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Keeping African women in social reproduction roles: a systematic qualitative review of literature on post-FTLRP Zimbabwe

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ABSTRACT

The capitalist sytem has been underwritten by unpaid social reproduction labour mostly provided by women. This article deploys social reproduction theory (SRT) to systematically review scholarly literature on Zimbabwe's fast track land reform programme (FTLRP) published since 2011. Research evidence indicates reasonable improvement on women's access to and control of land, but whether or not FTLPRP led to a more egalitarian division of social reproduction labour remains to be researched. The paper concludes by proposing a new research agenda on the shifting boundaries between workplace and home, paid and unpaid labour, for women on post-FTLRP farms.

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Non-work; FTLRP; racial capitalist system; social reproduction of labour

> A people desiring to emancipate itself must understand the process of its enslavement. (van Schoor 1986, 1)

Introduction

Leaders of Zimbabwe's struggle for liberation of the 1960s and 1970s period used grievances over lost land to mobilise support of the indigenous population, both men and women, for the armed struggle against white settler rule, the second Chimurenga, that culminated with the granting of political independence and black majority rule in 1980 (Mlambo 2005). Grievances about racial, class and gender segregation in land distribution and ownership were ostensibly the main spark plug for the first and second Chimurengas against settler occupation in the 1890s and the 1960s-1970s decades respectively. For leaders of the women's wings of the liberation movements, Teurai Ropa and Jane Ngwenya, of ZANU and ZAPU respectively, women's 'active participation in the liberation of Zimbabwe' was always premised on the twin objectives of attaining 'national independence and sexual equality' (Weinrich 1979, 24). The unresolved land question also lit the

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fuse for the third Chimurenga of 2000–2005, alternatively called *Jambanja* (the violent land grabbing and occupation of former white owned farms by landless indigenous people), which the Mugabe government only retroactively supported by legislating the Fast Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP) (Coldham 2001; Moyo 2009, 2011). However, the issue of gender inequality in access to land did not attract much scholarly attention as equal access to land and other productive resources between men and women remained largely an unfulfilled goal during the first decade of the FTLRP implementation (Utete 2003; Chikunda 2018; Matondi 2012; Svodziwa 2019). A common weakness in most land reform policies in sub-Saharan Africa including Zimbabwe's FTLRP has been, according to Munemo, Manzvera, and Agbelie (2022, 36), their failure to pay adequate attention to 'the role of gender in women's productive and reproductive activities' in the newly resettled farms. Cliffe et al. (2011, 929) underline the 'need for future research to investigate whether the division of labour and gender relations [*in FTLRP farms*] are in any way different from those in CAs [*communal areas*]'.

This qualitative review deploys a meta-narrative analysis using a social reproduction theory (SRT) analytic framework to critically engage with emerging issues and debates in the literature on how Zimbabwe's fast track land reform programme has impacted women's lives in the decade since its implementation. It piggybacks on similar reviews published soon after the first decade of FTLRP's inception (Munemo, Manzvera, and Agbelie 2022; Cliffe et al. 2011; Moyo 2009) to analyse eight peer reviewed articles on FTLRP published in Scopus indexed journals post 2011, to find out how ideologies of gender and patriarchy have shaped the evolving division of labour between men and women in fast track farms (FTFs).

More than twenty years have passed since FTLRP began in 2000, and the passage of time itself tends to mellow, entrench and normalize some social processes and practices while expunging others and in one way or another rendering manifest new lines of power symmetry/asymmetry. Studies analysed in this review point to mixed outcomes for women beneficiaries of the FTLRP. On the one hand, Zimbabwean law has since been amended to provide for equal access to and ownership of land between men and women in the fast track resettled areas (Coldham 2001). On the other, women now suffer from a double burden as they increasingly assume their husbands' duties as providers and breadwinners for their families as well as shouldering their customary duties as drawers of water and hewers of wood and as cooks for the family, carers for husband and nurturers of children as housewives. Much of the literature reviewed in this study, however, does not apply SRT as a theoretical lens and as a consequence failed to spotlight how FTLRP may or may not have affected how social reproduction labour was regarded and shared between men and women on the farms. In the next section we provide in broad strokes an outline of the historical origins and evolution of social reproduction of labour theory, alternatively referred to in the literature as social reproduction theory (SRT), and its relevance to Zimbabwe's unsettled gender and agrarian questions.

Conceptualising social reproduction in Agrarian contexts

Social reproduction theory builds on theoretical blind spots in the Marxist labour theory of value (Marx [1867] 1976; Marx 1922) on the contribution of unpaid labour time expended mostly by women on reproduction of labour power outside of the circuits of

capitalist production to capitalist accumulation of surplus value (Mohandesi and Teitelman 2017; Sehgal 2005). Over time many aspects of classical capitalist exploitation of labour may have changed since Marx, but capitalist accumulation on a world scale has intensified its feudalistic and patriarchal oppression of women by men in the periphery (Bhattacharya 2018), 'housewifisation of women's labour' (Mies [1986] 1998) and informalisation of male labour in the world economy (Wolpe 1972; Amin 1988; Arrighi 1970). Women have continued to subsidise below subsistence wages their husbands receive from their capitalist employers through engaging in unpaid subsistence farming in communal areas formerly native reserves (Folbre 1994; Federici 2020; Armstrong 2020; Boydston 2009; Dalla Costa 1995; Cousins et al. 2018). As Nancy Fraser (2014, 148) argues, the treatment of women's work as invisible and unproductive labour was the indispensable background condition 'for the possibility of capitalist production' and at the same time underpinned 'modern capitalist forms of women's subordination'. By applying SRT in reviewing the literature on how newly resettled African women peasant farmers experienced and negotiated their gendered roles in the resettled farms, the paper seeks to add to the growing body of critical reflections on how the outcomes of the FTLRP process need to be refracted through the prism of social reproduction theory to unmask structural exploitation of women by men in the newly resettled farming areas of Zimbabwe.

Social reproduction as a concept has its origins in different strands of feminist critique of Marx's apparent theoretical neglect of the social reproduction aspects of the production/reproduction dialectic in his elaboration of the labour theory of value. It offers a critical response to 'Marx's analysis of the value of labour power […] based on the assumption that the worker has a "non-working" housewife' (Mies [1986] 1998, 110). SRT, rooted in its neo-Marxist feminist theoretical tradition, provided the moral and intellectual ferment behind the wages for housework movement which began in the 1970s (Federici 1975; Folbre 1994). The scholarly debates and activist work around questions of social reproduction and the invisibilisation of women's work generated a rich, dense and theoretically variegated genealogy of both liberal and critical feminist critique of the political economy of the devalorization, demonetisation and feminisation of the work that is necessary for the reproduction of patriarchal capitalist society (Bhattacharya 2018; Dalla Costa 1995; Fraser 2014; Federici 2020; Picchio 1992; Ferguson 2019).

Most theorists in the area of social reproduction have distilled social reproduction into three interrelated and intersecting dimensions: socially necessary labour time women spend on biological and cultural reproduction of future generations of workers (labour of love) and that which they spend on repair and maintenance of the existing reserve army of labour. In agrarian contexts women also do most of the subsistence farming that is necessary to produce food for the family and all of that for no pay (Hoskyns and Rai 2007; Federici 2019; Ferguson 2019; Goldblatt 2021; James 2020). Tithi Bhattacharya understands SRT as directed at questions that involve:

> various kinds of socially necessary work — mental, physical, and emotional — aimed at providing the historically and socially, as well as biologically, defined means for maintaining and reproducing population. Among other things, social reproduction includes how food, clothing, and shelter are made available for immediate consumption, how the maintenance and socialization of children is accomplished, how care of the elderly and infirm is provided, and how sexuality is socially constructed. (Bhattacharya 2018, 7)

SRT unpacks the historical processes by which social reproduction work (housework) became feminised and instrumentalised to tie the woman in her 'proper place' around the family farmstead and seeks to bring to light the housewifization or the mystification of women's labour as 'a natural resource, freely available like air and water' (Mies [1986] 1998, 110).

Placing the spotlight on how the elements of social reproduction work as defined above have panned out in fast track resettled households in Zimbabwe through a social reproduction theoretical lens makes possible a nuanced understanding of the mechanisms by which unequal power relations between men and women may continue to be reproduced there (Federici 2019). The strand of SRT conceptual framework deployed here is deliberately situated at the confluence of critical political economy and social reproduction theory which by definition seeks to confront the social construction of reality in which the oppression and economic exploitation of the poor and miserable by the rich and powerful appears natural (Bonefeld 2014). We take the view of social reproduction theory (SRT) as a 'social theory that is committed to exploring oppressive logics' behind the naturalisation of sexual divisions of labour between the spheres of production and reproduction (Jaffe 2020, 2) with the object of rendering visible, 'labor and work that are analytically hidden by classical economists and politically denied by policy makers' (Bhattacharya 2018, 2).

In this discussion we share Ossome's understanding of social reproduction as referring to 'the daily reproduction of working-class households through the acquisition and provision of such basic needs as food, shelter, clothing and health-care' (Ossome 2021; Ossome and Naidu 2021, 557). In focusing on the literature so far produced on the social consequences of FTLRP, this article is not content to stop at just wondering how the work of producing the producers of wealth is undertaken and shared (Federici 2020) in the new resettlement areas. Instead, it seeks to extend the horizon of intellectual curiosity and wonderment to why and how it should remain necessary for women to continue burdened with unwaged social reproduction labour when the tacit goal of FTLRP was to reverse the racial and patriarchal capitalist organisation of work and social relations. It raises questions about the extent to which Zimbabwe's fast track land reform programme (FTLRP) provides possible decolonial pathways to a more just and egalitarian society by unravelling the algorithms generative of the production/reproduction dialectic that undergirds capitalist accumulation. It seeks to unravel the ideological blind spots of research literature on women's lived experiences in post-Fast track resettlement areas in Zimbabwe.

Women's resistance to social reproduction work in historical perspective

Under colonial capitalism, parts of Africa Amin (1972) has referred to as 'Africa of the labour reserve' (Zimbabwe and other southern African countries including South African Bandustants were part of this area) became the sites of African women's dual burden as providers of labour in agricultural production for family consumption in women-headed households and in social reproduction as housewives (O'Laughlin et al. 2013). The communal areas (CAs) thus became the typical domain of unremunerated housework and other forms of social reproduction work by African women.

When communal areas were set up as native reserves, later renamed tribal trust lands in the then white-ruled Rhodesia, the colonial vision was for them to act as nurseries for incubating and warehousing a reserve army of cheap black labour to be supplied to the dominant capitalist system as and when needed. Its implicit division of labour between African men as migrant wage labourers and African women as rural home-keepers in unpaid social reproduction activities was also very clear (Rhodes 1894; Denis 2015; O'Laughlin et al. 2013). African women's resistance to these racial patriarchal capitalist impositions has been well documented as a matter of historical record (Ranger 1985; Whitehead 1991; Barnes and Win 1992; Schmidt 1992; Kambarami 2006; Weinrich 1979). While African women's resistance took many forms, it generally manifested in women's subversion of social values and norms governing sexual division of labour in the private sphere of the home and control over their sexual motilities. For oppressed women 'to abandon the home is already a form of struggle' (Dalla Costa and James 2017, 25). Colonial conventions and accepted custom colluded to set limits and boundaries on women's movement (Barnes 1992). Decisions on where and when a woman could travel were not to be lightly taken, much less independently by women. It was expected to be done only in consultation with and with tacit sanction from some authorised male guardian, a father, husband or brother. Both 'tradition' and Christian missionary church enforced strict bounds of morality on acceptable womanly mobility away from home for African women, and where such 'traditions' were found wanting they had to be invented (Ranger 1997). Colonial administration on the other hand was ambivalent on the governmentality of women's mobility (Schmidt 1992). 'Cumbersome pass laws', the types of which apartheid South Africa became infamous for, 'were the bureaucratic expression' of the colonial administration's obsession with the control of native mobility in general and that of African women in particular (Barnes 1992, 587). Barnes and Win's (1992) oral history of African women in the city of Harare (then Salisbury) documents women's struggles against different regimes of limitations and control of their movement between the 'kraal' and urban spaces of colonial Rhodesia. Their study corroborates similar conclusions which Schmidt (1992) and Hungwe (2006) arrived at in separate studies of African women's forms of resistance/acquiescence with regimes of patriarchal and racially determined notions of decorum and womanly occupations among African women in the early colonial society of Rhodesia, now Zimbabwe.

Women who chose to migrate to town from their rural homes for purposes other than to join their matrimonial husbands, or at least with the permission of male elders of the villages they came from, became vulnerable to sexual exploitation (Barnes 1992) and faced stigmatisation and labelling as *majoki* (prostitutes) or *vakadzi vemapoto* (women who earn a living through engaging in sex work) (Barnes and Win 1992). It was against social propriety for an unmarried woman to leave the village and run away to town.

The prevalence of such anti-social practices as *ujoki* (prostitution) and (*kuchaya mapoto*) (engaging in temporary marriages for a living) were some of the ways women could express their resistance to unpaid housework as wives and child minders. Women were now monetising that which they were expected by custom to provide unpaid as a matter of filial duty. Colonial efforts to contain and keep African women in their 'proper position' in communal areas (CA) proved futile as African women continued to flock into spaces and territories not meant for them (Schmidt 1992; Barnes and Win 1992). Once they made it into African townships or locations and mining compounds,

some women went on to engage in even more daring exploits in challenging the oppressive and exclusionary status quo. Some such practices included: setting up makeshift settlements (slums) in undesignated areas around the city and setting up shebeen businesses for brewing and selling *Sikokiana* (illicit liquor) (Chimhete 2018; Edwards 1988) against city by-laws. Thus, history is replete with narratives of African women's resistance against colonial and neo-colonial oppression (Mohandesi and Teitelman 2017; Essof 2013). The following section outlines the methodological scheme that was used to select recently published work on FTLRP for systematic qualitative review using critical SRT as a conceptual and analytic framework.

Methodology

Social impacts of Zimbabwe's fast track land reform programme on women remains a subject of intense scholarly debate two decades after its inception. In this review, we systematically collect and analyse the literature that addresses emerging patterns of gendered divisions of labour from a critical social reproduction theoretical perspective.

This paper deploys a meta-narrative synthesis approach (Greenhalgh et al. 2005; Popay et al. 2006; Kim et al. 2021; Wong et al. 2013) to analyse and evaluate emerging debates, critiques and contestations in scholarly literature (journal articles published ten years after the government of Zimbabwe officially announced that the implementation of the programme had ended) on the ways FTLRP has continued to impact women's lives more than a decade later, from a social reproduction of labour theoretical perspective. The decision to focus on literature published a decade after the start of the FTLRP was based on the assumption that social consequences of public policies and programmes often take long, 'perhaps a decade or so before it is clear how far any patterns of social transformation become general' (Cliffe et al. 2011, 917). The more transient and superficial change spurred by the euphoria of the moment would most likely have fizzled out.

An internet search for scholarly articles published on the impact of FTLRP on women and their gendered roles in the newly resettled farms was conducted on the Scopus database using the following Boolean search strings: 'Zimbabwe's fast track land reform programme' OR 'The fast track resettlement programme' OR 'Zimbabwe's FTLRP' AND 'impact on women's role in social reproduction of labour' OR 'gender dimensions of' OR 'impact on women'. The Scopus database was chosen for data collection due to the fact that it is arguably the largest 'abstract and citation database of peer-reviewed literature' (Bhimani, Mention, and Barlatier 2019, 253).

The search yielded 78 articles published in Scopus indexed sources. These articles were then subjected to a multi-stage screening process. Firstly, articles were screened by title. Only article titles that tacitly included 'impact of FTLRP on women' or some equivalent expression were included and those that focused on FTLRP minus women or on women minus FTLRP were excluded. The result was a much shorter list of only 13 articles which were then further screened through close reading of the abstracts. It was important for this study that the final sample be limited to no more than just a few articles of relatively high quality. Thus the remaining list of 13 journal articles was further screened for quality and influence using a minimum citation score of four (4) and of a publication date not earlier than 2011. This inclusion/exclusion criteria then resulted in a final sample of eight articles: (Matondi 2012; Mkodzongi and Lawrence 2019; Ossome and Naidu 2021;

Bhatasara and Chiweshe 2017; Zvokuomba and Batisai 2022; Addison 2019; Munemo, Manzvera, and Agbelie 2022; Chiweshe 2016). Figure 1 below illustrates the screening process for coming up with the sample selection of scholarly articles analysed in this review using meta-narrative analysis.

In the next section, this paper reviews and analyses how the mixed, largely indeterminate and ambiguous outcomes of FTLRP on women's lived experiences were reflected in research literature on how Zimbabwe's fast track land reform programme impacted women in the second decade of its inception.

Gender dimensions of FTLRP: a summary of the current state of knowledge

The foci of published articles included in the sample can be categorised as falling into two broad research strands. Three quarters of the sample of articles considered in this review (Matondi 2012; Chiweshe 2016; Bhatasara and Chiweshe 2017; Mkodzongi and Lawrence 2019; Munemo, Manzvera, and Agbelie 2022; Zvokuomba and Batisai 2022) narrowly focus on gender equity questions about patterns of women's access to land and agricultural inputs, ownership, security of tenure and participation at all levels of decision making about production and disposal of the farm product. The remaining quarter of the sample (Addison 2019; Ossome and Naidu 2021) is of scholarly work that looks at structural changes, if any, in the sexual division of labour occasioned by the FTLRP and how these have impacted women's lives. The later category of studies brings out important insights on the complex tension between expanded decision making space for

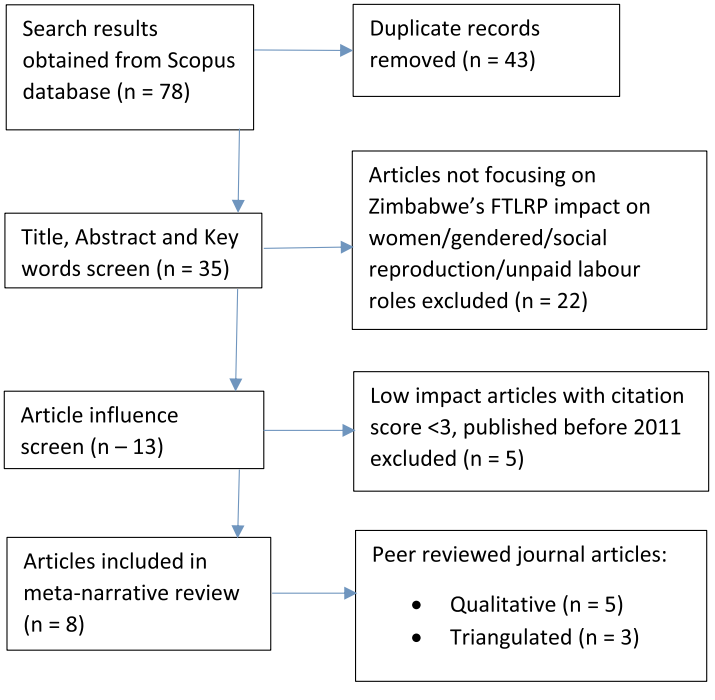

Figure 1. PRISMA flow diagram illustrating inclusion/exclusion process.

women, on the one hand, and demands for subservience to patriarchal regimes of production/reproduction labour expected of them under FTLRP. On the basis of evidence, these studies generally conclude that women beneficiaries of FTLRP continue to be expected not only to do all housework, but as Mies [1986] 1998, 129) points out, they are also expected to do 'most of the work in agriculture: about 80 per cent of the agricultural operations' on the FTF homestead. More work still needs to be done in this area as Ossome and Naidu (2021, 16), writing more than twenty years post-FTLRP, point out that 'no study of the FTLRP to date *had* dealt with the structural dimensions of gender in the midst of the agrarian transition'.

Social reproduction of labour in post-FTLRP Zimbabwe

African women's involvement in as well as resistance to social reproduction labour in colonial Zimbabwe discussed above provides an important conceptual and historical backdrop against which the transformational aims and achievements of Zimbabwe's fast track land reform programme (FTLRP) may be understood. While the FTLRP was ostensibly conceived of as an emancipatory black empowerment project targeting marginalised black peasant families including women as the main beneficiaries (Mkodzongi and Lawrence 2019), findings of this study point to a growing body of literature that suggests mixed and contradictory outcomes, specifically for African women beneficiaries of FTLRP (Addison 2019; Ossome and Naidu 2021).

The government's primary objective of embarking on an accelerated land redistribution and resettlement programme, the (FTLRP), in Zimbabwe in 2000 was the need to address racial imbalances in the ownership of land between whites and majority landless blacks by, among other measures, decongesting rural areas (Utete 2003; Pazvakavambwa and Hungwe 2009) through giving former landless black villagers, 80% of whom are women, access to land, a key means of production which colonialism had denied them (Gaidzanwa 2011). Scholarly opinion on the merits of the FTLRP remains divided although there is growing consensus on the view that 'it constitutes a fundamental change in the class relations established in colonial Rhodesia' (Southall 2011, 86).

The contribution of the FTLRP in so far as reversing oppressive colonial capitalist and patriarchal divisions of labour that locked African women in unwaged labour and men in wage labour as migrant workers on farms, mines and industry, locally and internationally, remains debatable (Scoones et al. 2010; Mutopo 2014, 2016). It failed in two main senses. It failed with regard to providing equal access to land for men and women as studies show that a paltry 18% and 12% of land was allocated to women under the A1 and A2 models of resettlement respectively (Utete 2003; Bhatasara 2011; Manyonganise 2015). Even for those few women who got plots of land allocated to them under the FTLRP the outcomes in terms of improved quality of life have remained largely mixed. Although the government has tried to address inheritance issues that tended to militate against women's security of tenure over land through the issuance of permits and leases in women's own names (Chikwati 2014), instances of contestations over inheritance of land in the event of death still persist and continue to be settled according to the dictates of patrilineal custom which provides for a male relative of the deceased, a brother or eldest male child, to take over ownership. Thus, the security of tenure of ownership of land by women in their own right remains tenuous (Manjengwa and Mazhawidza 2009). In

spite of the existence of very progressive constitutional and legislative guarantees on the equality of the sexes enshrined in the law, studies on the subject of inheritance and intestate succession have shown how contradictions between civil and customary law often operate to disinherit widowed or divorced women (Shumba 2011; Gaidzanwa 1995; Manyonganise 2015; Pasura 2010).

One notable difference, as Mkodzongi and Lawrence's study established, that FTLRP brought about is that surplus labour no longer needed to migrate to a far-off capitalist establishment – a white owned commercial farm, mine or factory – as cheap migrant labour. Instead, it could now be exploited in situ as small holder farmers participate in often exploitative contract farming arrangements 'through a rigorous farm labour regime enforced by agricultural extension officers employed by the contracting companies. These "enforcers" seek to increase the amount of time peasants spend working in tobacco fields in order to fulfil their contractual obligations' (Mkodzongi and Lawrence 2019, 4). FTLRP, like many other social transformation programmes before it, provided no guarantees for 'a change in the sexual division of labour nor a sharing of household tasks' between women and men (Mies [1986] 1998, 107). Women continue to be expected even after a hard day's work on the farm to effectively play their role as mother and housewife in the family home. It is most likely that, in the long run, the ideology of patriarchy might operate as a corrective mechanism to reverse whatever gains the FTLRP has brought about for women.

Keeping women in social reproduction

Much of the literature on the FTLRP, though divergent (Cliffe et al. 2011), has not approached the subject from a social reproduction theoretical (SRT) view point. Research that engages with the changes that took place to the actual roles that women performed at the FTFs show that women's situation actually worsened. A study conducted in the early phase of the FTLRP pointed to an intensification of women's 'dual burden' as 'women spent about 49% of their time on agricultural activities for their families' subsistence and 25% of their time on domestic chores' (Made and Mpofu 2005, 6). They were also less likely to have access to cash paying casual jobs due to the demands of their child rearing duties. Latter studies considered in this review point to feminisation and 'concentration of female labour in food crop production' (Ossome and Naidu 2021, 24) and intensification of women's responsibilities over the bulk of both household and farming duties after the reforms (Addison 2019; Mkodzongi and Lawrence 2019).

Seminal works on post-FTLRP social scenarios in Zimbabwe such as those by Moyo (2009; 2011), Cliffe et al. (2011) and Scoones et al. (2010) were both as extensive and global in their focus as they were context setting. They set the stage for future in-depth case study explorations of various socio-economic dimensions of FTLRP well into the second decade after the programme's inception. In a more general sense it can be stated that a line that appears to run through most of the scholarly debates on how FTLRP affected women and women's livelihoods: there were some positive outcomes for women who benefited in terms of improved economic status and expanded decision making space, however, when it comes to how FTLRP outcomes impacted the burden of social reproduction on women's shoulders, the results remain sketchy if not contradictory (Chiweshe, Chakona, and Helliker 2015; Addison 2019).

A number of studies undertaken in the second decade after its implementation 'contradicted the overwhelmingly negative images of land reform presented in the media, and indeed in much academic and policy commentary' (Scoones et al. 2010, 2) of the early years of FTLRP. The studies did so by drawing on empirical evidence of lived experiences and realities of resettled farmers, including women (Bhatasara and Chiweshe 2017; Chiweshe 2016; Tekwa and Adesina 2018). This body of literature highlights the absence of gender targeting in the manner in which the programme was rolled out on the ground, a serious weakness the FTLRP shares with earlier land reform policies under colonial and early phases of postcolonial land redistribution. This was, however, not surprising given that the major goal of the FTLRP was to reverse colonial legacies of racial inequality in land ownership (Utete 2003; Ossome and Naidu 2021). The programme thus tended to gloss over and treat as of secondary importance emerging gender disparities and complexities. This attitude is also quite evident in early scholarship's concern with measuring the success or failure of the FTLRP based on manifest economic, racial and class dimensions of its outcomes (Chambati and Moyo 2007; Moyo 2009; Cliffe et al. 2011; Mkodzongi and Lawrence 2019; Shonhe and Mtapuri 2020). A major weakness of a significant number of those studies that approached the FTLRP issue from a feminist theoretical angle is their tendency to base their valorisation of the symbolic economic emancipation of women on the fact that at least 18% and 12% of farmers resettled on A1 and A2 resettlement schemes respectively were women (Munemo, Manzvera, and Agbelie 2022). Ownership of land in their own name gave those women who so benefited an opportunity for equal participation in agricultural production and capital accumulation with their male counterparts. But when put into proper perspective, the 12% or 18% considered as a fraction of the 70% of the total population of Zimbabwean women who live off the land and through agriculture and farming activities constitutes a minuscule amount (Matondi 2012). What this means is that the bigger but hidden picture is of women with access to FTFs but as providers of unpaid labour as farm workers, mothers and or housewives, on behalf of (often absentee male owners) their husbands. When considered in the context of available literature on post-FTLRP agrarian questions, studies that foreground 'situations and experiences of women as the starting point of enquiry' (Tom and Banda 2023, 81) constitute a very small fraction. As Ossome and Naidu (2021, 347) point out, 'while changes in the racial and class structure have been well elaborated in existing literature, their articulation to gender in the agrarian structure is not yet well understood'. Much research with a focus on late FTLRP outcomes on women's lives (Matondi 2012; Shonhe and Mtapuri 2020; Munemo, Manzvera, and Agbelie 2022) has ended at highlighting relative progress in addressing gender disparities in terms of access, control and ownership rights to land and other agricultural resources using gender disaggregated statistics of FTLRP beneficiaries. The literature does not zoom in on changes in the sexual division of labour within the unitary household economy of the FTF. Since, according to Matondi (2012, 195), 'the majority of women farmers who are involved in full-time farming in the A1 scheme used to be communal farmers', it is reasonable to assume that division of labour on the fast track farm would also tend to be generally organised along the lines of patriarchal templates already existing in communal areas. Such studies grounded in a feminist theoretical framework as an analytic tool managed to illuminate some weakness in the land reform programme that was not always apparent. For example, Tom and Banda (2023), Zvokuomba and Batisai (2020), Ossome and Naidu

(2021) and Tekwa and Adesina (2018) concur on the view that some social outcomes of the FTLRP were rather mixed and ambiguous for most women beneficiaries. Tom and Banda (2023, 87) argue that, 'the agrarian structure resulting from the fast track land reform was largely based on the exploitation of unpaid family labour and […] of informal wage labour dominated by women'.

The question that largely escaped sustained scholarly interrogation was how access to and ownership of land by women actually altered or did not alter the division of labour between men and women at the household level in the newly resettled farms. How are social reproduction roles carried out and shared on the newly resettled farms? What new class is socially produced if indeed the FTLRP resettlement scheme operated to restore ownership of the means of production to those from whom they had been forcibly taken away through the violent processes of primitive accumulation and prolitarianisation of early colonial capitalist expansion? If FTLRP resettlement schemes were by design neither meant to serve as labour reserves underwritten by women's unwaged labour along similar lines as communal areas, nor along capitalist lines of former white commercial farms, what new societal structures are envisaged to emerge from them and with what implications for gender roles? Few scholars are beginning to nibble at these intractable questions, through consciously deploying SRT tools of analysis to gather and analyse empirical data on how the burden of the social reproduction of society is being institutionally shared among different members of the household. For example, it would be enlightening to find out the level of investment per household in infrastructure for easing the provision of water and energy for heating, cooking and lighting, the level of public expenditure and institutionalisation of provision of healthcare, childcare and early childhood education. From a social reproduction theory perspective, a focus on the existence or absence of devices that shift or at least lighten women's burden of care would enrich the evaluation of the contribution of FTLRP to social transformation and progress towards building more egalitarian communities. As of now that picture remains very fuzzy and inconclusive from a scientific point of view.

Treatment of female labour on resettled farmsteads

Where a household owns land in the context of marriage and family life, a woman takes on new and expanded roles and responsibilities to produce for the subsistence of the family but also continues to be expected to discharge her traditional social reproduction role as a housewife. Empirical evidence, according to Tekwa and Adesina (2018, 57), 'suggests enduring unequal gender relations' as men were not ready to share household chores with women. The Shona aphorism *musha mukadzi* (a good housewife is the pillar of the rural home) (Chirara and Chisale 2023) succinctly captures the importance of a married woman's free labour, both in farm production and in house-keeping, to the subsistence of the family. However, in spite of the recognition of its importance, women and everyone else had become accustomed to regarding such communal area home-based unpaid labour as non-work and women who provided it as unemployed (literally not working people). Equal access to ownership and control of land and other means of production in the newly resettled farms has done little to change this mindset about women's farm work and housework. In this regard, future research may need to understand FTLRP 'in light of the ways in which it might have contributed to the stabilization'

of patriarchal attitudes towards labour expended in production/reproduction by women on the family farmstead as non-work (Ossome and Naidu 2021, 354), and the invisibilisation of women's unpaid labour in subsidising poorly remunerated wage labour. The main problem arises from that moment when the dividing line between work place and home gets blurred. To the extent that the A1 or A2 farm is viewed as home and not as a commercial enterprise, all work that goes on there assumes a new character and becomes mystified and conflated with something else other than work. A separation between home and workplace is necessary under capitalism for workers to have somewhere they go to call 'home at the end of each day to be fed, rested, clothed, nurtured to enable them to return to work the next day' (Jaffe 2020, 3). In contexts which FTLRP resettlement farms represent, this binary division is collapsed and the separation between production and reproduction roles becomes mixed up. A woman's productive work both in subsistence, and often also in petty commodity production (Mies [1986] 1998), and reproductive work as a housewife slip into each other to form a single continuum and one may never notice when one form of labour ends and another begins for women because it all goes on at the same site – the domestic household economy. As women's participation in commercial agricultural production increases as part of the social transformation in resettled areas, how has this affected women's allocation of time in unpaid social reproduction duties? Folbre (2006, 183) advocates 'for the development of additional indices' that better measure the time women spend in 'the care of dependents'. A major weakness of the researches reviewed in this study was the absence of such indices.

The other question which needs posing is: what has become of the male members of the household who continue to reside on the farm homestead and are not engaged in wage employment? Do they continue to provide for their families or do their women become worse off for having them around? From the literature sample, a significant body of research (Chiweshe, Chakona, and Helliker 2015; Addison 2019; Tom and Banda 2023; Zvokuomba and Batisai 2020; Ossome and Naidu 2021; Tekwa and Adesina 2018) has begun to shine light on the above questions in terms of how patriarchal structures continue to secure African women in their traditional roles in unwaged social reproduction of labour in FTLRP resettlement areas while also assuming breadwinner roles and responsibilities.

Conclusion

When all is said and done, and after all the sacrifices African women made in the fight against colonial oppression, it is disheartening to note that women have to continue to push for greater inclusion and recognition of the economic value of the housework they offer for free (Federici 2013). FTFs continue to keep the majority of African women locked in 'their proper position' and chained to the home. In spite of decolonisation and land redistribution to landless blacks in Zimbabwe, more than a century since Rhodes, it would appear the ghost of a departed colonialism continues to haunt African women, as the African unwaged labouring classes, from one generation to the next, continue to spend their lives imprisoned outside of the circuits of waged labour in the family home and in the field as housewives and domestic workers. It is important to note that this paper makes no startling revelation when it draws attention to African women's struggles against structures that continue to pin them down in

intergenerational, unremunerated social reproduction of waged black labour in the neoliberal capitalist world order. It seeks only to point out that African women have not been taking their oppression lying down. Literature has shown that women are opting out of their naturalised roles in unpaid social reproduction of labour for capitalist exploitation everywhere by taking the initiative to seize and secure their economic independence by any means necessary. No amount of cosmetic and half-hearted reordering of the furniture by way of an FTLRP done in their name can go unchallenged. This paper suggests a further review of the gaps and omissions in the literature on how FTLRP has changed or entrenched oppressive production/reproduction divisions of labour. Doing so may help shed light on contemporary problems of social inequality along the axes of race, gender and geographical location. The FTLRP resettlement scheme, just like the Marikana case about which Benya (2015, 13) writes, is unique in the sense that 'it collapses the distinction between home and work'. The farm is as much the workplace as it is the home. It is the site of production as well as the site of reproduction work.

Research on how the burden of social reproduction work is organised and shared to sustain the household economy of the FTF in Zimbabwe remains critical to inform our understanding of how systems of social inequality may continue to be entrenched and stabilised over time in spite of society's best policy intentions to achieve the contrary. Most articles considered in this review except those by Ossome and Naidu (2021) and Addison (2019) eschew the application of SRT in the study of how the implementation of such an important social transformation programme as the FTLRP has impacted women. Given that research findings are the artefact of the kinds of questions the researcher poses and the research designs they use, guided by their theoretical locus of articulation, it is not surprising that much of the literature considered here turned out to be blind to critical questions of how social reproduction roles were being shared on the FTFs studied. What comes out very clearly in the literature is that Zimbabwe's FTLRP was very successful in deracialising land ownership in Zimbabwe (O'Laughlin et al. 2013) but it was not so successful in addressing gender inequalities, not only in ownership of land, but most importantly, in the sexual division of labour in resettled farms (Ossome and Naidu 2021).

We recommend that governments seeking to implement similar policies elsewhere in the world would achieve more through increased public policy attention to projects that reduce the drudgery in social reproduction duties, which are often considered women's duties, in addition to affording women equal opportunities to access land and other resources in resettlement areas. We conclude by proposing a new research agenda on the FTLRP situation that goes beyond the question of ownership, important as it is, by recentering the contribution of women's hidden social reproduction labour time to the FTF household economy (Ferrant, Maria Pesando, and Nowacka 2014) through analysing the nature and content of a typical work-day in the life of a resident farmer's wife with a view to rendering visible mechanisms by which patriarchy ideologically interpelates (Althusser 2020) FTF resettled women as 'unemployed' and constitutes them to occupy specific subject positions as men's underlings in agrarian contexts locally and globally.

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