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Transforming People's Livelihoods Through Land Reform In A1 Resettlement Areas In Goromonzi District In Zimbabwe

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Abstract: The study reflected on the livelihoods activities of AI farmers in Goromonzi District in Mashonaland East Province in Zimbabwe. The study used both quantitative and qualitative data collection techniques, Data were collected through in-depth interviews, focus group discussions, direct observations and document reviews. A structured household questionnaire was used as the basic tool to collect socio-economic and production data pertaining to A1 farmers. Using a livelihoods conceptual framework and elicitation approach, the study revealed interesting points with regard to the assets extended to and acquired by A1 households in Baines Hope and Ingwenya farm in Goromonzi District. The study found that while some households engaged in nonagricultural activities, for most households crop production was the main source of livelihoods. Although maize was the dominant crop, there was some diversification into soya beans, potatoes, tobacco, sorghum and groundnuts. In this respect, almost all households were able to utilise their landholdings to ensure household food security. Further, several households exchanged grain as payment for agricultural labour services while surplus grain was sold. The provision of land had also a positive impact of enabling some beneficiaries to acquire certain assets that they did not have before they were resettled, or that they would not have been able to accumulate if they had remained in the areas they previously lived. The acquired assets included livestock, oxploughs, scotch carts, lorries, tractors, passenger vehicles and bigger houses. Some of these assets were used to supplement household livelihoods in various ways. Generally landholding had led to significant welfare and income gains for the majority of the households. However, limitations, in terms of access to agricultural inputs, credit, equipment and infrastructural support severely restricted the potential of livelihood enhancement arising from land redistribution.

Keywords: A1 model; assets; credit; fast track land reform programme; household; livelihoods.

I. Introduction

The Fast Track Land Reform and Resettlement Programme was implemented in an accelerated manner and radically transformed the country's land ownership and agrarian structure. The Fast Track Land Reform and Resettlement Programme (FTLRRP) drastically reduced the land within the white-dominated large-scale commercial sector and expanded small scale agricultural sector. A total of 6.4 million hectares (or 16.2 percent) swapped ownership from white commercial farmers to black indigenous Zimbabweans while an additional 2.2 million hectares (or 5.6 percent) remained unallocated (Njaya, 2014). Two models of settlement were adopted under the FTLRRP, namely, the A1 model and A2 model. Model A1 was for the generality of landless people with a villagised and self-contained variant while model A2 was a commercial settlement scheme comprising small, medium and large-scale commercial settlement (GOZ, 2003). Under A1 villagised model, homesteads are in villages with a common grazing area akin to communal areas while self-contained A1 plots are used for both crop cultivation and livestock. According to the GOZ (2003) a total of 127,192 households were resettled under the A1 model, while 7,260 households were allocated land under the A2 model.

In general, the progress and nature of the FTLRRP has been extremely varied. The causes and consequences of the FTLRRP have been intensely debated and there is now a significant body of literature on the programme for example, Deininger, et al.,(2002); Masiiwa (2004);Moyo (2000; 2004); Moyo et al.,(2008);Richardson (2004); Sachikonye (2003); Scoones, Marongwe, Mavedzenge, Murimbarimba, and Mahenehene, 2010 and Zikhali (2008). The FTLRRP arguably addressed, to some extent, the country's "worrisome legacy of historic injustice and social and racial inequities and broadened the base of economic participation" (Moyo, 2004). Despite being credited with overhauling the racial distribution of land in Zimbabwe, the programme however, was implemented in a violent manner and was associated with significant losses in agricultural production and overall economic "collapse" (Richardson, 2004). Although the images of chaos, destruction and violence dominated the coverage (though indeed they were part of reality), there were also some successes which went largely unrecorded (Scoones et al., 2010). The negative impacts, often overly highlighted, created a picture of pessimism about the FTLRRP. However, there is a dearth of solid empirical research of how such an extensive land redistribution programme impacted on poverty reduction. Have there been any welfare and income gains for the people resettled under the fast track resettlement programme? What

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are the personal experiences of A1 farmers? What are the perceptions of A1 farmers regarding the FTLRRP? Generally, less attention was given to how the people of Zimbabwe assessed the FTLRRP.

With the broad aim of filling this lacuna, I carried out a case study on the livelihood experiences of A1 households resettled under the FTLRP in Baines Hope and Ingwenya Farms in Goromonzi District in Mashonaland East Province. The livelihoods conceptual framework that considered five types of assets namely, physical, human, financial, natural and social assets was used to analyse factors affecting livelihoods of A1 households. Land is only one of the many capital assets that are critical for generation of livelihood. However, given that land alone, without access to other complementary capital assets, does not suffice as a livelihood resource, the study looked at what other assets were available to A1 farmers to enhance or inhibit their livelihood activities.

1.1 Study Objectives

The primary aim of the study was to evaluate livelihood strategies in A1 resettlement areas in Goromonzi District. The specific objectives of the study included the following:

- To identify household assets owned by A1 farmers.
- To identify A1 household livelihood strategies in the resettlement areas.
- To identify factors that restricted livelihood initiatives of A1 farmers.

1.2 Research Questions

- What household assets are owned by A1 farmers?
- What are the household livelihood activities of A1 farmers?
- What factors restricted livelihood enhancement arising from land redistribution in A1 resettlement areas?

II. Research Methodology And Design

The study used both quantitative and qualitative approaches (Creswell, 2009). A case study of two A1 resettlement areas in Goromonzi District in Mashonaland East Province was used to produce more in-depth and comprehensive information. Data collection techniques included questionnaire interviews, focus group discussions, simple observations and document reviews in order to triangulate the evidence. This enabled the researcher to use observation to describe the context of A1 farmers, identify the variables and analyse the interactions of the different household variables on livelihood initiatives. Figure 3.1 shows a map of Goromonzi District illustrating geographical characteristics and the two study sites of Bains Hope and Ingwenya Farm.



Figure 2.1: Map of Goromonzi showing two study sites.

Source: Surveyor General, 2013

On its flanks, Goromonzi District shares borders with Harare, the capital city of Zimbabwe to the west, Seke District to the south and Marondera, to the east. To the north, Goromonzi District shares borders with districts in Mashonaland Central Province, namely, Bindura, Mazowe and Shamva. Goromonzi District has a land area of 2,459 square kilometres and a population of 223,879 (ZIMSTAT, 2012). Goromonzi District is mainly a rural district and agriculture forms the economic base. Goromonzi District is suitable for intensive farming, beef, dairy, horticulture, tobacco, maize, sugar beans, potatoes, paprika, soya beans and small grains (sorghum, millet and rapoko). The other economic activities in the district include gold mining and tourism (GRDC, 1996) and wildlife rearing (Moyo, 2000).

III. Presentation And Discussion Of Research Findings

3.1 Background of A1 Farmers

Most of the A1 farmers were formerly or currently employed in the urban areas (43.3 percent) while 35.1 percent came from the communal areas. The remainder was made up of 18.9 percent who were in the informal sector mainly as vegetable vendors and 2.7 percent were business people. The breakdown of A1 farmers who were employed in the urban areas was as follows: 32.4 percent, private sector; 8.1 percent, civil service and 2.7 percent, security service made up of the army, police, prisons and intelligence organisation. A majority of the farmers (89.2 percent) did not have formal agricultural training while 29.7 percent did not go beyond primary education. Although 91.8 percent of these farmers had more than six years of farming experience, lack of proper agricultural training impacted negatively on their agricultural production efficiency.

3.2 Perceptions and experiences of A1 farmers with the FTLRRP

The primary purpose of the study was to get an in-depth insight into the processes of the FTLRP and understand the lived experiences of A1 farmers as far as their livelihood initiatives were concerned. This helped to understand the attitudes and perceptions of A1 farmers as regards the change in ownership from white commercial farmers to indigenous blacks. The FTLRP drastically reduced the land within the large-scale commercial sector from 58 percent to one percent; expanded the medium-scale and small scale commercial farming (14 percent); created peri-urban farming (nine percent); expanded small scale farming in communal areas (47 percent) and created A1 model (29 percent) (Marongwe, 2008). This means that the land area covered by LSCFs is 2,663 hectares and the size of each commercial farm was drastically reduced.

Generally, the A1 farmers fully supported the FTLRRP since it did not only made them land owners but it presented them with more livelihood opportunities. Studying the perceptions of the A1 farmers helped to analyse the role of social assets in land transfers. For example, 71.4 percent of the A1 farmers said they learnt about the FTLRP through their political party, ZANU-PF while 11.4 percent knew about the programme through friends and/or relatives. This showed that the household is a permeable entity where individual and household interactions played out within the socio-political network which had influence over household decisions and actions regarding the acquisition, use and disposal of land in A1 schemes. These findings were corroborated in previous studies (Chaumba, Scoones and Wolmer, 2003; Marongwe, 2008; Chingarande, 2008; Sadomba, 2008). The use of political and social networks in land allocation had the inevitable fundamental outcome of excluding those who did not belong to a particular social group. Some studies (Elich, 2005; Scoones et al., 2010) did not find evidence of partisan allocation of land under the FTLRRP. According to Elich (2005), despite its problems, the FTLRP had established a far more equitable distribution than the obscene concentration of wealth inherited from the apartheid era of Rhodesia (colonial name for Zimbabwe). The focus on cronyism in the Western press was a red herring meant to invalidate the process of the FTLRRP without arguing the issue on its merits (Elich, 2005). The setting up of a Committee of Seven in each A1 resettlement scheme seemed to confirm that political test was indeed used to select land beneficiaries. Probably, further research would be required to establish the magnitude of discrimination of those who did not belong to a particular social group but were denied access to land because of their political affiliation.

Examples of A1 Farmers in Box 3.1 help to understand who the A1 farmers are and where they came from. In addition it shows the gender dynamics in asset acquisition, use and disposal by households.

Box 3.1 Examples of A1 farmers

Sheila is a widow with three children. She originally came from Epworth in Harare where she rented one tiny room. Sheila was a street vegetable vendor. She was allocated a plot in Bains Hope in 2001. Sheila has built a four-roomed house and has three herds of cattle. She grows maize sugar beans and groundnuts. In addition Sheila runs a retail business.

Mai Tizai is a widow with six children. She separated with her husband in 1998 after he married another woman from the same neighbourhood of Epworth in Harare. The husband reunited with Mai Tizai towards the end of 2000 after she was allocated a plot in Ingwenya farm. The husband came along with the second wife and they stayed together on the farm. After the death of the husband in 2007 the second wife relocated to Marondera. Mai Tizai is a maize farmer and has built a bigger house after the death of her husband and she can afford to pay school fees for her children through farming.

Mai Sarai originally came from Rusike communal areas in Goromonzi District. Mai Sarai was mobilised to participate in farm occupations by a friend in ZANU-PF Women's League who was also allocated land in Ingwenya farm. Unlike her friend Mai Sarai requested the District Administrator to replace her name on the offer letter with that of her husband who was then a policeman in Harare. In 2012 the husband married another wife. Mai Sarai has approached the District Administrator to change the name of the farm holding from the husband's name to hers. Mai Sarai is afraid that in the event of the death of her husband the farm will be shared between her children and those from the husband's second wife. The District Administrator had not yet resolved the case by the time the fieldwork was conducted.

Tadzai is another farmer allocated a plot in Bains Hope. Formerly a private soldier in the Zimbabwe National Army Tadzai originally came from Guruve District in Mashonaland Central Province. Tadzai currently works for a private security company in Harare. Tadzai recalls that he participated in the occupation of Bains Hope farm in February 2000 because he needed land for himself and his three children. The farm holding is in his name. Tadzai has six head of cattle and has built a bigger house which is well-furnished. In 2012 year

Kudzai purchased a two tonne truck worth US\$10 000 dollars from selling tobacco. He diversified into transport business. Kudzai employed a driver who is responsible for transporting fellow A1 farmers' produce to urban markets for a fee. Kudzai had always lived in a round hut which is synonymous with most rural homes in Zimbabwebut because of his growing income he has been able to build a bigger house for his family acquired a generator and satellite television and will soon be opening up a retail business in the resettlement area.

3.3. Physical assets acquired and owned by A1 households

During a transact walk in the two study sites, the researcher observed farm infrastructure (dams and irrigation); farm buildings (tobacco barns and warehouses); water collection points; roads; types and quality of crops; livestock and productive assets such as tractors, ox ploughs and water pumps. Simple direct observation was used to compare and/or complement data collected through the questionnaire and other sources. Observations allowed the researcher to witness first hand the socio-economic livelihood initiatives such as the number of livestock and types of crops grown as well as observe the physical infrastructure and acquired household and productive assets. The data collection tool was also instrumental in understanding gender and power dynamics, division of labour and asset distribution between husband and wife within A1 households. The researcher engaged the A1 farmers in discussions as they related to the FTLRP and their own farming experiences. Photographs of physical infrastructure, livestock and productive assets observed in the two study sites are shown in Appendix A.

The farm holdings in the two schemes are A1 village model. The researcher toured the farms and saw the proportion of the farm under cultivation during the 2012/2013 agricultural season. The arable area allocated to each household varied between five and nine hectares and there was a common grazing area. The researcher observed the emerging land use patterns on A1 farms regarding the type and quality of crops and livestock rearing. Although maize was the major crop grown, some farmers diversified into commercial crops such as tobacco, soya beans and potatoes. However, the researcher did not record the area planted for each crop. This would have enabled me to determine the income earned by the A1 farmers. Prior to 2000, most farms in Goromonzi had farm infrastructure including dams, irrigation, green houses and farm buildings (tobacco barns and warehouses). The researcher observed that a tobacco barn left behind by the white commercial farmer in Ingwenya Farm had become a common pool resource being used by dozens of A1 farmers. However, the irrigation infrastructure had been vandalised and was lying idle because the A1 farmers could not afford the cost of rehabilitation and electricity bills. Instead of using coal to fire the tobacco barn the farmers were using wood with disastrous consequences on woodlot depletion.

The researcher observed two types of households: household beneficiaries of the FTLRP and farm worker households. The farm workers were either employed in the new farms and nearby remaining large scale commercial farms or unemployed but still resided in the farm compounds. The researcher was informed that all the farm workers were not allocated land under the FTLRP because some of them were anti-land reform. During land occupations, some farm workers forged alliances with the white commercial farmers against the land occupiers. However, in some cases farm workers were mobilised by war veterans to join the land occupation movement with other peasants from the communal areas (Sadomba, 2008). In Chegutu, Kwekwe and Kadoma, ZCDT (2003) reported that 64.4 percent of the farm workers did not access land under the FTLRP. In Chipinge (Manicaland Province) and Mangwe (Matabeleland South Province), 17.7 percent of the beneficiaries came from the large scale commercial farming sector indicating an inclusion of the former farm labour in the FTLRP (AIAS, 2009). In Bains Hope a farm worker recalled that the District Administrator informed all the farm workers that they were left out of the FTLRP because they were supposed to work for the A1 farmers and thereby orientate them to commercial agriculture. The trend to marginalise farm workers has been noticed in resettlement programmes in Namibia and South Africa (Marongwe, 2008). A majority of the farm workers were hired on A1 farms as casual labourers. The casual labourers were usually paid in kind in the form of maize. A key informant among the farm workers revealed that sometimes some A1 farmers sublet pieces of land to farm workers in return for their labour services or for part of agricultural produce. In Bains Hope, the researcher observed that some A1 households lived in the farm compound together with farm workers for "security" reasons against infiltration by the opposition party, Movement for Democratic Change.

During interviews with A1 farmers some revealed that they had virtually no assets when they were allocated land in 2000/2001 and that their livelihoods were now comparatively better in A1 schemes than they were in the communal areas. From the questionnaire, 94.6 percent answered that their asset holding increased after acquiring A1 farm holdings. The assets mostly mentioned included bigger houses (with either asbestos or zinc roof types), more livestock (mostly cattle) and productive assets (tractors, lorries, ox-drawn ploughs, scotch carts and ox-drawn cultivators) which they bought after selling crops. Most farmers attributed their improved welfare to richer soils and greater opportunities for a range of alternative livelihoods strategies besides agriculture. The farmers who answered "no" attributed their predicament to either theft or fire. They did not mention poor soils or unavailability of agricultural inputs as the causes for their not accumulating assets. This showed that A1 farmers regarded farming as a productive business enterprise.

The researcher observed well-planned settlement systems with bigger houses. A majority of the houses had roof types of zinc (56.8 percent), asbestos (27 percent) and improved thatch (10.8 percent). Only a few structures (5.4 percent) remain built of pole and mud. After people's sense of tenure security increased (as their stay on the farms became permanent), construction of houses using bricks, cement and asbestos or zinc increased. Some very elaborate houses were built as shown in Figure A1. The FTLRP was preceded by haphazard land occupations and settlement. The settlements were characterised by poorly built pole and mud huts. These settlements were overly highlighted and were sometimes used as examples of the shortcomings of the FTLRRP.

The provision of A1 plots had also a positive impact of enabling some beneficiaries to acquire certain productive assets which they did not have before being resettled in Baines Hope and Ingwenya Farm or assets that they would not have been able to accumulate in the areas they previously lived. This is evident from the fact that several households had acquired assets in the form of small agricultural implements (such as hoes and shovels) (97.3 percent), wheel barrows (86.5 percent), ox ploughs (56.8 percent), ox cultivators (17 percent) and scotch carts (37.8 percent). In addition, some households had acquired lorries, tractors, passenger vehicles and bicycles. Some of these assets were used to supplement household livelihoods in various ways. For example, lorries and tractors could be hired out to fellow A1 farmers and surrounding communal farmers. Table 3.1 shows the types of assets acquired by households in Goromonzi District. An interesting finding was that 54.1 percent of the households indicated that the acquisition of assets was a joint decision between husband and wife. Meanwhile putting market values to these assets and other constructions and installations (for example, garden fencing, satellite television and wells) as well as other small household durables like television sets, solar power and stereos, the sum total of such investments was quite substantial.

Table 3.1. Types of assets owned by AT households		
Productive assets owned	Yes (Percent)	No (Percent)
Ox cultivator	17	83
Ox plough	56.8	43.2
Ox cart	37.8	62.2
Ox harrow	16.2	83.8
Ox ridger	5.4	94.6
Tractor	5.4	94.6
Tractor implements	5.4	94.6
Lorry	5.4	94.6
Passenger vehicle	13.5	86.5
Motor cycle	8.1	91.9
Agricultural implements e.g. hoe, shovel	97.3	2.7
Bicycle	70.3	29.7
Wheelbarrow	86.5	13.5

Table 3.1: Types of assets owned by A1 households

3.4 Livestock owned by A1 farmers in Goromonzi District

Table 3.2 shows the types of livestock owned by A1 farmers in Baines Hope and Ingwenya Farm. The table shows that several households had acquired livestock, mainly chicken, ducks, goats, pigs and cattle. However, cattle ownership is still not as broad-based as each household had an average of 1.49 cattle. These livestock were used to supplement household livelihoods besides being used as draught power and meat. Interestingly, there were no households that owned donkeys in the two study sites.

Livestock owned	Mean	Std deviation
Cattle	1.49	4.30
Goats	3.08	8.12
Pigs	1.24	8.58
Donkeys	0.00	0.00
Chicken	13.86	17.89
Fowls	0.56	8.92
Sheep	0.06	0.33
Ducks	2.65	8.93

Table 3.2: Types of livestock owned in A1 schemes.

The acquisition of livestock especially cattle was mainly done by men (54.1 percent). About 24.3 percent of the households indicated that husband and wife (or wives) made joint decisions in the acquisition of livestock. Women tended to acquire small livestock such as chicken and goats.

3.5 Intra-household division of labour and decision making

In both study sites, the researcher observed how agricultural work was shared between men and women. In Ingwenya Farm the researcher observed men and women harvesting, grading, curing and packaging

tobacco. The farm labour was shared between the family and hired labour. The gendered relations of production still shaped the division of labour between males and females within the same farming household. This also extended to hired labour which comprised both males and females although female labour predominated. There was more female labour because some of the male farm workers were involved in informal activities such as vending in Harare. Land preparation was mostly done by hired labour (23 percent) while planting and hoeing (or weeding) were mainly done by family members (27 and 26 percent respectively). The harvesting of crops was done by family labour (31 percent). In terms of time budgets, women tended to spend more time on agricultural activities than men. This confirmed an earlier observation by Saito et al., (1994) that women worked for longer hours than men in Burkina Faso, Kenya, Nigeria and Zambia. Figure 3.1 shows the times spend per day by men and women on agricultural activities in the two study sites. Interviews with key informants revealed that several households also exchanged grain as payment for labour services rendered by extended family members or farm workers or casual labour from surrounding communal areas.

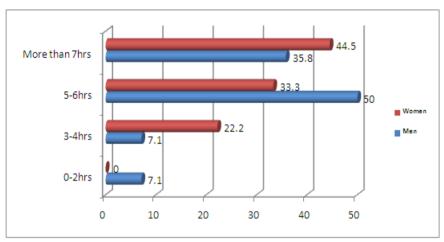


Figure 3.1: Time budgets for men and women.

Access to and control over land had significant influence on household gender dynamics as it enhanced a spouse's bargaining power. This was demonstrated by joint decisions in the acquisition and disposal of both household and productive assets and consultative processes on key agricultural activities and utilisation of the income derived from the agricultural enterprise. For example, testimonies by women in the two study sites depicted an improvement in their socio-economic status and food security as well as improved sense of dignity. In the study area, 54.1 percent of the respondents indicated that both husband and wife made joint decisions to acquire and/or dispose of productive assets. This was because both spouses contributed to the agricultural enterprise in different ways. About 37.8 percent of the respondents indicated that women were directly involved in the marketing of agricultural products and had considerable influence on the use of the income. That is, 67.6 percent of the spouses confirmed that they made joint decisions on the use of income from agricultural activities. This demonstrated that income from agriculture had value in changing gender roles and relations in the household and probably the whole community. Meanwhile, the FTLRRP also offered married women space to engage in non-agricultural livelihoods-enhancing strategies (such as nutrition gardens, business enterprise and vending) that provided them with independent sources of income. These increased opportunities for women improved overall household welfare (through increased income), gender equality and empowerment.

3.6 Non-agricultural livelihood activities in A1 Resettlement Areas

In addition to the diversified crop and livestock production systems discussed above a significant number of the A1 farmers were also involved in a number of non-agricultural socio-economic activities. In the communal areas non-agricultural socio-economic activities such as brick moulding and community-vegetable gardening are usually done during the dry season and do not interfere with crop cultivation. This practice is not unique to Zimbabwe, but is quite prevalent in most countries in the tropics. According to Ruthernberg (1980) tropical livelihoods, encompassing farming systems in the tropics are more diversified and complex as compared to somewhat homogenous and specialised systems associated with the temperate regions. Predominant non-agricultural and income-generating activities observed in Goromonzi District included brick moulding, hunting, subletting arable land, nutrition gardening, retailing, sale of wild fruits (for example, mazhanje), mushroom and honey. As discussed above, some of the productive assets were also used to supplement household livelihoods in various ways. For example, tractors, scotch carts and lorries were often

hired out to fellow A1 farmers and communal farmers. In addition, some of the A1 farmers were formally employed in Harare and Marondera.

3.7 Factors hampering livelihood initiatives in A1 Resettlement Areas

In spite of the above varied livelihood initiatives, there were several limitations, in terms of infrastructural support, access to agricultural inputs, credit and equipment as well as land tenure insecurity that A1 households faced. These, in turn, severely restricted the potential of livelihood enhancement arising from land redistribution. Also, lack of information, little marketing knowledge and selling skills, fear of unenforceable contracts and lack of skills to deal with foreign buyers grossly affected A1 farmers' competitiveness on the market. In addition, non-availability of essential amenities such as service centres, schools and clinics were major challenges faced by the resettled farmers.

Lack of adequate transport and communication networks were major constraints in the A1 resettlement areas. With no roads to urban centres, there were no forms of public transport. The non-availability of road network severely hampered both timely access to inputs and farm implements and created difficulties in marketing products like maize, potatoes and tobacco. As a result some farmers received low prices for their cash crops which they sold at their farm gate. The difficulties A1 farmers faced in finding reliable markets for perishables in particular were one source of transaction costs due to low bargaining power of a farmer whose product is spoiling.

Generally, lending to A1 farmers was minimal because the offer letter was non-collaterised on its own. The offer letter could only be ceded with the bank together with title deeds of immovable property. However, a majority of the A1 farmers did not have immovable property such as houses in towns. During the fieldwork it was found that none of the farmers received institutional credit. Instead, some farmers depended on input dealers and informal money lenders. For example, tobacco farmers received inputs from agro-businesses (tobacco merchants) under contract farming where they were given inputs upfront on the premise that they would sell their tobacco through the supplier. Binding credit constraints adversely affected a broad range of production and livelihood choices in A1 resettlement areas. That is, credit constraints had negative impact on various factors affecting A1 households such as physical and human capital formation, agricultural inputs, consumption smoothing and wage-seeking behaviour. Among the many factors that affect farm livelihoods, access to credit has been identified as a significant barrier preventing the escape from poverty (Kumar, Turvey and Kropp, 2013). Further research would be required on how credit constraints impact on various livelihood choices of A1 farmers.

IV. Conclusion And Recommendations

The study revealed that far from the negative impacts, the FTLRRP brought welfare and income gains to A1 farmers in Goromonzi District. While some households engaged in non-agricultural activities, for most households crop production was the main source of livelihoods. Although maize was the dominant crop, there was some diversification into cash crops such as soya beans, potatoes and tobacco. In this respect a majority of the households were able to utilise their landholdings to ensure availability of food for their own consumption needs while any surplus was sold. The provision of land had also a positive impact of enabling some beneficiaries to acquire certain assets that they did not have before they were resettled, or that they would not have been able to accumulate if they had remained in the areas they previously lived. This was evident from the fact that several households had acquired assets in the form of livestock, ox ploughs, scotch carts, lorries, tractors, passenger vehicles and bigger houses. Some of these assets were used to supplement household livelihoods in various ways.

In this study, the researcher did not try to assess the overall success or otherwise of the FTLRRP which admittedly cannot be judged by how many people are on the land now. The success or otherwise of the land reform programme should be judged on the type and quantity of agricultural products, incomes earned by the resettled farmers as well as benefits to the national economy. In this study, the researcher focussed on livelihood initiatives of A1 farmers. Further and much broader research would be required to evaluate the success or otherwise of the FTLRRP.

The following recommendations are made in order to ensure increased and sustainable livelihood activities for A1 farmers:

- The government should provide security of tenure to the farmers through land titling so as to promote agricultural production efficiency and investment.
- The government should provide essential infrastructural support such as roads, schools and clinics.
- Government should adopt policies (for example, subsidy or tax-based) to provide incentives for private sector and NGO lending to A1 farmers. Such policies should establish terms that are framed to local conditions and address cultural sensitivities for example, familial lending.
- A1 farmers require training in marketing and sales management.

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Figure A1: A newly built modern house in Bains Hope, Goromonzi District.



Figure A2A kitchen hut in Ingwenya Farm, Goromonzi District



Figure A3Cattle owned by A1 farmer in Bains Hope, Goromonzi District.



Figure A4 A pigsty in Bains Hope, Goromonzi District.



Figure A5 Assets acquired by A1 farmer in Bains Hope, Goromonzi District.



Figure A6 A1 farmer sitting on baled tobacco in Ingwenya Farm, Goromonzi District.



Figure A7Tobacco Barn in Bains Hope, Goromonzi District



Figure A8Part of maize crop in Ingwenya Farm, Goromonzi District



Figure A9A farm worker milking a cow.

DOI: 10.9790/0837-20249199 www.iosrjournals.org 99 | Page