

Zimbabwe's Fast Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP): A Transformative Social Policy Approach to Mupfurudzi Resettlement (Shamva District, Zimbabwe)

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Abstract: *The paper analyses Zimbabwe's Fast Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP) as a social policy instrument. Mupfurudzi Farm in Shamva district was used as a case study. Five tasks of the Transformative Social Policy Framework (TSPF) were analysed in a single study. These are production, protection, social reproduction, redistribution and social cohesion/nation building. Analysing and improving the transformative role of the land and agrarian reforms in Zimbabwe is the aim of the study. The study shows that prime land is a key social, economic and political resource whose ownership and use improves the wellbeing of the beneficiaries. However, the study also points to various hurdles to greater transformation. These could be managed through stakeholder networking and collaboration on capacity building and farm management skills, input schemes and loans, infrastructural development, security of tenure and state-facilitated markets.*

Key words and phrases: *transformation, development, social policy, land reform and agrarian reform*

I. Introduction

Land has always been and continues to be an essential resource for social, economic and political wellbeing in Zimbabwe and other countries. Historically, massive land dispossessions from the black Zimbabwean population by the British colonisers created a breeding ground for latent and manifest conflicts between the blacks and whites, and the black population and the post-colonial ruling party. Effective land and agrarian reforms are vital instruments for enhancing wellbeing of the beneficiaries, the nation and world at large.

Land tenure is a key component of macro social conflict and the quest for ways of transforming such conflicts in Zimbabwe. Zimbabwe's land and agrarian reforms are core social policy instruments since independence in 1980 because they were implemented to improve the wellbeing of the majority, especially the hitherto excluded black population. Broadly, the transformation of Zimbabwe's colonial land tenure was done in three phases. These are the First Phase of land acquisition and redistribution, the Second Phase of land acquisition and redistribution and the Fast Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP). All the scholars on Zimbabwe's land and agrarian reforms acknowledge these reforms and their intended goals. However, no authority has done a five-in-one comprehensive analysis of the transformative role of these land reforms in a single study. The researchers analysed the FTLRP at Mupfurudzi resettlement in Shamva district by considering the five components of the transformative social policy conceptual framework. These are production, protection, social reproduction, redistribution and social cohesion. The FTLRP is merged with social policy.

1.1 Contextualising the study

The key literature on Zimbabwe's socioeconomic development reiterates the existence of a land question. The existence of a land and agrarian question implies the existence of a social question. Severe land dispossession and accumulation by the colonialists from 1890 to 1980 and the failure by the post-colonial government to resolve the colonial legacy shaped the land question in Zimbabwe (Moyo, 2005; Moyo, 2011; Moyo and Yeros, 2005a; Moyo and Chambati, 2013). The extensive land dispossessions and supporting discriminatory policies initiated and fuelled race-based conflicts in Zimbabwe's land tenure. Accordingly, analysis of conflict over land in Zimbabwe, and the quest for ways of transforming such conflicts and the wellbeing of the majority cannot be understood adequately without reference to colonial accumulation by dispossession, and the over-arching historical and contemporary importance of land.

Moyo and Chambati (2013) explain that massive land dispossession and supportive economic and social policies that were aimed to safeguard the wellbeing and prosperity of the whites were key features of colonialism in Zimbabwe. These include the Rudd Concession, Native Reserve Order in Council of 1898,

Native Reserve Areas of 1915, Land Apportionment Act of 1930, Maize Control Act of 1931, Cattle Levy Act, Land Acquisition Scheme, Land Husbandry Act of 1951 and the Land Tenure Act of 1969 (Utete, 2003; Gundani, 2002). All these direct and indirect efforts were meant to alienate the native population from its land, livestock and labour so that they could be a reserve of wage labour for the white capitalists. These legal instruments resulted in unequal and repressive agrarian relations between the blacks and whites emerged from these policies and increased poverty among the black majority (Sachikonye, 2005a; Moyo and Yeros 2005a; Moyo, 2011; Moyo and Chambati, 2013). These are shown in Tables 1 and 2 below.

Table 1 below shows the land holding pattern between the colonialists and natives after the implementation of the Land Tenure Act of 1969.

Table 1: Land holding and designation after the Land Tenure Act (1969)

Type	Size (acres)
European areas	49 149 000
Native areas	21 600 000
Unassigned land	7 465 000
Forest land	591 000
Undetermined land	88 000

Source: Gundani (2002).

In summary, Table 1 above shows that the native population was alienated from their land which has been and remains their source of production, social reproduction, protection and nation-building as a result of the implementation of the Native Tenure Act in 1969. Table 2 below captures the land holding pattern between the colonialists and natives at independence respectively.

Table 2: Land holding by race at independence in 1980

Group	Population size	Size of land held (hectares)
White farmers	6 000	15.5 million
Black small- scale farmers	8 500	1.4 million
Communal farmers	4.5 million	16.4 million

Sources: Gundani (2003; Utete, 2003)

In summary, Table 2 shows that the native population was alienated from their land which has been and remains their source of production, social reproduction, protection and nation-building.

1.2 Conceptual framework

The researchers applied the Transformative Social Policy (TSP) conceptual framework. Transformative social policy works in conjunction with economic policy and seeks to broaden wellbeing as a core component of national goals. Effective TSP improves human capital and functioning, which are important in reducing risk and uncertainty. For example, ownership and use of land is a guarantor against economic downturns. Multi-tasking of social policy is an acknowledgement that social policy is wide and has many functions. These functions are production, reproduction, redistribution, protection and nation building/social cohesion. These tasks of the transformative social policy framework are complementary, and all of them are linked to the social, economic and political spheres. Overall, collective equity and solidarity and broad wellbeing are at the core goals of TSP (Adesina, 2010; Mkandawire, 2006).

Mkandawire (2006) explains that transformative social policy focuses on equitable distribution of wealth (for example land), universal or non-contributory social protection, production of human capital through accessible and affordable health and education services, and family and childcare policies that enable reproduction. Such a social transformative approach leads to the creation of holistic and integrated policies that increase wellbeing through improving individual's livelihoods and their participation in decisions that shape social development.

This conceptual framework seeks to address the weaknesses of predecessor social policies that were guided by neoliberalism, patrimonialism and neopatrimonialism, and to lead to the achievement of holistic development (Mkandawire, 2007). Such transformative social policy leads to critical investigation of the role of social policy in two dimensions. The first part is its narrower sense in terms of distribution, human capital formation, social protection and reproduction. The second part is its broader sense involving public interventions that impact on social welfare, social institutions and social relations.

Devereux and Sabates-Wheeler (2004) explains that sound social policies that are geared to uplift people's wellbeing have several measures. These are protective, preventive, promotive and transformative. The protective measures of social policy provide relief from poverty and deprivation. However, they narrowly focus

on safety nets. Preventive measures of social policy seek to avert deprivation by dealing directly with poverty alleviation. Promotive measures of social policy aim to enhance real incomes and capabilities through a range of livelihood-enhancing projects and programmes. Finally, transformative measures of social policy seek to address the socioeconomic and political causes of inequality, inequity, poverty and exclusion.

The tasks of TSP are briefly explained in line with Mkandawire (2007) and Adesina (2010), and linked to land and agrarian reforms below.

Production: policies that aim to enhance the productive potential of members of society. Specific measures include the provision of agricultural support services such as agricultural research, water and irrigation infrastructure; and human capital formation through farm management education and training, agricultural market interventions.

Redistribution: policies that are aimed at sharing the gains of development and equalise individuals' opportunities and/or outcomes. Specific measures can include land and agrarian reform, and agricultural subsidies or benefits.

Reproduction: policies that aim to reconcile the burden of family and childcare with other social tasks and share this burden of responsibility. The specific measures can include gender equality and empowerment measures, public childcare services and parental benefits in the farming communities.

Protection: policies that aim to protect people from the vagaries of the market, perverse effects of economic policy and life-cycle risks such as sickness and old age. The specific measures can include pension provisions, schemes to promote savings, sickness benefits and work injury benefits in farming and non-farming communities.

Nation building/Social cohesion: policies that aim to create and sustain social cohesion within and across communities. An expanded view of social cohesion at national level benefits the whole country. For example, the transformation of a racially-skewed land and agrarian structure through the FTLRP stabilised social relations between the government of Zimbabwe and majority of the hitherto excluded black population. In addition, sound farmers' relations and high farm productivity in one district benefits people within that district and Zimbabwe at large.

TSP instruments, funding and delivery mechanisms

Transformative social policy uses broader and diverse instruments, funding and delivery mechanisms to sustainably change people's lives positively. The transformative social policy conceptual framework is composed of transformative social policy norms, functions, instruments and outcomes (Adesina, 2007; 2010). The multiple levels or areas of transformation are social institutions and social relations, economic development and building democratic societies and polities. In addition, the conceptual framework emphasises the interconnectedness of social and economic objectives, and considers social policy in a development context. The economic question becomes a sub-set of the social question. The diagrammatical representation of the Transformative Social Policy norms, functions, instruments and outcomes framework is indicated below.

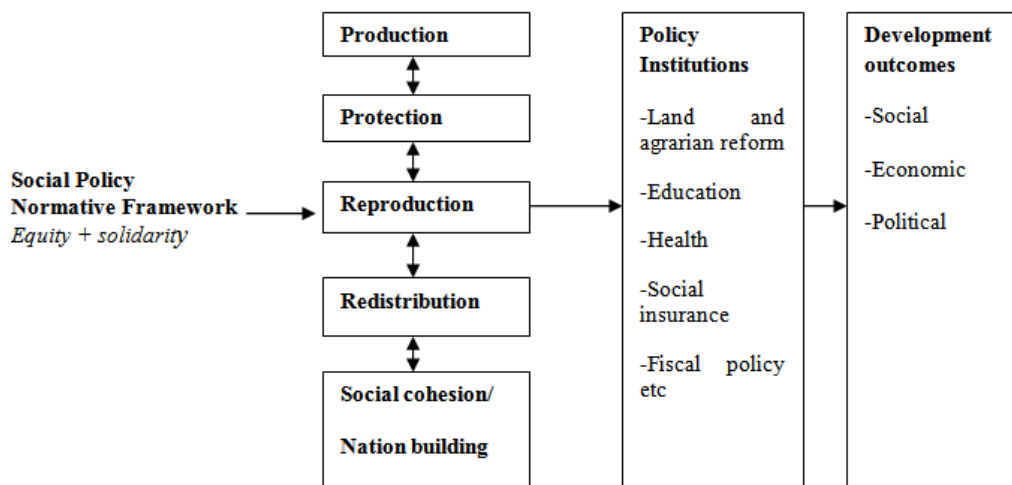


Figure 1: Components of a Transformative Social Policy Framework

Source: Adesina (2010).

II. Review Of Selected Agrarian Reform And Social Policy Literature

2.1 Land as a Key social, economic and political resource in any country

Land is a key socioeconomic resource in any country. Production, reproduction, protection, redistribution, social cohesion/nation building and human capability functioning are anchored on land as a key asset and resource. Land has social, economic and political value to those who own, control and use it. The life of all the people worldwide mostly depends on land availability and use of the land. Ownership, control and use of land create and guarantee sources of wellbeing, freedom, power, security, income, livelihoods etcetera (Moyo, 2012; Cousins, 2005 and Kariuki, 2009). Accordingly, those who depend on the land but do not own it or own unproductive land, are vulnerable to poverty and other socioeconomic shocks.

Overall, as a key resource, land is essential in creating, transforming and sustaining human capability functioning and wellbeing, although views may diverge on how land can be used to achieve such a goal. These are the core concerns of social policy, particularly where inclusive development is a priority. The socioeconomic policies of any country cannot be divorced from its core resources such as land. Accordingly, the social, economic and political development of any country cannot be delinked from its ownership, use and control over land. In line with this view, Moyo (2005, 2011, 2013); Moyo and Yeros (2005a); Moyo and Chambati (2013) and Jill (2005) explain that land is a scarce resource, a corner stone for reconstruction and development. However, the social question has to be answered in such reconstruction and development efforts.

The value and crosscutting character of land places it on national and international agendas (Moyo and Chambati, 2013). In a similar context, land is a core instrument of social policy and should occupy a central in social policy making and implementation. Unequal agrarian structures are therefore contrary to broad-based productive capacity and human capability functioning, social cohesion and nation-building. Reforms on land as a valuable resource, and related agrarian structures often attract diverse views and scholarship. Despite such diversity, land remains a key resource in any country. Given the importance of land to individuals and groups, land is at the core of conflicts and contestations (Moyo, 2011; Sadomba, 2013).

In a country, such as Zimbabwe where land ownership and agrarian systems were racially-skewed and controlled by a few (in favour of the whites), a land and agrarian question emerges (Moyo, 1995; 2000; 2011; 2013). Such a land and agrarian question is spearheaded by the excluded majority and the need for inclusive development. In such a context, land and agrarian reforms are part of the prerequisites for socioeconomic transformation that champions production, protection, redistribution, stable social relations, wider human capability functioning, social cohesion and nation-building for the various socioeconomic groups. Overall, land will forever have value in efforts to enhance wellbeing and will be at the centre of social conflict, human development agendas and policies.

2.2 The land question in Zimbabwe

The key literature on Zimbabwe's socioeconomic development reiterates the existence of a land question. These include Moyo (2011; 2012), Moyo and Yeros (2005a; 2005b; 2007b), Sachikonye (2005a); Moyo and Chambati (2011; 2013). One can draw from these authorities that the roots of the land and agrarian question in Zimbabwe lie in the colonial accumulation by dispossession and the failure of the post-colonial government to address the colonial land and agrarian structure. As explained in the background to the study, land dispossessions from its natural owners and massive accumulation by the British colonisers were key features of colonialism in Zimbabwe. In such a context, the social and economic policies were skewed against the black majority whose human capability functioning and human development was seriously undermined.

Ruswa (2007: 3) explains that at independence land ownership was such that 45% of the agricultural land was owned by large commercial farmers (mainly white) who constituted 1% of the population. This land was situated in high potential areas while blacks were congested in the marginal dry areas. The responses of the post colonial government to such a racially-based land tenure were slow and inadequate due to the ideological and constitutional constraints of the Lancaster House Agreement (LHA) of 1979 (Moyo and Yeros, 2007a). Broad transformation of the colonial agrarian structure could not be achieved leading to increased land movements by the black majority (Moyo, 2005; Sachikonye, 2005a). The LHA sidelined land redistribution and broad-based development by emphasising the willing seller-willing buyer concept (market-based) land reform. This led to maintenance of the colonial land tenure structure.

The existence of a land and agrarian question implies the existence of a social question because developing and delivering welfare for all is problematic in such a context. The social question is the core of key social policy scholars such as Adesina (2009), Mkandawire (2011), Devereux and Sabatier-Wheeler (2004); Alcock, May and Wright (2012); Baldock, Mitton, Manning and Vickerstaff (2007) and Titmuss (1974).

2.3 Three phases of land reform in Zimbabwe

This race-based unequal access to and use of land forced the government of Zimbabwe to adopt post-colonial land reform and resettlement programmes. These could be divided into three categories. These are: the

First Phase (1980-1998), Second Phase (1998-1999) and the Fast Track Land Reform (1999-2004). Overall, a cross-cutting theme in all the three phases of land reform is the need for broad-based and equitable wellbeing through the transformation of the land and agrarian structure. In addition, the reforms were not restricted to land and agrarian structures; they were extended to the other areas of social policy. Equity and empowerment through land acquisition and redistribution, and agrarian support were the key principles of such reforms (Sachikonye, 2005b; Moyo, 2002; Utete, 2003).

(i) The First Phase of Land Reform and Resettlement Programme (1980 to 1998)

The government of Zimbabwe launched Phase 1 of land reform and resettlement in September 1980. The objectives of this land reform, according to Kinsey (1999) and Utete (2003) were to:

- reduce civil conflict by transferring land from Whites to Blacks;
- provide opportunities for war victims and the landless;
- relieve population pressure in the Communal Lands,
- expand production and raise welfare nationwide, and
- achieve all of the above without impairing agricultural productivity

The objectives of the first phase of land reform and resettlement are in line with the transformative social policy goals of developing and delivering welfare for the whole nation. The achievement of these sound objectives was hampered by the LHA's rejection of compulsory acquisition and willing seller-willing buyer approach (Moyo, 1995: 121). The Government of Zimbabwe acquired a mere 3 498 444 hectares of land and resettled 71000 families under this first phase of land reform programme in the period between 1980 and 1998 (Utete, 2003).

(ii) The Second Phase of the Land Reform Programme

The Government of Zimbabwe and land reform stakeholders, based on the lessons of the first phase of land reform and resettlement programme, launched the second in September 1998. The stakeholders included farmers' organisations (the CFU included), industrial and financial organisations, the Land Task Force of the National Economic Consultative Forum (NECF) and civic organisations. According to Utete (2003), the main objective was to redress the inequities in land resource allocations and providing a more efficient and rational structure for land through:

- ensuring greater security of tenure to land users;
- promotion of investment in land through capital outlays and infrastructure;
- promotion of environmentally sustainable utilisation of land;
- retention of a core efficient large-scale commercial agricultural producers; and
- transfer of not less than 60 % of land from the commercial farming sector to the rest of the population.

The target was to acquire 2.1 million hectares and to provide farmer support and infrastructure through resources from Government of Zimbabwe and the donor community resources.

Table 4: Farms acquired (Inception Phase)

Province	Number of Farms	Extent (ha)
Masvingo	5	5 487.7433
Manicaland	20	16 449.9434
Midlands	7	14 449.3840
Matebeleland North	2	33 749.1669
Matebeleland South	9	27 655.4582
Mashonaland East	14	18 480.7100
Mashonaland West	21	52 216.3934
Mashonaland Central	7	9 980.445
TOTAL	85	168 263.808

Source: Government of Zimbabwe (2004).

The Government of Zimbabwe merely managed to acquire 168 263,808 hectares and to resettle 4 697 families between October 1998 and June 2000. Utete (2003) explains that Phase II of land reform and resettlement was affected by three major problems. Firstly, the white commercial farmers contested acquisition of most of the identified farms. Secondly, the government of Zimbabwe had low financial resources to implement the second phase of land reform and resettlement mainly due to low economic performance and the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP). Thirdly, the donors who promised to provide financial support for the programme did not deliver on their promises. The failure by the government to solve the land

question through government-led land acquisition and redistribution led to the Fast Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP) in Zimbabwe.

(iii) The Fast Track Land Reform Programme in Zimbabwe

There are differential interpretations of the causes, processes and outcomes of the FTLRP, also termed Jambanja or Third Chimurenga. However, there is consensus that the programme cannot be divorced from the colonial processes of accumulation by dispossession and the post-colonial resistance to change in agrarian structure. Sadomba (2013: 84) defines the FTLRP as an unprecedented nationwide occupation of farms owned by whites by the landless blacks due to the slow pace of land and agrarian reforms. The process of fast track land occupations is mainly divided into two phases. Phase I was the 1998 to 2000 occupation of white-owned farms by war veterans. Such occupations resulted from non-realisation of their negotiations with the ZANU (PF) led government for seizure and redistribution of white commercial farms, and an additional demand that 20% of the land be set for the war veterans. Phase II of the fast track land reform was the formalisation of land acquisition and speedy redistribution on 15 July 2000.

July 2000 to December 2001 was the planned initial life span of the FTLRP was expected to be from. According to Sachikonye (2005a), the objectives of the FTLRP were:

- The immediate identification for compulsory acquisition of not less than 5 million hectares for Phase II of the Resettlement Programme, for the benefit of the landless peasant households.
- The planning, demarcation and settler emplacement on all acquired farms.
- Provision of limited basic infrastructure (such as boreholes, dip tanks and schemes roads) and farmer support services (such as tillage and crop packs).

According to Moyo and Chambati (2013), after its formalisation, the FTLRP was divided into two models. Model A1 is a communal organisation that is based on subsistence farming. This model was intended to decongest communal areas. Small, medium and large scale black commercial farmers are served by the Model A2. This model is a commercial settlement scheme. FTLRP land allocation pattern and allocation rates are shown in Table 5 below.

Table 5: Allocation pattern and take-up rates

Province	No. Of farms		Land area (ha)		Number of households		Take up rate (%)	
	A1	A2	A1	A2	A1	A2	A1	A2
Masvingo	306	106	513672	181966	16169	229	90	48
Manicaland	211	170	686612	753300	22670	773	95	79
Midlands	246	138	195644	77533	11019	463	92	42
Matebeleland North	226	65	683140	191697	8923	271	100	100
Matebeleland South	258	65	543793	142519	9901	191	120	94
Mashonaland East	382	319	302511	250930	16702	1646	93	45
Mashonaland West	670	568	792513	369995	27052	2003	97	50
Mashonaland Central	353	241	513195	230874	14756	1684	89	73
TOTAL	2652	1673	4231080	2198814	127192	7260	97	66

Source: Utete (2003); Sachikonye (2005b)

In Table 5 above Sachikonye (2005b) and Utete (2003) show that by mid-2003, merely 127 000 households and 7 200 commercial farmers had been allocated land. However, as compared to any other country in the region, the transfer of 11 million hectares within three years was the largest property transfer ever in post-colonial Africa (Utete, 2003; Moyo and Chambati, 2013). The land ownership patterns after the FTLRP are shown in Table 6 below.

Table 6: Land Ownership patterns after the Fast Track (as at 31 July 2003)

Category	Area (million hectares) as at 31 July 2003	% of Total land Area
A1	4.2	11
A2	2.2	6
Old Resettlement Area	3.7	9
Communal	16.4	41
Large Scale Commercial	2.6	6
Small Scale Commercial	1.4	4
National Parks and Urban	6.0	15
State land	0.3	1
*Other	2.8	7
Total Land Area	39.6	100

NB: Data on land ownership patterns after the Fast Track as at 2011 was not available hence the latest available data of 2003 was used. **Other** refers to land that has been acquired for resettlement under Model A1 and A2 but has not yet been taken up by those allocated to the plots.

Source: Moyo (2011).

III. Methodology

In this section, the components of the methodology used are explained. Research methodology is a key theme in the works of several authorities including Flick (2006), Denzin and Lincoln (2005), Berg (2007), Maxwell (2005) and Creswell (2003).

3.1 The Design of the Research

An analytical case study research design was applied. Analysis of the transformative role of the FTLRP at Mupfurudzi farm and Zimbabwe at large call for the collection and discussion of both qualitative and quantitative data and information. However, a lot of quantitative information on Zimbabwe's FTLRP already exists in the works of the African Institute for Agrarian Studies (AIAS) headed by Professor Sam Moyo (for example AIAS, 2009) and other renowned Zimbabwean scholars. The researchers therefore focused more on qualitative aspects of the transformative role of the FTLRP. The sampling methods, data collection and data analyses are qualitatively oriented.

3.2 Population and Sampling

The population consisted of fifty (50) households who benefited from the A1 sub-divisions of the formerly white-owned commercial farm, two (2) lands officers, one (1) agricultural extension officer and two (2) traditional leaders. Purposive sampling was used to select the participants for primary data; secondary and documentary sources for the desk review. This sampling technique was the most appropriate because the people with information pertinent to the study were already known. Thirty (30) participants were chosen from the population for in-depth interviews (twenty-five land owners, two lands officers, one agricultural extension officer and two traditional leaders). The twenty-five landowners were randomly selected from the fifty who were formerly allocated land by the district lands office. Secondary and documentary sources of information for the desk review were also purposively selected because they were already known.

3.3 Types of data and information

The qualitative orientation of the study called for the collection of qualitative data from primary, secondary and documentary sources. However, the researchers also collected basic quantitative data in cases where such data were needed to complement qualitative data. Types of data and their sources are explained below.

(a) Qualitative data

Views, perceptions and explanations of experiences and situated meanings pertaining to the transformative role of the FTLRP in terms of production, redistribution, reproduction, social protection and social cohesion were gathered from participants and literature. Secondary information was collected from documented analyses of these components.

(b) Quantitative data

Basic quantifiable data on the five components of the Transformative Social Policy framework was consciously gathered to complement qualitative data although from the existing documents and secondary sources.

3.4 Data and information sources

The participants were the sources of primary data while already existing publications on the transformative role of Zimbabwe's FTLRP were the sources of secondary information. The advantages of primary data were that the researchers could control the research process and data analysis and it is less costly. However, the collection of primary data is time consuming and involves large financial outlays. Secondary information and its sources already exist therefore easier and cheaper to access. However, secondary information may not have been collected for the specific purpose that the researcher is interested in. The researcher may not always be able to detect or control biases in secondary data. However, the use of the two types of information and a plurality of seasoned scholars on land and social transformation were aimed at managing the influence of such biases.

3.5 Data collection

Indepth interviews, Focus Group Discussions (FGDS) and observations were used to gather primary data.

(i) In-depth interviews

The researchers conducted in-depth interviews with key informants on the FTLRP and twenty-five land owners. The key informants were the two officers from the Ministry of Lands and Rural Resettlement, two traditional leaders and one local agricultural extension officer representing the Ministry of Agriculture, Mechanisation and Irrigation. A flexible interview guide was used to give direction to the interview. Potential respondents were sent written requests for interviews and permission to record the interviews. Generally, duration of one hour was set for indepth interviews. The indepth interviews were time consuming and involved travelling across the farm and to the district offices of the Ministry of Lands and Rural Resettlement and Ministry of Agriculture, Mechanisation and Irrigation. However, they were essential for the collection of primary data.

(ii) Focus Group Discussions (FGDs)

Three FGDs were conducted with the twenty-five land beneficiaries. The two FGDs were composed of both male and female land owners and the third FGD was solely for the five women who got land in their own right. Small groups were appropriate for easier management of group dynamics. The key issues that emerged from the FGDs on the transformative role of the FGDs formed the basis for in-depth interviews and observation.

(iii) Observations

A flexible observation guide was used to capture observable aspects of the study such as assets, homesteads and fields.

3.6 Ethical considerations

The researchers observed the key ethical considerations such as informed consent, voluntary participation, avoidance of harm, protection of privacy and providing feedback to the participants throughout the research process.

IV. Presentation And Discussion

The presentation and discussion of the data gathered is in thematic form based on the components of the transformative social policy. These are production, redistribution, reproduction, protection and social cohesion.

4.1 Redistribution

The study revealed that the FTLRP in Shamva district leading to the sub-division of Mupfurdzi farm represents a single instance of land reform in Zimbabwe with the highest level of land redistribution. A single white commercial farmer used to own the nearly 300 hectare Mupfurdzi farm at the expense of thousands of households in the surrounding communal area whose lives were hinged on exhausted, sandy and peripheral soils. Their human capability functioning and security were highly undermined because they did not own prime land. However, the FTLRP created a platform where 25 households were resettled, each having 6 hectares of prime land for farming and construction of a homestead. The remaining area of the formerly white commercial farm is collectively owned and is used for grazing and fetching firewood. This high level redistribution is a major change in the lives of the land beneficiaries who were hitherto excluded from the owning and using land in their own right. All the land beneficiaries concurred that the possession and use of prime land as a core resource has improved their social and economic wellbeing.

The redistributive capacity of the FTLRP and its other transformative character are also supported by Moyo and Chambati (2013) and Moyo and Yeros (2005a) who explain that at national level, the redistribution of land as a key resource (80% of the large scale commercial farms) created a more broad-based tri-modal agrarian structure as compared to a hitherto massively race-based and unequal bimodal agrarian structure. Such a transformation has led to an estimated 170 000 family farms in small, medium and large scale farms. The mere possession of prime land by the black majority at Mupfurdzi farm is a key transformative role of the FTLRP in Shamva district and Zimbabwe at large.

4.2 Social cohesion

The extent of redistribution of key land to a large number of land-hungry peasants and the other groups generally improved social cohesion. Different groups at Mupfurdzi farm who were deliberately excluded from owning and using land to improve their lives view the current land regime to be more cohesive than the previous one. They feel more integrated in the government and national development. The FTLRP improved social relations and accumulation from below. The beneficiaries of the FTLRP are from across the economic and

political divides. Peasants, former farm workers of white commercial farmers, current farm workers, politicians, private sector officials, employed and unemployed urbanites, senior government officials and corporate. This plurality shows that the FTLRP benefited a wider range of people than the two land reforms. However, conflict, just like consensus is part of human existence. Ethno-regional conflicts were emphasised by both the land beneficiaries and key informants.

4.3 Social protection

The study shows that social protection has increased with ownership of prime land. All the land beneficiaries at Mupfurudzi farm expressed that the mere ownership of land is a source of security. Such land has productive capacity therefore provides security against economic downturns and poverty. In addition, the land they own provides social security because children inherit the land for future use. The land is a form of current and future income and insurance. The five women who own land in their own right indicated that they are more secure than those women in the communal areas whose access to land is hampered by patriarchy. The land permits were issued in their own names therefore themselves and their daughters have guaranteed access and use. However, 3 participants have not yet received permits and all the land beneficiaries view the 99-year leases as more secure to the current land permits.

4.4 Reproduction

Reproduction is a key component worldwide because the continued existence and development of society depends on it. A crosscutting theme at Mupfurudzi farm is that the social and economic security brought in by ownership and use of land improves security of reproduction. Parents can afford to meet the economic and social needs of their siblings through use of the land as compared to the over-crowded communal areas where land was sandy and exhausted. However, there are notable gaps in reproductive security. Firstly, there is no clinic at the farm to cater for the health of the beneficiary households and specifically their reproductive needs. Secondly, there are no schools at the farm to cater for the educational needs of the children. The efforts by the land beneficiaries to mobilize resources to build schools and a clinic are slow and inadequate. The transformative role of the FTLRP in this regard is weak.

4.5 Production

Despite the absence of records for baseline information on how much the current farmers were producing in the communal areas, the land beneficiaries indicated increases in agricultural production of maize and vegetables as compared to the pre-FTLRP. On average, basing on the responses of the land beneficiaries, they were producing 3 tonnes of maize in the communal area. At the time of the study, the average was 8 tonnes. Agricultural production of maize and vegetables is increasing since the beneficiaries occupied land in 2000. However, most of the beneficiaries who are venturing in tobacco production are realising low yields due to inexperience and lack of inputs. Lack of inputs, irrigation development and financial support from banks and the government are the key challenges reiterated by all the farmers. The farmers are active agents in the context of such challenges because they are pooling resources together and engaging in group farming. At national level, general declines in most crops have been documented since the implementation of the FTLRP (AIAS, 2009; Moyo, 2004; Sachikonye, 2005a).

V. Recommendations

The analysis leads to the following recommendations:

5.1 Capacity building and farm management skills

Stakeholder networking and collaboration is essential in improving the capacity of the farmers at Mupfurudzi farm. Current agency on crop and animal production can be complemented and improved with the assistance of the government, private sector, non governmental organisations. There is need to capacitate the farmers to be more commercial-oriented and to manage farms as business entities.

5.2 Input schemes and loans

The success of any land reform depends on the complementary agrarian reforms. The majority of the land beneficiaries were peasants who did not have firm financial and material base. They should get more support on inputs and flexible loans. These should be complemented by basic financial management knowledge and skills.

5.3 Infrastructural development

Socio-economic infrastructure such as schools, clinics and roads should be prioritised by the government. However, the other stakeholders such as private sector, non governmental organisations and community-based organisations should collaborate.

5.4 State-facilitated markets

The state should facilitate marketing of agricultural produce of key crops at local and international markets. State-owned monopolies that buy agricultural produce should provide competitive prices and speedy payment to farmers for sustainable agriculture.

VI. Conclusion

The study showed that the FTLRP transformed the wellbeing of the land beneficiaries at Mupfurdzi farm and their dependents. Analysis of the five components of transformation- production, redistribution, reproduction, protection and social cohesion show positive changes in the lives of the beneficiaries. However, critical challenges to broad transformation of wellbeing should be addressed as explained in the recommendations section. Overall, increasing synergy among the government, farmers, private sector, non governmental organisations and community-based organisations in education and skill accumulation, resource provision, production, marketing and infrastructural development is essential. Such synergy will enhance the potential multiplier effects of land and agrarian reforms.

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