LAND REFORM AND BLACK FARMERS IN ZIMBABWE: A STUDY ON POLICY VISIONS AND HISTORICAL REALITIES

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BY

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DECLARATION

I declare that this dissertation is my own original work, except where stated and that it has not been submitted for a degree in any other university.

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Place: FORT HARE, ALICE

DEDICATION

To my parents and brothers, whose courage, faith, love and patience sustained me throughout my formative years and beyond.

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My first acknowledgement goes to the Almighty God who gave me strength and patience to finish this work. Sincere gratitude and appreciation goes to my supervisor Professor O. Oloyede for his guidance which made this task possible and Professor A. Rahim for all the patience in reading my work.

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ABSTRACT

The economy of Zimbabwe depends on a stable agrarian growth. Agriculture contributes 11-14% of the country's GDP and contributes 33% of formal employment. On independence the Government of Zimbabwe inherited a skewed distribution of land, which favoured the white minority farmers. This necessitated a land reform programme. In addition to bringing about more equitable distribution of land, the land reform programme has the objective of ensuring a more efficient and rational structure of farming and natural resources, utilisation and higher labour absorption, which would reduce rural poverty. This study attempted to capture the realities of black farmers in Zimbabwe since the land reform programme using as a case study the Karoi district. The aim of the study was mainly to examine the extent to which black farmers have been able to access markets, credit facilities and infrastructure and also to investigate some of the problems these farmers encounter since land reform. Survey methods in the form of interviews and questionnaires were used to collect data for the study. The results show that the farmers have now adopted a market orientated type of farming. However they experience problems in credit, storage facilities and credit loans and, inputs that affect their farm productivity.

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ACRONYMS

AFC	Agricultural Finance Company
ARDA	Agricultural Rural Development Authority
CMB	Cotton Marketing Board
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GMB	Grain Marketing Board
LSC	Large Scale Commercial Farming
NR	Natural Region
SSC	Small Scale Commercial farming
UNRISD	United Nations Research Institute for Social Policy

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CHAPTER ONE

1. INTRODUCTION

The agrarian question is one of the most enduring colonial legacies of post independence Zimbabwe. For about ninety years the country was a settler colony in which fertile land was confined to European settlers. Underpinning this arrangement are agricultural policies that to all intent and purposes were discriminatory in nature. These were the Land Apportionment Act 1930, Land Husbandry Act 1951 and Land Tenure Act 1969. The implication of these Acts was the marginalisation of the indigenous African people from the land. According to Moyo (1998) over six million people lived in marginal rural areas without fertile soils, whilst 4500 large-scale white farmers, a minority in the country mainly dominated the agrarian economy. This inequitable distribution of land undermined the development of rural areas because of the fact that the majority of the black farmers were confined to reserves with infertile soils such that most rural people were and are still poor. It is also this inequitable distribution of economy that prompted the black people who took up arms and fought for independence. Thus to black Zimbabweans, the agrarian question encapsulated some of the issues of colonial domination and exploitation.

Soon after the country's independence in 1980 the issue of land redistribution became a priority issue on the national development agenda. Those black farmers who took into farming were given the first priority as they had suffered neglect from colonial agrarian policies, which saw their fate bound to the supply of cheap labor to capitalist farms, mines and industry. Land reform was also considered as an element of rural and agricultural development aiming to improve peasant outputs while maintaining commercial farm out put.

The land reform programme of 1980-1990 led to the transfer of mostly marginal rural lands to 54 000 peasants and displaced households. Of this, 2000 households were engaged in what is described as collective farming[1] (Tshuma 1997). Capital, infrastructure and agricultural services were provided to the farmers. However there were continued land shortages among the rural poor, reflected in the increased incidence of squatting and the poaching of natural resources on private and state lands (Tshuma 1997). Critics among black farmers lamented the poor quality of land, which had been redistributed and emphasized the limitations of the strategy to increase peasant production and productivity because the production and marketing resources allocated by the government could only reach 20% of the peasantry (Moyo 1994). According to Zinyama (1990) much of the land that was transferred for resettlement is situated in agro-ecological Regions 111, 1V and V. The agricultural regions in Zimbabwe are classified according to climatic conditions and the soil types. There are five agro- ecological regions in the country. These are Region 1, which receives 1050mm of rainfall or more per annum with some rain in all months of the year and very fertile soils. Region 11 receives 700-1050mm of rainfall per annum with rainfall confined to summer and has fertile soils. Region 111, receives 500-700mm of rainfall per annum with high temperature and is subject to seasonal droughts. Region 1V receives 450-600mm rainfall per annum and

[1] A group of people working together in co-operatives

subject to frequent seasonal droughts as well. Region V, normally receives less than 500mm rainfall per annum. Ecological Regions 111, 1V and V, which are the resettlement areas, are regions with poor sandy soils derived mainly from granite rock formations, which are infertile. Agricultural productivity in these regions is low and made worse when there is drought as the 1991 drought showed.

The resettlement programme progressed much slower than originally envisaged because of the constitutional constraints on land acquisition, which were imposed on the government at the Lancaster House Conference in 1979 in London. The principle of willing buyer and willing seller was the basis of land redistribution. But this, as is now evident favours the already wealthy white farmers who sell at exorbitant prices or retain the land because of lack of buyers. The lack of buyers is obviously because of the low purchasing power of the willing buyer. A combination of social and political forces from the peasants and war veterans who were invading farms saw the need to redress land ownership imbalances and to improve the use of agricultural land.

In 1992, the Land Acquisition Act was introduced. This was intended to enable the government to plan for and target the type of location and scale of land it required. The targeted land was five million hectares that was to be distributed among various types of beneficiaries. These were Model A1, in which each family has title over homestead and arable blocks, and common land like grazing land and water points are registered under one group title, in Model A2, each family has a consolidated title, arable land and homestead allocation. The Three- Tier model was designed for drier areas where livestock ranching is the suitable form of land use. The fourth model is the Irrigation model, which was based on the construction of dams. The land policy sought to acquire underutilized farms from large-scale landholders for black farmers (Moyo 1998). The economic aspects of the land policy hinge on the size of farms *vis-à-vis* land utilization, multiple farms and absenteeism of owners. Land redistribution was also expected to increase access to prime lands for the previously disadvantaged black farmers and to broaden the scope of agricultural enterprises feasible in the resettlement areas.

Large-scale farmers who are mostly white produced the bulk of exports like tobacco, horticulture, wheat and soya beans excluding cotton, while most of the food and industrial crops such as oil seeds supplied to the urban areas are produced by rural peasants (Tshuma 1997). This means that an increase in prime arable land use is a primary objective for Food security[2], a growing domestic industry and for expanded exports with increased black participation in production. The colonial agricultural policies marginalized black farmers in favour of white farmers. Restrictive market differentiation gave large farms legal rights to grow specific crops for export. These colonial agricultural policies were also used to reduce the reservation utility of the black farmers and these included restrictive lands, labor and output market regulations. As a result black farmers continued to use non-hybrid seeds, outdated machinery and manure.

The fundamental economic rationale of land reform in Zimbabwe is to have an expanded farming structure based on increased access to land. This according to Moyo (1998) could also widen the markets available to industry and the rural service sector and increase food and raw material supplies. Tshuma (1997) however argued that the

[2] the access by all people at all times to enough food for an active healthy life

acquisition of five million hectares of land from mainly underutilized large-scale commercial farms and the redistribution of such land to black farmers would have the opposite effect of expanding agricultural output in Zimbabwe, other than reducing exports as tobacco was expected to lose by 50% output. This commodity accounted for 40% of the country's total exports and 700 tobacco white farmers were expected to lose their farms through land redistribution. But resettling about 100 000 families was likely to increase maize, cotton, groundnuts, sunflower and other cash crops output by an average of 15% and contribute positively towards GDP growth (Moyo 1998). This would also expand farm labor (casual and family) to approximately 200 000 jobs over the period of resettlement (Tshuma 1997). However there are issues, which have to be considered and these include problems which those who have to start farming on a large-scale face than before. Such problems include periodic price fluctuations, regular droughts and crop and stork disease. These problems generally impact upon the investment on land. Thus there was need for a financial plan to meet the agricultural development requirements of all types of land redistribution so as to improve black farming. The plan should also finance land development in the existing communal areas, focusing on irrigation and infrastructure.

Furthermore the efficiency argument for land reform is that the redistribution of agricultural land to black farmers will increase or certainly not reduce total factor productivity and efficiency in longer term. In most developing world there exists an inverse relationship between farm size and efficiency (Binswanger 1996). This explains that once a small minimum size is exceeded, family farms relying primarily on family labour are generally more productive than larger farms relying primarily on hired labour.

They also generate employment. But the relevant efficiency indicators are total factor productivity across different farm sizes, fully accounting for differences in factor quality, or profit, net of family labour and per unit of capital invested (Binswanger 1996). Once farm size is increased this will also affect the type of farming, the crop to be produced and the quality and quantity of inputs to be used. These points inform this study. A fundamental argument of the study is that given the opportunity, small-scale black farmers would produce more. Therefore the study examined the accessibility of black farmers to markets, credit facilities and infrastructure and the problems they encounter since land reform. This study focused on Model A2 resettlement scheme. The beneficiaries of this scheme are small-scale farmers, some of them who hold the master farmer certificate from agricultural colleges. Among the beneficiaries are also excombatants who meet the 'competency small scale farmer criterion'. This is defined in the Act as those small-scale farmers who produce more output per acre as compared to others. The model was allocated 40% of the five million hectares with each farmer acquiring 100-150 hectares of land. The main objective of the study was to capture the realities of black farming in Zimbabwe since land reform from the period 1995 to 2000.

1.2 AIMS

The study aimed to capture the realities of black farming since land reform. This is captured within the context of Zimbabwe's political history and the policy visions on land reform in the country. It examined the extent to which black farmers have been able to access markets, credit loans and infrastructure since land reform. The study furthermore investigated some of the problems that black farmers encounter in agriculture since land reform and it also investigated the farm sizes and the type of farming they are currently involved in.

1.3 Research Statement

According to Ranger (1985) access to land is a human right. As a result many Third World Countries have adopted policies that have a strong technocratic element and this includes the land reform policy. The central objective is to increase productivity in agriculture. The Land Reform policy in Zimbabwe is based on the need to establish a more efficient and rationale structure of farming, efficient use of land and natural resources as well as to redress inequitable access to resources. The land reform policy also seeks to achieve optimal land utilization and increased productivity, improved income distribution and environmentally sustainable use of natural resources (Government of Zimbabwe Policy document 1998). Thus the equitable distribution of land, an increase in cash crop production by black farmers and additional services like infrastructure, markets and credit facilities are more likely to result in agricultural development. More people can be employed as a result and this can lead to an impact on poverty. Therefore the questions for investigation in this study are: to what extent have the black farmers been able to access markets and credit facilities since land reform? What sort of problems do these farmers encounter since land reform and what type of farming are they currently involved in since land reform?

1.4 Rationale of the study

There is a growing body of the literature on the redistribution of land in order to develop rural areas and hence reduce rural poverty in Zimbabwe. This study is located within this growing body of literature. However most of the literature deals with the quest to include black farmers in commercial agricultural sector. This is justified in so far as black farmers were marginalized from the commercial agricultural sector during the colonial period but less attention has been given to the realities of black farming especially after the land reform of 1991. Hence it is necessary to do a study on black farming and investigate the type of farming they have adopted, the problems they encounter since land reform and also examine the extent to which they have been able to access markets and credit facilities since land reform. It is hoped that the study will make a significant contribution towards the understanding of the realities of black farming and how policy planners can help in improving black farming in rural areas and rural development and hence reduce rural poverty and unemployment.

1.5 METHODOLOGY

For the purpose of this study a questionnaire was used. This contained forty open ended and closed questions and was administered to forty respondents. The questionnaire is attached as Appendix 1 while the procedures used in the gathering of data are described below.

Research Design

The research design includes the type of study, population, the sample and sampling procedures, questionnaires, interviewing procedures and delimitations of the study. A tour around the fields was conducted to have a picture of the land in terms of soil and land productivity.

Information Sources

Secondary data was obtained from the government institutions of Central Statistics Office (CSO) and Ministry of Agriculture and Resettlement, primary data was obtained through a questionnaire, which was administered to forty farmers.

Questionnaire Design, Construction and Administration

The questionnaire included information on the type of crops being produced, agricultural inputs and labor input since land reform. Thus the questionnaire was designed in such a way that data or information is obtained for the general assessment of the realities of black farming since land reform. The questionnaire was administered as a single interview. A blend of forty open ended and closed questions was used to obtain structured as well as non- structured answers from the respondents. The aim was to avoid the collection of too varied problem answers and at the same time receive directly focused answers, which are relevant to the research aims. Face to face interviews were conducted. There are two types of interviews. In a structured interview there is a definite set of questions prepared in advance and in comparison, in unstructured interviews, the exact questions are left open. Open ended questions, these questions are asked and the respondent is allowed to discuss his or her answer without restrictions (Mann 1985 cited in Mushunje 2000). I presented the questionnaires to each respondent in exactly the same way so as to minimize my influence and to enable a more objective comparison of results.

I filled in the questionnaires for the following reasons, to enable the easy administration of the questionnaires to respondents who can neither read nor write, to help avoid misunderstandings and misinterpretations of particular questions and to ensure that the whole questionnaire was covered as some respondents would tend to ignore and avoid what they would regard as difficult questions.

Sample Frame

A representative sample of forty farms was chosen to allow for accurate generalization of results. All farms between 100ha and 150ha within the study area were used as the sampling frame. There are five wards in the district with twenty farms in each ward. The sample size was made up of forty farms with eight farms from each ward, which means the sample was drawn considering all farms in the wards. Most of the interviews were carried out at the respondents' homes while others were conducted in the field in areas of special interests for example tobacco field so as to have a comprehensive picture of the land in terms of soil and land productivity. The questionnaires, though structured in English, were asked in the mother tongue of the respondents.

Sampling Procedure

Random sampling was used and this is where the probability of including each element of the population can be determined. This procedure was found to be quick and simple and to be very convenient for farm sampling in the rural areas under the study.

Interviewing Procedure

To each and every farmer enumerated, the research objectives and questionnaire were first discussed and explained. Permission was then sought and as soon as it was granted the interviews commenced. In most cases farmers were very willing to respond except for a few in Ward five who were afraid that the information was for political analysis. All the questions were delivered in mother tongue (Shona).

At times I had to digress from the questions on the questionnaire and this was found to be helpful as it gave more insights into the characteristics of the farmers and also established a good rapport between the interviewer and the respondents. In most cases, family members eagerly participated in the discussions and this helped to clear out some of the responses, which were due to the level of literacy of the head of the household. The entire forty farms were male-headed households.

On the first day, 8 questionnaires were distributed to farmers who were chosen randomly from Ward one. The questionnaires were to be collected the following day. However on Day two only five questionnaires had been completed as some of the farmers complained of time and others of not understanding the questions. So I had to change my method and do interviews being guided by the questionnaire. The method proved to be more effective as I managed to complete all the questionnaires for Ward 1 on Day 2. Thus Day 1 and 2 were spent in ward one.

Day 3 and 4 were spent in Ward 4 and Day 5 and 6 in Ward 3. No interviews were conducted on Day 7 as the farmers were to attend a meeting with the extension officers and I managed to attend the meeting so as to get an insight as to what they will be discussing on. Interviews resumed on Day 8 and I managed to complete the questionnaires for Ward 4 on Day 9. The last three days were spent in Ward 5 as the Ward was the most difficult one because most of the respondents in the Ward are war veterans and they were not willing to cooperate as they suspected that the answers were going to be used for political analysis. However with the help of the councilor of the district I managed to complete all the questionnaires. Thus the fieldwork was completed in 12days with each interview session taking between one half to two hours.

Data Presentation

Most of the data is presented in form of tables and in percentages. Tables were constructed using information from the field, which was first converted into percentages and in some instances into averages.

1.6 Organization of the study

Since the purpose of this study is to capture the realities of black farming in Zimbabwe since land reform, it is necessary to give a general overview of literature on land reform and then review literature on land reform in Zimbabwe. The following Chapter (2) reviews the literature. Chapter 3 provides a brief background on the profile of the study area. The presentation of data and data analysis is in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5 gives a discussion of the realities of black farming. The last Chapter (6) presents the summary and concluding remarks.

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CHAPTER TWO

2 Introduction

The principal objective of the study is to capture the realities of black farming in Zimbabwe since land reform. This can better be informed by looking at the literature on social policy, the general overview of land reform and then land reform in Zimbabwe. This chapter discusses these.

2.1 Social Policy and Land Reform

There are a number of definitions of social policy in the literature. Weal (1983) defines Social policy as a deliberate attempt by governments to promote individual and social welfare in certain specific dimensions using any suitable policy instruments. According to Rein (1970) Social policy is the planning for social externalities, redistribution and the inequitable distribution of social benefits especially social services. The United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD cited in Walker 2002) defines Social policy as public policies that aim to protect citizens from social contingencies and poverty and ultimately to enable them to strive for their own life goals. Generally all the definitions on Social policy deal with common issues on social welfare, its relationship to politics and society. Walker (2002) argues that Social policy should also be conceived as involving overall and prior concerns with social development and as a key instrument that works in tandem with economic policy to ensure equitable and socially sustainable development.

The political contexts of social policies involve continuous interactions between citizens, interest groups and politicians as well as redistribution of economic resources like land (UNRISD 2002). For example, according to Razavi (2003) issues of agrarian change and rural development have been a palpable part of social policy in most of the Third World Countries. Where most of the rural areas are burdened with poverty there has been a consensus among national and international social planners about the need for land reform in order to reduce rural poverty (Walker 2002). The justifications for promoting land reform are many and compelling. The majority of the population in Third World Countries are landless and do not have access to land (UNRISD cited in Walker 2002). Much of the cultivated fertile land is held by a small number of powerful landowners and elites. This implies that social policies can alter the balance of power between social forces in the society. Furthermore the social reasons for land reform are improved justice and equity, a reduction in rural poverty and unemployment, greater food security and income and family welfare (Mafeje 2002). However land is just one factor of production. Studies have shown that in countries like China where land reform has been considered as successful, land reform was complemented by orientation of support services towards the beneficiaries. The restructuring of rural finance will also be important to enable potential beneficiaries to access credit to purchase land through the market-assisted process (Binswanger 1996).

2 .2 Land reform: General overview

Land reform is the redistribution of property ownership in land or other rights of access to the use of land (Dixon 1990). Generally, a land reform policy covers a wide range of social changes involving the access of people to land, the ownership structure of land, the size structure of land holdings and the legal or contractual forms of land tenure (Binswanger 1996). Historically, many land reforms have attempted to change social relationships of property ownership, wealth, social status and political power. As such they tend to be contested in the political sphere, between those forces seeking to put land reform into effect and those often-powerful members of society expecting to lose from it. Land reform always has a mixture of political, social and economic objectives. The political objectives of land reform depend on the forces and pressures that have created the opportunity for a land reform to be considered. According to (Binswanger 1996) land reform that occurs as a result of political revolution will have its main objective as strengthening and consolidating the basis of the new state. Land reform as a platform for liberal political groups has an objective of undermining the power of a land based elite and land reform as a platform for socialist political groups; its main objective will be to institute cooperative, collective or state forms of agricultural production.

Historically land reform programmes have been associated with changes in political regimes. The most thorough and rapid programmes have followed revolutions for example in China, Eastern Europe and Cuba or occupation after military defeat for example Japan, Taiwan and Korea. More benign land reform programmes and ones with less fundamental changes have followed the end of colonial rule, the shift of power from an immigrant settler community or relatively peaceful ideological shifts, for example Kenya, Zimbabwe, Bolivia, Algeria and Mexico (Binswanger and Kirsten 1996). Binswanger and Kirsten (1996) further argued that in the context of a land reform or restitution programme, there are three basic means for landless people to gain access to land in any country. This can be by land invasion, restoration and redistribution. A combination of restoration and redistribution is the most advocated, however it is recognized that where there is uncertainty about future access to land, invasion is often seen as the only option available to landless people.

The concept of social justice is the main social objective of land reform. This is allied to both political and economic reasons and motivations. The two main economic objectives of land reform are to reduce absolute poverty and to increase agricultural output. The latter is particularly important given that agriculture remains the main source of livelihood for the majority of Third World people. Agriculture retains an importance as a source of employment out of all proportion to its contribution to export earnings on Gross Domestic Product. Dixon (1990) argues that in many countries agricultural production levels and export earnings largely determine not only the livelihood of the majority of the population but also the fortunes of the economy as a whole. Thus access to resources particularly land is a key factor in the differentiation of Third World rural communities. In some parts of the world, the problem is not one of land shortage but of very inequitable distribution of ownership of land because the vast majority of land is owned by a few minorities leaving the majority of the population landless (Mafeje 2000).

Land reform is a blanket term for a wide range of measures introduced in a variety of circumstances. Some reform programmes focus on single issues such as the subdivision of large estates, the consolidation of small or fragmented holdings, the abolition or reform of tenancy, the removal of communal ownership and the establishment of private titles to land and in the case of radical change the complete or partial removal of private ownership through land nationalization (Lipton and Longhurst 1989). For some advocates land reform is like a lever in that by redistributing land in a more equitable manner it will reduce poverty and tension between the 'haves' and the 'have nots' (Duncan and Howell 1992). At the other extreme there are the large-scale farmers who see land reform as undermining the existing political and economic structures, reducing agricultural output, and threatening export earnings. Between the extreme are found those who, while not against land reform are concerned about how it can be carried out and what the results will be. For many Third World countries particularly in South America the 1960s were the heyday of land reform. Since the mid 1970s many have questioned whether land reform can in isolation provide a solution to rural poverty (Binswanger and Kirsten 1996).

Land reform is only one part of a comprehensive programme of economic reconstruction. The redistribution of land is necessary, but not sufficient to guarantee the success of a development programme, which will lead to rural development (Dixon 1990). There is need for additional services, infrastructure, markets, incentives, health to be considered and access provided. These considerations are necessary both to sustain higher productivity consequent on reform and to include others who may not benefit from the direct provision of land (Binswanger and Kirsten 1996). The role of the public sector in a land redistribution programme centers on ensuring adequate supplier of land in the market and monitoring the overall operation of the programme. Where land reform has been considered successful like in China, the redistribution of land was complemented by orientation of support services towards the beneficiaries. Also a market driven land reform programme provides a unique opportunity to reduce some of the problems caused by market liberalization and removal of privileges especially in grain and livestock production. Hence market assisted land redistribution programmes tend to perform better than those administered and operated by the public sector. Shephered (1998) also noted that the elements of the programme are essential in order to accomplish a redistribution of assets and to ensure that beneficiaries emerge from the programme with a net increase in their asset position and low debt –asset ratio as a means of ensuring viability and sustainability of their enterprises. In addition to addressing the fundamental issue of social justice, these options are likely to increase net rural employment significantly and ensure that the cost of the programme is very reasonable.

Binswanger and Kirsten (1996) argue that one characteristic of a successful programme is rapid implementation. In the absence of fast paced programmes, a combination of bureaucratic inertia and legal challenges is likely to render the programme ineffective. Before a reform programme is implemented there must be a careful assessment of the models or livelihood options available to rural households. That is the models should indicate whether the persons resettled on the land have sufficient land size and quality to provide at least the target income. Further, in computing the cost and benefits other assistance and infrastructure necessary to generate the income should be planned.

Where land reform is seen as having been successfully implemented for example, in Peru, South Korea and Taiwan, redistribution was initially accompanied by stagnation or by an actual decline in agricultural output. It is increasingly accepted that reform must be accompanied by measures to raise the productivity of land and ensure equitable distribution of inputs (Lipton and Langhurst 1989). Thus the extension of input, credits and markets packages to the peasantry represent attempts to modernize peasant agriculture by integrating it into institutions, which were originally designed to foster capitalist accumulation in agriculture. The literature has shown that in many cases most peasants were regarded as subsistence farmers and the large-scale farmers were supposed to produce for exports. In Zimbabwe according to Tshuma (1997), the government has to set a commission that would systematically identify the various land uses, inputs and infrastructure required to achieve specified objectives of the policy. However this commission was only set up ten years later (2002) after the policy had been implemented. As a result the policy ends up creating problems to the farmers, as they do not have sufficient infrastructure and inputs required.

Mafeje (2002) argues that it is not true that white Southern African farmers generally exhibit higher rates of productivity than any black small producers unless volume of production is confused with productivity. For example in the Caprivi in Namibia African peasant producers have managed so well to come up with high yields through administering the land and in production. Even if small farms produce only a little more net output per acre per year than large farms, it normally implies that typically poor farmers produce a good deal more output per acre per year than richer farmers. More crops per acre-year and higher valued crops were always the main advantages of small farmers in respect of land use (Mafeje 2000). Small poor farmers have three advantages, that is more labor, more supervision and more consumer pressure to produce all yield more output. Thus under more favorable land and economic conditions African peasants can deliver.

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Dixon (1990) argues that in evaluating land reform programmes, the conditions under which they take place must also be examined. The success of reform in Japan, South Korea and Taiwan has resulted in similar programmes being advocated elsewhere with little attention to the different circumstances that prevail. In Korea the concentration of land ownership was extreme. In 1914 it was estimated that 1.8% of rural households owned 51% of land and there was an increased concentration during the Japanese colonial period 1910-1945 (Dixon 1990). A major land reform programme was initiated in 1949 and was complete by 1953. Under the programme holdings were limited to three hectares and land lords were obliged to turn their land over to tenants in return for compensation equal to one and a half times the value of the land's annual production. The long-term success of the South Korean programme was oiled by the context in which it took place, which includes the disruption of the rural areas by the Korean war (1950-53), which eased the implementation of the reform. Also the rapid inflation during the 1950s, which made the cost of compensation negligible and seriously weakened the position of land owning faremers. South Korea was not dependant on agricultural exports and it also received large volumes of aid from the USA (Dixon 1990).

Although land reform and agrarian reform have come to be treated as coterminous as a result of the Latin American and Asian experience, it is apparent that this does not apply to sub Saharan Africa, outside the Southern African settler societies. Low agricultural productivity in the region is not accounted for by lack of access to land but to what augments the value of land (Townsend 1999). This is what agrarian reform is about. It is important to note that it does not involve change only in production techniques, as is often assumed, but also in production relations and the social institutions that sustain them. Whereas in Sub Saharan Africa this would refer largely to technological innovation, extant modes of organization, especially the lineage mode of organization and gender relations, in Southern Africa it would refer in the first instance to institutionalized inequity between large scale white farmers and small scale black producers. This would tend to obscure agrarian issues within rural black communities. In so far as this is true, it could be said that white domination in Southern African settler societies has produced a very unpartisan situation in the sub region. According to Mafeje (2002) any meaningful agrarian transformation in settler societies requires conscious solicitude towards the small producers not only because they are the vast majority but also because that is the best way to develop rural labor markets and domestic food markets. Hence Zimbabwe embarked on land reform policy soon after its independence so as to address the issue on the inequitable distribution of land and hence reduce rural poverty and unemployment.

2.3 An overview of the agricultural sector of Zimbabwe

Tshuma (1997) noted that Zimbabwe's economy is relatively diversified but dependent on stable agrarian growth. Agriculture accounts for 11% of the Gross Domestic Product. It also accounts for 33% of formal employment (CSO 1998). Virtually all-rural households are engaged in agricultural production to a greater or lesser degree. The agricultural sector plays a key role in the country's development strategies. In normal rainy seasons tobacco and cotton exports account for 25% of total exports while the agricultural sector as a whole can account for 40% of all exports. Since agriculture provides raw materials for industrial sector, the growth of the latter and services too are closely dependent on expanding agricultural production. The majority of the Zimbabwean people depend on agriculture for both employment and economic benefits (Moyo 1998).

2.4 The Agro-ecological conditions

Zimbabwe has a sub- tropical climate that is influenced by altitude. It lies within the tropics and landlocked. Tropical conditions are only experienced in the low-lying areas of the Zambezi and Limpopo valleys. The remaining parts experience subtropical climate with 1\5 of the terrain above 1200m and 3\5 lying between 600-1200m above sea level Muir (1997).

Muir (1997) further noted that there are four distinct seasons, a wet season from November to March, a transitional season in April and May, a cool dry winter season from May to August and a warm dry season from August to October. Rainfall in the rainy season varies widely both temporally and spatially. The reliability of rainfall increases with altitude, and from South to North. Coefficients of variability range from more than 40% in areas south of Bulawayo to less than 20% in some parts of the highveld with an average annual precipitation of up to 1020mm while the Middleveld receives 410mm to 610mm and the Lowveld receives less than 400mm.

Zimbabwe's soils are mostly sandy. Heavier loamy clay soils are found in patches across the country. Granite sandy soils are most common in communal areas. These are often highly leached and thus depleted of base nutrients (Muir 1997). Sandy soils are ideal for tobacco production especially under the extensive cultivation practices used in LSC areas, but are liable to rapid nutrients depletion when cultivated intensively for low value food crops. Zimbabwe has a total land area of 39.6 million hectares, with 33 million hectares reserved for agriculture while the rest is reserved for national parks, forests and urban settlements (Chimedza 1994). The quality of Zimbabwe's land resources has been classified into five natural regions, which represent land use potential according to average rainfall quantities and their variability. This land classification also reflects recommended cropping and livestock production

TABLE 2.1 Land ownership categories and their distribution (area in thousands of hectares)

Natural region	**Large-scale commercial land**		**Communal areas**		**Small-scale commercial land**		**Other land**		**Total**	
	Area	%	Area	%	Area	%	Area	%	Area	%
I	440.2	63	128.3	18	7.3	1	127.6	18	703.4	100
II	4,324.5	74	1,255.1	21	252.1	4	29.1	1	5,861.4	100
III	3,240.6	44	2,814.7	39	536.1	7	696.3	10	7,287.7	100
IV	4,025.8	27	7,307.3	49	523.0	4	2,696.2	20	14,782.3	100
V	3,648.4	35	4,774.0	46	97.6	1	1,921.1	18	10,441.1	100
Total	15,679.5	40	16,279.4	42	1,416.1	4	5,700.9	14	39,075.9	100

Source: Ministry of Agriculture (2000)

Natural region (NR) 1 is characterized by high altitude and low temperatures with an annual rainfall greater than 1000mm. It is suitable for the production of crops such as tea, coffee and forest crops and also suitable for intensive livestock production. Natural region 11 receives between 750-1000mm of mostly reliable rainfall. It is suitable for the production of maize, tobacco, cotton, and wheat as well as livestock production. NR 111 receives between 500-700mm of rainfall per annum with relatively high temperatures and infrequent heavy rainfall and subject to seasonal droughts. NR 1V receives 450-600mm of rainfall per annum and is subject to severe dry spells. It is a semi extensive farming region where livestock is the only sound basis of the farming system. NR V is generally not suitable for land cropping. Extensive livestock production is the only possible farming system (Ministry of Agriculture 2000).

Moyo (1998) cited that at independence the government of Zimbabwe inherited a skewed agricultural land ownership structure. The dualistic agricultural sector has 4500 large-scale commercial farmers (LSC) who privately own 11million hectares and they use relatively capital-intensive technologies. On the other hand there are over six million people living in marginal rural areas who occupy less than 50% of the agricultural land. Thus there was a need to address the inequitable distribution of land.

2.5 The Historical Perspective of Land Reform

The issue of land imbalances in Zimbabwe started in the 19th century after the pioneer column whereby most of the indigenous people were disposed of their land (Chafesuka 1994). In 1898 Native Reserves were created where blacks were to live on marginal lands which under a growing population could not sustain their farming systems, and thus led to further land degradation. According to von Blankenburg (1993), the policy resulted in the occupation of more land by more settlers and the white settlement developed as follows:

Table 2 2: The development of the white settlement

Source: Adapted from von Blankenburg 1993

Year	No of settlers
1904	545
1911	1 324
1921	2 355
1945	3 699
1955	6 255
1980	5 000
1990	4 500

The settler government enacted a number of legislations that resulted in extensive alienation of blacks. According to Made (1995), the pattern of land ownership in Zimbabwe has its historical roots in three acts. The Land Apportionment (1930), the Native Development Fund Act (1949) and the Native Husbandry Act (1951). Made (1995) argues that all the other acts like the Land Tenure Act of 1969 were just adjustments to these three acts. The Land Apportionment Act (1930) formalized the dual agrarian structure where land was racially segregated (Rukuni 1994). Land owned by whites was private while land for blacks was held under traditional tenure and user rights.

The land Apportionment Act (1930) divided the country as follows:

Table 2.3: Land distribution according to the Land Apportionment Act

European Area	19,9 million ha
Native Reserves	8,7 million ha
Native Purchase Areas	3,0 million ha
Forest Area	240 000 ha
Unassigned Area	7,2 million ha
Undetermined Area	36 000 ha
Total	39,1 million ha

Source: Adapted from Rukuni (1994)

Blacks were evicted from their land and land was given to white settlers who were returning from World War 11. The Native Land Husbandry Act (1951) removed blacks remaining in European areas and enforced freehold tenure for the whites. In 1969 the Land Tenure Act was promulgated and it repeated the Land Apportionment Act. This new Act redefined the Land categories and allocated an equal amount of land to blacks and whites irrespective of their numbers (Rukuni1994).

By 1969 white settlers dominated the best lands, which were reserved exclusively for them. Their farms accounted for 40% of all agricultural land. In contrast the black population controlled the less fertile 41.5% of the land. The displacement of the black population into reserves, which were known as Tribal Trust Lands, meant that they were put into areas where there was poor, infertile soil which are now known as communal lands. The Tribal Trust Lands contained over 80% of the entire rural African population in 1970. The Land Apportionment Act was subject to sixty amendments but without ever affecting the principles applying to blacks (Made 1995). There was overpopulation in the communal areas thereby depressing peasant production and created a growing class of the landless within the communal sector. By 1977 there were 675 000 peasants in the 'tribal' lands, which was almost three times the maximum numbers these areas could accommodate. Riddell (cited in Made 1995) noted that the land was not only overpopulated but that there was little or no land left for potential young farmers and in some areas over 40% of the able bodied young men were landless which resulted in them being forced to sell their labor for low wages in white farms and mines. A range of policy instruments were used by the white regime to achieve its objectives and these included physical and political coercion of black peasants, legislative discrimination and a host of direct economic measures designed to disadvantage the indigenous blacks.

2.6 Land Policies Before Independence

Rukuni (1994) argues that the imbalances in the distribution of land at independence have its roots in the appropriation of African land by settlers. During the colonial period, land policy was aimed at attracting white settlers from abroad and placing them on large farms in areas that had high potential for agricultural production. Indigenous Zimbabweans were settled on land that was regarded as unsuitable for whites, drier and in more remote parts of the country (Rukuni 1994). Agricultural policies also discriminated against black smallholders by barring them from entering large-scale farming. This shows that pre- independence agricultural policies were designed to produce a dual system in which land distribution, organization of marketing institutions and the development of infrastructure were biased in favor of the commercial agriculture (GOZ 1982).

2.7 Land distribution at independence

Land distribution was very important at independence because of the way the land was racially distributed (Made 1995). White farmers owned most of the land that was classified as high potential and the black people who constituted the majority of the population occupied areas in the low potential regions. About 6 000 commercial farmers mainly white, held title to about 51% of the land outside urban areas and national parks, including most of the land in Natural regions 1, 11, and 111. This constituted 44% of the total land in Zimbabwe. The communal areas constituted 42% of the total land, but were inhabited by about 700 000 families (Government of Zimbabwe 1982). The land was grossly overpopulated as it was considered to be enough for 325 000 families which is just 46% of the inhabitants who were actually occupying it.

2.7.1 Land reform in Zimbabwe

Wekwete (1991) notes that ownership and distribution of land is a key factor in class formation, structure and differentiation. In a purely farming society like Zimbabwe, land dominates as the main source of wealth and power and it reflects the social, economic and political status of those who have land ownership. In Zimbabwe the problem of land reform has naturally been one of the most important subjects of political agitation and economic upheaval. Zimbabwe's land distribution is highly skewed and the status quo is not politically, socially or economically sustainable. This has been the state of affairs since the British invasion of 1890. It is this inequitable distribution of the economy that prompted the black people to fight for independence. At independence the government decided to embark on the land reform programme so as to address the issue on unequal distribution of land.

2.7.2 Land Policy in the 1980s

The immediate priority at independence was land distribution to address the inequalities of the colonial era. The government wanted to steer the distribution of land in high rainfall regions or where the possibility of irrigation would enhance their chances of raising agricultural productivity. Policies were supposed to balance land ownership changes with food security through adequate local production, employment creation and efforts to improve the incomes of the rural population. (Jansen and Rukovo 1992)

Rukuni (1994) also noted that land reforms during the 1980s could be divided into two phases. Although both phases had the common underlying target of redressing the inequalities created under colonial period, the initial phase, which starts from independence to 1985, was mainly targeted at transitional issues arising from the war of liberation. The second phase was from 1985 after the Land Acquisition Act of 1985 until 1990.

2.7.3 The First Phase

The Ministry of Lands Resettlement and Rural Development was created in 1981 so as to spearhead the land redistribution programme. In the same year, the Land Act of 1981 changed the tribal trust lands to Communal lands. This change mainly affected the administration of communal areas. Where previously tribal trust lands were administered under trustees, the communal lands became the responsibility of the local government (Rukuni 1994).

The Lancaster House Conference agreement, which remained in force for the first ten years of independence, required the government to acquire land for distribution on a willing buyer and willing seller basis. Land that was acquired on this basis with some support from aid funds was turned into resettlement schemes (Made 1995).

Moyo (1998) noted that the first phase of resettlement programme targeted mainly refugees, displaced people, squatters, the landless and the land short in overpopulated communal areas. Substantial development within the densely populated communal areas was considered impossible without a redirection in population densities. Government policies were therefore aimed at achieving quantitative and qualitative redistribution of land. Land policies were complimented by other policies, which included provision of loans to smallholder farmers and improving access to markets.

However despite the initial impetus to resettlement and its high importance in policy statements, implementation was very slow. The blame was put on the restrictions on land acquisition by the Lancaster House Constitution. This restriction compiled with high costs of land, limited the amount that the government would acquire. Furthermore, much of the land that the government could afford was mainly in marginal areas where the willingness of the white farmers to sell land was greater, so that the qualitative aims of the government to provide access to good land for the targeted population were not met (Made 1995).

Progress was also constrained by the inability of the government to finance the infrastructural investment required to make the resettlement areas productive. The infrastructure in these areas was geared towards LSC farmers. Breaking up these areas into smallholder agriculture required substantial investment in roads and water as well as in social infrastructure such as schools and medical facilities. Furthermore the government budgetary allocations for land redistribution and complementary activities were substantially cut in 1983. Whatever reasons, the government did not meet its initial targets of resettling 162 000 families on productive land by 1985. By 1985 only 36 616 families had been resettled on 74 848 hectares of land (International Labour Office 1993).

2.7.4 The Second Phase

Chafesuka (1994) noted that in 1985 the Land Acquisition Act was introduced whereby the government aimed at intensifying the resettlement programme by improving land availability. The act allowed "compulsory acquisition" of underutilized or abandoned land to take place, but still with payment of adequate compensation. According to the Five Year Development Plan which covered the period 1986-1990, 15 000 families were to be resettled every year. In addition, back up services, especially extension and credit were to be increased in order to ensure that agriculture production would increase (International Labour Office 1993). In practice whilst small quantities of abandoned land were acquired under the provisions of the Land Acquisition Act, no underutilized land was acquired. By the end of the 1980s just over 51 000 families had been resettled on approximately 3 million hectares of land. This means that less than 20% of the land controlled by white commercial farmers had been redistributed to small-scale producers by the end of the 1980s.

2.7.5 Land Policy in the 1990s

Moyo (1998) noted that the Lancaster House Constitution expired in 1991 removing one of the constraints to rapid land redistribution. At the same time the government embarked on an economic liberalization programme (ESAP) affecting virtually all sectors of the economy. In agriculture the policy that was adopted aimed to resettle 100 000 families on five million hectares of land, which was to be acquired from, underutilized large-scale farms. The land policy statement of 1990 shifted the emphasis towards resettling proven competent farmers and other trained agricultural farmers so as to maximize the use of land and to increase the number of indigenous people in large scale commercial farming.

2.7.6 The Land Reform of 1991-2001

The first phase of redressing the land imbalances was delayed and disturbed by a number of constraints, which included the shortage of funds to buy land as land was supposed to be acquired on a willing buyer and willing seller basis. Only about 53 000 families were resettled ten years after independence (Tshuma 1997). The landless people were growing more anxious as the programme suffered further delays. They were threatening to take the law into their hands and to invade the white owned farms. Hence at the expiry of the Lancaster House Constitution the government came up with a transparent legal and administrative framework for land acquisition. The new Land Acquisition Bill was enacted on 13 March 1992. Its main objectives were as follows to acquire five million hectares of land from the LSC farming sector for redistribution, resettle 91 000 families and youths graduating from agricultural colleges and others with demonstrable experience in agriculture in a gender sensitive manner, reduce the extent and intensity of poverty among rural families and farm workers by providing them with adequate land for agricultural use, increase the contribution of agriculture to GDP by increasing number of commercial small scale farmers using formerly under- utilized land, promote the environmentally sustainable utilization of land and increase conditions for sustainable peace and social stability by removing imbalances in land ownership (Moyo 1998).

2.7.7 The Economic Rationale for Land Redistribution

Moyo (1998) noted that the government's land reform policy intends to promote the development of black farmers, large or small in order to broaden the social basis of agricultural farming. The land designated by the government for redistribution from 1980-1990 was mainly located in the marginal farming areas. Thus the new land policy of 1992 identified five million hectares for acquisition on the basis of studies of land underutilization in white farms (Moyo 1998). Studies showed that less than half of the rationale is to broaden the income base of Zimbabwe through an expanded farming structure based on increased access to land. This can widen the markets available to industry and the rural service sector and increase food and raw material supplies. This can be achieved if underutilized land is made available, if the government begins to allocate finance, forex, imports and other incentives to black farmers and resettlement areas (Tshuma 1997). Several studies on land reform have shown that a long term and broader economic perspective can lead to an income distribution structure and rural employment conducive to a growing industrial sector as what happened in South Korea, Japan and Taiwan. The concentration of rural incomes among a few farmers is largely based on unavailability of land to blacks, when most of the prime arable land is underutilized (Tshuma 1997). Furthermore apart from the fact that black farmers have to be supported to improve their productivity, given access to better land, their unrecorded output contributes to national GDP and has performed the vital function of reproducing labour for the economy, based on auto-consumption from small patches of land.

2.8 Progress of the Land Reform

Given the effects of the drought, resistance from commercial farmers and the lack of financial resources, the land distribution programme may continue to fail to achieve its targets. By 1994 only 200 000 hectares of land had been acquired and the situation had improved by just 0.5% in 1998 (Moyo 1999). With such a rate it is estimated that it will take 20years to complete the desired task of resettling some more families on 5million hectares of land. However a lot of reasons have been put forward for delays in the implementation of the new Land Reform Act.

Moyo (1999) noted that the main argument being put forward is that the government does not have enough resources to implement the programme. A lot of criticism was also received from across the world including the donor community. The World Bank and the IMF also started to quiz the government on how it was to implement the Act. USA and UK also set conditions to be met before they could give aid. They also insisted on total transparency in the whole process of land reform. The commercial farmers although in principle not against land redistribution, put up a resistance to the Land Bill. As acknowledged by the President of the Commercial Farmers Union, Swanepoel (1999), compulsory acquisition of land in the national interests for resettlement in terms of the Land Acquisition Act 1992 was accepted by farmers and the government as a means in addition to negotiated land sales, of acquiring land within the parameters of derelict land, vacant and held under multiple ownership for social and political reasons under which alternative land would be offered to the farmers concerned. But the question of underutilized land remained contentious as it draws the battle lines between the LSC farmers and the government. To escape designation LSC farmers planted gum- trees and introduced wildlife and livestock farming to justify the use of the land (Swanepoel 1999).

2.9 National Debates on Land Reform

These debates are based on the period before the introduction of the fast track programme in 2001. Made (1995) argue that a lot of debate on land reform in Zimbabwe has been brought up by different agricultural sectors. All sectors of the agricultural community agree that land reform is inevitable in Zimbabwe for both socio-economic and political stability. As noted by Moyo (1998), the debates on land reform from the late 1970's have centered mainly on the merits and demerits of the distribution of land. Questions as to how much and which land should be redistributed are always raised. Cost benefit analysis of the whole programme is made in terms of levels of output, foreign exchange earnings, land productivity, agricultural employment and the loss of agricultural expertise (white farmers).

Rukuni (1994) said that although the government has to respond to pressure for land from the majority of the population it must at the same time retain the confidence of the LSC farmers who continue to be central to overall agricultural production. The LSC farmers despite periodic droughts have been relatively successful in terms of satisfying domestic consumption and exporting a wide variety of cash crops.

As for Tshuma (1997) public debate on the problem of land in Zimbabwe is polarized between two broad interest groups. The first grouping encompasses the landless black majority and emerging black business interests, for whom land hunger is a critical problem. Land demands in the black community vary from those segments requiring rural and urban land for basic residential purposes, to those who depend on land for their material survival, and to others for whom access to land is the main avenue through which their business and economic activities including agricultural and non-agricultural enterprise can proceed. In political terms, this group represents an informal alliance of different classes, which occupy positions in various organizations including the ruling party, government, opposition parties, farmers' unions, non governmental organizations (NGOs) and labour unions (Tshuma 1997).

2.10 Proponents of the Land Reform

Moyo (1998) argues that the proponents of land reform advocate for large scale redistribution of land especially land considered under utilized. They argue that the opponents do not focus on the disadvantages of not distributing the land, for example continued land shortage, food shortages and unequal distribution of income but on drawbacks related to losses in national output and decreasing financial flows. The proponents argue that if land redistribution does not take place, the problem of land reform remains a minefield.

Van Zyl et al (1996) states that the failure to execute a major land reform in countries with highly dualistic farm size structures, like Zimbabwe or delayed implementation of such reforms and continued neglect of native peasant sectors seems to have had far more adverse consequences than the relatively minor risks associated with the process of land reform. Bratton (1994) shows that the proponents of land redistribution argue that the goals of growth and equity do not necessarily conflict. They agree with the important role that the LSC farming sector is playing in Zimbabwe's agriculture, but they argue that these farmers do underutilize the land and that substantial potions of the land can be made available for land redistribution without necessarily affecting the national output. They argue that the prime land of Zimbabwe is underutilized by LSC farmers to the tune of only 15% although opponents to the programme give percentage utilization levels of 75-90%. Moyo (1994) from his study on land utilization by LSC farmers in Mashonaland provinces with a total area of 4,3million hectares, which constitutes 32% of the overall land owned by the LSC farmers deduced that only 10% of this prime land is actually cropped, and this represents 75% of the total area cropped by LSC in the whole country.

Moyo (1998) revealed that there is the black capitalist lobby for land redistribution, which gained legitimacy because in broad terms it was supportive of market oriented economic reforms through ESAP. The lobby calls for greater competition in agriculture, efficient land use and for broadening the land ownership base, given that white farmers underutilize their land. The lobby also calls for productive and capable farmers to gain access to land and not for land redistribution programme based on resettling the land- less and the poor. While it has been argued that land designation may scare off investors and therefore undermine ESAP, the land policy protects urban or industrial land and other property rights and targets mainly underutilized land. Thus the black lobby for land reform buys into ESAP and marginalizes the rural poor.

2.11.2 Opponents of Land Reform in Zimbabwe

Moyo (1998) argue that those opposed to land redistribution argue that the need to resettle landless Zimbabweans must be met in the full knowledge that land is a finite resource. White farmers, white professionals and other business interests including a few black business elites largely represent this group. The conservative views have been characterized by a strong view that resettlement areas have not been as efficient as the former commercial farms and that it has been particularly detrimental to conservation (Wekwete, 1991). This is also based on the premise that the white farmers are more experienced than small-scale farmers. They argue that it is a risk to transfer much of the prime land to inexperienced farmers as this affects aggregate agricultural output. Land redistribution alone will not bring any lasting benefits to agriculture but it should be accompanied by increases in farm and labor productivity. Also increasing size of land holdings will not achieve the transformation of the traditional peasant sub sector (Mushunje 2002). There is need for a complete package of the needs of small-scale farmers but the government does not have enough resources to achieve this. As a result opponents of land redistribution argue that the needs of the LSC farming sector should be guaranteed because it is an integral part of the economy, which makes a significant contribution in terms of employment, foreign exchange, and necessary inputs to industry. Thus the government has to encounter the problem of the efficiency and productivity arguments (Mushunje 2000).

The fear that productivity will decline if land is redistributed remains to be answered. The group also argues that the government's land policy based on a preference for small-scale black farmers over large scale commercial farmers seeks political gain and the government's approach to economic management is also seen by this group as to reinforce state intervention in agriculture. Hence considering it as economically irrational. The land redistribution is regarded as environmentally damaging because of the inefficiency of small-scale farmers (Moyo 1999).

2.12 The efficiency arguments for land reform

According to Tshuma (1997) as Zimbabwe forges ahead with its land reform, facing a number of obstacles and resistance from the LSC sector, there is need for the government to critically assess the efficiencies of the two sectors that is the LSC and the SSC. The efficiency for land reform is that the redistribution of agricultural land to small holders will increase or certainly not reduce total factor productivity and efficiency in the longer term (van Zyl et al 1996). This argument is based on the findings that in most of the developing world there exists an inverse relationship between farm size and efficiency. This is to say that once a small minimum size is exceeded family farms relying on family labor are generally more productive than larger farms relying primarily on hired labor. They also create a lot of employment for the ever-growing unemployed population of Zimbabwe.

2. 13 Labor use

Although von Blackenburg (1993) agrees that an inverse relationship between farm size and output could not be confirmed in some countries, Van Zyl et al (1996) argue that this is because we make partial analysis often relating output only to land rather than to all inputs. Yield is believed to be an imperfect indicator of efficiency. This may be due to the existence of market imperfections, which tend to favour large farms (e.g. capital and insurance markets) and to negate the inverse relationship between size and productivity. Van Zyl (1996) also supports the idea that yields can give misleading results and this will undermine the credibility of the profession on giving advice on important policy matters.

Efficiency should be viewed as the ability to make use of the most abundant resource rather than scarce resources. In Zimbabwe labor is quite abundant so smaller farms, which are said to be labor intensive than the larger mechanized farms should be promoted. Made (1995) encouraged the government to go ahead with land redistribution and not to be short sighted and worry about imagined loss of land productivity. His argument was that if land is given to peasants more land is to be brought under cultivation and this will create employment for the country. Hence there is need to make an analysis of the policy.

2.14 The land reform policy

Since independence the issue of land redistribution has been one of the main agenda on the government's development plan. This is mainly because agriculture plays a significant role in the economy (Chafesuka 1994). Although the economy is relatively diversified, but it depends on stable agrarian growth. Thus on independence there was need for land redistribution exercise so as to address the inequitable distribution of land, agrarian relations of production and land tenure systems which were created by the colonial state. Hence land redistribution can be used as a yardstick to measure the nature and character of post colonial attempts to reform and democratize the colonial structure (Chafesuka 1994). The aim of this section is to analyze the land policy, which was introduced in 1992 after the first phase of resettlement from 1980-1990. This analysis will look at the objectives of the policy, implementation, land tenure systems, social relations of production and the progress of the programme.

However though the issue of acquiring land from LSC farmers has broad based support, the formulation process has not been adequately transparent and participatory (Made 1995). Consequently the approach tends to derogate legitimate public policy whose objectives are popularly grounded and has exposed land reform policy to extreme ideological opposition based upon racial and class alliances forged within some of the media in Zimbabwe, Southern Africa and some Western countries (Moyo 1999).

Tshuma (1997) further argues that the broad brush attempt of land acquisition while generally well meaning has also been marred by apparently parochial and elitist interests of a narrow segment of the ruling party leadership of ZANU PF. Thus such non-transparent policy formulation procedures subordinates the land redistribution demands of the majority and distract from the objective grounds that justify and reform particularly the need for local and international resources to be mobilized towards this cause.

Furthermore, also not specified and lacking transparency is who will get the acquired land, at which point in time, at what cost to the beneficiaries and at what cost to the public fiscus. Chafesuka (1994) also argue that most importantly a major concern is the lack of public debate on which social group or constituency is the main target for redistribution and therefore what political force is behind the approach of mass land acquisition. The question of who decides on both land acquisition and land distribution is fundamental to the effective formulation of policy analysis essential to sustaining the legitimacy of land reform within a society that is broadly dependent on land.

The land policy also does not specify who among the following groups are the targets of land distribution and in what proportions, the indigenous elites, ex-combatants, agricultural graduates, master farmers, the rural poor and the urban poor. The question also remains as to whether the needs of other desperate and destitute groups such as landless farm workers, foreign migrants and so forth are also being taken into account. Moyo (1999) suggested that public debate on this allocation issue suspects that government policy leans towards the parochial interest of a narrow core leadership within the ruling party.

According to Moyo (1999) on analyzing the land reform policy using the cost oriented analysis the net main losses predicted are a rise in unemployment, reduced GDP and deteriorating race relations and security, political and economic instability, white skills emigration and a slow down in indigenous commercial farmer empowerment process. The main commodity losses anticipated focus on tobacco, cotton, horticulture, sugar, wheat, soya beans and maize. Thus the major argument is on the losses of exports. Tobacco is expected to lose 50% output since tobacco farmers' lands were identified for acquisition (Moyo 1999). This is because small-scale farmers are not expected to master the resources involved in tobacco cropping. By and large the investment climate is expected to worsen since uncertainty among investors on property rights and the declining collateral value of land are predicted to rise. All this is expected to lead to an increased fiscal burden and deficit arising from farm purchases, resettlement and extension services (Moyo 1999).

The land policy does not clarify the various land uses, inputs and infrastructure required to achieve its objectives. There was also need to make consultation with all stakeholders and identify the precise land and resource allocation required by each of the redistribution schemes and beneficiary groups. A commission which would mobilize resources to strengthen the capacity of key implementing agencies including the land acquisition and management agencies, the local authorities and land redistribution departments of government as well as NGOs working to mobilize community participation in the programme could have been established (Moyo 1999). Furthermore an investment plan for improved infrastructure for irrigation, transportation and communication will be necessary to optimize land use efficiencies among small to medium scale farmers.

From the above discussion, one can conclude that the resistance of the commercial farmers to the policy and the lack of financial resources, the policy might continue to fail to achieve its objectives. Moyo (1999) noted that by 1994 only 200 000 hectares had been acquired and the situation had improved by just 0.5% in 1998. Thus with such a rate it might take them a long time to complete the desired task of resettling some 110 000 more families on 3.5 million hectares of land. The government acknowledged that it could take them more than five years to acquire the farms identified for acquisition due to financial resources. The programme is expected to delay more because of criticisms from across the world including the donor community (Financial Gazzette 2000).

However despite all the obstacles, the government is still going ahead with its land redistribution programme and there is need to conduct a study on the resettled farms so as to have a picture of what is happening on the ground.

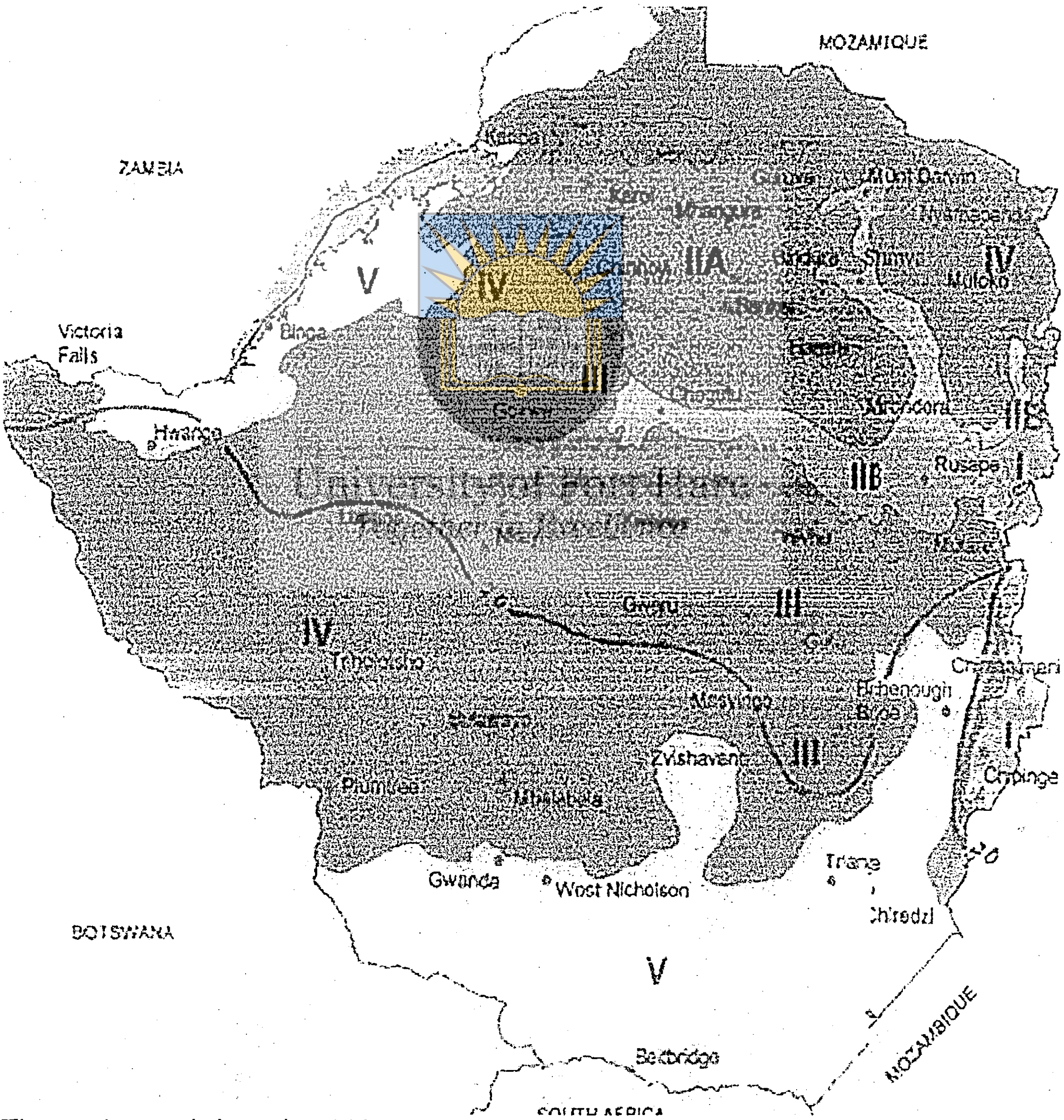
CHAPTER THREE

PROFILE OF THE STUDY AREA

3.1 Agro-Ecological Potential

Karoi district and the specific wards were chosen because it is a district within the agro-ecological zone NR11 that has got fertile soils and reliable rainfall. The district has got many black small-scale farmers, mostly beneficiaries of the Land reform. These beneficiaries come from different farming backgrounds but the majority are excombatants. Also the district is known for the farmers' good harvest every year except in drought years.

FIGURE 4. 1: The five natural regions of Zimbabwe (Source: Derived from "Natural Regions and Provisional Farming Areas of Zimbabwe", 1:1,000,000 (Surveyor-General, 1998); Information supplied by the department of Agricultural, Technical, and Extension Services (Agritex) in Zimbabwe.



The study area is in region 11A

3.1.1 The Natural Resources Base

The physiographic features or natural resources of an area are the major determinants of its production potential. These natural resources together with human and capital resources (socio-economic factors) dictate the viability of the agricultural enterprise and the economic development of the area. As explained in Chapter 2 Zimbabwe is divided into five broad Natural Regions (NR) in which the dominant natural factor conditioning agricultural production is climate, mainly rainfall and the soil types.

Karoi district is in NR11. This region is characterized by patches of red rich soils and granite sandy soils. The region receives between 750-1000mm of mostly reliable rainfall. It is suitable for the production of maize, tobacco, cotton, wheat, sunflower, soya-beans, and groundnuts as well as for intensive livestock production. The region is the breadbasket of the country as most of the food crops are grown in that region.

3.2 Population

Using the last official statistics in 1997 Karoi district had a population of 13 629 (CSO 1997). It had a density of 30 persons per square kilometer. These statistics suggest a high demand for land by the people of this district especially in communal areas. The land suffers from environmental degradation and natural resources.

3.3 Land Tenure

Forms of land ownership affect agricultural productivity in Karoi district as well. Land tenure is thought to influence agricultural productivity through security. Land tenure constitutes the rules and procedures governing the rights, duties, liberties and exposures of individuals and groups in the use and control over the basic resources of land and water.

There are three types of land ownership systems in Karoi district. These are freehold, communal ownership and leasehold. The freehold land tenure system is characterized by ownership of title deeds to land. There are a significant number of black farmers with freehold ownership in Karoi district. These farmers bought their farms as a group, from the white farmers who were leaving the country soon after independence. They then subdivide it into smaller portions of twelve acres. These farmers farm in the same way, as do the communal farmers.

The communal ownership system is the most common system of land ownership among the smallholder farmers of Zimbabwe though only a small number of farmers in Karoi district have got these as the area is mainly occupied by resettled farmers. The land belongs to the state but the administration of the land is bestowed in the hands of the traditional chiefs. Land is held permanently by individual families and land can be inherited by family members in the event of death. Owners have usufruct rights and they can modify land but are strongly discouraged from selling the land. If a farmer wants to emigrate the ownership of land reverts to the traditional chief, who settles disputes and allocates open lands to newcomers. The chief does not get any payments from farmers for the fields they farm.

3.3.3 Leasehold

All the respondents fall in this category. Under the leasehold land ownership resettled farmers are not given title deeds to the land. Although they do not pay any money to the government they are said to be leasing the land. The original plan was to give title deeds to good performers and then take away land from non-performers. Due to the political nature of this policy this has not materialized.

3.4 Infrastructure

3.4.1 Roads

The wards under study are all linked by both primary and secondary road systems. The primary road system is made up of the main road network which links with the main urban centers. The wards are linked to the main road by gravel roads. Some of the gravel roads are so bad that the transport is not reliable especially in Ward 3 and 4.

3.4.2 Marketing

All the wards under study are close to either the grain or the cotton depots in the district. The furthest distance to a depot mentioned by the respondents was 45km, which is generally not very far. However all the wards are very far away from the tobacco main depot which is about 100 km away.

3.4.3 Transport

Transport is said to be always available for the farmers in ward 1, 2 and 5 but still a problem for those farmers in ward 3 and 4. Transport is a problem because of the bad roads. Farmers use lorries and tractors to deliver their produce to the markets. Inputs to their farms are delivered in the same manner.

3.4.4 Post and Telecommunication

Farmers do not have problems with the mailing system as they use the mailboxes of nearby schools. There are five primary schools and two secondary schools in the five wards. Telephones are still a problem in all the five wards.

3.4.5 Health

There is only one clinic, which caters for all the five wards. The farmers get drinking water from common boreholes.

3.5 Conclusion

Karoi district is densely populated such that the demand for land is still high though some farmers have been allocated lands especially those who fall under the study area. The communal ownership system of land tenure is the dominant system among the communal area farmers and all resettled farmers fall under the leasehold system. The infrastructural system is quite conducive to supporting a viable agricultural system. The following chapter will look at the findings of the study.

CHAPTER FOUR

PRESENTATION OF DATA

Introduction

The human resources component of a farming enterprise forms an indispensable ingredient in agricultural production. Human beings are able to manipulate the production requisites to meet their own ends (De Klerk 1980 in Mushunje 2000). Land, capital, labor and management are always given as the main factors of production in agriculture. The management input includes both the physical properties and personal qualities possessed by the farmers. Bembridge (1987) subdivides the human resource input into two distinctly different and mutually exclusive inputs, labor and decision-making and management.

Bembridge (1987) also noted that the human element is a key factor in agricultural and rural development because of its importance in decision making which is fundamental to good management and successful farming. The biological characteristics as well as social, economic and psychological traits of a farming community influence the efficiency of farming and dictate the communication strategy and the technology that must be developed for the area.

This study therefore considered some socio-economic characteristics of the sample. These characteristics include sex of the head of the household, data on livestock, credit availability, extension services, total area under ownership, type of crop being produced, land tenure, source of labor and problems being encountered and where there is need for improvement. The following are the findings on a number of important human factors in the study area.

4.1 Land and Agriculture

Farm sizes was one of the issues of inquiry in this study. The findings show that all the respondents had access to more than one arable field and the respondents in all the wards owned 120ha of land. All the wards under the study are under resettlement scheme and the respondents confirmed that they had received the land from the government. The farmers came from different backgrounds: 18 farmers (45%) are excombatants, with no experience in farming at a large scale,

5 farmers (12.5%) had completed their technical education from agricultural colleges, 3 farmers said that they were retired police officers and 14 farmers (35%) were once communal farmers. Furthermore all the respondents were originally from Mashonaland West province. Karoi district is one of the districts in the province. 36 farmers (90%) revealed that they were satisfied with the size of land they were allocated. 4 farmers (10%) all of whom are excombatants said that their fields were too small as they were expecting to receive at least 200ha of land and these are all excombatants in ward 5. However the majority of the respondents said that they were satisfied with the amount of land that they had received which is 120ha.

4.2 Sex of head of household

The findings concerning gender of heads of household contradicts the prevailing notion that most households in rural areas are headed by women due to male migration to urbanareas in search of employment. All of the farms under study were headed by males.

This may be as a result of the previous legislation that did not allow women to own land-causing men to apply for the land resettlement scheme.

Another explanation for this is the economic crisis which has seen a decline in manufacturing with factory closures and subsequent retrenchment of the previously employed. The consequence of this is urban to rural migration. However although this tends to promote agricultural farming as many people will now be forced to earn a living out of farming but it also does put more pressure on the available land and increase the demand for land among the rural people. This perhaps highlights the urgency and emphasis for land reform in Zimbabwe.

4.3 Family size

Small-scale black farmers depend much on their family for labor. Labor inputs largely replace capital inputs. Dalton (1997) noted that the bulk of the production costs in Zimbabwe's small scale farming system are attributable to labor inputs. The majority of the family labor is applied to maize and cotton. This is supported by Hayes et al (1997) who found that seasonal labor shortages have intensified with increasing migration and wage labor participation. These results suggest that access to household labor is an important catalyst for increasing yields.

Although larger family size put extra pressure on farm income for food and clothing, it does ensure availability of enough family labor for farm separations to be performed when necessary. A large family size also means that a variety of labor capacity is available in the form of children, youngsters, adults and elderly members. The mix of labor enables the rational household head to assign the right job to the right person.

Sebotja (1985) argues that the fact that either the defacto or dejure size of household can influence the agricultural production is not very consistent. That is some members of the household may not be available during periods of peak demand for labor and this may affect farming adversely. However in this study only resident members count as family members. They are people who live under the leadership of the head of the household and depend on the household for food and shelter. Membership of the household includes the following, spouse, sons, daughters, brothers and sisters and sons and daughters in-law, permanent employees as well as elderly relatives like parents.

Zimbabwe is a country with one of the highest population growth rates. The fertility rate was over 4.6 children per woman and the growth rate was 3.14% (CSO1997). As shown in the table below the size of family varies according to wards. The highest average size of family was 11.2 in Ward 2 and the lowest average family size was 5.3 in ward 1. This is illustrated in the following table:

Table 4.3 Average size of family according to wards

Ward	Number of Households	Average
1	8	5.3
2	8	11.1
3	8	7.1
4	8	10.9
5	8	6.2
Weighted average		6.9

The results generally show that families are larger in resettlement areas. The explanation to this observation is that households in resettlement areas have access to larger pieces of agricultural lands. These farmers depend heavily on the production of cotton, tobacco and maize. Cotton and tobacco are labor intensive and so large families serve as sources of labor. This justifies the explanation that family farms relying primarily on family labour, are generally more productive in their mode of production because a large family means more consumer pressure to produce more output.

4.4 Vocational training

The findings show that of the 40 farmers the 22 farmers with some vocational training have got an advantage in commercial agriculture in terms of crop production and crop variation as all the tobacco farmers in the district are master farmers. This supports Bembridge's argument that peasant farmers with some form of vocational training are likely to be more progressive farmers than those with no vocational training (Bembridge 1987). Farmers who have received some form of training are more likely to respond and benefit from new innovations. This explains that given the opportunity and additional services, such farmers are likely to perform better.

Zimbabwe's small-scale black farmers differ in terms of vocational training received. There are more farmers who have acquired some non-formal education from the extension service of Zimbabwe (AGRITEX). Rukuni (1994) pointed out that due to the diverse nature of the smallholder sector in both clientele character and production systems, a variety of extension approaches and their combinations have been adopted. Among them was the master farmer training system.

Farmers are chosen to farm under supervision of extension officers. They are assessed over a period of time. When the extension officers are satisfied with their performance, a field day is held on this farmer's farm. Other farmers and interested organizations come to see the achievements of this farmer before he is given a certificate.

This programme was quite vibrant during the 1980's and early 1990's but due to shortage of funds it has dwindled. The following table shows the status of farmers under study. The status is determined by the certificates of master farming:

Table 4.4 Status of farmers by wards

Ward	Master farmer		Non Master Farmer		Total No of Farmers
	No	%	No	%	
1	6	75	2	25	8
2	4	50	4	50	8
3	5	62.5	3	37.5	8
4	4	50	4	50	8
5	3	37.5	5	62.5	8
	22	55	18	45	40

Of the total number of farmers interviewed for the study, 22 that is 55% were master farmers, 18, which is 45%, were non-master farmers. Of these non-master farmers, 2 were in ward 1, 4 in ward 2, 3 in ward 3, 4 in ward 4 and 5 in ward 5. Of the master farmers, 6 were in ward 1, 4 in ward 2, 5 in ward 3, 4 in ward 4 and 3 in ward 5. Ward 1 had the highest number of master farmers. The findings reveal that most of the farmers in the district are master farmers. This means that they have a general knowledge on farming on large scale, which is an advantage in terms of crop production and crop variation.

4.5 Arable land and type of crops produced

The size of land holdings for the resettled farmers is in line with the assumption given by Bembridge (1987) that approximately four hectares of dry land is required for subsistence level farming in medium to high potential agro- ecological areas.

The area of study is in Natural Region ii and all the respondents own at least 120 hectares of land in all the wards. Of these, 100ha plus are used for farming and the remaining hectares are for homestead and grazing land. The following table shows the type of crops being produced and the number of farmers:

Table 4.5 Type of crop and number of farmers

Crop	1995		1996		1997		1998		1999		2000	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
maize	40	100	40	100	40	100	40	100	40	100	40	100
cotton	36	90	37	92.5	37	92.5	34	85	37	92.5	36	90
sunflower	29	72.5	34	85	30	75	29	72.5	22	55	23	57.5
tobacco	4	10	7	17.5	10	25	14	35	24	60	28	70
soyabeans	14	35	17	42.5	15	37.5	15	37.5	12	30	8	20
groundnuts	11	27.5	9	22.5	12	30	6	15	4	10	5	12.5
sorghum	3	7.5	0	0	1	2.5	9	22.5	3	7.5	1	2.5
beans	1	2.5	2	5	2	5	0	0	0	0	1	2.5
round nuts	2	5	0	0	2	5	0	0	1	2.5	0	0
paprika	0	0	0	0	1	2.5	0	0	3	7.5	0	0
rapoko	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2.5	0	0	0	0
potatoes	0	0	1	2.5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

In Zimbabwe maize is the most important crop being the major animal fed grain and staple food of the majority of the population. The country is predominantly self sufficient in maize grain except in drought years. Maize provides more than 50% of all land cropped and providing more than 65%of gross farm income (Dalton et al, 1997). The findings from the study have shown that from 1995 to 2000 all the respondents were growing maize. This could be because maize is less labour intensive than other crops like tobacco and cotton. This could also be as a result of the type of farming the black farmers were once involved in which tended to favour the farming of food crops compared to cash crops as a result of the inaccessibility to markets and credit loans. Furthermore maize does not demand much inputs compared to other crops. Also the crop seed can be planted though it will be open to pollination but this becomes cheaper for the farmers. In addition the market of maize is very accessible as the crop can be sold within the area of produce that is to other farmers.

At least 90% of the respondents produced cotton from 1995-2000. The number of cotton producers rose in 1996 by just one farmer and declined in 1998 by two farmers and then returned to 90% in 2000. However the difference is not significant as the number of cotton producers were still high compared to other cash crops like tobacco. This could be as a result of the less skills required in cotton production as compared to tobacco cropping. Cotton was one of the first cash crops to be introduced to black farmers during the colonial period. 34 farmers produced sunflower in 1997. The least number of sunflower producers was 22, which is 55% in 1999. Generally the number of sunflower producers was reduced and this could be attributed to the production of tobacco. The number of tobacco farmers increased from 4 (10%) in 1995 to 28 (70%) in 2000. The number increased by 60%. This shows that from 1995 black farmers were now moving into a market based agriculture and the number seemed to increase as the farmers gained experience in cash crop production. Soya beans producers were 17 in 1996 but in 2000 only 8 farmers were producing soya beans in the district. The reason is that farmers now preferred crops like tobacco and cotton because these crops have got higher market prices. Groundnuts producers were 12 (30%) in 1997 and the number reduced as well just like the soyabeans producers to 5 (12.5%) in 2000. The trend for sorghum shows that sorghum was mainly grown in years preceding a drought that is 1995 and 1998. Beans and round nuts seem to be very uncommon, as most farmers never produced these crops for resale but for food consumption. The most unpopular crops were paprika, which had only four producers from 1995 to 2000, rapoko and potatoes with only one farmer each producing the crop from 1995-2000. This may be as result of the soil type and the farming methods involved in such crops. Also these crops are seasonal crops hence black farmers tend to avoid seasonal farming as they regard it as too demanding and too involving. Furthermore these crops demand good storage facilities, which the farmers do not have.

Table 4.5 shows that as the number of tobacco producers increased there was also a decline in the number of farmers producing soya beans, sunflower and groundnuts. Also the results show that farmers are now involved in the market based agriculture whereby they produce a cash crop and then rely on the market for food products. Generally the findings have shown that the farmers are now specializing in producing cash crops on larger pieces of land and then grow other food crops like roundnuts on small pieces of land as these will just be for consumption

5.6 Livestock

Jackson and Collier (1991) noted that the economic benefits of livestock come from having living animals in the mixed farming system. Most livestock outputs reenter the holdings as inputs, for example manure and draught power. The growth of the herd converts into expanded assets. The following table shows the number of livestock owned by the respondents:

Table 4.6 Type and number livestock owned

Livestock	Total No	No of farmers	Average No
cattle	2020	40	50.5
goats	1100	40	27.5
sheep	760	27	28.2
chickens	463	40	36.6
pigs	150	12	12.5
guinea-fowls	85	10	8.5
turkeys	81	9	9
donkeys	54	13	4.2

The average number of cattle owned by each farmer is 50.5. Data on the previous number of cattle owned was not collected. However some of the farmers reported that the number of livestock was mainly affected by the 1992-3 drought, which resulted in the loss in livestock assets otherwise the numbers could have been higher. Furthermore the foot and mouth outbreak killed a number of livestock. The respondents also blamed the veterinary service for its inefficiency and ineffectiveness as a reduction factor in the number of livestock. The number of cattle is highest because generally black farmers use animal draught power for the tillage of land as 80% of the respondents acknowledged that they use both the tractor and the cattle as animal draught power only a few used donkeys as draught power. The other livestock in the area are goats, sheep, pigs, chicken, guinea fowls and turkeys. All the respondents acknowledged that the number of their livestock has increased since land reform. This could be as a result of more grazing land and space for the livestock unlike in the communal areas where the grazing land is just enough for a few livestock. Thus one is forced to own a limited number of livestock. Only 13 farmers owned donkeys and this could be attributed to the fact that donkeys are only used for draught power unlike other livestock that provide meat as well.

4.7 Labour

Since labor can be used as a substitute for other inputs such as capital, the apparent overutilisation of it is not surprising. Draught power shortage can force farmers to use manual labor to cultivate the land. Labour input is also used for weeding, harvesting and transporting the produce from the field to the storage place. Furthermore some of the crops like cotton and tobacco are labor intensive in nature. People have to make at least three rounds in picking the cotton fibre at every harvesting time. Another possible reason why labour tends to be overutilised is because of the high unemployment rate in the country, hence the cost of labour is very low so that black farmers tend to overutilise this input.

The study reveals that for the 18 respondents labour is made up of both family and hired labor and 22 respondents (55%) noted labor as made up of family members only.

Also only 5% of the respondents noted that they experience labor shortages. This is a small number and the problem can be attributed to the distance from the villages, which provide hired labor such that most workers would prefer traveling short distances to nearby farms. The farmers also reported that they experience labour shortages during certain periods like weeding and harvesting because most of the workers will also be attending to their own plots. However the findings generally showed that most of the labour is provided by the family members.

Studies have proved that family labor is cheaper and more productive than hired labor and black small-scale farmers are believed to cultivate intensively and to utilize labor more. This is mainly because of incentive problems combined with other market imperfections. Large-scale commercial white farmers are also believed to cultivate extensively. A study in Zimbabwe has shown that on average, Model A1 resettlement scheme employ 6 persons per hectare compared to 5.4 persons per hectare in large-scale commercial white farming sector. On resettlement schemes that specialize in tobacco, three times as many people are employed per hectare as compared to large scale white farming sector. Between 1990 and 1994 white farmers were employing about 8 465 non-family members per annum of which 1 880 were permanent workers and the rest were casual workers. During the same period, an average of 810 500 family members worked on family farms (Government of Zimbabwe 1998).

4.8 Credit

Land reform serves to redistribute land and to achieve increased productivity. Higher productivity can only come about as a result of changes in the structure of support services such as research, extension and credit. Taylor (1986) noted that one of the primary policy actions directed toward improving the productivity and incomes of traditional farmers in developing countries has been the provision of agricultural credit at subsidized rates of interests. This was meant to transform the traditional agricultural production technologies to more modern and productive technologies.

Parikh et al cited in Mushunje (2000) in their study of the economic efficiency in Pakistan Agriculture found out that the credit availability shifts the cash constraints outwards and thus enables farmers to make timely purchases of those inputs, which they cannot provide from their own resource

At independence in 1980, black farmers got access to credit from the AFC (an agricultural financial institution) as they received credit loans in terms of fertilizer and seed (Made 1995). A small number of the beneficiaries managed to improve their productivity such that some of them were able to compete with the LSC farmers. This confirmed Shultz's hypothesis that traditional farmers are poor but efficient (Lipton and Longhurst 1989). Taylor et al (1986) also noted that the provision of agricultural credit would be ineffective for improving productivity and incomes since investment opportunities are limited. Black farmers are hypothesized to be efficient but faced with technological barriers that cannot be overcome by the mere influx of capital provided by credit programmes alone. In Zimbabwe most of the black farmers did not have enough knowledge about how to manage loans. The high extension officer to farmers' rates neutralized the number. Some farmers did not understand the concept of interest. Also the 100% stop order arrangement between AFC and the GMB caused farmers to sell produce to free agents who exploited them and in the long run the credits facility did not help the black farmers

Technological barriers too, like lack of draught power; lack of knowledge of how to use agricultural chemicals and fertilizer application rates prevented the credit programmes from having a significant impact on capital formation and incomes. Black farmers were given soft loans to buy seed and fertilizers at very low interest rates. For example in 1980 the black farmers received loans from the government at an interest rate of 15% and this increased to 35% in 1995 (Mushunje 2000).

Findings from the study area show that black farmers receive loan from the government in the form of inputs mainly seeds, fertilizer and insecticides. They are given the inputs at the beginning of the season and repay the loan when they marketed their crop to the respective companies like GMB, Cargil and Cottco. However they also complained that the interest rate they were being charged was too high and some gave 35% as the rate of interest being charged by the government.

4.9 Extension services

Extension education exposes farmers to improved techniques (Mushunje 2000). It provides a technique for enhancing the chances of increasing production without any significant quantitative increase in the basic factors of production for example land, capital and labor. The promotion of the extension system that took place during the 1980's in Zimbabwe proved to be beneficial. It resulted in the adoption of high yielding varieties of maize and the use of fertilizers such that much of the maize produced in

Zimbabwe comes from the black farmers. These black farmers with the help of extension services have diversified into some cash crops like tobacco.

Although the Department of Extension faces some financial constraints, most farmers should do well without the assistance from the extension workers. From the findings all the respondents received advice from the extension officers and the extension officers visit the area twice a month.

4.10 Seed

All the farmers reported that they have been using hybrid seeds since land reform. These are seeds with genetically improved chemicals. However some of the farmers acknowledged that they were substituting some of the hybrid seeds with open pollinated seeds for example maize and sunflower because of the price of some of the seeds, which had become rather too high. Open pollinated seeds are seeds from the previous harvest without any chemicals. The farmers also complained that though they are given the seeds as a loan but generally the cost of seeds was very high in the country. As a result farmers buy less of it and compensate this by other inputs like labor and capital. The farmers also produce a variety of crops unlike the large-scale white commercial farmers who specialize in different crops.

4.11 Fertilizer

All the respondents use fertilizer to maximize production. However the cost of fertilizer is rather beyond the level of demand and as a result they are underutilizing the input in favor of other cheaper inputs like manure. Actually 55% of the respondents revealed that they use animal manure alongside with fertilizer.

During the survey a number of farmers pointed out that chemical fertilizer was the most limiting input in the production of cotton and tobacco. The price of this input relative to the price of other inputs is too high. This has led some farmers to avoid producing tobacco together with cotton. This also explains why companies like GMB, Cottco and Cargil come in to give loans to farmers even in the form of insecticides. The farmers can get the chemicals they want as long as they will market their crops to the respective company.

4.12 Agricultural Commodity Market

Zimbabwe adopted a market based commodity approach in the early 1990s. The period saw the opening up of agricultural commodity market with the disappearance of privatization of government owned companies like Grain Marketing Board (GMB), Cotton Marketing Board (CMB) and Agricultural Finance Company. This created crop financing and market uncertainty for the small scale black farmers as the approach meant the integration of the country into the world trade system which proponents suggested promotes free markets as the most efficient means of trading. However Hungwe (2000) pointed that it ignores vast inequalities between seller and potential buyer. This is as a result of the inability to set prices, bargaining and access to credit as well as the tradition of community owned land in much of the Southern Africa (Hungwe 2000).

According to Hungwe (2000) allowing grain prices to be determined by market forces led to the establishment of Zimbabwe Commodity Exchange in (1994) which meant an increased transparency and competition in the market. The following table shows the three phases of market reform that changed grain marketing from a highly controlled state trading system to a more open, competitive grain marketing system with increased private sector participation.

Table 4.12 Maize Policy Changes in Zimbabwe

Phase 1: Colonial Regime: (service provision to settler farmers) 1931-1980

State Marketing Agency	Market Regulation and Pricing Policy
Maize Control Board 1931; replaced by GMB 1950	GMB grain marketing monopoly in commercial farming
◆ Buying stations almost exclusively in European farming areas.	African farmers barred from selling grain outside their reserve areas, except to GMB or licensed agents
◆ African surplus production chanelled mainly to Licensed agents of GMB	.GMB monopoly on sales to registered millers.
◆ Grain Marketing Act 1950- formation of GMB and other parastatals	GMB controlled prices; Prices uniform across regions and seasons.
	.Prices for European delivery to GMB 56% higher than for African small holders on average 1936-1960
	.GMB monopoly on imports and exports

Phase 11: Independence: (expansion of marketing services to smallholders) 1980-1990

State Marketing Agency

- Development of limited GMB depot network in smallholder areas from 1970S
- Depots expanded rapidly to 1986.
- GMB staff doubled in numbers.
- Started reducing maize collection points in 1986.

Market Regulation and Pricing Policy

Consumer and producer subsidies increased in late 1970s.

Expansion of credit to smallholders.

Expansion of pan-territorial pricing, taxing of commercial maize producers.

Consumer subsidies phased out by 1985; reintroduced from 1991-1993.

Gradual reduction of official credit to smallholders, 1986-1992.

Official producer prices decline in real terms 1985-1991.

Phase 111: Structural Adjustment (market liberalization and privatization)1991-1997.

State Marketing Agency

- 1991 Create Board of Directors of GMB
- GMB annual trading deficits increase rapidly; reaching Z$1.2 billion in 1994
- GMB has excess storage capacity and too many employees.
- Government charges GMB to operate without deficits in 1995.
- GMB reduces employees from over 5 000 to about 2 600.
- GMB charged to administer the Strategic Grain Reserve in 1995.

Market Regulation and Pricing Policy

Phased elimination of controls on inter-region trade.

Maize meal subsidies abolished and consumer prices decontrolled, 1993

GMB monopolist seller status restricted to large mills in 1993, eliminated.

GMB continues to function as buyer and seller of last resort.

GMB continues with pan territorial and pan seasonal pricing.

Agricultural commodity exchange

GMB charged to operate in non commercial areas for a fee to be paid by GOZ.	established in 1993.
◆ GOZ owes GMB for maize stocks used in Loan Scheme for needy rural households in 1995.	Rapid expansion of private traders, small and medium scale millers 1993-1997.
◆ GMB deficit continues.	Private traders and millers gain market share and become the most important buyers and sellers of maize,1993-1997.
	GOZ on paper authorizes GMB to introduce flexible buying and selling prices, 1995

(Source: Jayne 197 and Abt Associates cited in Larson and Swire-Thompson 1997)

According to Larson- Thompson (1997) from 1931 to independence in 1980, agricultural marketing in Zimbabwe could be characterized as a highly centralized, controlled, and interventionist marketing and pricing system for most crops. This included the main staple food, white maize. The marketing system consisted of parastatal marketing agencies like grain, cotton, dairy and cold storage with monopoly control over purchasing, sales, imports, exports, pricing and other aspects of marketing. For maize, the GMB was the state agency designated to control marketing. The GMB held a monopoly on the purchase from the producers, the transport and sale of controlled products such as maize within the large scale commercial farming areas and the urban areas. Almost all the marketing infrastructure and transport were located in the commercial farming and urban areas.

On independence the GMB expanded marketing services to the small scale black farmers. The GMB increased the number of depots and temporary collection points in the small holder areas. GMB purchases from black farmers expanded rapidly from 86 000 tons in 1980/81 to 819 000 tons in 1985/86 (Larson and Swire- Thompson 1997). GMB controlled the imports and exports during this period. However problems emerged in the marketing system from this rapid expansion of services to small scale farmers. The costs of these marketing systems escalated and the government phased out the consumer subsidies, official producer prices declined and official credit to small holders was gradually reduced. This led to the introduction of maize marketing reform. The government implemented the Economic Structural Adjustment Policy in 1991 to stimulate faster economic growth and competitiveness by reforming many sectors, including grain marketing. This meant that producers now have the freedom to sell to one or a number of buyers. Producers can sell to each other, to private traders, to small scale millers, to the Zimbabwe Agricultural Commodity Exchange (ZIMACE) or to the GMB. Buyer and seller negotiate the price and other services included in these contracts, except for the ZIMACE contracts that are standardized. GMB continues to have its monopoly on maize imports and exports (Larson and Swire- Thompson (1997).

Impacts of Grain Marketing Reforms

Impacts on Price Discovery

Since the implementation of grain market reforms, entrepreneurship has increased. The establishment of ZIMACE in 1994 as a price discovery mechanism has brought together buyer and seller to negotiate trades in a competitive, transparent market place. Contracts in spot and forward markets are traded on the exchange and the exchange publishes daily information about market prices and the number of trades. The exchange facilitates trades in almost all of Zimbabwe's major crops with the exception of tobacco and horticultural crops. ZIMACE oversees the contractual obligations of each willing buyer and willing seller and performs an arbitration role (Larson and Thompson 1997).

In this study all the respondents revealed that buyers and sellers negotiate prices based upon demand and supply in an open competitive market. This suggests that there is need for all the farmers to learn how to manage increased price volatility and price risks faced in this deregulated market where prices fluctuate. The respondents also supported this argument as they acknowledged that the discipline of the market requires improved management decisions and better market information from farmers, traders, processors, livestock feeders and even the consumers. Hence a need for extension services to educate the small scale black farmers on these markets.

<u>Marketing problems</u>

Problems in marketing range from high input costs, low producer prices due to unfair grading by commodity buyers to push down prices, to limited processing capacity which would have added value and reduced transport costs of bulk raw materials. The findings from the study show that some of the small scale black farmers live in areas with poor roads which render transport services not only unavailable but also highly priced. With the privatization of marketing boards in Zimbabwe, and the market liberalization occurring in most commodities, the findings from this study have shown that small scale black farmers have become vulnerable to traders. This is as a result of a number of weaknesses which include: inadequate pricing information, lack of storage facilities and reliable transportation, and the need to repay high interest bearing loans. This situation puts buyers in a position to dictate prices, as well as employ manipulative grading systems to their advantage. Small scale black farmers function as individuals and therefore do not have collective as well as individual bargaining power.

From the findings in this study one can conclude that there is need for the government to intervene and find some solutions to assist small scale black farmers. This can include farmer training in production, marketing, post-harvest handling, grading and quality control. The government could establish and maintain market extension workers in the field to train farmers on market trends and new international trade rules and policies and negotiate for higher prices for controlled commodities. The government could promote market linkages with established agro-processing and export companies. There is also a need for the government to facilitate access to trading finance by associations of marketing groups so as to assist small scale black farmers.

<u>International Trade Issues</u>

The findings in this study have shown that small scale black farmers are at a disadvantage in terms of the rules of international trade. The problems they face include the inefficient use of chemicals for pest and disease control which results in poor quality produce and low commodity prices, as the natural disease control methods are not yet well neither understood nor practiced by black farmers. This grading system highly affects the tobacco small scale black farmers whose produce are normally regarded as poor quality. These farmers furthermore revealed that the traceability of export products is also another hindering factor for the small scale black farmers in that it calls for the labeling to show the farm origin of the produce. Implementation of this requirement is not easy for the black farmers as most of the crops are packaged by bulk from a number of farms, due to the small volumes produced at each farm. In addition bilateral trade agreements, such as the free trade agreement between South Africa and Europe, which will result in subsidized agricultural products from the European Union finding their way into Zimbabwe would also disadvantage small scale black farmers as small scale black farmers in Zimbabwe are not subsidized in their production operations.

CHAPTER FIVE

5.1 The realities of black farming

As a means of attempting to promote agriculture's participation in an integrated economic and social development programme, national policy makers I many countries have often resorted to land reform and redistribution programmes (Truant and Fox 1979). The government of Zimbabwe is forging ahead with its land reform programme despite some negative perceived economic impact of the land transfer programme.

The objective of the land reform programme is to enhance environmental sustainability in rural areas and rural development as well as promoting food security. This will only be achieved if environmental considerations become a specific part of the planning for land reform at both a macro and micro level. For example removing incentives for poor land use is an essential prerequisite for sustainability. In addition, more intensive land use must be expected from beneficiaries of land reform. This chapter discusses the findings of the study on the realities of black farming.

In Zimbabwe extension coverage has helped settlers to make a major shift in production technology. Many black farmers have now moved from subsistence farming to commercial agriculture. They now produce a number of cash crops for example cotton, tobacco, sunflower and soya-beans. Also these farmers unlike LSC farmers do not specialize in one type of crop. They produce a variety of crops and this has got its own advantages, which are, in drought periods some crops like sorghum, sunflower and cotton are drought resistant crops such that these farmers stand a better chance of earning some cash even when there is a drought. This is also as a result of irrigation schemes, which are still concentrated in few areas. Also the production of a variety of crops gives the farmers an advantage even when there is an outbreak of crop disease. At least if a particular crop is attacked then the other crops would stand a chance of surviving as insecticides tend to be expensive for most of the black farmers.

5.2 Labour

The study has shown that labour is made up of both family and hired labour. Truan and Fox (1979) noted that in agriculture under surplus labour conditions, the marginal product of labour is zero or near zero. The workers could theoretically be transferred to the industrial sector without a loss of production in agriculture. However when the supply is excessively high its price will be low (Mushunje 2000). Hence these farmers are investing more labour in agriculture and utilize less of the other inputs like fertilizer and other purchased inputs. Also the nature of the crops especially cotton and tobacco dictates that more labour be used. Cotton and tobacco are highly labour intensive especially during the harvesting periods. The respondents pointed out that weeding for both crops and picking demands much of the labour. These farmers are generally resource poor and cannot afford to buy most of the herbicides. As a result these farmers spray insecticides by hand. They cannot afford aircraft spraying. Thus there is need for government intervention in providing credit to these farmers so as to increase productivity.

Some of the farmers who revealed that they experience seasonal labour shortages during certain periods. This is usually during weeding and harvesting. The reason is that the workers will also be attending to their own farms during such peak periods.

5.3 Capital

All the farmers own a number of domestic animals and 85% own tractors and that could be used as capital. However though they own this capital but it has low opportunity cost outside agriculture. They tend to exhibit irrational capital usage. They use cattle and tractor to plough the field twice before planting. They do winter ploughing before the rains come. After that they plough again at planting time after weeds have started to germinate (weed control strategy). Just before weeding the land is ploughed again in between plant rows. This time the mould board is removed from the plough. This process helps to simultaneously destroy weeds and loosen the soil. Some farmers (28%) with planters use draught power to pull the planter.

When organic manure is applied, either a tractor or animals are used to pull scotch carts. At harvesting it is also animals and tractors that are used to transport the crops to the storage building. Although the measure of the marginal unit cost of capital is imprecise, the study shows that all the farmers are overutilising capital.

5.4 Labour organization and farm size

Literature clearly demonstrates that family farms are generally more efficient and superior to other types of farming because of the way in which labor relations are organized (Binswanger 1996). Family farms by definition are farms where the owner is the operator and where his or her family provides the large bulk of the regular labor requirements throughout the year. While the definition of family farms does not exclude the hiring of other people especially in a part time capacity when related to seasonal labor, it tends not to rely too much on such behavior. In a country like Zimbabwe, where capital is scarce and expensive the relationship between labor and capital should also reflect this. Thus over- emphasizing modernization, restructuring, mechanization and other similar concepts, implying the use of more capital to labor than that dictated by economic realities should be discouraged. This all implies that farm sizes are on the smaller side of the spectrum rather than larger sizes of family labor. Hence the conclusion from the findings of this study shows that the small scale black farmers are not only more efficient than their larger counterparts but are also relatively more labour intensive in their mode of production.

5.5 Farm size and productivity relationship

The literature demonstrates that a systematic relationship between farm size and productivity is the result of market imperfections and this result only when more than a single market is imperfect. For example if credit is rationed according to farm size but all the other markets are perfect, land and labor market transactions will produce a farm structure that equalizes yields across farms of different operational size. But if there are two imperfections in markets like credit and labor, a systematic relationship can arise between farm size and productivity (Binswanger 1996).

In countries like Zimbabwe where markets facing black farmers for any combination of labor, land and credit are often imperfect this may give rise to real economies of scale over the short- term. However these economies of scale are false in the sense that they are only temporary and are the result of deliberate elimination of or restrictions on these markets. With development of these markets economies of scale diminish and eventually disappear. Thus the issue is not to pursue a form of structure that captures these benefits over the short term but over the long term and this gets a country locked into an inefficient and inequitable structure centering on large scale mechanized forms (Binswanger 1996). A World Bank study on the higher efficiency of small versus large farms in Kenya found that output per hectare was 19 times higher and employment per hectare was 30 times higher on holdings under 0.5ha than on holdings over 8ha (cited in Binswanger 1996). Riedinger (cited in Binswanger 1996) using data from 117 countries show that 11 of the top 14 countries in terms of grain yields per hectare are countries in which small scale family farming is the dominant mode of production. This also is supported by the findings from the study, which shows that most of the farmers use family labour as the dominant means of production. However Feder and Carter and Kalfayan (cited in Binswanger 1996), noted that the existence of market imperfections that tend to favour large farms for example capital and insurance markets might negate the inverse relationship between farm size and productivity. Carter and Kalfayan (in Binswanger 1996) argued that certain financial market disadvantages might render small farms non- competitive. Hence whereas the black farming strategy holds considerable promise from an efficiency perspective this does not mean that its implementation is easy or can afford to ignore critical policy issues such as resolving the usually constrained access of black farmers to credit markets. The study has shown that the farmers have got limited access to credit markets and this impact on their productivity.

5.6 Access to credit and risk diffusion

Rural credit markets are difficult to develop and sustain (Binswanger 1996). There is often severe rationing of credit, which can be partly relieved by the ability to provide land as collateral. The high transaction costs of providing formal credit in rural markets imply that the unit costs of borrowing decline with loan size. Many commercial banks do not lend loans to small farmers because they cannot make a profit. For example the findings from the study show that only 2\40 (5%) of the respondents received loans from the bank. Raising interest rates on small-scale farmers does not over come this problem since it eventually leads to adverse selection. For a given credit value, therefore the cost of borrowing in the formal credit market is a declining function of the amount of owned land. Providing funds to overcome emergencies is a common function of informal rural credit markets. However the amounts small farmers can borrow for consumption is usually tiny and often only at high interest rates. Findings into how farmers and workers cope with disaster show that credit finances only a small fraction of their consumption in disaster years.

Access to formal commercial bank credit therefore gives large modern commercial farmers a considerable advantage in risk diffusion over small farmers without access. Therefore establishment of a viable credit function for the family farm is a prerequisite of modern commercial farming. Hence, emphasis on developing rural credit is needed including co-operative banking and other savings mobilization mechanisms.

However despite the expected losses of 50% production of tobacco as 700 tobacco farmers are expected to lose their land, the findings show that a number of black farmers are now producing the crop though the farmers complain that it is labor intensive. Also the other problem facing black farmers on the cropping of tobacco is that in the sphere of tobacco, specialized skills ranging from nursing seedlings to varied agronomic crop curing and marketing skills as well as infrastructure required to handle the crop are limited to small scale farmers. Thus with time as the extension officers continue to educate the farmers, many farmers are expected to master such resources.

Furthermore the government could subsidize the prices of inputs like improved seed and fertilizers, as this will discourage some farmers from resorting to selected open pollinated seeds from the seasons harvest as this result in a poor crop. Extension services should also help farmers to choose good seed that germinates well. Also farmers still face a lot of problem on inputs like fertilizer, as it is expensive hence they resort to animal manure as an alternative.

Black farmers also do not have good storage infrastructure for their products such that they always sell their produce immediately after harvest. This has a disadvantage in that during such periods normally the prices on the market will have fluctuated and this is unlike their counter parts the LSC farmers who retain their produce and sell them when prices will have been hiked at the market. Furthermore the black farmers still need to adopt better methods for preserving their grain, as a lot of grain is lost due to poor storage methods. Hence farmers should be educated about the best way of using insecticides to avoid grain loss during storage.

5.7 Discussion

The government's policy of assisting black farmers with inputs like seeds and fertilizer helped to boost output in many resettled areas. There is need for increased efforts in extension and education, which are aimed at improving production. In the area under study water is a problem, so much that there is need for a dam so that the farmers become busy throughout the year and can grow winter crops like wheat. Also irrigation during drought periods can help the farmers. The provision of irrigation will promote a water fertilizer labor-intensive technology. This might be expensive to establish especially to newly resettlement schemes but if the government adopts a phased implementation programme and seeks some donor assistance, this might work. Technological change to increase labour productivity should accompany any effort to change land use patterns.

There is need for an effective and efficient veterinary service in the area since the farmers complained of losses of livestock as a result of the inefficiency and ineffectiveness of the veterinary service. There is also inadequate supply of boreholes such that some families especially in ward 4 end up drinking unsafe water in nearby rivers as boreholes dry quickly because of demand. Electricity and telecommunication is also needed in some of the wards except for ward 5. Farmers also need loans to build storage facilities for their produce so that they could retain their crops when prices fluctuate and sell them when the market prices are high.

Generally despite all the problems, the findings have shown that black farmers exhibit higher rates of productivity as they produce more crops per acre-year and have an advantage of use of higher valued crops in terms of land use. Also the findings have shown that there is more labor, more supervision and more consumer pressure to produce more output amongst black farmers.

CHAPTER SIX

Summary, Conclusion and Policy Implication

The findings have revealed that that most of the black farmers own between 100ha and 150ha of land and all the households are male-headed households. The majority of the farmers are master farmers, which means that most of the farmers in the district have got an in-depth knowledge in agriculture. The farmers have moved into commercial farming and they produce a wide range of crops like cotton, maize, sunflower, tobacco, soya beans, groundnuts, round nuts and beans. Most farmers prefer maize and cotton as these had the highest number of farmers. Thus any programme that intends to improve income distribution and reduce rural poverty should seriously take crop production into consideration.

Access to credit from institutionalized markets is quite minimal. With interest rates over 35% it is not rational for small-scale farmers to borrow money for inputs, as there will be little profit at the end from farming. Only the cotton and maize producers are benefiting from the loans offered by Cargil, Cottco and GMB companies that market these crops in the country.

This study shows that resources like seed and insecticides are not fully used. As a result there is room for increasing investments in these inputs especially seed. The quality of seeds should be assessed as this can also affect production.

As far as labor and capital are concerned there is an intensive use of these inputs. Therefore any government intervention should be designed in such a way that it encourages the intensity of labor use, for example growing labor-intensive crops like cotton and tobacco.

Policy Implications

Despite some negative publicity and economic impact of the land transfer programme, the government of Zimbabwe is forging ahead with its land reforms programme A number of policy interventions need to be made by the government if black farmers are to improve their productivity. All policies and distortions favouring larger farms relative to smaller farms should be removed. However the study has shown that generally black farmers are capable of producing more.

The high proportion of maize, sunflower, groundnuts and soya beans dispels the fear that land reform will result in major losses in food output and an increase in food imports. This is in line with what was argued by Moyo (1998) that predicted losses of maize and cotton are quite controversial since black farmers already produce 65% of the national totals. Admittedly, the production of tobacco is going to decline for some time because of the advanced skills and infrastructure required handling these crops. As a result the government needs to spare some of the tobacco farms or designate the farms in phases so as to give the black farmers chance to master the skills.

Optimal land utilization, increased productivity, employment growth, improved income distribution and environmentally sustainable uses of resources are all inter-related and fundamental material components of a poverty elimination strategy in the primary exports led economy of countries such as Zimbabwe (Moyo 1998). In this study we find that in most cases the farmers are utilizing the land and there is room for improvement in production as the farmers acknowledged that their livelihoods have improved since resettlement and they are still even hoping for better lives.

Furthermore the government should make necessary back up to the farmers in terms of infrastructure, boreholes, seeds, irrigation, fertilizer and irrigation schemes. The policy makers should consider that these farmers are resource poor and that the prices of the inputs are generally beyond their reach. Also the use of the inputs requires some skills critical to achieving maximum productivity.

The government's practice of assisting black farmers with inputs like seeds and fertilizer helped to boost output in these areas in the 80's and early 90's as the country became the bread basket of the Southern region. The government can also increase efforts in extension and education, which are aimed at improving efficiency and use of the available resources. Although these activities, including credit, are not costless, they are relatively inexpensive and can give short run gains in output.

Promotion of more labour intensive techniques

Since the findings indicate that there is more labour in the small sector, policy makers should try and come up with farming techniques that absorb the surplus labour. Cropping intensively will increase both output and labor absorption. This can be achieved by using better quality seeds, which are fertilizer responsive, along with an adequate supply of fertilizer. In most areas water is a problem so the provision of irrigation will promote a water fertilizer labor-intensive technology. This might be expensive to establish especially on newly resettlement schemes but if the government adopts a phased implementation programme and seeks some donor assistance, this might be achieved. Technological change to increase labor productivity should accompany any effort to change land use patterns.

Additional employment opportunities in agriculture can also be created in rural areas through the establishment of projects like that of cattle fattening. Farmers through inter cropping can grow crops like cowpeas and millet. The products are going to be fed to livestock, which will then be sold to institutionalized markets like Cold Storage Company. Even the stalks from the crops after harvesting can be collected and fed to these animals. Very high returns can be achieved and the surplus labor is utilized. Poverty, which is quite acute amongst these farmers, can be reduced.

Small business can be established in rural areas to buy all surplus produce and process them into both human and animal feeds. These could be sold to farmers at a cheaper price as transport costs are reduced. This can promote employment opportunities among the local people.

Milk production projects can also be promoted through the establishment of dairy clubs in the rural areas. Farmers can be given dairy animals through credit schemes and sell the milk to the community. This will not only improve income distribution but also the nutritional status of the food offered to the rural people. The manure from these projects will be reinvested in agricultural production.

The government should try to promote agricultural education for small-scale farmers. The training of master farmers will help in the sense that these farmers will act as early adopters of new technologies. The government can also assist with improved seed so as to discourage farmers from using selected open pollinated seeds from the season's harvest.

Finally the government needs to commit finance to land reform and to involve local expertise and various interest groups in a group forum, which can produce a credible plan for land reform. Also a follow up in all resettlement areas should be made so as to make an assessment of what is actually happening on the ground for development's sake.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

UNIVERSITY OF FORT HARE

INVESTIGATION ON LAND REFORM AND BLACK FARMERS IN ZIMBABWE: A STUDY IN POLICY VISIONS AND HISTORICAL REALITIES

QUESTIONNAIRE

TASK	**NAME**
Resettlement scheme model	
Name of ward	
Location of farm	
Status of farmer	
Place interviewed	

LAND AND AGRICULTURE

1 Do you have access to one or more arable fields? N/Y

2 If yes, how many do you have access to? ___________

3 How many hectares of land do you own? ________________

4 How did you get access to the land?

a) Bought from a private owner

b) Rented from another household

c) Inherited from parents

d) Given by the government (resettlement)

5 What were you doing before resettlement?

6 Where were you living before resettlement?

7 Looking at your field, do you consider it to be

a) too big

b) of the right size

c) too small

8 Which crops have you produced for resale from the period 1995-2000?

Year	Crop	Area (ha)

8 Which farm inputs do you use?

Crop	Inputs

Which livestock do you own and the number?

Type	Number owned

9 Who does the farming of your field (s)?

a) hired labour

b) family

c) community cooperative

d) other (specify)

10 Which farm machinery do you use?

a) plough

b) tractor

c) hoe

d) other (specify)

13 Do you have a problem with obtaining labour? N/Y

If yes, state the problem

14 Where you supplied with the inputs or you bought them?

15 If supplied by whom?

e) government

f) non governmental organizations

g) other (specify)

Marketing

16 Where do you market your produce?

Crop	Market

16 How far is it to the main market? ________________

17 How do you get your produce to the market?

18 Do you have any problems with getting your produce to the market? N/Y

19 Where do you obtain advice for your crop production?

a) neighbours

b) extension officers

c) sales representatives

d) other (specify)

21 Are you aware of advisory services or government support institutions in the region? N/Y

22 How often do agricultural extension officers visit your area?

a. daily
b. once a week
c. once a month
d. twice a month

23 Do you belong to any one of the farm organizations? N?Y

If yes, which one?

24 What services do this/ these organizations perform?

a) farmer representative at local level
b) farmer representative at regional level
c) facilitation of training
d) facilitation of finance

Credit

25 Have you ever needed to borrow money? N/Y

26 If yes where from? ____________________

27 What interest did they charge you? ________________________

28 Is the information about how to obtain a loan sufficient for you? ___________

29 If you borrowed money, what was it used for?

a) to purchase inputs

b) to purchase farm implements

c) other: (specify) ______________________________

General

30 Do you produce enough to feed your family and for resale? N/Y

31 If no, why are you unable to produce enough?

i. soil is too poor

ii. area receives little rain

iii. shortage of funds to buy farm implements

iv. other (specify) ___________________________

32 Do you need more land for farming? N/Y

33 Where is this land?

a) state land

b) commercial farms

c) mission land

d) other (specify) __________________

Land Reform

34 Do you believe that land reform is inevitable in Zimbabwe? Y/N

35 How do you think the government should take the land reform from white commercial farms?

a) willing buyer and wiling seller

b) compulsory acquisition

c) other: (specify) ______________________

36 What is your opinion on compensation to land acquired?

a) none

b) compensation for infrastructural developments only

c) full compensation

d) other: (specify)

37 Who should be resettled?

a) master farmers only

b) farmers from congested areas

c) anyone who needs land

d) farmers who are below 50 years of age

e) other: (specify) ______________________

38 Compared to the years before resettled, has the quality of your household life

a) improved

b) remained the same

c) deteriorated

39 Compared to the years before resettled, has your agricultural yields

a) improved

b) remained the same

c) deteriorated

40 What can you say are the most important improvements required in your area and the problems you want to be addressed?