scoones 2011 and Nyawo 2014). Stepping up is a significant development as it shows that the challenges that the youth faced when they accessed land are slowly being solved particularly with no assistance from the state. However one has to note that very few people had managed to acquire substantial capital to lead to sustainable livelihoods which could sustain any stresses and shocks. This was because most respondents decried years when they were affected by drought and which led them to diversify their activates due to the risks. One beneficiary noted that although things are much better now when they accessed the land it was difficult.

"It took me a long time to actually manage to produce and sell anything, we were affected by many challenges which meant that we at times were forced to buy maize instead of selling." (Interview 04, Imvana Farm, November 2017.)

The above sentiments show that the youth are still hanging on with some still struggling to break-even. It thus becomes clear that for young people the FTLRP did not have immediate benefits concerning livelihood strategies. As they began to get settled, they also managed to develop themselves up to appoint where they began to see a return on their work. This is also a common challenge that was noted by non-beneficiaries especially the vendors who stated that they had not made substantial benefits since the FTLRP started. They stated that the financial crisis, as well as the poor rainfall conditions, had affected the income that they would have had. They stated that in some years they would even struggle to make sales on a day to day basis as people did not have money to buy their wares. In some instances when the drought had devastated produce on the farms, there was relatively nothing to sale. The findings have shown that vending is a precarious livelihood strategy that needs to be complemented with other forms of income to ensure that the youth can deal with the stresses and shocks of events such as drought and liquidity crisis.

It also became clear that beneficiaries did not only depend on the produce of land for a living but also engaged in other activities to supplement their income. Quan (2007) argues that livelihoods are changing with a move towards diversification in rural areas with an increase in off-farm activities. For most non-beneficiaries of the FTLRP seeking employment in urban areas was the most viable option with some opting to migrate to South Africa. However for those who remained in Umguza vending has become one of the most popular livelihood strategies with women mostly engaged in vending at Nyamandlovu Centre. This was usually the case during the dry season when there was not much to do in their fields.

"During the dry season I sell different wares at Nyamandlovu Centre. Children needed school few, we needed to eat even during the planting season we needed to do whatever we could to find extra income." (Interview 17, Mt Pleasant Farm, December 2017).

This finding corroborates what Nyawo (2014) states that some beneficiaries have managed to sell to pay for their children's school fees which form part of the "stepping out" (Scoones 2011). Stepping out refers to the fact that the difficult economy at that time did not allow them to depend on farming solely but needed them to become creative. This finding confirms what Ellis (2004) that many young people have truly multiple income sources which are not dependant on agriculture

Women and Livelihood strategies

The research noted that women were mostly engaged in complimentary strategies such as vending. 3 of the 5 women non-beneficiaries and 2 beneficiaries noted that they partook in vending as a livelihood strategy. Vending has taken place primarily at Nyamandlovu Centre where a substantial number of women were observed engaged in vending. These women stated that they were involved in vending for quite some years with one participant stating that she had been a vendor for close to twenty years. The women engage in vending to enable them to compliment other livelihood activities such as farming. One non beneficiary noted that,

"*I had to travel to South Africa to buy basic commodities because there were in short supply her and in Bulawayo*." (*Interview14, Nyamandlovu Centre, November 2017*)

Linked to this was that women incurred increasing responsibilities relating to agriculture than men. This has been the case in farms were the husband due to a failing economy and poor yields were forced to migrate either to Bulawayo or neighbouring countries in search of better opportunities which has left women to increasingly become more responsible for productive as

well as reproductive responsibilities. As a result, this has also affected single mothers as well as widows and shows the importance of female-headed households when it comes to understanding rural livelihoods. This gendered livelihood diversification begins with land access where women increasingly become active in agriculture to "feminisation of agriculture" (Quan 2007). Although in Umguza the number of young women who received land was low, the number significantly increased to those who are now responsible for their households due to migration or death of their spouses. The finding shows that despite the fact that men accessed land women also gain access to the land through their husbands and the responsibility of earning a livelihood or accessing benefits from it also transcends to women.

The unfavourable climate conditions also worsened the economic condition as production from the farms declined dramatically. For young people, it became apparent that farming was proving to be a problematic livelihood strategy and they developed several survival strategies.

4.4.1.2 Farm labour

The FTLRP created employment for both beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries. By creating employment specific livelihoods were established for the youth. Some of the beneficiaries stated that they were unemployed at the time of their accessing the land hence the programme led to them becoming self-employed on their farms. The FTLRP thus came at an opportune time for these youth as they were able to take advantage of the programme to empower themselves through farming activities on the land. The empowerment process was without challenges as alluded to above. The youth have not managed to become self-sufficient to a large extent hence they stated that there was a need to empower them further to ensure that they not only employ themselves and their families but other people from the community as well.

Some youth non-beneficiaries were employed at the A1 and A2 farms as farm labourers and caretakers which in itself became a positive effect of the FTLRP as it created much-needed employment for the youth. As earlier discussed, most of the beneficiaries were civil servants who could not spend all of their time on the farms. This gave an opportunity to the youth to earn a living as farm labourers. However, on the A1 farms few youths have been employed on a permanent basis with a majority of them employed as casual or seasonal labourers, especially during the planting and harvesting periods. Regarding differentiation permanent worker refers to an employee who has been on a farm for a considerable time and worked on the farm throughout the year. Casual workers on the hand refer to people who are hired for specific periods or time for example for harvesting periods only.

Table 4 Employed labour

Interviewee	Casual	Permanent
Number 01		Caretaker
Number 12		farmworker
Number 16	farmworker	
Number 20	Farmworker	

It thus became clear that for those who had failed to access land there was an opportunity for them to work for those who had managed to access land. One interviewee noted that,

"I worked for about 6 years as a farm labourer for a family that stayed in Bulawayo. The owners were both civil servants and hence could not live on the farm."(Interview 12, Nyamandlovu Centre, December 2017).

Sen (1975) in Scoones (1998) assist us in identifying that livelihood is one which creates employment through creating working days in which one gains an income, is engaged in production and there is recognition. It is clear from the above interview that the people employed in these farms tend to be employed for a relatively long time.

Low wages

Regarding wages, labourers decried the amount of money they were being paid in some farms noting that it was exploitative. These forms of exploitation of farm workers stems from the desperation of the youth at that time who were forced to engage in any activities that could earn them a livelihood. This finding is collaborated by Nyawo (2014) who notes that wages paid to farm workers remains an area of weakness as they tend to be low sometimes only half the minimum wage (Manjengwa, Hanlon and Smart 2014). The high unemployment rate at the time meant that employers did not have a challenge securing people who were grateful for having a roof over their heads.

One participant noted that,

"*I was paid an equivalent of 100$ in today's currency. Remember, then we used to be in a hyperinflation era and the money couldnot sustain us. What can one really do with 100$."(Interview 16, Ngoma Township, December 2017)*

"*I was at one point in 2008 paid in maize. It was better than nothing as there was drought then." Interview 20, Ngoma Township, December 2017).*

This trend was not new as even prior to the FTLRP farmworkers had been exploited by white commercial farmers. Sachikonye (2005) points out that before the FTLRP farm workers earned the lowest wages with meagre gratuities or pension upon retirement. There was also a sense of concern among the participants on job security. This then shows that the livelihood strategies that the youth have in terms of farm labour are not sustainable as they can do very little with their wages. However, as Scoones etal. (2011) points out employment is an essential source of livelihood especially for those who did not access land.

Social networks as a form of accessing employment

It was also interesting to note that most of the farm workers were related to the owners of the farms. This relates to the concept of social capital where the youth also used their social relations as a mechanism to access employment. It can also be attributed to the need by farm owners to have a sense of security by employing people whom they are related to in order to safeguard their land and infrastructure. One example was one interviewee who said,

'This is was originally my uncle's farm, I have managed it for some time since he cannot always be here. I now regard it as mine as he has other farms as well."(Interview 20, Imvana Farm, December 2017)

This was no surprise as older generation beneficiaries acquired multiple farms. As these youth have grown up since the time of the FTLRP, most, of them have ended up utilising these farms as their own even if they are not the official owners. This, of course, creates a dilemma later on if the owners decide to come back as some who are employed might shortly and decide to come and live on their farms. It also becomes a problem if their children also at one point decide to come and live on their parent's farm. It means that these workers would lose both home and their source of employment. This was highlighted by one respondent who said that,

"We have seen other people who used to take care of these farms being pushed out by the children when they came back from Bulawayo or South Africa." (Interview 03, Mt Pleasant Farm, December 2017)

Job insecurity

Thus, it becomes clear that even though employment had been created for the youth on the farms, certain forms of it like taking care of the farms is not sustainable. This relates to what Rigg (2006)) asserts that diversification of rural livelihoods has merely served to widen the divide between the rural rich and the rural poor. The poor have been exploited by the rich when it comes to remuneration and job insecurity. This also adds to the earlier comments about why young people end up shunning agriculture because it is a low paying and insecure source of livelihood. The lack of job security also threatened the livelihoods of the youth at the time. Most of them could not plan their lives with certainty as the owners of the farms themselves did not have the certainty that the farm would remain theirs. So the challenges that beneficiaries had in terms of tenure security also had a negative impact on the livelihoods of the farm labourers as it meant that their jobs were not secure. This was also made clear by the fact that none of the non-beneficiaries who ever worked as a farm labourer ever signed a contract.

"I am the caretaker here. I started living alone here but over time my family has joined. I have been working on this homestead for close to 10 years now. "My *boss at the time was sceptical about developing the farm, so we will just get piece jobs here and there because he did not want to invest much of his money without really knowing what could happen in the future*." *If you were happy with the money and working conditions you started working, nothing was signed."(Interview 01, Imvana Farm, September 2017.)*

This scenario created many challenges for the farm labours as they could not hold their employers responsible should anything happen to them. It became clear that the farm labourers were at a precarious position during the FTLRP. However this challenge does not only affect non-beneficiaries, one beneficiary stated that even they as beneficiaries also faced challenges with farm labourers.

"It was difficult for everyone during that time. We tried also to create employment in a small way but we faced challenges. At one time I came back to my farm to find my worker gone and my some of my property taken." (Interview 07, Imvana Farm, September 2017)

The apparent tensions between the employers and employees is still apparent today with some beneficiaries opting to use family labour than hire people. Those with enough capital have even hired tractors to avoid hiring people due to challenges of employing people.

In terms of a gender analysis, it was noted that both men and women partook in farm labour with women constituting a higher percentage. Of the 20 respondents, 14 were actively engaged in the farm activities with 70 percent of the women stating that they worked on the farms either

part time or full time. This is interesting taking into account that 5 of these women were non-beneficiaries who also had other activities to engage in such as vending discussed earlier. For the women, farm labour also became another form of livelihood strategy that was necessary to compliment the income made from other activities.

4.4.2 Migration

According to Rigg (2006), the land reform success has been linked to rapid diversification of rural livelihoods a marked increase in mobility, and a proliferation in opportunities outside farming. This off-farm activity has been seen by non-beneficiaries as the best livelihood strategy that will enable them to sustain the pressures of a poor rural lifestyle. As seen from the literature and the findings, young people are actively engaged in rural-urban migration due to the failure of on-farm activities to create a sustainable livelihood for the youth. The findings showed that most of the migration is done by male people with a majority of the moving to Bulawayo or neighbouring countries such as South Africa. This was noted by one participant,

"T*here were some young people who got land and abused it. We have seen some who got land and have gone to South Africa…its really bad…" (Interview 16, December 2017, Ngoma Township).*

Migration is an off-farm activity which is an add-on (Rigg 2006) to the main livelihood strategy of farming for the youth. Youth who have gone to South Africa or to Bulawayo support the family back home through remittances (Zulu 2009).

4.5 Conclusion

In summation, the main finding from this section is that the youth have primarily engaged livelihood diversification in Umguza to sustain their livelihoods. The majority of non-beneficiaries have engaged in non-farm activities largely due to necessity caused by the FTLRP. The programme failed to create a large number of employment jobs that can absorb all the youth in the district forcing them to engage in vending as a means of surviving. Others have already migrated to urban areas in Bulawayo and neighbouring the country in search of off-farm activities. This shows that more needs to be done in ensuring that the youth are capacitated to ensure that they become productive and are able to create sustainable livelihoods.

.

Chapter 5

5 Conclusion and Recommendations

Introduction

The FTLRP ushered in an opportunity for Zimbabweans to access land which had previously been in the hands of the minority White commercial farmers. Previous attempts in redistributing land between 1980-1989 and 1990-99 (Sachikonye 2003) have failed to redress the colonial injustices adequately. The FTLRP which was essential a project "from below" (Sachikonye 2003) sought to fast-track (Chaumba etal., 2003) the land reform process to benefit different categories including the youth. The youth had far been marginalised in land redistribution issues leading to their disempowerment. In a poorly performing economic situation that the country found itself in the post-1999 era, land became a substantial resource to landless and unemployed people. However, the benefits accrued to youth specifically remained fundamentally under-researched especially in Matabeleland North This gap gave rise to this research which sought to critically review the manner in which the youth accessed land during the FTLRP in Umguza District.

The research found that few young people accessed land during the FTLRP due to gerontocratic socio-cultural factors which were also political. Women were marginalised due to their perceived low status as women mainly due to exogamy (Agarwal, 1998) which resulted in few women accessing land. In essence, the principal beneficiaries of the FTLRP in as far as the youth are concerned were those employed as civil servants who used different forms of capital such as financial/economic, social as well as political to access land. Due to the failure of the youth to access capital, to effectively and efficiently utilise the land, the majority of beneficiaries has failed to create and sustain any meaningful livelihoods leading to livelihood diversification to ensure that they eked a living. Overall, one can deduce that the FTLRP has not alleviated the plight of the youth concerning accessing land or creating viable livelihoods from agriculture both for beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries as there are linkages between obtaining land and creating livelihoods from it. The youth essentially had to access land for them to create and sustain livelihoods which could become imperative to their survival.

The summary of main findings of the research was:

1. Few young people benefitted from the FTLRP and the reasons for this are the socio-economic and political barriers that were gerontocratic. With limited forms of capital such as political and a well as economic capital, it is not surprising that few young people accessed land. In tandem with literature, the researcher points out that few young women have few accessed land individually. The study revealed that for young people they met various forms of barriers which other age groups did not face such as having to gain legitimacy to acquire land through political as well as social institutions which meant that they had to combine various forms of capital to achieve this. However, not all youth managed to pool these forms of capital together leading to few young beneficiaries. As stated in n chapter 2, the weakness in most literature on FTLRP tends to see young people as a homogenous group and the study has revealed that this is not the case. The youth are a differentiated social category with different needs and capabilities based on gender, locality, and socio-economic status to name just a few. It became apparent that more economically and politically connected young people were able to access land more than their rural and unemployed counterparts even though some had political capital. Thus, it became evident, that to access land in Umguza one needed to have a combination of different forms of capital.

2. The youth were severely under-resourced before and during the FTLRP. The study revealed that young women were significantly disadvantaged by the lack of resources during the first few years of accessing land which undermined the ability to fully utilise the land. The study found that for young people agriculture comes with an added burden than other age groups did not have such as acquiring resources and inputs to engage in productive agriculture. Their lack of safety nets such as savings, steady income and support from the state undermined the capacity of the youth to be effective leading to some of them to abandon their farms and migrate. It, however, become apparent that differences between the youth exist as evidenced by the different manner in which they were able to utilise their land. The more economically stable youth were able to develop their farms at a faster space through employing labour, buying specialised inputs such as seeds and fertilisers as well as installing boreholes whereas those who were

economically disadvantaged relied on family labour which negatively impacted o their ability to improve on their productivity.

3. Livelihood diversification and migration are the livelihood strategies used by the youth. The study revealed that the FTLRP has failed to create sustainable livelihoods for young people in the District with the majority of young people were unable to access the land, utilise it and subsequently derive meaning livelihoods from it. The youth have mostly been forced to diversify their livelihood strategies to complement their income and this has been due to lack of financial capital. The study revealed that more women are engaged in off farm activities such as vending with men having migrated to also complement the family income in Bulawayo or neighbouring countries.

Overview

The importance of the youth in agriculture has been captured by scholars such as Guillaume-Gentil (2014), Murinda (2014) who state that the youth have an important role to play in this sector. However, there seems to be little effort done by policymakers and implementers to ensure that the youth are given priority when it comes to redistributing land which in itself becomes an impairment on the ability of developing countries with substantial young human capital to harness this potential. Therefore the need arises to critically examine the manner in which the youth are affected by land reform programmes. It is from this background that the research sought to focus on the impact of the FTLRP on the youth in Umguza District. Umguza District

The FTLRP has come and gone and issues relating to land access remain unresolved in as far as the youth are concerned. Issues relating to land access for the youth such as gender equity, access to capital and de-politicisation of land have not been addressed by the FTLRP, with socio-economic as well political barriers having been reinforced during the programme much to the disadvantage of the youth. The overall assessment of the research is that the FTLRP has left the youth at a far worse position than they were initially especially with regards to the non-beneficiaries. As the programme is a foregone conclusion, the question that arises is, how the youth access land now in the post-FTLRP as the state-led initiative which was supposed to create a conducive environment for their accessing the land, has effectively failed to do so.

Literature revealed that the concept of youth is barely understood which has been the main reason for lack of theoretical and empirical understanding of the youth (Sumberg, Lintelo and Wellard 2012; White 2012). This lack of understanding is compounded by lack of research in

the nexus between the youth and land making this a rich area of study. The failure to differentiate between the youth has led to the failure to unpack the youth category as a multi-faceted category has limited our knowledge on the impact of the FTLRP on the youth through various lenses such as social, economic as well as political lenses.

It has become apparent that the youth faced a multiplicity of interrelated challenges that affected them during the FTLRP hence the few youth beneficiaries. The main problem arising with the FTLRP was its premise as a politically charged process which primarily had to solve a political crisis for ZANU-PF which eventually affected the youth seeking to access land as they had to effectively have the political capital to access land which many did not have. The FTLRP was as argued earlier based on the colonial legacy with claims of the war veterans having more legitimacy and urgency than those of the youth which inadvertently alienated the needs of the youth in accessing land. By of politicising land access, the mechanisms that youth had to use to access land, also needed to be political as well and as the findings showed, youth with connections to the government and ZANU-PF managed to access land although in small numbers. Politics, therefore, became a significant barrier for the youth to access land leading to a skewed distribution on a political basis. The majority of beneficiaries were those aligned to Zanu-PF. The researcher noted that some Zanu-PF members failed to access land which revealed that having one form of capital such as political capital was not sufficient in enabling one to access land. The political connotations attached to obtaining land also inadvertently led to a skewed distribution of land based on age. Since most of the beneficiaries of the FTLRP were war veterans and older people who had managed to have the political capital, the distribution of land based on age was mainly skewed towards older male individuals.

Another important outcome was how different forms of capital were used by the youth to access land. The youth who could amass political as well as financial capital such as the civil servants were able to manoeuvre through the various challenges to eventually access the land. However, for those who could not do so found themselves segregated from the whole process leading to their exclusion from the programme. This brought out the importance of political, social as well as economic capital when it comes to accessing land. However, for most young people having a claim to these is usually challenging based on the finding that the youth rarely have a collection of these three. In most cases, they tend to have one or two which is not sufficient to enable them to access land hence the low numbers of beneficiaries.

In addition to, lack of capital to access land, the youth also suffered from misconceptions regarding the role of the youth in agriculture was premised on the perception that the youth were not interested in land. However, these perceptions were not without merit, as the evidence showed that some youth were indeed not interested in land. Nonetheless, this did not mean that all the youth were not interested in accessing land during the FTLRP. The importance of these perceptions is that they reinforced the gerontocratic socio-cultural factors which were patriarchal in nature. The effect of this was the discrimination of young women during the programme, where few young women managed to access land individually. More disadvantaged, were single women who were either unmarried, divorced or widowed. As argued before, gender discrimination is driven by the perception that giving women land is disadvantageous to the community as they may marry out of the community. This indeed undermined the few opportunities that young women had of accessing land. The land reform should have been used to address these socio-cultural practices that had previously disadvantaged women but instead, it further reinforced them. Thus, it became clear that gender became a barrier to young women's access to land due to the socio-cultural misconceptions about young people and young women in particular.

In summation, the study identified which young people accessed land and how. It can, therefore, be seen that the FTLRP excluded young people as a category, but precisely young people not sympathetic to Zanu-PF and young women. In addition to this, the research revealed the diverse mechanisms which the youth used to access land with a conclusion that there was a need for a combination of factors needed to access land which included political as well as socio-economic factors to break the socio-cultural, political barriers.

Despite the apparent failure of most young people to access land, the few that did faced an uphill task in utilising the land with limited resources. The primary challenge that the youth faced during the FTLRP was accessing capital to effectively and efficiently utilise their acquired land. The difficulties that the youth faced, have to be understood in the context of the economic challenges that characterised the period from 2000 - 2008 as well as the challenges associated with being young in a gerontocratic society. The challenges related to accessing financial capital was the most identified challenge. Without financial capital there basically little that the youth could do to exploit the land and this led to the youth to cultivate smaller pieces of land during the first years of accessing land leading to significant reliance on relatives or parents for resources such as draught power and inputs such as seeds and fertilisers. This showed that the youth were under-capitalised during the FTLRP which inadvertently affected

their ability to become productive in the first years. The failure by financial institutions to assist the youth also worsened the situation with lack of tenure security

Without proper infrastructure and inputs, it is not surprising that most of the farms that the youth had were not intensively utilised. The youth should have been given support in terms of financial as well as technical support to ensure their smooth transition into their new lives as farmers. However, all this was lacking, despite the FTLRP's to provide limited basic infrastructure and farmer support services (Moyo 2006). The FTLRP had no external funding and had been initiated by a government facing economic hardships hence the beneficiaries were left to their own peril to fund their own activities on the farm. For the youth this was a mammoth task as they had limited savings and productive inputs to use. The reliance on traditional equipment and infrastructure has also limited the growth of the farmers leading to most of them to remain subsistence farmers.

Age constantly remained a barrier for the youth as it also impeded their ability to access inputs from schemes setup by the government. Once again the politicisation of resources based on gerontocratic principles reigned supreme much to the disadvantage of the youth. In essence, the FTLRP ensured that the youth remained subjugated to the politicised nature of accessing resources, which without political support one could not achieve much. For the youth, the effect was subsistence farming of the same crops which led to limited crop diversity which also meant limited livelihoods. Lack of infrastructure was seen through the fact that few beneficiaries had any irrigation systems on their farms with the majority depending on rain for irrigation. The apparent danger was that during drought years the youth faced challenges in coping with the hazard often suffering heavy losses. Thus, it becomes clear that during the FTLRP there was reduced and uneven access to inputs especially, for the youth which weakened the position of the youth who had looked at the FTLRP as a platform to empower themselves.

The FTLRP has not positively impacted on the livelihoods of the youth in Umguza District. The livelihoods that most beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries pursue in the district are linked to survival strategies than sustainable livelihoods. The youth require extensive support to alleviate the current situation. The research found that most of the youth non-beneficiaries have diversified their livelihood strategies to complement the little income that they get from activities such as vending. There has been the development of linkages between the beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries with the beneficiaries supplying the non-beneficiaries with

farm produce such as watermelons. Beneficiaries have over the years managed to sell whatever little surplus they harvest to sell either to vendors or sell it themselves.

However, both beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries lamented the fact that they had not developed any meaningful livelihoods which they could derive meaningful incomes which to a large extent can be seen as a failure of the FTLRP as it should have managed to become self-sufficient and also be able to cope with stressors. However, the fact that rural-urban migration has continued proves that the youth still find it difficult to create meaningful livelihoods in the rural areas, ones which could ensure that they do not aspire to migrate to other areas.

The FTLRP however managed to create employment for some youth in the farms though a majority of work created has been casual work with the workers receiving paltry salaries bordering on exploitation. This is not surprising considering the high unemployment rate in the country during the years of the FTLRP and hunger during the drought years of such as 2002, 2003, 2007 and 2008. This led to some employees offering food as a form of payment to their workers. The failure to protect these casual workers has been a significant limitation of the FTLRP leading to some employees to abandon agricultural work as a livelihood strategy. In essence, the FTLRP has not created a conducive environment for employment creation for the youth in the agricultural sector. Due to the challenges highlighted above, the youth were also not capacitated to create many jobs with most farmers relying on family labour.

The gender roles were also evident from the different activities that men and women partake in to earn a livelihood. These roles seem to have their roots in the socio-cultural conceptions that engender different roles for women and men. Women were seen to partake in vending selling both farm produce as well as clothes. This revealed that the FTLRP had failed to empower women in as far as sustainable livelihoods is concerned. Vending cannot be regarded s a sustainable livelihood as it cannot withstand stressors such as a poor performing economy.

Recommendations

Reconfiguration of perception of youth and Agriculture

There is a need to reshape the way agriculture is viewed by both the young and older generation. It has been made clear that there are several misconceptions from both the youth and older generations about the role that young people should play in agriculture. Waldie (2004) asserts that there is a need to challenge the old perspectives regarding young people by looking more closely at what young people are actually doing to shape their livelihoods in the rural areas. The socio-cultural norms have to be evaluated and changed to fit in with the modern times. This is understandably not an easy feat but there should be ways to change them. These misconceptions have had a negative impact on the ability of the youth to access land. Therefore there is need to have an active process to reconstruct the role that young play in agriculture by:

- Making agriculture attractive to young people through creating a conducive environment in which young people access land. This could be done in the shape of creating successful young farmers who become role models to other youth. At the moment farming is seen as a laborious and menial job which is for uneducated people. This perception that farming is a last resort should be changed.
- Having a clear pathway in which young people access land through government programmes such as Land reform
- Revisiting customary ways in which young people access land especially young women. The socio-cultural norms have been a barrier for young women even before the FTLRP. There is there need to sensitise land officials as well as traditional leaders of the negative impact that discrimination on the basis of gender has on women.
- To change the culture that it is only rural based young people who are interested in agriculture and farming. There are a lot of young people in urban areas who are willing

to invest in agriculture but are undermined by several constraints in accessing land and building sustainable livelihoods. There is, therefore, need to make land accessible to all youth access land regardless of location.

If these activities are actively and successfully pursued young people may be enticed to see agriculture as a viable source of livelihood. The misconceptions that are held by society have closed the various avenues that young people access land. It has become evident that with limited access to land young people in Zimbabwe and the world over are becoming more and more disempowered.

Actively finance youth in agriculture

Once the youth have been given access to land, there is need to ensure that young people are attracted to agriculture and remain productive, there is a need to actively finance it. Without access to financial as well as technical resources, there is little that young people can do with the land. Under – utilisation of land has been cited as a major setback of the FTLRP. It has been stated that the youth have largely felt the short end of the stick of poor funding. There should therefore be a concerted effort to finance young people in agriculture to ensure that they see it not only as a survival strategy but also a rewarding livelihood opportunity. As has been postulated by other scholars ensuring that beneficiaries have access to funds from both the sates and the private financial sector is a prerequisite. This will enable young people to be able to finance and implement innovative agricultural activities that would move away from traditional subsistence farming.

Depoliticise access to land

In order to harness the full potential of young people there is also a need to depoliticise the financing of the youth. Politicisation of the FTLRP programme led to the polarisation of the youth with some deserving young people failing to access land and inputs. Therefore there is a need to depoliticise the whole process to ensure that there is equal opportunities for all.

Promotion of off-farm activities

Most of the non-beneficiaries have largely depended on off-farm actives as a livelihood. There is therefore need to improve off-farm activities that can create employment for the youth especially those who did not manage to access the land. These off-farm activities can also augment the income of beneficiaries especially, during off-season.

Future Research

For future research I there is need to carry out research on

- How the youth have accessed land after the FTLRP. There have been significant changes today in how the youth have accessed land through various means other than the land reform. As the land reform programme has been officially ended.
- A comparative analysis of youth beneficiaries during the FTLRP and youth beneficiaries after the FTLRP in terms of access and utilisation of land.

Reference List

Abbink, G. (2005). Being young in Africa: The politics of despair and renewal. *African Dynamics*, 33.

Agarwal, B. (1998). Disinherited peasants, disadvantaged workers: a gender perspective on land and livelihood. *Economic and Political Weekly*, A2–A14.

Anaafo, D., & Guba, B. (2017). Do land reforms have adverse impacts on the livelihoods of poor land users? Evidence from the Nkoranza South Municipality, Ghana. *Canadian Journal of African Studies/Revue Canadienne Des Études Africaines*, *51*(2), 293–318.

Anseeuw, W., & Mathebula, N. (2008). Land reform and development: Evaluating South Africa's restitution and redistribution programmes. *Pretoria, University of Pretoria, Kellogg's Foundation, Research Paper*, (2008/1).

Ashley, C., & Carney, D. (1999). *Sustainable livelihoods: Lessons from early experience* (Vol. 7). Department for International Development London.

Bennell, P. (2007). Promoting livelihood opportunities for rural youth. *IFAD Governing Council Roundtable: Generating Remunerative Livelihood Opportunities for Rural Youth. UK: Knowledge and Skills for Development*.

Bernstein, H. (2003). Land reform in Southern Africa in world-historical perspective. *Review of African Political Economy*, *30*(96), 203–226.

Berry, S. (1989). Social institutions and access to resources. *Africa*, *59*(1), 41–55.

Besley, T., & Burgess, R. (2002). The political economy of government responsiveness: Theory and evidence from India. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, *117*(4), 1415–1451.

Bezu, S., & Holden, S. (2014). Are rural youth in Ethiopia abandoning agriculture? *World Development*, *64*, 259–272.

Bless, C. (n.d.). Higson-Smith, C. & Sithole, SL 2013. *Fundamentals of Social Research Methods: An African Perspective*.

Boratav, H. B. (2005). Negotiating youth: Growing up in inner-city Istanbul. *Journal of Youth Studies*, *8*(2), 203–220.

Bradstock, A. (2005). *Key experiences of land reform in the Northern Cape Province of South Africa*. FARM-Africa London.

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, *3*(2), 77–101.

Chambers, R., & Conway, G. (1992). *Sustainable rural livelihoods: practical concepts for the 21st century*. Institute of Development Studies (UK).

Chaumba, J., Scoones, I., & Wolmer, W. (2003). From jambanja to planning: the reassertion of technocracy in land reform in south-eastern Zimbabwe? *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, *41*(4), 533–554.

Chisholm, L., & Bois-Reymond, M. du. (1993). Youth transitions, gender and social change. *Sociology*, *27*(2), 259–279.

Cliffe, L., Alexander, J., Cousins, B., & Gaidzanwa, R. (2011). An overview of fast track land reform in Zimbabwe: editorial introduction. *Journal of Peasant Studies*, *38*(5), 907–938.

Coffey, J., & Farrugia, D. (2014). Unpacking the black box: The problem of agency in the sociology of youth. *Journal of Youth Studies*, *17*(4), 461–474.

Connell, R. W. (1990). The state, gender, and sexual politics. *Theory and Society*, *19*(5), 507–544.

Colin, J.-P., Cotula, L., Delville, P. L., Neves, N., Quan, J., & Toulmin, C. (n.d.). Changes in "customary" land tenure systems in Africa.

Cousins, B., & Scoones, I. (2010). Contested paradigms of 'viability'in redistributive land reform: perspectives from southern Africa. *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, *37*(1), 31–66.

Dale, A., & Sparkes, J. (2010). The 'agency'of sustainable community development. *Community Development Journal*, *46*(4), 476–492.

Deininger, K. (1999). Making negotiated land reform work: initial experience from Colombia, Brazil and South Africa. *World Development*, *27*(4), 651–672.

Durham, D. (2000). Youth and the social imagination in Africa: Introduction to parts 1 and 2. *Anthropological Quarterly*, *73*(3), 113–120.

Eguavoen, I. (2010). Lawbreakers and livelihood makers: Youth-specific poverty and ambiguous livelihood strategies in Africa. *Vulnerable Children and Youth Studies*, *5*(3), 268–273.

Ellis, F. (2000a). *Rural livelihoods and diversity in developing countries*. Oxford university press.

Ellis, F. (2000b). The determinants of rural livelihood diversification in developing countries. *Journal of Agricultural Economics*, *51*(2), 289–302.

Ellis, F., & Allison, E. (2004). Livelihood diversification and natural resource access. *Overseas Development Group, University of East Anglia*.

Frost, O., & Sawa, P. (2017). YOUNG PEOPLE: Energising African agriculture. *Spore*, (184), 4–7.

Geldens, P., Lincoln, S., & Hodkinson, P. (2011). Youth: Identities, transitions, cultures.

GLOPP. 2008. DFID's Sustainable Livelihoods Approach and its Framework. Accessed from www.glopp.CCch/B7/en/multimedia/B7_1_pdf2.pdf

Goebel, A. (1999). "Here it is our land, the two of us": women, men and land in a Zimbabwean resettlement area. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, *17*(1), 75–96.

Goebel, A. (2005). Zimbabwe's 'fast track'land reform: What about women? *Gender, Place & Culture*, *12*(2), 145–172.

Gough, K., Langevang, T., & Owusu, G. (2013). Youth employment in a globalising world. *International Development Planning Review*, *35*(2), 91–102.

Griffin, K., Khan, A. R., & Ickowitz, A. (2002). Poverty and the Distribution of Land. *Journal of Agrarian Change*, *2*(3), 279–330.

Hall, D., Hirsch, P., & Li, T. M. (2011). Introduction to powers of exclusion: land dilemmas in Southeast Asia.

Hall, R. (2007). *The impact of land restitution and land reform on livelihoods*. PLAAS, University of the Western Cape.

Hamilton-Peach, J. and Townsley, P., 2004. An IFAD sustainable livelihoods framework. *International Foundation for Agricultural Development (IFAD),< https://www. ifad. org/documents/10180/2d92d7ce-1693-4e99-8f2b-1bfcf0c90b92>[accessed 14 July 2018]*.

Holden, S. T., Otsuka, K., & Deininger, K. (2013). Land tenure reforms, poverty and natural resource management: conceptual framework. In *Land Tenure Reform in Asia and Africa* (pp. 1–26). Springer.

Hussein, K., & Nelson, J. (1998). *Sustainable livelihoods and livelihood diversification.*

Jacobs, S. (2000). Zimbabwe: Why land reform is a gender issue. *Sociological Research Online*, *5*(2), 1–10.

James, G. D. (2014). Zimbabwe's 'new'smallholders: who got land and where did they come from? *Review of African Political Economy*, *41*(141), 424–440.

Kariuki, S. M. (2004). Can negotiated land reforms deliver? A case of Kenya's, South Africa's and Zimbabwe's land reform policy debates.

Kidido, J. K., Bugri, J. T., & Kasanga, R. K. (2017). Youth Agricultural Land Access Dimensions and Emerging Challenges Under the Customary Tenure System in Ghana: Evidence from Techiman Area. *Journal of Land and Rural Studies*, *5*(2), 140–163.

Leavy, J., & Smith, S. (2010). Future farmers: youth aspirations, expectations and life choices. *Future Agricultures Discussion Paper*, *13*, 1–15.

Lipton, M. (2009). *Land reform in developing countries: Property rights and property wrongs*. Routledge.

Lund, C. (2008). *Local politics and the dynamics of property in Africa*. Cambridge University Press.

Ludi, E. and Slater, R., 2007. Using the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework to understand and tackle poverty. *Briefing Note for the Poverty–Wellbeing Platform. London: ODI*

Manjengwa, J., Hanlon, J., & Smart, T. (2014). Who will make the 'best'use of Africa's land? Lessons from Zimbabwe. *Third World Quarterly*, *35*(6), 980–995.

Marongwe, N. (2011). Who was allocated Fast Track land, and what did they do with it? Selection of A2 farmers in Goromonzi District, Zimbabwe and its impacts on agricultural production. *Journal of Peasant Studies*, *38*(5), 1069–1092.

Matondi, P. B. (2012). *Zimbabwe's fast track land reform*. Zed Books Ltd.

May, J., Stevens, T., & Stols, A. (2002). Monitoring the impact of land reform on quality of life: A South African case study. *Social Indicators Research*, *58*(1–3), 293–312.

Moyo, S. (1995). *The land question in Zimbabwe*. Sapes Books Harare.

Moyo, S. (2000a). *Land reform under structural adjustment in Zimbabwe: land use change in the Mashonaland provinces*. Nordic Africa Institute.

Moyo, S. (2000b). The political economy of land acquisition and redistribution in Zimbabwe, 1990-1999. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, *26*(1), 5–28.

Moyo, S. (2001). The land occupation movement and democratisation in Zimbabwe: Contradictions of neoliberalism. *Millennium*, *30*(2), 311–330.

Moyo, S. (2004). The land and agrarian question in Zimbabwe. Presented at the first annual colloquium (30 September 2004) at the University of Fort Hare.

Moyo, S. (2005). The land question and land reform in southern Africa. *National Land Summit, Johannesburg, South Africa, July*, 27–31.

Moyo, S. (2006). The evolution of Zimbabwe's land acquisition. University of Zimbabwe (UZ) Publications/Michigan State University (MSU).

Moyo, S. (2011a). Changing agrarian relations after redistributive land reform in Zimbabwe. *Journal of Peasant Studies*, *38*(5), 939–966.

Moyo, S. (2011b). Three decades of agrarian reform in Zimbabwe. *Journal of Peasant Studies*, *38*(3), 493–531.

Moyo, S., & Yeros, P. (2005). *Land occupations and land reform in Zimbabwe: Towards the national democratic revolution*. na.

Moyo, S., & Yeros, P. (2007). The radicalised state: Zimbabwe's interrupted revolution. *Review of African Political Economy*, *34*(111), 103–121.

Newman, L., & Dale, A. (2005). The role of agency in sustainable local community development. *Local Environment*, *10*(5), 477–486.

Nyawo, V. Z. (2014). Zimbabwe post-fast track land reform programme: the different experiences coming through. *International Journal of African Renaissance Studies-Multi-, Inter-and Transdisciplinarity*, *9*(1), 36–49.

Pasura, D. (2010). A gendered analysis of land reforms in Zimbabwe (Vol. 33, pp. 443–454). Presented at the Women's Studies International Forum, Elsevier.

Pedersen, R. H. (2015). A Less Gendered Access to Land? The Impact of Tanzania's New Wave of Land Reform. *Development Policy Review*, *33*(4), 415–432.

Peluso, N. L., & Lund, C. (2011). New frontiers of land control: Introduction. *Journal of Peasant Studies*, *38*(4), 667–681.

Quan, J. (2007). Changes in intra-family land relations. *Changes in 'Customary'Land Tenure Systems in Africa, IIED March*.

Razavi, S. (2007). Liberalisation and the debates on women's access to land. *Third World Quarterly*, *28*(8), 1479–1500.

Ribot, J. C. (1998). Theorizing access: forest profits along Senegal's charcoal commodity chain. *Development and Change*, *29*(2), 307–341.

Ribot, J. C., & Peluso, N. L. (2003). A theory of access. *Rural Sociology*, *68*(2), 153–181.

Rigg, J. (2006). Land, farming, livelihoods, and poverty: rethinking the links in the rural South. *World Development*, *34*(1), 180–202.

Schlager, E., & Ostrom, E. (1992). Property-rights regimes and natural resources: a conceptual analysis. *Land Economics*, 249–262.

Scoones, I. (1998). Sustainable rural livelihoods: a framework for analysis.

Scoones, I. (2009). Livelihoods perspectives and rural development. *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, *36*(1), 171–196.

Scoones, I. (2015). Zimbabwe's land reform: new political dynamics in the countryside. *Review of African Political Economy*, *42*(144), 190–205.

Scoones, I., Marongwe, N., Mavedzenge, B., Murimbarimba, F., Mahenehene, J., & Sukume, C. (2011). Zimbabwe's land reform: challenging the myths. *Journal of Peasant Studies*, *38*(5), 967–993.

Sen, A. (1993). Capability and well-being73. *The Quality of Life*, *30*.

Sender, J., & Johnston, D. (2004). Searching for a weapon of mass production in rural Africa: Unconvincing arguments for land reform. *Journal of Agrarian Change*, *4*(1-2), 142–164.

Sentíes Portilla, G. (2017). Land concessions and rural youth in Southern Laos. *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, *44*(6), 1255–1274.

Serrat, O. (2017). The sustainable livelihoods approach. In *Knowledge solutions* (pp. 21–26). Springer.

Shaw, W. H. (2003). 'They Stole Our Land': debating the expropriation of white farms in Zimbabwe. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, *41*(1), 75–89.

Simons, H. (2009). *Case study research in practice*. SAGE publications.

Small, L.-A. (2007). The sustainable rural livelihoods approach: a critical review. *Canadian Journal of Development Studies/Revue Canadienne d'études Du Développement*, *28*(1), 27–38.

Southall, R. (2011). Too soon to tell? Land reform in Zimbabwe.

Sumberg, J., Anyidoho, N. A., Leavy, J., te Lintelo, D. J., & Wellard, K. (2012). Introduction: The young people and agriculture 'problem'in Africa. *IDS Bulletin*, *43*(6), 1–8.

te Lintelo, D. J. (2012). Young people in African (agricultural) policy processes? What national youth policies can tell us. *IDS Bulletin*, *43*(6), 90–103.

Thamaga-Chitja, J. M., Kolanisi, U., & Murugani, V. G. (2010). Is the South African land reform programme gender sensitive to women's food security and livelihood efforts? *Agenda*, *24*(86), 121–134.

Thorsen, D. (2007). "If only I get enough money for a bicycle!" A study of childhoods, migration and adolescent aspirations against a backdrop of exploitation and trafficking in Burkina Faso.

Thu, P. M. (2012). Access to land and livelihoods in post-conflict Timor-Leste. *Australian Geographer*, *43*(2), 197–214.

UNDP. 2017. Application of the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework in Development Projects *accessed from* *www.latinamerica.undp.org/.../UNDP_RBLAC_Livelihoods%20Guidance%20Note_E*...

Waldie, K. (2004). Youth and rural livelihoods. *LEISA-LEUSDEN-*, *20*, 6–8.

Walker, C. (2005). The limits to land reform: Rethinking 'the land question.' *Journal of Southern African Studies*, *31*(4), 805–824.

White, B. (2012). Agriculture and the generation problem: rural youth, employment and the future of farming. *IDS Bulletin*, *43*(6), 9–19.

ZIMSTAT, X. (2013). Census 2012. *Zimbabwe National Report*.

Zulu, N. (2009). Local perceptions of the fast track land reform programme (FTLRP) in Umguza resettlement scheme in Zimbabwe.

Appendix A: Interview Guide

i. Demographic information

- ✓ What is your name
- ✓ How old are you
- ✓ Are you a beneficiary of the FTLRP?

ii. Experiences during the FTLRP

- Please describe to me how the FTLRP occurred here in Umguza
  - ✓ What was the atmosphere like during the FTLRP

iii. Access to land

- ✓ How would you describe the allocation of farms during the FTLRP?
- ✓ What were your perceptions regarding access to land during the FTLRP
- ✓ Were you interested in accessing land during the FTLRP

iv. Role of the youth

- How can you describe your role in the FTLRP
  - ✓ How did you manage or not manage to access land during the FTLROP
  - ✓ What was the role of the youth during the FTLRP

v. Perceptions and attitudes of the youth

- What did you think about the FTLRP during that period in 2000 to 2004
  - ✓ What were your perceptions about the FTLRP
  - ✓ What were your attitude towards the FTLRP

vi. Effect of FTLRP on livelihoods

- How have you been affected by the FTLRP
  - ✓ How has the FTLRP influenced your livelihoods

a. Closing

Thank you for your time and the important information that you have shared with me. May I briefly recap what we have covered in this interview?

i. I will summarise the main aspects that we discussed in the interview

ii. Thank the interviewee once again for the time spent and state that I will call again if there is need for future clarity on the interview.

Appendix B: Verbal consent Form

Opening

Good day to you Sir/ Madam. My name is Mandlenkosi Nyamupingidza, a Masters Student at the University of Witwatersrand. I would like to interview you for my research on the impact of the FTLRP on the youth.

I would like to ask you some questions about your experiences on the FTLRP that occurred here in Umguza District. This information will be useful to for my research as well as bring insight into how the youth were affected by the FTLRP. The interview should take about 30 minutes.

Are you willing to participate in this interview?

Yes….Proceed with interview

No…..Thank participant and end interview

Appendix C: Participant information Sheet



UNIVERSITY OF THE
WITWATERSRAND,
JOHANNESBURG

Dear Participant,

Good day to you Sir/ Madam. My name is Mandlenkosi Nyamupingidza, a Masters Student at the University of Witwatersrand, in South Africa. I am here to conduct my research on the impact of the Fast Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP) on the youth. Here in Umguza District. I am interested in understating how the FTLRP affected you as a young person during that period.

I am kindly requesting your participation in this research which will be in the form of an interview. This interview will take approximately 30 minutes of your time. The interview will be held in a place of your choosing were you feel most comfortable. It will be a face to face interview and with your consent I may record the interview to ensure that I correctly gather information. . Your participation is important in the successful completion of this study. If you are willing to participate in this study and partake in this interview, all information relayed to me will be kept strictly confidential. The material will only be used for academic purposes and your identity will remain confidential. No names will be used or any information that may be used to identify you.

Participating in this interview is entirely voluntary and at any time during the interview you may stop the interview. If any sensitive questions are asked and you are not willing to answer, you may not answer the stated question.

You may at any time contact me on the following numbers

+263 71 7861 289

+277 73 8986 160

Or on the following email addresses

mtnyamz@gmail.com

1500160@students.wits.ac.za

Or my Academic Supervisor: Professor Samuel Kariuki on

+27 11 717-4437

Samuel.kariuki@wits.ac.za

Appendix D: Ethics Clearance

school of SOCIAL SCIENCES

SOSS Human Research Ethics Committee

Clearance Certificate

Protocol Number:	DEV/17/11/02
Project Title:	'The Fast Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP) and the Youth in Umguza District, Matabeleland North, Zimbabwe'
Investigator's Name:	Mr Mandlenkosi Taurayi Nyamupingidza
Department:	Development Studies
Date Reviewed:	28 November 2017
Decision of Committee:	Approved / Unconditionally
Expiry Date:	28 November 2019
Date:	05 December 2017

Head of School

Professor Mucha Musemwa

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND School of Social Sciences 2017 -12- 05 JOHANNESBURG

CC supervisor: Professor Samuel Kariuki

Declaration of Investigator

To be completed in duplicate and one copy to be returned to Ms. Sarah Mfupa in the School of Social Sciences, Room 152, 1st Floor, Robert Sobukwe Block.

I fully understand the conditions under which I am authorised to carry out the abovementioned research and I guarantee to ensure compliance with these conditions. If any departure from the research procedure as approved, I undertake to resubmit the protocol to the committee.

Student Signature

11/12/17

Date