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Livelihoods After land reform Resettlement Programme: A critical Appraisal of the

Nyahukwe Resettled farmers, Rusape, Zimbabwe

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Declaration

I declare that *Livelihoods after Land Reform and resettlement Programme: A critical Appraisal of Nyahukwe Resettlement Scheme, Rusape, Zimbabwe* is my own work, that it has not been submitted for any degree or examination in any other university, and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references.

Full Name:

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Signed:



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List of Abbreviation

AGRIBANK: Agricultural Bank of Zimbabwe
AIAS: African Institute of Agrarian Studies
AIDS: Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
AGRITEX: Agriculture Research and Extension
ANC: African National Congress
BAT: British America Tobacco
COTTCO: Cotton Company of Zimbabwe
DA: District Administrator
DFID: Department for International Development
DLCs: District Land Committees
ESAP: Economic and Structural Adjustment Programme
FAO: Food and Agriculture Organisation
FTLRP: Fast Track Land Reform Programme
GMB: Grain Marketing Board
HIV: Human Immuno-deficiency Virus
IDS: Institute of Development Studies
IRD: Integrated Rural Development
IFAD: International Fund for Agricultural Development
LRAD: Land Redistribution for Agricultural development
LRRP: Land Reform and Resettlement Programme
LSCF: Large Scale Commercial Farming
MDC: Movement for Democratic Change
MDGs: Millennium Development Goals
NGO: Non-Governmental Organisation
NLAC: National Land Acquisition Committee
RDP: Reconstruction and Development Programme
SLA: Sustainable Livelihoods Approach
SLAG: Settlement/Land Acquisition Grant



TPCZ: Tobacco Processing Company of Zimbabwe

UNDP: United Nations Development Programme

VIDCO: Village Development Committee

WADCO: Ward Development Committee

ZCFU: Zimbabwe Commercial farmers Union

ZCTU: Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Union

ZANU PF: Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front



Key Words

Land Reform

Livelihood Strategies

Poverty Reduction

Sustainable Livelihoods Approach

Livelihood Outcomes

Nyahukwe Resettlement Scheme

Rusape, Zimbabwe



Abstract

Across the globe, land reform has become a key strategy for improving people's livelihoods aimed at reducing poverty and increasing food security for resilient livelihoods. In sub-Saharan Africa, redistributive land reform has been implemented since the post-colonial period as a developmental approach. Since independence, Zimbabwe implemented two forms of land reform programmes which are the Land Reform and Resettlement Programme (LRRP) (1980-1997) and the Fast Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP) (2000). The LRRP was based on the willing buyer willing seller approach with the state buying land for redistribution, while the FTLRP emerged from the chaotic and sporadic invasion of white owned commercial farms led by liberation war veterans and other politically affiliated people. In this thesis, I will focus on the LRRP which provided small farming land to many beneficiaries to ensure sustainable livelihoods.

Land is an important livelihood source for the people of Zimbabwe, but on its own it cannot sustain the living standards of resettled farmers. Contemporary literature shows the catastrophic failure of land reform in Zimbabwe. Despite all the problems, land still remains the spring board of livelihoods in Zimbabwe. There is, however, less empirical research undertaken to assess how the LRRP has benefited and enhanced livelihoods of resettled farmers. This research will assess how the LRRP improved the livelihoods of Nyahukwe resettled farmers in Rusape, Zimbabwe. The study's investigation will focus and add literature on how LRRP has been successful in empowering resettled farmers to enhance their livelihoods, to be more food secure as well as to improve their wellbeing.

Using qualitative research methods, the research aimed to assess the livelihoods of farmers since they resettled. In particular, assessing the assets and capital available and how the farmers have been able to cope, strategies implemented to diversify their livelihoods and the outcomes achieved. The Sustainable livelihoods approach (SLA) was used as a theoretical framework to assess the new livelihoods patterns established after resettlement. Purposive non-random sampling was employed to interview 3 Nyahukwe government officials such as the extension managers, Environmental health officer and Veterinary officer. Semi-structured interviews were used to collect data from 30 participants from Village F. A focus group 10 - 15 purposefully selected farmers was conducted.

Data analysis was performed on the narrative and information from interviews, focus groups and questionnaires conducted during data collection. The findings show that land reform has enhanced the livelihoods of farmers since they were resettled as they reckon food self-sufficiency and better well-being. The research findings also illustrate that land remain the livelihood base of Nyahukwe farmers although they have adopted coping strategies to expand income generation. Coping strategies are farm and off farm activities that have diversified the farmers' livelihoods through the interaction of assets. Land as a natural asset has been used with human, physical, financial and social capital to sustain the farmers. The findings revealed positive livelihood outcomes by assessing the assets before and after resettlement and outcomes achieved after adopting strategies as all farmers have increased income, self-sufficiency and improved well-being.



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1. Introduction

Globally, land reform is used as one of the main developmental policies aimed at reducing poverty and redress unequal resource distribution. In Africa, the colonial systems created unequal land ownership structures which among others have contributed to poverty and inequality (Todes et al., 2010). When Zimbabwe achieved its independence in 1980, land reform emerged as a panacea to the social and economic injustice experienced by the indigenous people (Sachikonye, 2003). Land reform was utilised as a vehicle to address poverty for vulnerable sectors of society, especially the rural dwellers, whose livelihoods are based mainly on subsistence farming (Scoones, 2009). Since independence, the Zimbabwean government implemented the Land Reform and Resettlement Programme (LRRP) between 1980 and 1999 and the Fast track land reform Programme (2000 to date). The research will only focus on the first model (LRRP), unpacking whether and how land has improved the livelihoods activities of the beneficiaries. This research will critically evaluate the livelihoods of Nyahukwe resettled farmers in Zimbabwe after they attained land through LRRP.

To assess the effect of LRRP on the livelihoods of Nyahukwe resettled farmers the sustainable livelihoods approach (SLA) was used focusing on the asset pentagon. The theoretical framework was employed to assess how the assets the farmers gained enhanced their livelihood diversification. SLA helped to gather the farmers' information such as, who gained what, what assets did the farmers accumulate and how the assets have improved their livelihoods. Studies have shown that the LRRP in Zimbabwe impacted positively on the farmers' livelihoods increasing agricultural potential for small holder farmers (Kinsey, 1983; Moyo, 1995; Rukuni, 2006). Thus, land as an asset has enhanced the livelihoods of farmers through the LRRP.

1.1. Background and Contextualisation of land reform in Zimbabwe

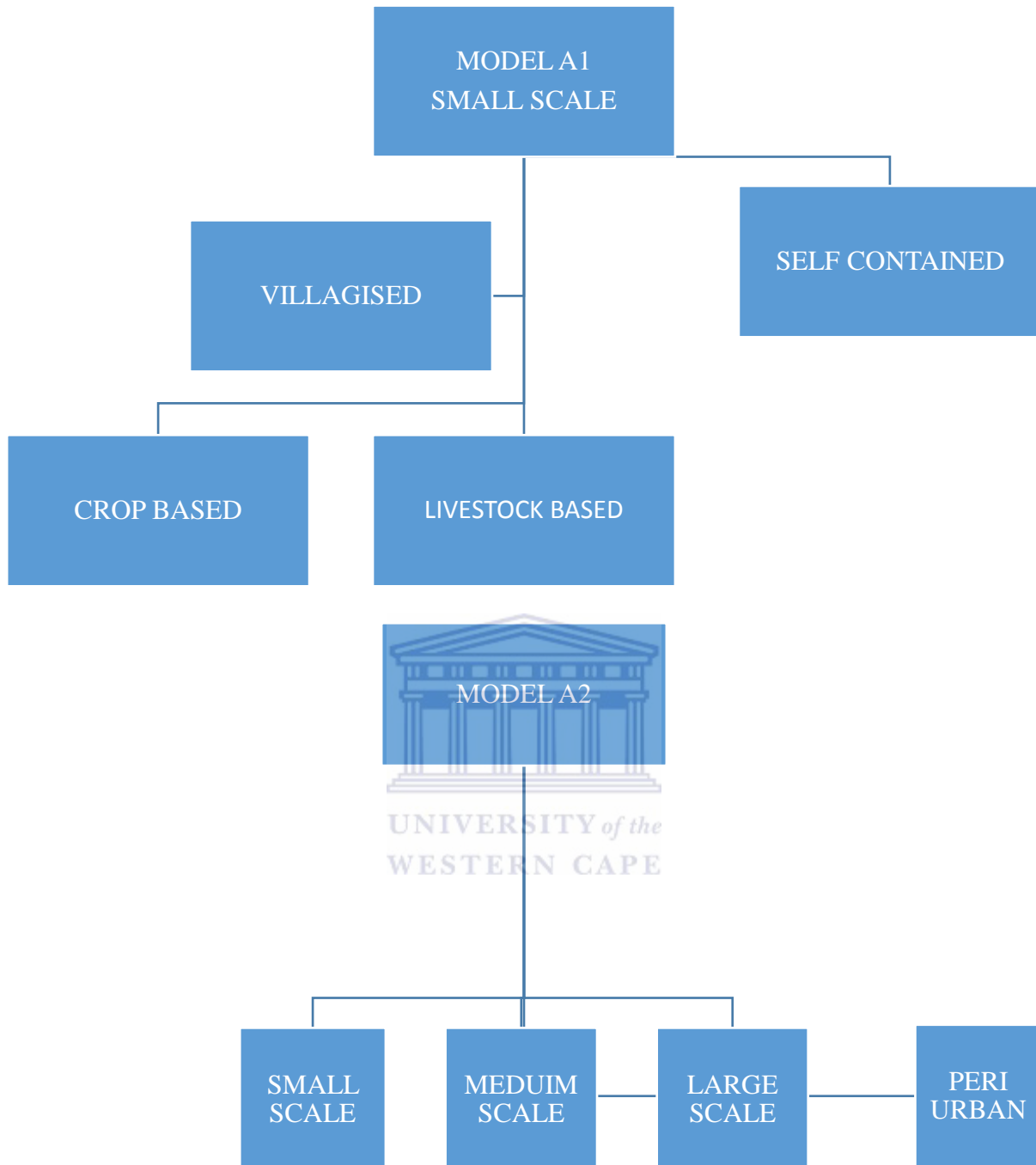
1.1.1. Land Reform in Zimbabwe

Land reform emerged from a contestation over land after the expulsion of black Zimbabweans from their fertile and arable land into Communal lands in the late nineteenth century (Moyo, 2011). The land Apportionment Act demarcated land between blacks and

whites in favour of the white large commercial land (Moyo, 2011). This created unequal land ownership such that at independence it became imperative for the government to redress this historical imbalance. Land reform was implemented with the primary aim of redressing land acquisition and redistribution.

Zimbabwe's land reform is categorised into three broad phases namely the Land Reform and Redistribution Programme (LRRP) phase1 (1980-1990), the Land Reform and Redistribution Programme (LRRP) phase 2 (1990-1999) and the Fast Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP) (2000-present). The LRRP was based on the willing buyer/willing seller approach based on the Lancaster House policy of national reconciliation (Moyo, 2005). In this program, the government bought white commercial farms and redistributed to A1 farmlands. The A2 model are self-contained large commercial land-use of more than 6 hectares of land while A1 model can be a village/ self-contained small farms of about 3-6 hectares (Moyo, 2011; Sukume et al., 2011). LRRP used the A1 model by resettling small farmers in villages providing basic services and infrastructure. The FTLRP was a state-led approach which accelerated the acquisition and redistribution of large white owned commercial land using both A1 and A2 models. The A1 model was to de-congest the overcrowded communal lands and the A2 model was to form a black commercial farming sector (Kinsey, 2005; Moyo, 2005).

Figure 1:1: Structure of A1 and A2 model in Zimbabwe



Source: Adapted from Masiwa (2005).

After independence in 1980, the government adopted the “growth with equity programme” as a strategy for reducing inequality and supporting small rural farmers (Chaumba et al., 2003). This led to the Land Reform and Resettlement Programme (LRRP) from 1980-1997 with the government redistributing land acquired through the willing buyer willing seller policy. However, the Economic Structural Adjustment Program (ESAP) in 1990, the 1992 drought and other government market policies affected agriculture adversely (FAO, 2009). The price

of land continued to rise and the government could not compensate white owners at market rates, resulting in the passing of the Land Acquisition Act in 1992 (Moyo, 2011). The act gave government the power to acquire all land with partial compensation in order to meet the demands of land redistribution. Despite that, the market price of land continued to increase which slowed further the process of resettlement. At this time, local leaders and government ministers became more involved in the land issue to the detriment of the local communities.

In 1996, the National Land Acquisition Committee (NLAC) was formed to identify suitable land for resettlement. By 1997, the committee had identified close to four million hectares of land country wide (Masiwa, 2005). Even though the land was identified, lack of adequate financial resources hampered the resettlement process. Government resorted to donor funding through the Donors Conference in 1998 which culminated in the formation of the constitutional amendment of 1999 stating that everyone has the right to land (Cliffe, 2011). The constitutional amendment was contested until a referendum was called in 2000. Unfortunately, the constitutional referendum was rejected which angered and frustrated the war veterans and other landless people. The anger was due mainly to the fact that white commercial farmers had campaigned for a “no” vote against the draft constitution which sought to redress this historical imbalance. The ruling Zimbabwe African National Union, Patriotic Front (ZANU PF) succumbed to pressure from the war veterans who demanded the immediate expropriation of white owned farms marking the advent of the Fast Track land reform Programme (FTLRP) in 2000 (Masiwa, 2005; Moyo, 2011; Moyo and Chambati, 2013).

Literature on land reform in Zimbabwe has been written focusing mainly on the aftermath of the FTLRP (Chamunorwa, 2010; Mandizadza, 2010; Rukuni, 2006; Sukume et al., 2011; Zikhali, 2010). Lack of agricultural support and deteriorating political situation have been noted as some of the factors that adversely affected the programme (Cousins, 2009; Scoones et al., 2012). But, according to a study by Kinsey in Zimbabwe (1980s to 90s), the impact of land reform on livelihoods takes long to be noticed (Kinsey, 2005). Thus, for an effective land reform, there has to be comprehensive interaction and support between those who need the support and those who provide the support (Cousins and Scoones, 2010; Hall et al., 2003). This study therefore, assesses the enhancement and achievements of LRRP as the first land reform programme which gave farmers the capability to accumulate and diversify livelihood incomes despite the failures of other land reform programs post LRRP.

1.1.2. Land Reform and livelihoods in Zimbabwe

The land reform came with changes and modifications of land use due to the socio-economic conditions which created different patterns of livelihoods (Scoones et al., 2012). Land reform as the driving force of rural development aims to address land inequalities and provision of support services to improve livelihoods. In Zimbabwe, LRRP created new livelihood diversifications such as small businesses, trade, gold panning and remittances (Scoones et al., 2012). These livelihood linkages can be within a household, communities or peripheral cities. Thus, the research will show indicators of successful sustainable livelihoods by looking at asset ownership (like number of cattle, farming equipment and amount of labour), off farming enterprise and quality of social amenities (schools, clinics, skills and recreational). Therefore, land reform and livelihoods show the ability of smallholder farmers to create alternative trajectories of economic development on a small scale (Scoones et al., 2012). The research will assess such differentiated livelihoods patterns which resulted from the effects of LRRP on resettled farmers in Nyahukwe in Rusape, Zimbabwe.

1.1.3. The Case study area (Nyahukwe resettlement Scheme in Rusape)

Nyahukwe resettlement scheme is one of the communal areas in Rusape town in the Makoni district, Manicaland province. Nyahukwe resettlement area was established in 1983 under the LRRP initiated by the government after independence. It is an A1 small scale farming scheme encompassing 16 villages with an estimated population of about 3570 people, comprising of 760 households. Initially, each household was allocated 12 acres but due to population growth and new families, the 12 acres have been sub-divided and shared among the resettled families. The area is characterised by mixed small holder farming with about 80% subsistence farmers and 20% small scale commercial farmers. The research looked at how land as an asset helped the farmers to sustain and diversify their livelihoods after resettlement.

1.2. Significance and rationale of the study

Research has discovered and concluded that redistribution of land has a positive impact on livelihoods, for instance, increased incomes and higher economic growth (Jayne et al, 2003,

Scoones et al, 2009). Much of the recent literature that exist have focused on the failure of the FTLRP which is viewed as a violent and sporadic invasion of white owned commercial farms (Chamunorwa, 2010; Mandizadza, 2010; Moyo and Chambati, 2013; Rukuni, 2006). Their studies showed that land reform had a negative aftermath impact on the overall agricultural economic system in Zimbabwe, although farmers gained land there was little improvement on their livelihoods. Despite the negative documentation on the impact of FTLRP, this research will show the effectiveness of the land reform and redistribution programme (LRRP) implemented during the first two decades after independence (1980-2000). The LRRP provided small farming land to beneficiaries with settlement support provision to ensure sustainable livelihoods to many households.

This research will contribute to the literature on the positive impact and benefits of LRRP as a successful resettlement scheme. The research will investigate what and how LRRP has been successful and also contribute lessons to other land reform programs. The research adds value to the notion that small holder farmers have potential of multiple livelihoods strategies in agricultural and non-agricultural forms of production (Cousins and Scoones, 2010; Hart, 2012). The research will explore how support provision from the government when transferring land is vital to the improvement of livelihoods. Further demonstrating how these conditions have helped the asset accumulation and diversification of livelihood income for Nyahukwe farmers.

The findings from the research will outline the success of LRRP using the Sustainable livelihoods approach and provide recommendations on improving land reform policies. Focusing on how the livelihoods of the small scale farmers can be improved. Nyahukwe is an under researched resettlement schemes in Zimbabwe. This research is amongst the few studies to be undertaken in the area. Therefore, the research will significantly contribute to the literature and studies on the livelihoods of resettled farmers in Zimbabwe.

1.3. Research Problem, Aims and Objectives

1.3.1. Research Problem

Land is an important livelihood source for the people of Zimbabwe. As a result, the right to its access has been addressed through the land reform programs. However, agriculture on its own cannot sustain the living standards of resettled farmers and this is compounded by the current socio-economic conditions (Ellis and Allison, 2004). Despite all these impediments, land remains still the spring board for livelihoods in Zimbabwe. There is, however, less empirical research undertaken to assess how the LRRP (1980-1990) has benefited and enhanced the livelihoods of resettled farmers. This research will therefore assess the effect of the LRRP on the Nyahukwe resettled farmers and evaluate the livelihoods of these resettled farmers against shocks and stresses.

1.3.2. Research Question

The main question that this research seeks to answer is:

- ❖ What is the implication of LRRP on the livelihoods of Nyahukwe farmers in Rusape?

This will be illustrated further by considering the following supporting questions:

- ❖ What are the livelihood strategies before and after resettlement of the farmers in Nyahukwe?
- ❖ What effect has the LRRP have on the farmers' capabilities to enhance their livelihoods?
- ❖ What assets and resources are employed by the farmers to build livelihoods?

1.3.3. Research Aims / Objectives

The research will analyse the effect of the LRRP and show its success on improving the livelihoods of Nyahukwe farmers. The main focus will be achieved through the following objectives.

- ❖ To assess the effect and success of LRRP on farmers with the assistance of the sustainable livelihoods framework.
- ❖ To show livelihoods resources and assets which contributed to sustainable livelihoods after the resettlement program to the farmers
- ❖ To identify gaps and successful lessons to be drawn from the LRRP as a springboard for livelihoods diversification to the farmers.

- ❖ To provide an analysis livelihood's strategies and resilience from the Nyahukwe resettled farmers.

1.4. Chapter Outline

This dissertation will be presented in the following six chapters:

Chapter One: Will introduce the study by providing background and contextualisation of the research topic .It will also show the significance and rationale of the research to be undertaken, research problem, aims and objectives of the study.

Chapter Two: Provides a comprehensive review of literature relevant to the subject concepts and matters under study, i.e. land reform and livelihoods in Zimbabwe.

Chapter Three: Will provide a conceptual and theoretical framework on the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach, explaining the main components and discuss current and past debates on the operationalisation of the approach. The applicability of such an approach as to the case study will be provided.

Chapter Four: Will contextualise the case study area by providing a socio-economic and demographic synopsis of the Nyahukwe resettlement area.

Chapter Five: The chapter will also present the research design and methodology detailing the sampling methods, data collection techniques and analysis of the findings.

Chapter Six: Present the findings, analysis and discussion of data

Chapter seven: Will provide a summary of key findings, present the conclusion to the study. It will also provide recommendations for land reform policies and implementations.

2. Literature Review



2.1. Introduction

This chapter explains what land reform entails, the types of reforms implemented, how they have been implemented in different parts of the globe showing issues and debates experienced. Different phases of land reform in Zimbabwe since independence in 1980 will be described. The chapter highlights how land reform has affected the livelihoods of the resettled farmers and evaluates its impacts, changes or transformations. The central aim of the research seeks to highlight how the first phase of redistributive land reform and resettlement programme has improved the farmer's livelihoods.

2.2. Conceptualisation of land Reform

2.3. Land reform models

Land reform can be state-led or market-led as a pro-poor growth approach addressing land inequalities and causes of poverty. Global debates still argue on the best land reform model to

adequately address the post-colonial land displacements and disputes (Borras, 2003; Borras and McKinley, 2006; Lahiff, 2007). The research will look at the market-led reform which was the first phase of land reform in Zimbabwe (1980-1990) underpinned by the willing buyer willing seller policy. Although the state did not hold back for the market to take care of redistribution, the state was also the primary funder, organiser and distributor of land through the World Bank.

2.3.1. State-led land reform

State-led land reform models are state controlled land laws and policies implemented in attempt to redistribute land. The state-led approach is supply driven by both identifying land for expropriation and recognising peasant beneficiaries or the vice versa. During the 1950-60s, land reform was driven by military dictatorship, regime national transition and the resurgence of militant rural social movements demanding land reform such as in Philippines and Brazil (Borras Jr, 2005). Such advocate for the acceleration of land redistribution can be one time state intervention or expropriation to create collectivised agriculture (Akram-Lodhi, 2007). The state is the central facilitator in redistributing land to the landless or land deprived people and supporting the resettled families (Akram-Lodhi, 2007; Lahiff, 2007).

State intervention has different objectives such as to change agrarian relations for the benefit of the poor, capital accumulation and provision of food to people (Borras, 2003). An efficient land reform is one that has intervention and adequate support from the state to create equal ownership usually of peasant farmers such as Japan, South Korea, Taiwan (Borras and McKinley, 2006). These Asian capitalist states implemented strong handed government land reforms which controlled agriculture production, class relations and capital accumulation which dramatically improved the rural livelihoods. State-led approach relies on bureaucracy of the central state as a top-down method that has failed to incorporate the diversity between and within local communities (Borras Jr, 2005). Thus, the needs of people are not addressed as states develop their own interests. There is land expropriation below market price leading to landholders resisting reform (see Figure 2.1). According to Deininger and Binswanger (1999) developing countries are affected by distorted land markets which lead to informal land market transactions. Distortions in the approach cause corruption within state agencies and make land prices go up which in turn prevent more efficient producers from acquiring or accumulating lands.

2.3.2. Market-led Land Reform

From the late 1970s, land reform policy revolved around market-Led Reform that emerged out of the pro-market critique of state-led approaches (Borras Jr, 2005). It emerged after the World Bank land reform policy which accredited itself to reform the 1970s political struggles, cost ineffectiveness and failure to allocate productive opportunities to beneficiaries by the state-led approaches (Borras, 2003). Thus, the market-based approach is influenced by neo-liberal policies of international financial institutions such as the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) to the state (Borras Jr, 2005). Deininger (1999: 651) explains the market-led model as “mechanism to provide an efficient and equity enhancing redistribution of assets”. Thus, the market-based approach advocated for the need for markets to permit the transfer of land to intended beneficiaries. The state should not plan and implement of land reform but will only facilitate market transactions between the “willing buyers” and “willing sellers” (Hall et al., 2003). However, this is not how the market-led land reform has been implemented for the state does not wait for the market to take care of redistribution, instead it is involved in the planning and implementation of land reform.

Market-led model deals with the distribution of land bought from landholders through the willing seller, willing buyer agreement (Akram-Lodhi, 2007; Borras Jr, 2005). This is to foster a more efficient land market by making it easier for land to be purchased and sold bringing a shift from state directed to market oriented land reform. In willing seller, willing buyer basis, the landholders of large land must sell the whole or part of their land with full compensation of the market value of the land (Borras, 2003; Borras and McKinley, 2006; Wegerif, 2004). On the other side, the buyer has the responsibility to look for funding through loans or communalisation of farmers to buy land and divide among themselves as was the case in Brazil, Colombia and South Africa (Borras, 2003; Ntsebeza and Hall, 2007). In Zimbabwe and Namibia, market led programmes based on the willing seller, willing buyer were implemented at independence through large land redistribution to assist the poor and landless (Moyo, 2009). The market led model indicates a voluntary selling and buying transaction which is normally negotiated by the government on behalf of the beneficiaries (see Figure 2.1). The market based approach gives liberalisation to agriculture sector as it eradicate land holdings and market related distortions which have favoured the elite and large farmers (Wegerif, 2004).-Thus, market-led land reform has been argued to be also state-led in

Southern Africa for the state is also primarily involved in the distribution of land through the self-driven demand of beneficiaries.

Figure 2:1: Key features of State and Market-led Approaches



Issues	State-led	Market-led
<i>Getting access to land</i>		
Acquisition method	Coercive; cash-bond payments at below market price	Voluntary; 100% cash payment based on 100% market value of land
Beneficiaries	Supply-driven; beneficiaries state-selected	Demand-driven; self-selected
Implementation method	Statist-centralised; transparency and accountability = low degree	Privatised-decentralised; transparency and accountability = high degree
Pace and nature	Protracted; politically and legally contentious	Quick; politically and legally non-contentious
Land prices	Higher	Lower
Land markets	Land reform: cause and effect? aggravates land market distortions; progressive land tax and titling programme not required	Land reform: cause and effect of land market stimulation; progressive land tax and titling programme required
<i>Post-land transfer farm and beneficiary development</i>		
Programme sequence; development and extension service	Farm development plans after land redistribution: Protracted, uncertain and anaemic post-land transfer development; extension service statist-centralised = inefficient	Farm development plans before pace of redistribution: Quick, certain, and dynamic post-land transfer development; extension service privatised-decentralised = efficient
Credit and investments	Low credit supply and low investments	Increased credit and investments
Exit options	None	Ample
<i>Financing</i>		
Mechanism	State 'universal' subsidies; sovereign guarantee; beneficiaries pay subsidized land price; 'dole-out' mentality among beneficiaries	Flexible loan-grant mechanism; co-sharing of risks; beneficiaries shoulder full cost of land; farm development cost given via grant
Cost of reform	High	Low

Source: Borras (2003: 374).

Literature has highlighted the successes and failures of land reform models. There is a notable impact on the livelihoods of the benefited peasants (Deininger, 1999; Scoones et al., 2010; Borras and McKinley, 2006). For viable land reform there should be a holistic, community based approach and originating from below with the state responding to the people's needs. After independence, although the Zimbabwean state was facilitating the buying and allocation of land, the land reform was market-led through the willing seller willing buyer policy. This research, therefore, explores the effect of LRRP as a market-led programme responding to the needs of landless people.

2.4. Contexts of Land Reform

Livelihood perspectives have influenced land policies as a developmental approach (Cousins and Scoones, 2010). Across the globe, land reform has become a pro-poor strategy for economic and rural development by supporting the small scale farmers (Deininger, 1999). Policy makers advocate for effective control over land which capacitate them to construct rural livelihood diversification based on farming (Akram-Lodhi et al., 2007; Borras Jr et al., 2007). This has led to the support of the notion that land should be transferred to smallholder farmers as a strategy to reduce poverty. Some literature have argued that relationship between farm size and land productivity from small farmer produce have more output per unit area compared to large farms (Deininger, 1999; Townsend et al., 1998; Zikhali, 2008). Although there is much debate on the topic, these literature argue that small farmers intensify the use of land, labour and capital which enables them to grow more crops per year and have high value yields. In this case, contexts of different land policies, strategies and approaches implemented on reducing poverty and improving livelihoods are discussed.

The Chinese state-led land reform of the Communist party, promised free land to all peasants as a means to improve their incomes and lives (Putzel, 1992). The party established the land-to-the-tiller redistributive reforms through expropriating underutilised lands in the 1950s (Boyce et al., 2005; Dore, 2013). The state initially advocated for voluntary transition of land to collective farming, later, aggressive state's intervention was embraced. This encouraged the transfer of land rights from the landlords to the rural farmers through collective farming and improved output production (Ding, 2003; Tong and Chen, 2008). Collectivisation land reform improved the incomes of peasants (Boyce et al., 2005). The impact of rural land reform on livelihoods reduced poverty through increased production and industrialisation.

In contrast to the Chinese Communist land reform, Japan's land reform aimed to dismantle the traditional power of Japanese militarism through the Meiji government which abolished the land tax system (Putzel, 1992). The prominent 1946 land reform had the power to enforce social and economic change making the wealthy and landlords sell their land (Kawagoe, 1999). The process forced large land owners to sell their land to the government for redistribution among many farmers. This had a huge impact on the social equity and political stability in Japan which improved economic production. The farmers could now produce food, provide workforce for the industries and earn a living as rural livelihoods became a source of employment and income.

The Colombian market-led land reform policy was characterised by the will of the land owner to sell land. Colombian land laws introduced tax incentives, land markets and rentals as well as livestock farming which outweighed the crop production (Alston et al., 2000). This resulted in more underutilized land hence the people advocated for invasion of such land for agricultural production. The Colombian government intervened through the National Land Reform Institute (*Instituto Nacional Colombiano de Reforma Agraria* or INCORA) for negotiation of the land ownership and tenure (Alston et al., 2000). INCORA was successful in distributing the land but it lacked financial support for its beneficiaries. The farmers ended up diversifying their livelihoods by renting out their land or part of it to gain some income. Due to the financial collapse of INCORA a new policy was implemented in 1994 as a more decentralized and demand-driven process using grants as financing mechanisms to distribute land (Deininger, 1999; Borras, 2003). However, the grant approach improved the livelihoods of many land beneficiaries. The local government and municipality was handling the reform as transparent, grassroots oriented process (Alston et al., 2000). This became a successful negotiation land reform which enhanced land ownership, production of food and development to the rural population which improved the livelihoods of the poor.

2.4.1. African Perspectives of Land Reform

In settler colonies in Africa, the fight for independence was mainly driven by the need to repossess the land dispossessed by the racial land rights (Chamunorwa, 2010; Moyo, 1995; Sachikonye, 2005). In Sub-Saharan Africa, customary tenure system is mainly in control of the land issue with the government intervening through tenure laws to facilitate land ownership (Deininger, 2003). These land reform dynamics are influenced by the colonial framework which displaced indigenous people from fertile lands to communal/reserves. African countries have advocated for the remodelling of land reform which puts Black individual/communal production visible as the possible means of increasing agriculture production (Mufune, 2010). This has brought attention to focus on the influence of agriculture and rural economy as governments consider the provision and compensation of land to the poor as a major way to reduce poverty (Sachikonye, 2005). It is argued that in Africa the equal distribution of land and resources at micro level bring grass-root development as well as a positive impact on the economy (Cliffe, 2000; Deininger et al ,

2003; Lahiff, 2007). This improved production of small scale farmers with land as a livelihoods base which created diverse activities.

South Africa's has experienced similar trends to that of Colombia and Brazil characterized by unequal land distribution, rights and the policy of willing seller and willing buyer basis (Alston et al., 2000). The Native Lands Act of 1912 restricted Black ownership of farming land to confined homelands (Hart, 2012). South Africa experienced forceful removal of the blacks into 'Bantustans' which created land pressure and conflict (Hall et al., 2003; Todes et al., 2010). To address these historical imbalances, South Africa implemented land tenure, reform and restitution as a transformative processes of the apartheid system (Aliber and Mokoena, 2002; Borras, 2003; Ntsebeza and Hall, 2007). The South African government adopted the market-led model of land reform to redress land inequality through the willing seller, willing buyer policy. The government assisted by World Bank would help the process by providing grants for land acquisition and assist in the processes of purchasing land (Aliber and Mokoena, 2002; Borras, 2003; Ntsebeza and Hall, 2007). The African National Congress (ANC) government addressed the land and income inequalities through the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) in 1994 and adopted the Growth Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) in 1997 (Ntsebeza, 2007).

These policies focused on rural development through land redistribution by providing the Settlement/Land Acquisition Grant (SLAG) and the Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development (LRAD) (Aliber and Mokoena, 2002; Lahiff, 2007). These assisted with grants to purchase land from the willing seller with the government mediating. Unfortunately the grants could not cope with the exorbitant land prices which forced many grant holders to put together money to be able to buy land (Aliber and Cousins, 2013; Ntsebeza, 2007; Ntsebeza and Hall, 2007). This system is similar to the grant approach in Colombia where beneficiaries are given grants to pay land but the grants cannot fully pay the land.

South Africa's land reform resulted in many projects around the country which lacked the means of production as the smallholder farmers had to take from where the white commercial farmers left. South Africa's market based land reform has done little to redistribute land with limited support and the beneficiaries having to follow business plans to match commercial production (Hall, 2007). As a result, most of the redistributed land has been underutilised which adversely affect the livelihood benefits of the beneficiaries as well as the impact of

land reform programmes. The commercial model does not consider the fact that agriculture is a means for livelihood of many beneficiaries.

Namibia also adopted the market-led approach to address the land issue since independence in 1990 due to unequal ownership of land in communal and commercial sectors (De Villiers, 2003; Werner, 2001). Land reform in Namibia addresses the dispossession of people into communal lands. The 1991 National Conference on Land Reform and the Land Question became a major milestone in the implementation of land reform to redress the racially skewed pattern of land ownership (Werner, 2001). This became a platform for land reform as about 90% of people depend on land as the basis of their livelihoods (Werner, 2001). The commercial land reform focused on redressing colonial racial disparities aiming at resettling small scale farmers which boosted the emergence of black farmers to attain commercial land (Werner, 2001). Commercial land reform was implemented through the willing seller willing buyer as the main basis of acquisition to resettle black farmers. To speed up land reform, the government would buy land to resettle commercial or subsistence farmers. Multiple ownership was prohibited and a land tax was implemented on the underutilised land (De Villiers, 2003; Werner, 2001). Due to market inflations of the willing seller willing buyer, the Namibian government has advocated for the amendment of the commercial land reform Act as a way to phase out this market-led principle (Werner, 2001).

Overall, in Southern Africa, land distribution was implemented as a necessity for rural development, to address inequality and for economic prosperity through the market model of land reform of the willing seller willing buyer. However, there is a paradigm shift in the manner which land reform is being implemented from the willing seller willing buyer redistributive reform with full compensation of land to an active state-led expropriation which is more radical, fast and with little or no compensation.

2.5. Land Resettlement and Reform in Zimbabwe

In Zimbabwe, land has always been instrumental to the livelihoods of the people despite the oppressive system which created racial separation of land (Masiiwa, 2005). Inequitable land distribution brought by the colonial system led the indigenous to wage a liberation war in order to regain their lost fertile land (Moyo, 2009). Amongst other things black Zimbabweans had to fight to retain their fertile land (Sachikonye, 2005).

Land redistribution and reform in Zimbabwe was done in three phases; initially, land redistribution was done through the willing seller and willing buyer process. The government negotiated land on market from land owners and identify beneficiaries to redistribute land to (Moyo and Chambati, 2013). This was a market based land reform similar to that of Colombia, Brazil and South Africa. The second phase restricted the state's intervention in markets due to neoliberal policies from 1990 which slowed the redistribution of land despite the land expropriation Act (Moyo, 2009). This slow pace of land reform led to the third phase characterised by social and political uproar from the war veterans and indigenous people (Moyo and Chambati, 2013). This shifted land reform towards state-led as the white farmers were forcefully removed from their farms through a sporadic process known as the Fast track land reform program (Alston et al., 2000). These phases of land reform and their impact will be discussed in detail below showing the shift of Zimbabwe's land reform from the negotiated market-led to the state-led reform, although this research will focus on the market-led first phase land reform.

2.5.1. Market based Land reform and resettlement Phase 1 (1980-1990)

Prior to independence in 1979 the government of Zimbabwe signed the willing seller, willing buyer policy at the Lancaster Agreement with the British and American government to help fund the land reform programme (Moyo, 1995; Murisa, 2010; Zikhali, 2010). Upon attaining independence in 1980, the state began to implement the first phase of land reform and redistribution by buying large commercial land and resettling many farmers (Masiwa, 2005). The government concentrated on relieving the rural and communal places which were overcrowded by relocating people to former white owned commercial lands (Sachikonye, 2005). This marked the agricultural resettlement programme which aimed at resettling the landless peasants and families known as the Land Reform and Resettlement Programme (LRRP) in the post-colonial period. The programme targeted certain beneficiaries such as the landless or poorest of the poor, a family with dependants between the ages 18-55 prepared to have land rights (Chatora, 2003; Moyo, 2005). This was a thorough, well planned and a systematic process where arable land and residential plots were amalgamated from former large lands with support of inputs, infrastructure and supporting services to the beneficiary families (Sachikonye, 2005).

According to Kinsey, (2005), the resettlement programme was an accelerated relocation of many A1 smallholder farmers on the former A2 white large commercial land by the government. Thus, Byres, (2004) asserts that land redistribution is radical as it seeks to reallocate land by taking it from those with large holdings and transfer to those with little or no land such as the peasants and wage labourers. The government in 1980 aimed to relocate about 162 000 families from the communal land on 9 million hectares of prior white commercial land (Moyo, 2005a; Munslow, 1985; Sachikonye, 2005). By 1985, the LRRP had managed to resettle about 60 0000 families which shows that the 1980 targets were still on track as many people were being settled as the process accelerated (Moyo, 2000). Overall, through the LRRP between 1980 and 1990 the government managed to redistribute about 3,4 million hectare of land to approximately 70 0000 families (Masiwa, 2005; Moyo, 2009). During this phase, stimulation and support of smallholder agriculture was a means towards achieving food self-sufficiency and improving livelihoods (FAO, 2009). This was one of the successful rural development programmes and economic development projects implemented by the Zimbabwean government (Kinsey, 2005).

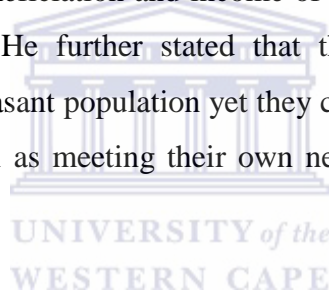
2.5.2. The Implication of the first phase of Land reform (1980-1990)

The accelerated resettlement programme of LRRP became one of the major successful rural development programmes which managed to resettle landless peasants. The redistribution of land to the peasants was against the assumption that produces from the white farmers and the Commercial Farmers' Union (CFU) had the major contribution to Zimbabwe's economy (Kinsey, 2005; Moyo, 2005). This meant that if land is given to peasants there will be a decline in agriculture production. However, this has been contested that instead LRRP was one of the successful rural development programmes and economic development projects by the Zimbabwean government. It gained support by sealing the gap between economic development and poverty as many farmers benefitted. There was more agricultural output from smallholder farmers during this phase (Cliffe, 2011; Munslow, 1985; Weiner et al., 1985). Therefore, the small holder-led approach gained support as the means of peasant production which improved their livelihoods.

The market-led LRRP had its constraints such as financial problems, willing seller willing buyer basis restricted random purchase of land (Kinsey, 1982; Moyo, 2005). Despite these impediments, the literature has shown that LRRP through the government's initiatives

managed to increase smallholder production through the supply of hybrid maize seed, fertilizer, extension support and easy access to credit services with reduced interest rates (Chatora, 2003; Kinsey, 2005; Moyo, 2011; Rukuni, 2006). The supply response by smallholders was dramatic, and they became the largest suppliers of maize and cotton to formal markets within the first five years (1980-1985) of independence (FAO, 2009). The stimulation and support of smallholder agriculture was also seen as a means towards achieving food self-sufficiency and food security among communal farmers.

According to Kinsey's 1983 survey, the redistributive programme was positive as it managed to resettle many communal farmers who were showing increased chances of income generation (Kinsey, 1983). The survey showed that LRRP had a great impact of improved livelihoods as the households in resettled lands were improving their well-being and beginning to accumulate assets (Sachikonye, 2005). Also, Moyo (1995) highlighted that during LRRP the agricultural beneficiation and income of the settled farmers was increasing more than those not resettled. He further stated that the 70 000 families redistributed constituted about 5 percent of peasant population yet they contributed 15-20 percent of maize and cotton to the market as well as meeting their own needs of food consumption (Moyo, 1995).



In light of this, the research will analyse the impact of this phase of land reform in Zimbabwe by trying to show how it has impacted the production and livelihoods of resettled beneficiaries. Studies have shown that LRRP showed that peasant farming respond highly with increased production and market surplus given the land and support at the same level or more than large scale farmers (Cliffe, 2011; Sachikonye, 2005; Weiner et al., 1985). This is supported by Lipton's idea that redistribution of land have positive effects like increased incomes, higher economic growth and poverty reduction to peasants who can be efficient and productive (Lipton, 2009). Thus LRRP was a purposive change in the improvement of the poor peasant's ownership of land from those who used to own large lands for equity and growth in agricultural production (Borras Jr, 2005; Sachikonye, 2005). This leads to empowerment and improved livelihoods of poor families with high commodity production through their own means and ways to the extent of surplus production showing accumulation from below.

2.5.3. Land reform and resettlement phase 2 (1990-1999)

A decade after Independence, the government of Zimbabwe had to modify the Lancaster House agreement binding it to buy under and unutilised land unless the owner is willing to buy. As a fully fleshed independent state, it passed the Land Acquisition Act in 1992 granting compulsory acquisition of land to speed up land reform with fair compensation (Moyo, 2000; Sachikonye, 2005). The state targeted mostly the underutilised farm lands or taking from those that had more than one large farms and the ones with absentee owners (Moyo, 2000). This became the beginning of a contest to the market based land reform which advocated for compulsory acquisition of white large owned land with fair local price from the government. This phase of land reform and resettlement benefited the capable farmers who had technical knowledge of agriculture shifting from focusing on the beneficiation of simply needy (Chatora, 2003; Masiiwa, 2005; Moyo, 2000; Sachikonye, 2005). Thus, the agenda of redistribution was gradually changing form redressing the racial distribution of land to indigenisation and boosting bourgeoisie of wealth and land ownership among the black farmers (Chimhowu, 2006; Sachikonye, 2005).

However, the white commercial farmers became more reluctant in selling their land while the market prices continued to rise. From 1990-1997, less than 200 000 people received land due to the high market price, the adoption of Economic and Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) in 1990 and the 1992 drought (Sachikonye, 2005). This reduced the rate of land distribution taking place despite the Land Acquisition Act which gave the government powers to acquire land. The state sought donor funding through The Donors Conference in 1998 in order to formulate a poverty oriented land redistribution to help sustain and assist the market driven land reform (Moyo and Chambati, 2013).

The Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU) was formed in 1999 which created the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) allied with many Western non-governmental organisations and the Zimbabwe Commercial Farmers Union (ZCFU) was also formed (Moyo, 2009) . These events culminated in political turmoil and social protests between the ZANU PF and MDC alliances with the contention that the western organisation and CFU for white farmers intentionally slowed the land reform process by withdrawing sponsorships. This culminated to a draft Referendum of the constitution in February 2000 stating that

everyone has the right to land (Cliffe et al., 2011). Unfortunately the constitutional referendum was rejected in March 2000 which angered and frustrated the war veterans and landless people. This did not satisfy the Zimbabweans as the political comrades of the struggle known as war veterans coerced for land to themselves and the other poor people in 2000 (Scoones et al., 2010). The anger rose due to the fact that the white commercial farmers had campaigned for a “no vote” against the draft constitution; hence the retaliation was a radical invasion of the commercial farmers marking the Fast Track land reform Programme (FTLRP) in 2000.

2.5.4. Fast track Land Reform and resettlement (2000 up to date)

This was the period when market based land reform completely disappeared and was replaced by radical compulsory acquisition of land after the realisation that there was no more funding vis a viz the escalating land prices. The rejection of the draft constitution was met with compulsory acquisition and massive land invasions (Masiiwa, 2005; Sachikonye, 2005). The collapse of the Lancaster House Constitution made the government to acquire land compulsory. This marked the implementation of the FastTrack Land Reform Programme (FTLRP) that was a state-driven approach which enabled the government to acquire commercial farms without compensation (Moyo, 2009). The FTLRP pattern was characterised by invasions of white owned farms which became more violent with accelerated resettlement programme named “Fast Track” which was either illegal or state expropriations. (Masiiwa, 2005; Murisa, 2010; Zikhali, 2010). Thus, fast track land reform was launched in July 2000 targeting to acquire 1 million hectares and resettle 30000 families by rainy season of that same year (Moyo and Chambati, 2013).

Subsequently, the District Land Committees (DLCs) led by ZANU PF members and government officials was formed to formalise the land occupations in 2001 (Moyo and Yeros, 2005). The DLC aimed to acquire at least 4 million hectares of commercial farm land to resettle about 120000 families (Matondi, 2012; Moyo and Chambati, 2013; Zikhali, 2010). The resettlement program had two models, A1 and A2 driven by the National Land Acquisition Committee (NLAC) in conjunction with ministries and civil organisations (Mandizadza, 2010; Moyo, 2009). The FTLRP was overpowered by the Land Acquisition Amendment Bill in November 2000 which passed authority for land acquisition as long as it is for agricultural purposes (Cliffe et al., 2011).

The farm invasions continued led by the war veterans who formed a vital base for the state and the landless. The occupation of commercial lands protected the invaders with the Rural Occupiers Act that prevented the eviction of people who invaded a particular farm until the issue is determined in the Administrative Court (Masiwa, 2005). The selection of beneficiaries was also politically motivated as the headman and ZANU PF officials were responsible for selecting beneficiaries (Murisa, 2010; Zikhali, 2010). The FTLRP was chaotic, unplanned and had adverse economic impact, causing high unemployment and decrease in agriculture production (Moyo, 2009; Sachikonye, 2005). International organisations such as the UNDP tried to intervene to resolve the land issue but the government was determined to continue with land invasions even without donor support (Murisa, 2010). Before the FTLRP there were about 8758 white owned large scale commercial farms with each farmer owning on average more than two farms. After the FTLRP, about 6422 farms (about 10.8 million hectares) were seized (Masiwa, 2005). However, the communal old resettlements, state land and national parks were not affected by the fast track as they were already owned by the black farmers.

2.5.5. The effect of land reform phase 2 (1990-2000) and the socio-economic impact of the FTLRP

The impact of phase 2 and the FTLRP are controversial as some argue that the manner of these land reform implementation adversely affected the economy, especially the agricultural and industrial sectors. The deterioration in produce from redistributed farmers led to high unemployment and food insecurity (Kinsey, 2005; Moyo, 2000; Sachikonye, 2005; Zikhali, 2010). Although agriculture produce started to reduce during the second phase of LRRP and FTLRP, researchers like Scoones et al., (2010) believe that poor people on the ground were empowered through land ownership which may improve their livelihoods.

In this regard, the second phase of land reform in Zimbabwe had negative impacts due to neo-liberal programmes (ESAP) adopted which adversely affected the agricultural credit support to farmers (Bryceson, 2002; Moyo, 1995). The agriculture production was worsened by the 1992 drought, unemployment and wage labour crisis (Bryceson, 2002; Sachikonye, 2005). Peasant farmers sought alternative diversified livelihood income as the ESAP and droughts worsened the social differentiation of the poor as more rural population moved to

cities (Bryceson, 2002; Scoones et al., 2010). Thus, the second phase of land reform affected the social and economic livelihoods of farmers.

The FTLRP brought severe changes for the countryside since its operationalisation was sporadic and chaotic. The overall economic performance and commodity production was drastic. For instance, maize output declined from about 1.7 million tonnes in the 1990s to 0,9 million tonnes between 2000-2004 (Sachikonye, 2005; Scoones et al., 2010). There was massive unemployment as many farms stopped employment of farm labourers and production decreased. The chaotic invasion of commercial farms affected agricultural production and industrialisation (Chamunorwa, 2010; Mujeyi, 2010). The implications of FTLRP created myths based on the failure of land reform such as: that agricultural production has collapsed following the FTLRP, food insecurity is widespread, the rural economy is in rapid decline, little new investment in land has occurred and the beneficiaries of land reform have been political ‘cronies’ of the ruling party (Scoones et al., 2010: 8). However, the myths are contrary to the findings from a study in Masvingo region after FTLRP which showed some improvement on the farmer’s livelihoods, production and class dynamics forming (Scoones et al., 2010). The study concluded that the myths have little empirical evidence about land reform in Zimbabwe. The FTLRP gave poor landless people the opportunity of beneficiating land (Scoones et al., 2012).

2.6. Land reform and redistribution in Zimbabwe: A Livelihoods Perspective

Since independence, the government of Zimbabwe adopted a land reform and redistribution programme that was intended to restructure the agriculture sector by replacing large scale commercial farming with smallholder farming (Scoones, 2009). The idea behind was that when income streams are diverted from large scale owners and redistributed to the poor smallholder farmers, then the local economy may be expanded which in turn improve livelihoods. Zimbabwe’s land reform resulted in a significant shift in agricultural production and the functioning of capitals which coincided with the period of economic meltdown creating change in livelihoods portfolio (Mujeyi, 2010).

Studies have shown that the impact of land redistribution on people’s quality of life, income, and livelihoods is likely to be clearly seen after a long period of time in order to see the effectiveness and efficiency (Kinsey, 2005). In Zimbabwe, this has been shown by Kinsey’s

ten year study (1980s to 90s) which shows that land transfer alone without support is not enough as the resettled farmers need provision and support at all levels and sectors. This survey shows that immediately after the resettlement program, the government had to offer support and capacity building such as provision of seeds, fertilizer, extension officers and ready-made markets for farmer's produce like the GMB, Cottco & Tobacco processors. The FTLRP that the Government of Zimbabwe embarked on from 2000 to 2002 brought to the fore a revival of the discussion on the prospects that lie in land redistribution for livelihood enhancement, poverty alleviation and broader economic development.

In another ten year study by Scoones et al., (2012) in Zimbabwe, the evidence identified that the vast majority of households have one or more non-agricultural income sources, be it active participation in trade, service provisioning or craft work, or more passive receipt of a transfer payment in the form of a state pension or remittances from relatives (Scoones et al., 2012). These may be on or off farm activities which can be done locally/ internationally, legally or illegally in which livelihood trends diversified in terms of access to input and output markets, land available, livestock farming as well as the social capital within the resettled farmers. Therefore, livelihood strategies became diverse due to the new agriculture systems which prevailed to the black farmers after the land reform.

Moreover, Zimbabwe's livelihood trajectories diversified especially for the resettled farmers who established new livelihoods, investments initiated and production, business, trade and marketing commence, processes of differentiation begin within households or between households in a particular place (Scoones et al., 2012). This new agrarian setting rooted in a diversity of forms of smallholder production offered a new possibility for agrarian transformation, based on a process of 'accumulation from below' (Cousins, 2010). The revitalization of small-scale agriculture as a primary vehicle of growth and employment, the new patterns of livelihood activity of agrarian change and the unfolding class and political dynamics the land reform produced has formed the ongoing accumulation (Scoones et al., 2012).

In South Africa, land reform through redistribution and restitution was implemented through SLAG and Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development (LRAD) under the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) (Aliber and Cousins, 2013). In analysing the livelihoods after land reform in South Africa, an investigation was done on land

reform processes, trajectories of change and livelihood outcomes from case studies drawn from central-north Limpopo province. The large scale commercial farming model (LSCF) was applied. It was observed that the LSCF model failed to consider social realities, like the abilities and aspirations of rural people. This resulted in poor land reform projects and susceptible to failure which adversely impacts livelihoods (Aliber and Cousins, 2013). In Namibia, where LSCF model was implemented, two regions were used to analyse the impact of redistribution on livelihoods (Aliber and Cousins, 2013). The results showed that diverse livelihoods strategies employed by the beneficiaries created a typology of livelihoods trajectories. Overall, Zimbabwe's redistributive reform advocated for smallholder farming subdivided on large farming lands which can be the driving force for rural development combined with diverse livelihoods sources.

2.7. Summary

From the foregoing review, livelihoods link mostly to land reform as a means of poverty reduction with agriculture as the basis of livelihoods although contemporary views argue for relationship of land with assets. Emphasis is put on the sustenance of small scale farmers as they are many with a potential to produce more which may reduce poverty among many households. Land reform also diversified their livelihood sources. Although negotiated land reform is a balance of trying to make both ends contented it does not fully benefit the poor. The chapter also showed the different definitions and typology of land reform and how they have been used differently in different countries globally, regionally and in Zimbabwe. Zimbabwe has one of the controversial land reform programs which were unpacked from the willing seller willing buyer since independence and the phases which led to a shift to the Fast track state-led reform as well as their implications.

3. Theoretical framework

3.1. Introduction

This chapter highlights the theoretical framework utilised in assessing the livelihoods of Nyahukwe resettled farmers. Land reform as a developmental approach has impacted people's lives in many ways. Therefore, to show and rationalise such effects there is a need for an analysis framework. The Sustainable Livelihoods Approach (SLA) has been advocated as a useful framework in analysing how farmers were able to gain and sustain resources for livelihood activities. In this research, the SLA was applied looking at how assets are used to enhance capabilities and diversification of livelihoods. This chapter will explore in-depth the SLA framework, its principles, the asset pentagon and its issues as well as the critiques in the applicability of SLA.

3.2. SLA Framework: Background and Overview

The advent of SLA emerged from the failures of classical neo-Marxist theories in explaining inequalities and poverty reduction. SLA materialised as an actor-oriented perspective interested in the world of lived experiences, the micro-world of family, network and community (De Haan and Zoomers, 2005). The approach has conceptual roots in diverse fields which include applied social science, agro-eco systems/farming systems analysis and participatory approaches to rural development (Norton and Foster, 2001). There are also some important contributions from economists and Marxist scholars, particularly in the fields of agricultural economics and geography (Scoones, 2009). Also, the approach has been used in diverse impacts of the Green Revolution in India and other livelihood studies with a focus on the micro-economics of farm production and patterns of household accumulation (De Haan and Zoomers, 2005).

Over many decades, there has been a shift in the reduction of poverty by moving from purely economic measures to looking at a person's quality of life and his/her capabilities. This shift led to the development of SLA which emphasise more on the 'people' themselves, which the developmental activity is concerned with (Ashley et al., 1999). The SLA became prominent after Chambers and Conway (1992) approach 'putting the last first' and later to Scoones,

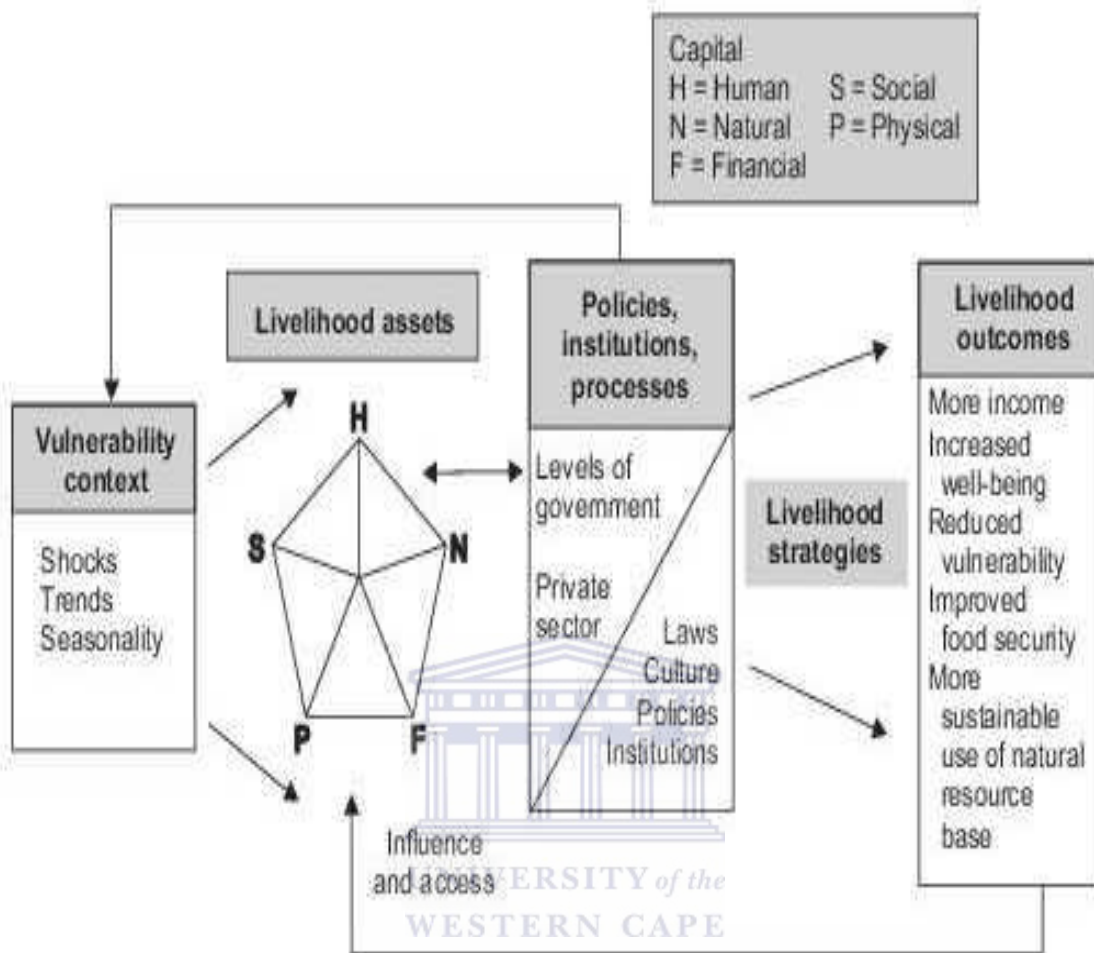
(1998) and Carney (2003). The Department for International Development (DfID, 1999) developed a framework promoting ‘sustainable rural livelihoods’ as a core developmental priority based on the capabilities approach with ‘capitals’ and the ‘asset pentagon’. The SLA can also be applied to fields of development inquiry and practice such as rural and urban livelihoods, occupation, social differences, directions (pathways and trajectories) and dynamic livelihoods (Scoones, 2009).

The SLA can also be traced to Chambers and Conway (1992) work on capabilities, equity and sustainability, which was strongly influenced by Amartya Sen’s writing on capabilities and freedoms. The description of a livelihood as put forward by Chambers and Conway (1992:6) is:

The capabilities, assets (stores, resources, claims and access) and activities required for a means of living: a livelihood is sustainable which can cope with and recover from stress and shocks, maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, and provide sustainable livelihood opportunities for the next generation; and which contributes net benefits to other livelihoods at the local and global levels in the long and short term

These changing attitudes coupled with the growing awareness concerning environmental sustainability and a desire for more holistic, realistic measures of development led to the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach (Ashley et al., 1999). According to Appendini (cited by De Haan and Zoomers, 2005: 24), “the central objective of the livelihoods approach was to search for more effective methods to support people and communities in ways that are more meaningful to their daily lives and needs as opposed to ready-made interventionist instruments”. This puts more focus on people, their strengths and recognises that there are many different means that are employed by individuals or households to survive. For instance, each individual may have strong ties with the community or family, so in times of need, one can rely on extended family for assistance which would form part of a livelihood.

Figure 3:1 : The Sustainable Livelihoods Framework



Source: Adapted from DFID (2002).

The framework consists of the Vulnerability context which refers to the ways in which a household can sustain shocks, trends and seasonal changes. The Asset pentagon refers to the capital which a household holds such as Human, Natural, Financial, Social and Physical (Carney et al, 1999). The structures and processes refer to the hierarchy and practices that a household is situated in (for example, government structures, social structures etc.). The Asset pentagon is influenced by the structures, processes and the outcomes from varied livelihood strategies which are employed by a household in order to have livelihood outcomes (Figure 3.1) (DfID, 1999). Each part of the framework influences the other, and what is important within the framework must be decided by and situated within the group the framework is being applied to.

The framework has been developed with the following objectives: firstly, to give a detailed understanding the livelihoods of poor people and the factors that form them. Secondly, to provide policy and institutional framework to support livelihoods of poor people, lastly, to provide support for development that builds and empowers poor people with opportunities which enhance their capabilities to improve their livelihoods (DfID, 1999; Morse and McNamara, 2013; Turton et al, 2000).

3.3. Principles of SLA

SLA become prominent as a people-centred approach focusing on the strategies engaged by people in order to earn a living in line with employment and income generating streams (Scoones, 2009). Participation is an important principle where the people should determine their priorities for intervention, their need, what matters to them, all which influence institutional structures and processes that govern their lives. In addition, the SLA is holistic in nature and non- sectorial. It recognises multiple influences and outcomes, actors as well as strategies. Also, it can be incorporated at macro and micro interdisciplinary levels according to different structures and processes to be used.

SLA is also dynamic as it attempts to understand change and different livelihood strategies as livelihoods change over time. Therefore, SLA has to be flexible and be able to reflect changes in people's circumstances. This empowers the people who are capacitated and strengthened to be resistant to shocks and stresses making them realise their potential. An empowered and capacitated community is likely to be sustainable and as such the SLA enable sustainability through economic, institutional, social and environmental strength and balance within the framework. (DfID, 1999; Krantz, 2001; Scoones, 2009b; Turton et al, 2000).

3.4. Assessing Outcomes: What Is a Sustainable Livelihood?

In order to fully establish the indicators of outcomes, there should be an answer to the question: *what is a sustainable livelihood?* The term 'sustainable livelihoods' relates to a wide set of issues which encompass much of the broader debate about the relationships between poverty and environment (Scoones, 1998). According to (Chambers and Conway, 1992: 6):

A livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (including both material and social resources) and activities required for a means of living. A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, while not undermining the natural resource base.

A livelihood is a way through which people get things done and how they do those things (Bebbington, 1999). This livelihood can be sustainable if and when it can cope and recover from stresses and shocks, be able to maintain and enhance capabilities and assets without undermining the natural resources (Chambers and Conway, 1992). Scoones, (1998) defined livelihoods as to how different people in different places live. (Chambers, 1991) explained a livelihood as a means of gaining a living or a combination of the resources used alongside the activities and interactions undertaken in order to live.

Some key features of a sustainable livelihood emphasised were: creation of working days, poverty reduction, well-being and capabilities livelihood adaptation, vulnerability and resilience and finally natural resource base sustainability. The first three focus on livelihoods, linking concerns over work and employment with poverty reduction with broader issues of adequacy, security, well-being and capability (Scoones, 1998). The last two elements add the sustainability dimension and look at the resilience of livelihoods and the natural resource base on which they are dependent. Therefore, livelihoods have been defined and explained in different but related forms which need to be strengthened and enhanced in order to be sustainable.

3.5. Strategies for sustainable livelihoods

Scoones (1998) identified the following as strategies for sustainable livelihoods:

3.5.1. Agricultural intensification

Agricultural intensification states that there should be a strengthened and growing relationship between capital-led inputs and labour-led policies based on labour processes and social resources.

3.5.2. Livelihood diversification

Livelihood Diversification deals with the engagement in many forms of accumulation and reinvestment; it is aimed at coping with temporary adversity or more permanent adaptation of livelihood activities. This is done when other options are failing to provide or cope with a livelihood by developing a wide income earning portfolio to cover all types of shocks or stress.

3.5.3. Migration

Migration causes can be voluntary or involuntary movement, permanent or temporary. This makes a livelihood sustainable for there can be reinvestment in agriculture, enterprise or consumption at the home or migration site, movement patterns; to or from different places which increases the streams of income to the household.

A combination of these activities creates a 'livelihood portfolio' which may have either positive or negative impact on household members or communities (Scoones, 1998). For instance, a successful agricultural intensification strategy pursued by one person may provide an opportunity for another person's petty trading livelihood diversification strategy. For example, irrigation as a strategy for cotton production, one can make use of it as a means of production to vegetable crops which are favourable to the local market than cash crops. On the other hand, another type of agricultural intensification may undercut others' strategies by diverting such factors as land, labour, credit or markets. Hence, different pathways are seen over time scales (Chambers and Conway, 1992).

3.6. Livelihood Resources: Combining Assets

The SLA framework has identified important assets which help the engagement of people's activities in their lives. All these capital assets need to be combined for a holistic and sustainable livelihood. According to (Bebbington, 1999: 1), a livelihood is:

A people's access to the capital assets (human, natural, cultural, social) and how they combine these to build up their livelihoods to meet their material and experimental need; the ways in which they are able to expand these assets through engaging with

other actors through relationships governed by the logics of the state, market and civil society and the ways in which they are able to deploy and enhance their capabilities both to make a living more meaningful and more importantly to change the dominant rules and relationships governing the ways in which resources are controlled, distributed and transformed into income streams.

Simply put, a livelihood is a means of gaining a living which can be diversified through asset and resource utilisation by different pathways or trajectories. This is achieved through coping, adaptation, improvement, diversification and transformation of the resource capitals. The asset pentagon in the SLA contains capitals like Human, Natural, Financial, Social and Physical, which influence livelihoods capabilities in a holistic manner. All assets need to increase for a sustainable livelihood as they allow and support survival, enable people to produce and rebuild lives and overcome challenges by using or transforming these resources. These are:

3.6.1 Human capital

Human capital can be labour but also skills, experience, knowledge, creativity, resourcefulness and good health, which are important in pursuit of livelihood strategies. This capital can be determined by the amount and quality of labour existing at household and community level as it is essential for the utilisation of the other capital assets as well as dependent on the other for secure livelihood outcome (Ashley et al., 1999; Bebbington, 1999; Farrington et al., 1999; Krantz, 2001; Scoones, 1998).

3.6.2 Natural capital

Natural capital contains the natural resource stock from which livelihoods are derived, such as land, water, wildlife, biodiversity, and environmental resource. These can be tangible or intangible resources which become vital to the resource-based activities like farming, mining, fishery and timber plantation among others (Ashley et al., 1999; Bebbington, 1999; Farrington et al., 1999; Krantz, 2001; Scoones, 1998). Land as a natural stock has been sentimental to livelihoods of people as it provided resettlement schemes through land reform. Although land on its own is not adequate, it also interact with other assets, thus this research uses the SLA to explore other assets accessible and used by resettled farmers to enhance or limit their livelihood activities

3.6.3 Physical capital

Physical capital consist of basic infrastructure such as houses, tools and machinery, food stocks or livestock and farm equipment, transport and communication and other means that enable people to pursue their livelihoods. A physical asset can sustain a life for if a farmer with land can generate multiple benefits by producing on the farm and the produce is turned into finance by selling the produce which in turn the money is used for different purposes in life (Ashley et al., 1999; Bebbington, 1999; Farrington et al., 1999; Krantz, 2001; Scoones, 1998).

3.6.4 Financial capital

Financial capital comprises money in a savings account in a bank or in an old sock, a loan or credit which can be cash or credit used to achieve livelihood objectives. It can be regular flow of cash like remittances, pensions, social grants and clubs. Stocks like jewellery, livestock and savings also help financially to people's lives (Ashley et al., 1999; Bebbington, 1999; Farrington et al., 1999; Krantz, 2001; Scoones, 1998).

3.6.5 Social Capital

Social capital denotes the quantity and quality of social resources like networks, members in groups, social relations, and access to wider institutions in society upon which people draw in pursuit of livelihoods (Ashley et al., 1999; Bebbington, 1999; Farrington et al., 1999; Scoones, 1998). The quality of the networks is determined by the level of trust and shared norms (reciprocity) that exist between network members. People use these networks to reduce risks, access services, protect themselves from deprivation and to acquire information to lower transaction costs. The investment of other assets affects one's ability to engage with social institutions which leads into another asset of political capital (Ashley et al., 1999; Bebbington, 1999; Farrington et al., 1999; Krantz, 2001; Scoones, 1998).

3.6.6 Political capital

Political capital is defined broadly as the ability to use power to further political or economic positions, which in turn affects livelihood options and outcomes. It refers to the legitimate distribution of rights and power, and how illicit use of political power by state officials and community elites can divert significant resources away from the poor. (Ashley et al., 1999; Bebbington, 1999; Farrington et al., 1999; Krantz, 2001; Scoones, 1998).

The livelihood capitals are arranged in the form of a pentagon, which is an important branding label for livelihood frameworks as described in Figure 1. Livelihood strategies are supposed to achieve certain livelihood outcomes that are still formulated in a material way, although 'well-being' could be interpreted in a holistic way to include even self-realisation. The SLA framework was applied to assess how the assets have been utilised by the Nyahukwe resettled farmers.

3.7. Asset pentagon issues in SLA

Assets interact with policies, institutions, and processes to shape the choice of livelihood strategies. These shape the livelihood outcomes, which are often the types of impact we are interested in (Adato et al., 2002). Those outcomes, however, are not necessarily the end point, as they feed back into the future asset base. The asset base upon which people build their livelihoods includes a wider range of assets than the common assets like land or other classic wealth indicators (Ashley et al., 1999). The ability to pursue different livelihood strategies is dependent on the basic material and social, tangible and intangible assets that people have in their possession (Scoones, 1998). This thereby, affects a household's level of livelihood security, level of life and its options for coping strategies.

Livelihoods are complex with multiple and dynamic portfolios of different activities, often improvised as part of an on-going 'performance' (Scoones, 2009). Following on from an analysis of livelihood resources and capitals, a checklist of key questions and issues arises:

3.7.1 Sequencing

Brings to the fore issues like what is the starting point for successfully establishing a particular livelihood strategy? Is one type of livelihood resource an essential basis for gaining access to others? (Scoones, 1998). It is difficult to know which capital is more important than

the other and which one influences the other. For example, successful agricultural intensification may combine in some circumstances access to natural capital like land, water and others with economic capital such as technology, credit etc. While in other situations, social capital (e.g. social networks associated with drought or labour sharing arrangements) may be more significant (Scoones, 1998). Therefore, understanding the dynamic and historical context of how different livelihood resources are sequenced and combined in the pursuit of different livelihood strategies is critical.

3.7.2 Substitution

Asks questions such as; can one type of capital be substituted for another? Or are different capitals needed for the pursuit of particular livelihood strategies to substitute one with the other? It is not easy to remove one or use the other capital as they have an intertwined impact on lives (Scoones, 1998). Issues like rating social capital as high, medium or low, how some value financial capital, others value natural resources over other capitals, these substitutions have been critical in the analysis of resources on livelihoods (Frankenberger et al., 2002). African countries now tend to focus more on the production and contribution of natural resources to their nation, especially on the land issue. For example the Zimbabwean Fast Track Land Reform have been characterised by the prioritisation of land to the people first although other capitals were considered later.

3.7.3 Clustering

Clustering requires the assets to be intertwined. The questions asked are; when you have access to one type of capital, do you usually have access to others? Or is there clustering combinations of livelihood resources associated with certain groups of people or particular livelihood strategies? (Scoones, 1998). A study by CARE on livelihoods demonstrated that livelihoods are difficult to cluster as they are challenging to combine several dimensions of one type of capital on the same level for people can have different capital like in non-poor, poor and the poorest households (Frankenberger et al., 2002).

3.7.4 Access

Access deals with how people have different access to different livelihood resources. This is dependent on institutional arrangements, organisational issues, power and politics. Policies, institutions, and processes affect how people use their assets in pursuit of income, security, well-being, and other productive and reproductive goals (Frankenberger et al., 2002).

3.7.5 Trade-offs

Trade-offs occur when pursuing a particular portfolio of livelihood strategies. One has to ask, what are the trade-offs faced by different people with different access to different types of livelihood resources? Depending on who you are, variance of access to different types of capital may have positive or negative implications in terms of the success or otherwise in the pursuit of a sustainable livelihood (Scoones, 1998).



3.7.6 Trends

Trends look at how different capital assets are being used up or accumulated, and by whom? What are the trends of access? What new livelihood resources are being created through environmental, economic and social change? (Frankenberger et al., 2002; Scoones, 1998).

The asset pentagon has been improvised by different organisations which can be related to the capability framework as the main concept looking at how people are able to utilise assets around them for development. The SLA framework describes participation of the poor people as a key tool for securing development. When the poor participate in the process, their priorities in life and understanding of valuable livelihoods are made clear such as social norms that affect the access to assets, how they value these assets, or which livelihoods strategies they pursue (Scoones et al., 2012).

Therefore, the SLA presents people's explorations of assets, the objectives (sustainable livelihoods outcomes) they are seeking and the strategies they use to achieve these goals (Bebbington, 1999). In this case, land is the key natural resource provided to the farmers through the LRRP. Land on its own however cannot sustain livelihoods without interaction with other capitals which could be extended as support or to diversify their income and the

limitations they encountered. Thus, the research used the SLA to assess how the land has impacted the livelihoods of resettled families.

3.8. Critiques in the operationalisation of the SLA.

SLA approach got much attention as a new approach with doubts as to whether it was not an improvisation of Integrated Rural Development (IRD) (Carney, 2003). This is because the approach shares many similarities with previous participatory methods which raise questions and debate of whether it is an old practice being repackaged in a modelled framework. Although SLA has been favoured and adopted in many development approaches it has numerous critiques levelled against it. Farrington et al., 1999 states that the SLA is time consuming, complex, broad and superficial.

SLA is operationalised in a framework as a guideline, but the entire framework was developed in the West as a proposed academic structure to be used in the rural areas of the South (Chambers, 1991). This makes the approach a top down approach which contradicts its main principle of 'people centred' approach. In the same manner, others have stated that the approach may help us to understand the poor but does not reach the 'poorest of the poor' or that the approach may help identify issues but not change them (FAO, 1999). The FAO (1999) also criticised the SLA that although the framework is 'people centred', people are actually not part of the framework as the people are not "visible" in the current framework.

The theory over has been criticised for being ambitious and too complex as there is no clear guideline and definition of recognising the poor (Carney, 2003; Farrington et al., 1999). This creates structures that can influence social dominance which does not acknowledge how much influence politics and power relations have upon livelihoods (Norton and Foster, 2001). FAO (1999) also noted that, while the framework helped practitioners to focus on policies, institutions and processes, the political dimension of these structures and processes needed to be more explicit and there are also intra-household power dynamics that may not be recognised by the approach.

Despite the fore mentioned criticisms of SLA, the fact that it focuses on people in a holistic manner addressing their needs remain the main principle which other approaches did not do (Scoones, 2009). The research therefore will look at SLA as a holistic approach on the

resources, assets or capital which are important to the poor and provide an appropriate framework for evaluating direct or indirect effects on people's livelihoods. The research will utilise the SLA by looking at how assets are used for livelihoods activities.

3.9. SLA as a useful approach in rural agriculture development

The SLA was initially considered with a rural agrarian context in mind by looking at factors like natural resources and seasonality. A clear feature of the SLA is that it needs an interpretation and adaptation to suit any given context (DfID, 1999). Therefore, the SLA is flexible as it is not expected to be utilised in a particular manner. The approach is people centred, non-linear and does not present a model of reality. It aims to help all stakeholders with diverse perspectives to participate in planned and coherent debate about the disparate factors that have an effect on livelihoods, their importance and the manner in which they interact (DfID, 1999). Although there have been criticisms against the SLA, it has been used and recommended in the current developmental projects as there are usually positive uses and outcomes from it. Adato et al., 2002 state that, although use of the sustainable livelihoods framework can appear daunting, using it to assess the implication of agricultural research is both manageable and helpful in examining relationships. This makes the SLA relevant and useful to rural development. The SLA came as a new approach which reawakened interest in rural development with a far truer picture of rural life and rural poverty, thus making way for better targeted poverty-reduction interventions (Carney, 2003).

Poor people's priorities are usually different from those imposed on them by development practitioners and their approaches are complex both in terms of their activities and motivation. Thus, the SLA provides a conceptualisation that is more suitable to the perceptive and realities of the poor (Chambers, 1991). The SLA is a people centred approach which looks at the community's problems, vulnerability and strength owned by the community which builds sustainable livelihood resilience (Krantz, 2001). The approach is used as a tool to evaluate community's strengths and development through community's own participation at all stages which give them ownership, empowerment and capacity building to access and utilise their asset base. This will bring sustainability and resilience to shocks and stresses to the development projects and livelihoods of the people themselves (Carney, 2003). The rationale for applying the SLA in rural development issues is that it is a comprehensive bottom-up approach. For instance, the approach looks at which ways, positive, negative or

neutral, does land reform interact with different livelihood strategies of resettled farmers and who is most likely to be impacted.

One of the strengths of SLA is that it is utilised in impact assessment especially for identifying unanticipated impacts (DfID, 1999). The SLA enables one to reflect on how a developmental program affects the types of decisions people make, given the risks they are faced with and the assets accessible to them, thus placing impact evaluation in a comprehensive context (Fujisaka, et al. 2000). Looking at Scoones et al. (2012) analysis of the livelihoods after the land reform in Zimbabwe, a framework was used which helped in unpacking livelihoods of the settled farmers. The study showed that capitals such as social networks are important as they facilitate access and help in labour, herding cattle and lending to manage survival from neighbours and extended family. The approach has been used to show the social and economic differentiation in accumulation after the FTLRP through a class dynamic study in Masvingo district in Zimbabwe (Scoones et al., 2012). SLA have been helpful in Zimbabwe to critically look at the changing agrarian and labour relations after the Land Reform through the AIAS 2005/6 household baseline survey across the country (Moyo and Chambati, 2013). The survey showed that the farmers have managed to increase income generating activities. Dissecting how assets have been accumulated and assessing improved livelihoods.

(Krantz, 2001:4) shows the importance of the SLA as a holistic assessment of the resources, assets or capital that is important to the poor which helps in the research and understanding of the causes of poverty. This was done by showing the various factors that directly or indirectly enhance or inhibit poor people's access to assets or capital. This makes the approach a 'pro-poor', as it emphasis that the 'poor' do have assets, and at least attempts to 'get below the surface' of informal institutions' (Farrington et al., 2002). The fact that the approach also attempts to take into account informal institutions and processes makes it more realistic and accommodative of the poor as many of the most pivotal and influential processes on a life/livelihood are informal, which is different from the conventional approaches. A more holistic approach like the SLA allows a more rigorous analysis which helps to balance plausible bias and offer a fuller and more understanding.

The approach has been used successfully as an analytical tool, a set of principles a developmental objective, in project design, project review and assessment of sectors, as well

as many other variations (Farrington et al., 1999). The SLA creates a big picture context that deviates from the linear cause-effect thinking that maybe ineffective in rural devolvement (Heeks, 2002). In the South African context, it has been successfully utilised in different forms such as gathering information, impact assessments, social accumulation and frameworks for development (Hart, 2012). As a multifaceted notion for sustainability, its effort is to understand the national and international linkages and the effect these have on people's livelihoods (Carney, 2003). This is done by emphasising the importance of micro-level policy and institutions to the livelihood options of local communities and individuals, including the very poorest. They also stress the need for higher-level policy formulation to be based upon insights gained at the local level.

The SLA is an open guideline that can be adapted to different uses, which makes it dynamic and flexible as there is no one model to development. This can be used as guideline to suit any situation, matching the dynamic nature of poverty and livelihoods. Overall, the SLA cannot be considered the be-all-and-end-all for rural development impact assessments on livelihoods, but it is a useful and powerful analytical tool to be given greater attention. Therefore, this research utilized the SLA as a key analytical tool for assessing livelihoods of resettled farmers focusing on the asset component of the framework.

3.10. Summary

From the chapter, the background, definition, characteristics, principles of the SLA have been shown. Central to the research is the asset pentagon used to assess how the attainment of land has enhanced or inhibited the farmer's livelihoods. Issues surrounding the asset pentagon have been discussed as well as the critiques levelled against the SLA. It has been criticised based on its approach of trying to be realistic and holistic making it complex through conceptual and methodological issues. Despite that, it has been a key principle in development as a reference framework which helps to involve the poor in trying to understand poverty and livelihoods in development. This research used the sustainable livelihoods approach as illustrated by the DFID as a people centred approach which shows how people explore assets, the livelihoods outcomes they are seeking and the strategies used to achieve their objectives. Therefore, it becomes a useful analytical tool as it puts people first at all levels. The SLA is a powerful way of grounding rural development polices and interventions as a multidimensional, context-specific approach to poverty and development.

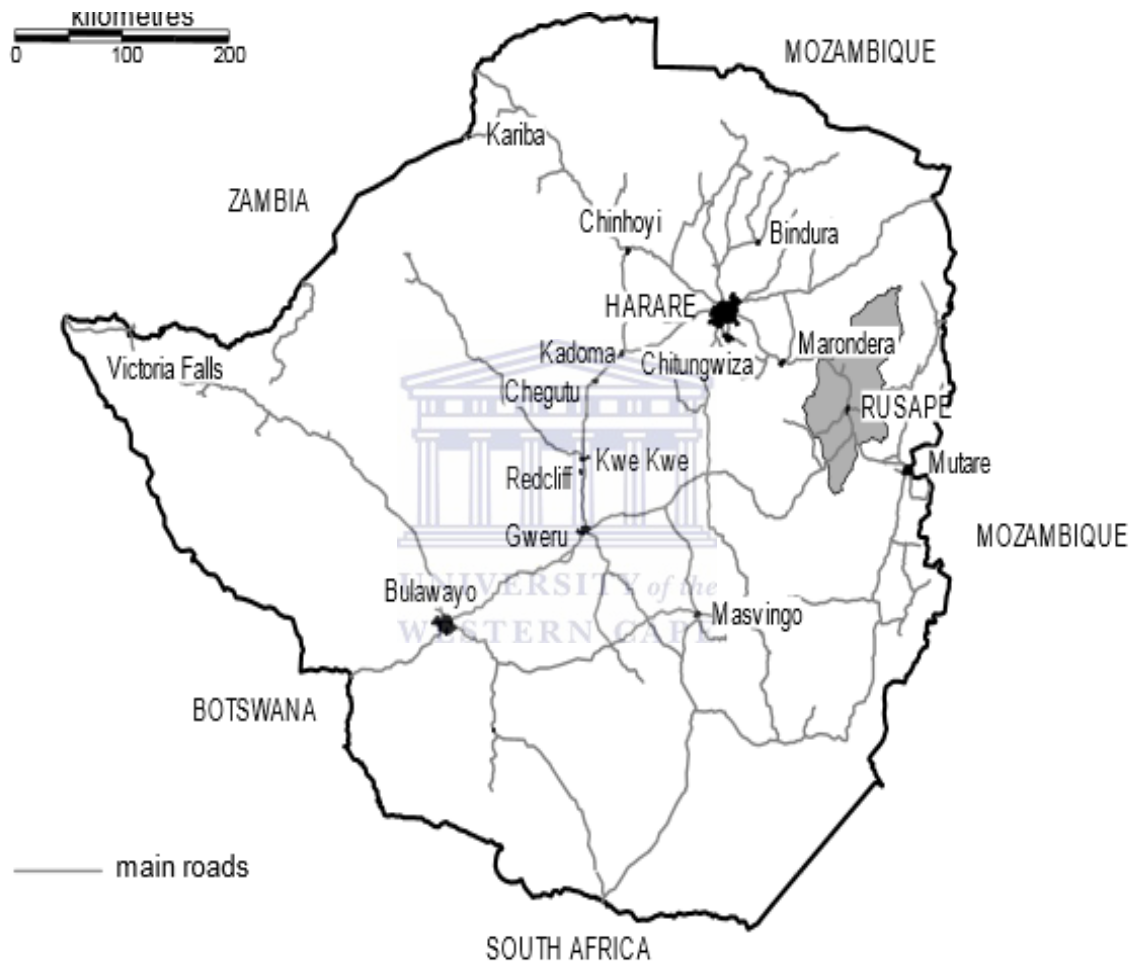
4. Description of the Case study

4.1. Overview of the Case study area

The research area is Nyahukwe resettlement scheme in Rusape town administration under Makoni District in Manicaland Province. The Nyahukwe resettlement was formed through the Land Reform and Resettlement Scheme initiated by the government of Zimbabwe immediately after the war of liberation. Nyahukwe resettlement area was established in 1983 under the Land Reform and Resettlement Programme (LRRP) initiated by the government. The name came from “rasapwe” which denotes “the river that never stops flowing” due to the ever flowing of the Rusape River where the town was built (Andersson, 2002). Rusape is located along the Harare-Mutare main road, approximately 170 km South East of Harare and 93 km North West of Mutare. It is one of the regions with fertile soils (Moyo, 2000). Nyahukwe in Rusape is along the Nyange-Rusape road off Harare main road.

Zimbabwe is characterised by five agricultural regions and Region 1 is the Eastern highlands region characterised by high rainfall, high topology and low temperatures. This climatic condition is conducive for the production of tea, coffee and horticulture. Region 2 experiences high rainfall where intensive crop production takes place and it the region where high yields are obtained annually. Region 3 covers the dry parts of Zimbabwe where dry farming and cattle ranching is prominent. Region 4 and 5 spreads over the wildlife production and cattle ranching. Nyahukwe in Rusape falls in Region1.

Figure 4:1: A map of Zimbabwe showing the location of Rusape. The grey colour indicates Makoni district where Nyahukwe resettlement area is located.



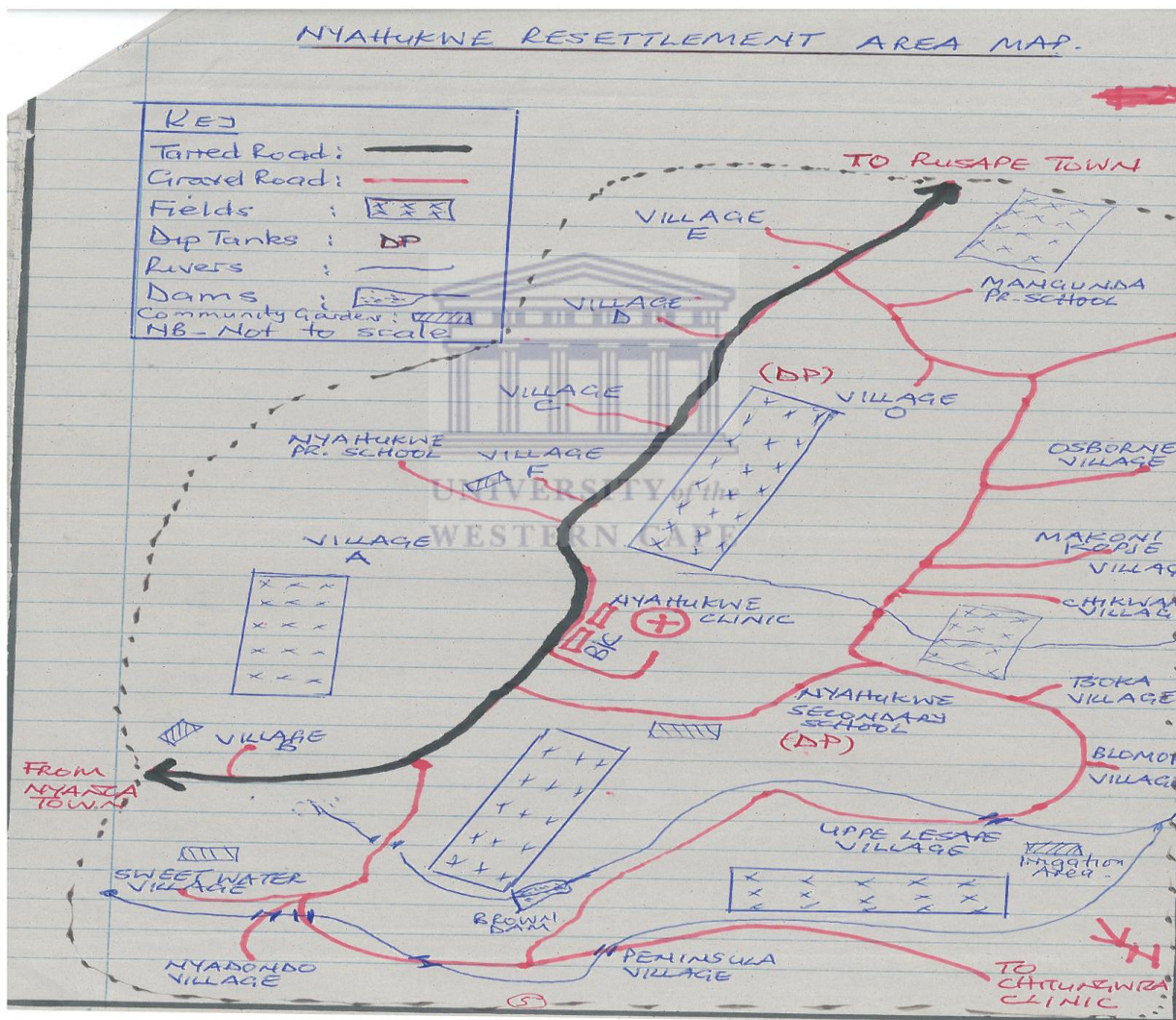
Source: Anderson (2002).

4.1.1. Nyahukwe Resettlement Scheme

Nyahukwe Resettlement Scheme is an A1 small scale farming with 16 villages with an estimated population of about 3570 people, comprising of 760 households. A1 farming is a small scale farming model which targeted landless people and farmers who were resettled

into either as self-contained or villagised farms on about 5 hectares of land each with the provision of basic services and infrastructure (Masiwa, 2005). Nyahukwe resettlement has small rivers and swampy areas where the Brown dam was constructed. The dam supplies water to the local tanks. The area map (Figure 4.2), shows that Nyahukwe is largely covered by arable lands which are used as fields. The villages, schools, clinics, roads and other facilities are shown below:

Figure 4:2: Nyahukwe Resettlement Scheme



Source: Author's Field Work, 2015.

4.2. Administrative structures of Nyahukwe resettlement in Rusape.

Rusape is under the communal lands of Makoni District run by Rusape Town council (Moyo, 1995) . The Land Reform and Development Department is administered by the Rural District Council Division and Nyahukwe resettlement falls under Chief Makoni’s communal rule forming Makoni District. Makoni district has the largest resettlement area in Rusape (see Table 4.1 below) A study done by Moyo (1995) on land question in Mhezi Ward in Makoni showed that Makoni District is largely rural with more resettlement schemes where agriculture is the main source of income. However, little has been written about the District as well as Nyahukwe resettlement. Archival sources only showed the sprouting of small towns, migration and land issue in Rusape (Jansen and Olthof, 1993) on Land question in Mhezi, Makoni (Moyo, 1995) and Livelihoods, migration and small town Rusape (Andersson, 2002). This makes Rusape one of the under researched areas in Zimbabwe in terms of livelihoods after land reform therefore, more information was captured through interviews with key informants and participants. Thus, the empirical research conducted in this study will help to shed more light on the dynamic of livelihoods after land the implementation after land reform in the Nyahukwe resettlement area in Rusape.

Table 4:1 Land Redistribution in Makoni.

Sector	Area (sq. km)	Population	Density/sq. km
Communal lands	2 713	170 000	63
Resettlement land	3 000	47 000	15
SSCF	286	800	17
LSCF	2 000	24 000	12

Source: Moyo (1995).

During the field research when clearance was sought, the administrative protocol was firstly the District Administrator (DA) of Rusape who gave permission to liaise with the Rural Council and Agritex (Agriculture extensions) administration. The Rural council and Agritex handed the researcher to the community research extension officer who is an agricultural trained person who helps in farming and information flow to the community. Mr Nemaise, the extension officer introduced the researcher to Headman Kuture of Village F. Chief Gwasira who is the leader of the whole Nyahukwe resettlement was informed by the Headman. There is a local village committee which is the central administrative structure of Village F called the Village Development Committee (VIDCO). The committee consist of government officials, war veterans, secretary, treasury and member elected by community

with different duties respectively. The VIDCO meets with the community members at the village assembly point called *Dare*, chaired by the headman or *sabhuku* where they discuss village issues, problems and development projects to be implemented which will be given to the Ward development Committee (WADCO). WADCO is comprised by the ward councillor, secretaries and committee members from all villages in Nyahukwe. WADCO is chaired by the ward councillor as they receive and assess different village needs and development projects which they submit to the Makoni Rural District Council of Rusape. The District Administrator supervises the whole district as they administer and report to the Provincial office of Manicaland which also report to the Central national government of Zimbabwe.

4.3. Socio-economic background of Nyahukwe

Initially, each household in the resettlement was allocated 5 -6 hectares which included their homestead, fields, and grazing area. However, due to population growth and new families, the plots have been sub-divided and shared among the resettled families. There is a mixture of male and female population with more female who are grandparents looking after children. There are three schools, one health facility and agriculture is the main source of livelihood. Nyahukwe resettlement is characterised by mixed farming where about 80% are subsistence farmers and about 20% are small scale commercial farmers. There are five community gardens where tobacco, maize, peas, beans and other vegetables are grown. Surplus vegetable from these gardens (e.g. tomatoes, onions, garlic, rape, peas and cabbages) are sold locally and in the town of Rusape. Tobacco is the only cash crop being sold to the Grain Marketing Board in Harare. The farmers at Nyahukwe resettlement scheme diversified their income through selling produce to nearby towns and cities, while others looked for jobs during the off farming season.

4.3.1. Household patterns

Nyahukwe resettlement is characterised by small mud huts with thatched grass on top. Some houses are made of farm bricks and corrugated iron roof (see Figure 4.3). Each household has approximately 3-6 members. These homesteads are within the 5 hectares allocated for each household when they resettled. A typical homestead comprises of a grass thatched kitchen and a bricked house with 2 to 3 rooms. Those with asbestos or corrugated houses are

considered to be better in terms of wellbeing and richness than those with only mud thatched huts. In the homestead is a well, pit latrine and a cattle kraal. The resettled people are now subdividing their allocated hectares of land to their sons and daughters so that they can also have some land to live and farm. This phenomenon is creating clustered patterns of nuclear and extended families within the village.

Figure 4:3: Vegetation and household patterns in Nyahukwe



Source: Author's Field Work, 2015

4.3.2. Education and Employment

Since independence in Zimbabwe, education has been central to government policy as a tool to alleviate poverty and improve the socio-economic status of people (Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency , 2013). Despite the intended benefits of education, rural schools still lack resources like text books, classrooms, electricity and experienced teachers. In Nyahukwe, there are two are primary schools and one secondary school in the resettlement scheme. The schools are spatially located making it easy for children to access (see Figure 4.4). The only issue is overpopulation at the secondary school as there is only one facility to cater for 16 villages. The schools are under resourced with no libraries, electricity and computer labs.

During interviews most parents were pleased with the primary schools but are concerned about the secondary education as most of their children are forced to attend secondary schools as far as Rusape (25 km away), Mutare (60km away) or Nyanga which is 40km away. There is no senior school and college institution and those who need to further their education beyond the secondary school level look elsewhere. Most of the elderly residents in Nyahukwe are farmers who could not proceed with education due to the struggle for liberation. It is only the young people who stay with their parents or grandparents who are mostly educated.

Figure 4:4: Nyahukwe Primary school



Source: Author's Field work, 2015

In terms of employment, the majority of people are self-employed farmers who sell their produce to nearby towns. Some are contract farmers who have entered an agreement to sell their produce to the Grain Marketing Board of Zimbabwe (GMB). Recently in Nyahukwe the Tobacco Processing Company of Zimbabwe (TPCZ) has worked together with contract farmers who want to farm tobacco and sell to the TPCZ. Most men in Nyahukwe are part time builders, welders, carpenters and even drivers who sometimes go to nearby cities or within the resettlement.

4.3.3. Health facilities

Health is essential for better wellbeing and most people rely on public health especially in rural areas (Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency, 2013). In Nyahukwe, the government provided one clinic which offers primary health care, child care and maternity services to the community. The clinic only offers drugs and few admissions for there are few beds and there is a maternity room. Beyond these general health needs the patients are referred to Rusape General Hospital which is about 25 km from Nyahukwe. There is no standby ambulance for emergencies and patients usually hire transport of their own. The clinic also lack sufficient resources like personnel for there are only few nurses and nurse aids without a certified doctor, there is no theatre for operation procedures. Home based care programmes which train other community members to be to look after the elderly and the HIV/AIDS patients and environmental health officers “*utsanana*” are based at the clinic.

Figure 4:5: Nyahukwe Rural Health Centre



Source: Author's Field work, 2015

4.3.4 Animal Health

Within the Nyahukwe rural clinic, there are Agriculture extension (Agritex) offices for veterinary services which specifically deal with animal diseases and health such as tick borne and gall sickness. The whole resettlement has two dip tanks where the livestock is regularly

dipped to fight against ticks. The Agritex officers also move around the village vaccinating and dosing dogs against rabies, look for sick animals in the herd and inspect when there is slaughtering of livestock for consumption.

4.3.5. Transport and communication

Transport and communication allow easy access and flow of information and people. Nyahukwe is along the Rusape –Nyanga road where a lot of buses, cars and mini buses carry people. The road is tarred although there are potholes due to poor maintenance as the council administration of Rusape lack enough resources. Information and communication technology is not well developed as few households and shops have telephonic landlines and electricity. Most of the farmers have small old model cellular phones which are not technologically advanced most of the households of farmers do not have electricity. Most community members use solar and wood as a source of energy.

4.3.6. Water and Sanitation

Sanitation is the main foundation to a good health and well-being of people through access to clean safe water and good sanitation facilities (Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency, 2013). In Nyahukwe there are village boreholes for the community and wells at most of the homesteads which are covered, regularly purified and inspected by village health officers (see Figure 4.6). According to the extension officer, most households have built their wells in their home gardens. The wells serve multi-purposes such as watering the garden, water to cook and drink. Tap water is also available. The water is pumped from the dam into tanks around the village where it is purified and then disbursed to a few farmers who can pay to the Rusape town Council. The dam provides is poorly maintained due to unavailability of funds for only a few households can afford this water as it is to be paid for monthly while most farmers have protected wells. Community health officials make sure that each and every homestead has a properly built pit latrine. Health officers also promote health and hygiene environments at home, schools, clinics and feeding schools in the community.

Figure 4:6: Household water source (well)



Source: Author's Fieldwork, 2015.

4.3.7. Business centres

After independence, Zimbabwe introduced the development of rural areas through the establishment of growth points to reduce rural-urban migration. Growth points have infrastructure allocated for economic and physical development in rural sects (Murisa, 2010). Nyahukwe resettlement does not have a well-designed growth point except few grocery stores, bottle stores and grinding mills. These are individually owned and they are along the

main Rusape-Nyanga tarred road where the bus stop is and accessible to everyone. Other essential services lacking are a filling station, post office and police station.

Figure 4:7: Nyahukwe Business centre



Source: Author's field work, 2015.

4.3.8. Agriculture

Agriculture remains the backbone of the economy and livelihoods of people in Zimbabwe. Increased production in agriculture gives access to food, employment, income and rural dwelling (Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency, 2013). Thus, agriculture enhances food security and reduces rural poverty despite the lack of productive resources. Nyahukwe is characterised by smallholder agriculture which consist of crop production, livestock production and community gardens as the main sources of livelihood. The common crops are

maize, ground nuts, vegetables and beans as in which women produce the food mainly in the fields and community gardens.

Subsistence farming is dominant although a small emerging number of contract farmers are adopting small scale commercial farming by planting tobacco and gum trees for commercial purposes. Livestock production is mainly cattle, goat, sheep and pig rearing used for many purposes like milk production, for ploughing and selling for money. To some extent, some subsistence farmers sell their surplus crop produce to their local markets at the business centre or transport to Rusape town. Most of the respondents in the research stated that they used to sell their produce to the Grain Marketing Board (GMB) but due to the economic problems they have to source market since the GMB system stopped. The introduction of the United State dollar and the South African Rand had an impact on the value of crops in terms of transporting and the market price offered hence at times they resort to barter trading. Barter trading is done for small exchanges for livelihood for instance when one has maize with no chicken to feed they can trade with one who has chicken with a number of buckets of maize.

4.4. Summary

The chapter described Nyahukwe resettlement scheme as the case study area. It was formed through the Land reform and Resettlement Programme (LRRP) in Rusape, Zimbabwe. Nyahukwe is mainly a farming area where agriculture has become the basis of small scale since they were resettled into villages (see figure 4.2). The chapter also detailed the background, administrative structure and the socio-economic factors that have influenced the livelihoods of Nyahukwe farmers.

5. Research design and Methodology

In order to unpack the livelihoods of resettled farmers in Nyahukwe, the research used different techniques for data collection and analysis. A qualitative research methodology was utilised due to the nature of the information to be collected. The research sought to unravel a detailed inquiry of factors that affect farmers' lives and how they sustain their lives. The chapter, therefore, provides in-depth details on the various qualitative research methods applied to collect and analyse data. The research fieldwork was carried out at Nyahukwe resettlement scheme in Rusape, Zimbabwe during the month of July 2015. The chapter concludes by outlining the ethical considerations that guided the empirical study and challenges encountered during the research.

5.1. Research Design

According to Polit and Beck (2006) a research design is an overall plan for attaining answers. Research design also functions as a blue print or plan for conducting research which controls the inquiry approaches the researcher should follow. Research design is the main framework which directs the purpose of a specific study through quantitative or qualitative approaches (Babbie and Mouton, 2001). To fully comprehend the research problem, the research was underpinned by an interpretative qualitative design utilised to collect information and capture diverse activities of the livelihoods of Nyahukwe farmers. Qualitative research as an interpretative framework provided the researcher with an understanding of different views of people, attitudes, judgement assumptions and structures of their lives in the context of their social world (Babbie and Mouton, 2001). Qualitative design was used because the research

relies on first hand interpretations of farmers' subjective livelihood experiences after they were resettled which gives the researcher a deeper understanding.

5.2. Research Methodology

Research methodology encompasses various procedures, schemes and processes used in research to solve or address a problem (Rajasekar et al., 2006). All the methods used by a researcher to collect and analyse data during a research study are termed as research methods. A research method therefore is a technique and procedures used to collect data to gain knowledge.

The study used a qualitative research methodology. Qualitative method, according to Creswell (1998) gives an in depth understanding of a social environment, situation, group or interaction that gradually gives the researcher a sense of social phenomena to compare, contrast or classify the object of study. Creswell (1998) postulates that the use of qualitative research method to understand social phenomena has tremendous benefits. Thus, qualitative research method was used in this study because it enabled the researcher to get detailed information on the livelihood perspectives of Nyahukwe farmers since they were resettled.

A qualitative research methodology also helped the researcher to get information on why and how land reform affects livelihoods of people differently according to their needs and resources available (Aliber et al., 2011). In this research, a similar methodology was implemented in order to get holistic information about the effect of the Land reform and resettlement Programme (LRRP) on the livelihoods of farmers from the farmers' context. This was the best method because it brought involvement and discussion of the farmers as individuals or focus groups. This is supported by Maxwell (2008), who states that qualitative methodology augments the understanding of human and social interaction from the insider's or participant's view. The researcher was born and raised in Zimbabwe sharing the same language facilitated the engagement with the community's life, setting and livelihoods through interaction and observation from the view of the farmers. There were various qualitative techniques used in the research such as semi-structured interviews, focus groups, open ended questionnaire and personal observation.

Qualitative data collection was utilised using semi-structured interviews, self-administered questionnaires, focus group as well as personal observation. This helped the researcher to get information on why and how land reform affects the livelihoods of people differently according to their needs and available resources (Aliber et al., 2011). As a Shona speaking researcher, I empathically used the language with the farmers which enhanced a deeper understanding and communication for in depth collection of data. The qualitative methodology facilitated in the analysis of the context which the farmers find themselves in. This helped the researcher to assess and evaluate the nature and context of assets available, different livelihood strategies employed and the importance of farming to the resettled farmers.

5.2.1. Case Study

A case study approach was utilised in order to give comprehensive information on the livelihoods of Nyahukwe farmers. A case study methodology was used because it is an intensive method of getting specific detail of a particular social context such as a family, community or respondents in a project (Welman et al., 2005). According to Kumar (2011:127) “a case study is a very useful design when exploring an area where little is known or where you want to have a holistic understanding of the situation, phenomenon, episode, site, group or community”. The case study approach has been shown as a methodology relevant to study process as it is an interpretation in context (Merriam, 1994). Hence, it becomes relevant for it gives an understanding to the complexities of a situation or process.

A case study also give in depth information to answer the ‘How’ and ‘Why’ questions of research with real life context (Yin, 2011). Thus, the method was used based on the appropriateness of capturing specific context details on the assessment in how of land reform resettlement scheme impacted on the livelihoods of resettled farmers in Nyahukwe, Rusape. This further probes an analysis on how and why farmers are employing diverse strategies for livelihoods since resettlement. Nyahukwe was chosen as a case study because it is a resettlement scheme formed by the government of Zimbabwe immediately after independence through the LRRP. The case study approach has been criticised of being time consuming and for providing a weak basis for scientific generalization (Babbie and Mouton, 2001; Yin, 2011). However, the research used the case study to assess the farmer’s

livelihoods after land reform because it is a place where resettlement took place during the implementation of land reform.

5.2.2. Research Sample

A sample is a subset of a population that is selected for a particular study (Grove et al., 2012). Sampling is therefore the representation of the population chosen to gather data in order to make an inference about the target population (Babbie and Mouton, 2001). The population consists of the total collection of all units or participants of analysis where a part or sample is extracted for research and conclusions will be deduced (Babbie and Mouton, 2001; Welman et al., 2005). Non probability sampling was employed in the study. Non probability sampling is when respondents are chosen in non-random ways, as it does not aim to use statistical tests or draw statistical inferences (Ritchie et al., 2003).

The research utilised non-probability purposive sampling technique. Purposive sampling is a non-probability sampling technique where decisions concerning the individuals to be included in the sample are taken by the researcher (Terre Blanche et al., 2006). The researcher selected 30 farmers based on their availability and consent to participate in the study having similar characteristics of being resettled farmers through land reform which interested the researcher to assess their livelihoods. Subjects were chosen for a reason related to the purpose of the research basing on them being resettled farmers through land reform. Thus, purposive sampling was used to focus on and answer the research questions.

Semi-structured interviews were administered to 3 purposively selected resettlement officials who were available in the community. These are extension officers who work with the community providing veterinary services, environmental health and farming projects. The researcher chose village F among the 16 villages because the researcher could not use all the villages. Village F was chosen randomly due to lack of time and resources to cover all villages as well as assuming that the villages are similar, the researcher used village F for data collection.

5.3. Data Collection Methods

Data is the important information for a research which is collected and captured in order to do analysis based on the aims and objection of the research. Therefore, the less bias in collection

and methods used, the higher the validity and reliability of information and results (Babbie and Mouton, 2001). Reliability is the consistency with which an instrument measures certain identified elements (Polit and Beck, 2006). According to Jackson et al., (2012) validity refers to whether a measure is truthful or genuine. A number of data collection methods were used during field research conducted in July 2015 for measuring and identifying the characteristics of the concepts of the research. These include semi-structured interviews for officials (Appendix A), semi-structured interviews for farmers (Appendix B), focus group questions (Appendix C), self-administered questionnaire (Appendix D).

5.3.1. Self- administered questionnaire

Self-administered questionnaires were used as data collection instruments. According to Kumar (2011) a questionnaire is a set of questions scheduled for data collection in a manner that a participant will be able to respond to meet the aims of research and show information about the study. The questionnaire used more open ended questions to allow participants to answer in their own words or give their own views (see Appendix D). Purposive non-random sampling technique was utilised to select 30 respondents to complete the questionnaire according to their availability. The questionnaire was tested for validity and reliability using the pre-test post-test method. The researcher collected data using a pre-test where the farmers filled questionnaires firstly and then gather post-test data form the same farmers. This helped to validate the answers from the respondents.

The questionnaire was administered to 30 purposively sampled farmers from village F according to availability. The questionnaire was divided into two sections: the first section asked demographic questions and the second part asked questions pertaining to livelihoods. The questions asked issues like where did the famers live before resettlement and what agricultural activities they did, what assets they had before resettlement and what they have accumulated now, how many people of the household are working and how many resettled with them, how many work on the farm, what expectations did they have and have they achieved them, what are their capabilities, and overall how they survive.

5.3.2. Semi-structured interviews

Semi structured interviews were used for collecting the livelihoods activities of farmers. According to Babbie and Mouton (2001), a semi structured interview give an in depth and meaningful answer by allowing the interviewee to talk freely although having some structure. The interviewer will have themes and questions to guide concepts to cover during the interview which can vary from one interview to another (Welman et al., 2005). This allowed face to face interaction on the livelihoods of farmers. The interviews permitted flexibility to the researcher for in some cases the respondents could elaborate with more information when answering, this shows the person's perceptions which this research required.

Semi-structured interviews were conducted on 30 farmers who had completed the questionnaires. The questions had guiding topics to the interviewee with no closed questions for the respondents. This permitted the researcher to grasp diverse livelihood strategies through private interviews making respondents to relax in expressing opinions and attitudes. The respondents were given a conducive environment to talk and express themselves freely since land reform and resettlement is politically sensitive in Zimbabwe. The researcher was able to ask questions for detailed answers which helped to discover different personal livelihood strategies from the farmers following the ethical codes of privacy and anonymity of respondents. Since the research is based on the impact on the livelihoods, it was best to also use interviews to gather the realities and experiences which will help to interpret data based on respondent's personal view. The interview questions for farmers are shown in Appendix B.

Semi structured interviews with key government officials were done and the selection was through purposive sampling. Three key officials in village F consisting "mudhumeni" Research extension officer, "Utsanana" the Environmental Health Officer and the Veterinary officer were interviewed. These officials work with daily issues of farmers like running of projects, hygiene and nutrition and the rearing of animals in the village. The semi-structured interview with the officials helped to acquire data which the farmers cannot explain in terms of law and operation of the LRRP. This enhanced the researcher to probe for clarification and explanation on their responses and engagement during the interview. An example of the interview question for key informants is attached in Appendix A.

5.3.3. Focus Groups

A focus group is a group interview which can be structured, semi- structured or unstructured (Babbie and Mouton, 2001). This in-depth group interview instils and probes expression of opinions for a number of individuals who are brought together. Nyahukwe resettlement scheme have each village conducting a weekly meeting called “*Dare*” where the “Sabhuku” (Headman) announces village programmes, projects and updates. The researcher therefore utilised such gatherings to conduct one focus group meeting where prior permission and announcement to the farmers was done. After their village meeting, the headman gave me the time with farmers where the researcher introduced herself in the local language explaining the purpose of study and acquiring consent of participation.

One focus group discussion took place at the “DARE” meeting place where both male and female farmers and dwellers of village F gathered. There were about 20 farmers present at the discussion due to their attendance to the weekly meeting of the village. The discussion started by discussing how the farmers were resettled at Nyahukwe which gained momentum in the middle as what the previous said instilled the next response. Although there were guided questions as shown in Appendix C, the discussion was flexible as one response could lead to the next question but the researcher had to make sure all questions relevant to the research were covered. This helped the researcher to get more information as every member has equal opportunity to express their views. This was used as a data collection technique to get detailed information that could not be accomplished in the questionnaire.

5.3.4. Archival study

Archival study includes the study of written literature or material about the research topic which can include official or personal material, media articles or reports and published and unpublished information (Welman et al., 2005). This study is advantageous as it uses documents which do not affect the activities or attitude of the researcher or the content of the documents. Nyahukwe resettlement scheme in Rusape is an under researched area therefore literature review archival study helped to get more information on resettlement areas after land reform. Secondary information which was available from Rusape government offices like the ministry of land and agriculture in Rusape, the Town Council office or the Agricultural Research and Extension (AREX) offices had information on land reform programmes.

Little on the livelihoods has been documented specifically on Nyahukwe except that it is one of the resettlement schemes initiated in Rusape through land reform in Zimbabwe soon after independence. The researcher had to enhance and deepen knowledge on what has been done and the results on the livelihoods after land reform in Zimbabwe overall. A week during field work was used to do archival research at African Institute of Agrarian Studies (AIAS) in Harare. This is one of the prominent institutes working on land reform and livelihoods in Zimbabwe where archival research on prior academic research, books and unpublished documentation was done. I gained a lot of information on baselines of livelihoods across Zimbabwe, unpublished literature and insightful debates with the institute which also helped in writing literature review, theoretical framework as well as data analysis of my research.

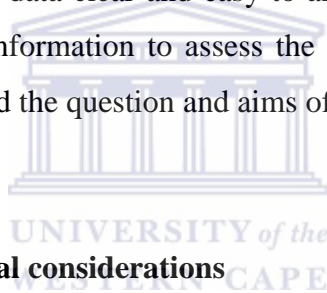
5.3.5. Personal observation

Personal observation is a valuable data collection technique within a case study setting and complements interviews and focus groups (Saunders et al., 2011). Personal observation encompasses the direct involvement of the researcher in the community, experiencing daily life and activities and interaction on a personal level. Four weeks in field work, the researcher was in the community every day for deeper understanding of livelihood activities of farmers. This was an experience not to forget as they allowed me to record interviews and take pictures. That enhanced me to get information which I would have never had access without being present such as the physical structure of the area, research mapping, events taking place and even observing their culture and norms. This will help one to fully understand how their livelihoods are structured in different ways because of the community's way of life and influencing physical factors.

Personal observation makes a researcher to reflect one's role as a researcher for personal experience will make the research issue closer to heart as one continues to experience with participants. Therefore, I concentrated on showing what have collected and experienced as well as true and objective results of livelihood experiences in the case study. Credibility and validity of the researcher was essential to evaluate the authenticity of documents and reliability of the responses from respondents. This is one of the advantages of conducting primary field research for eidetic emphatic intuition of the researcher to the research.

5.3.6. Data Analysis

The collected data had to be presented and analysed to assess how the research has answered the research question and aims. According to Mouton (1996) data analysis is done through the identification of themes and patterns from data and be able to draw conclusion from the data. Processing of data also include the processing which is the examination of the collected data, classification through grouping on the basis of common characteristics and tabulation summarising data and presentation (Kumar, 2005). The research used qualitative analysis to triangulate data through thematic analysis, discussion of the findings, summary and presentation of data inform of quotations and narratives. Triangulation involves using multiple data sources in an investigation corroborating findings to investigate the research question to validate findings which give an understanding (Creswell, 1998). The qualitative information from different techniques was transcribed, content analysis form the information and themed in order to make the data clear and easy to analyse. The qualitative analysis of data helped to collect in-depth information to assess the livelihoods of Nyahukwe farmers after land reform, which addressed the question and aims of the research.



5.4. Field Procedures and Ethical considerations

The field research was conducted during the month of July 2015 for the entire four weeks. This was chosen as the best time to do field work for then it will be warmer as it will be after winter and it is after harvest time. This would give me ample time to conduct in depth interviews and be involved in their community meetings and activities. Land reform and resettlement in Zimbabwe is volatile politically, therefore I had to clearly explain my intentions were on livelihoods of the farmers both to the officials and the community. The community leaders really helped in the penetration into the community and the research procedures.

In research, ethical considerations are vital for ethical issues are experienced by interacting with others and the environment surrounding people if there potential of conflict of interests (Babbie and Mouton, 2001). Therefore, researchers need to always consider the rights of individuals and institutions when conducting research. Prior to embarking on field research,

permission and ethical clearance was attained from the Post Graduate Board of Studies and the Senate Higher Degree Committee of the University of the Western Cape.

In the field work permission from Makoni District Administrator, the Agritex officer and the Rural Council officer from the district offices in Rusape was sought before entering the community. From Nyahukwe community, permission was sought from the agricultural extension officer who made it easy to talk to the village headman then to the Chief. The village extension officer was responsible for announcing my intention to do study and introduce me to the community on the first day I went when they had community meeting “DARE” organised by the headman after being informed about my research by the extension officer. He worked with me every day around the village making sure I reach to every household I intended to carry out research.

To the participants, it was mandatory and important that they were well informed about myself as I introduced myself reiterating that it was in partial fulfilment of a degree undertaken at University of the Western Cape in South Africa. This was done because some farmers became misled that I might be from a non-governmental organisation who came with aid or I was going to help them somehow financially or with food. The participants were also informed about the focus of my research about their participation in the research by providing consent to participate. The respondents were not forced or coerced to be part of the research, it was up to their own free will, they may refuse to answer certain question they are not comfortable to talk and they were informed that they can withdraw anytime from the reason. All the research procedures of recording interviews, taking pictures and filling of questionnaire were done with the permission of the participants. Confidentiality and anonymity was kept at all times in which the researcher and the participant will not discuss or disclose information from the research. Consent was in writing at all times Appendix E shows the consent in English and information sheet describing and providing relevant information as shown by Appendix F.

5.5. Challenges and Limitation

As a mini-thesis, time became a constraining factor in relation to data collection. Also, land reform is highly politicised in Zimbabwe. Therefore at every stage there was need for clarification and letter of confirmation from the supervisor to support my research. The

researcher went to the field with a letter to the District administrator and the village Chief not knowing there was need of a letter to the rural council and Agritex as well before given a letter of permission to enter the community through the extension officer. The researcher had to collect data with the help of the extension officer who would explain that there is no political victimisation if they participate and say their opinions. All key informants and participants consented without withdrawing from the research agreeing to record with anonymity. The research employed non-probability sampling in which the findings cannot be generalized to all farmers In Nyahukwe as the findings are based on the case study of Village F where lessons can be drawn.

5.6. Summary

This chapter explained the case study area by providing a geographical location, the local administrative structures and socio-economic profile of the area. Nyahukwe resettlement area is one of the largest farming land in Makoni district in Rusape which has contributed much to the well-being and livelihoods of farmers. Farm produce from the small scale farmers has led to the improvement of their lives through the selling of surplus.

The chapter explained the qualitative approach used as in the research in order to gather in-depth understanding and information on the livelihoods outcomes of the resettled farmers since resettlement. The data was collected through self-administered questionnaires, semi structured interviews, focus group and archival research. These instruments were utilised to gather information on why and how land reform affects livelihoods of people differently according to their needs and resources available. The data was captured, transcribed and analysed through a process of triangulation for content analysis. This was used through content analysis based upon narratives collected from the interviews and open questionnaires which is explained in the next chapter.



6. Findings and Analysis of Data

6.1. Introduction

This chapter presents findings, results and discussion of the research by showing sample demographics, socio-economic background and livelihood activities. Qualitative data analysis was used to assess the livelihoods of farmers after the redistributive land reform. The asset accumulation of farmers before and after resettlement was explored in answering the research question on the effect of land reform on the livelihoods of farmers. There are two types of qualitative data analysis namely, content or discourse analysis (Babbie and Mouton, 2001). This research employed content analysis based on narratives collected from the interviews, questionnaires and focus groups. The aim of the research was to assess the livelihoods of resettled farmers after land reform looking at the assets accessible to them and how the farmers used the assets to accumulate livelihood activities. The findings are presented,

discussed and analyzed from the narratives and data collected through the lens of the asset pentagon in the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach (SLA). Data analysed included households' assets and livelihoods streams, activities undertaken by the households, problems encountered (shocks and stresses) and the strategies used to cope. Anonymity of names is used to protect the identity of participants.

6.1.1. Sample Demographics

A sample of 30 farmers was used which represented 60% of the resettled farmers in village F. Of these 16 (53%) were females while 14 (47%) were men (Table 6.1).



Table 6:1 Demographic characteristics of respondents

	Number of Respondents	Percentages (%)
Gender		
Male	14	46.7%
Female	16	53.3%
Age		
26-34 years	1	3.3%
35-44 years 3	3	10.0%
45-50 years 7	7	23.3%
51-59 years 11	11	11%
60+ years 8	8	26.7%

Level of education		
Primary	18	60%
Secondary	11	36.7%
Tertiary	1	3.3%
Income level		
0-100	23	76.7%
100-200	3	10.0%
200-300	3	10.0%
300+	1	3.3%

The common age group ranges from 45 to 59 years of age, constituting 60% of Nyahukwe residents (Table 6.1). This is the economic active age group which constitute the bulk population of the adult families resettled when the land reform and resettlement began. These findings show that most beneficiaries of the land resettlement programme are fairly old. For sustainability of farming livelihoods, land is also transferred to the sons and daughters of the initial beneficiaries. For instance, an interview conducted with Mr Tafadzwa aged 35, one of the sons of the initial beneficiaries of land resettlement programme who now owns a portion of his father's land. Mr Tafadzwa said that as the elderly son he had to get a stand within his father's land, since his father had died. This was to enable him to take care of his mother and siblings. Mr Tafadzwa reiterated that this was a means of strengthening farming production to improve their livelihoods.

From the respondents, women constitute 53% of the respondents while males constitute 47% (Table 6.1). The findings show that access to and ownership of land has improved for women. Historically, land ownership in Zimbabwe was generally dominated by males as head of households (Gaidzanwa, 2011). From this research findings however, more women own land as initial beneficiaries independent of their husbands and have decision making powers on farming production. The SLA states that access and utilisation of assets enable people to produce and rebuild lives to overcome challenges. Thus, ownership of land has empowered women in village F to provide food for their families, send children to school and sell surplus produce to generate income.

Age was adverse factor to the level of education of the respondents in Village F. The majority of residents above the age of 50 have primary level education. This shows that most of them were born before independence in Zimbabwe. These are likely to have been deprived of formal education due to the racial discrimination by the colonial rule. Most of the respondents did not finish primary level (60%), about 37% of the respondents have secondary education with only one male (3%) having vocational training in building (Table 6.1).

6.2. Themes for data findings and analysis

The data collected was grouped for analysis using the following themes:

1. Reasons for resettlement
2. Assets before resettlement
3. Livelihood Activities
4. Income generating Activities
4. Asset accumulation after land resettlement program
5. Improved livelihood outcomes
6. Agriculture and Infrastructural support
7. Challenges



6.2.1 Farmer's reason for resettlement

The findings show that most of the farmers joined the redistributive land reform programme as a means of gaining land to live and farm. According to the resettled farmers there was not enough space to stay and farm at the communal lands where they stayed before resettlement. Being aware of the redistributive land resettlement programme after independence, the farmers wanted a place of their own to farm and live freely. Literature shows that land reform programmes are designed to give land to the landless and poor as a means to reduce poverty (Alston et al., 2000; Ellis and Allison, 2004; Seekings and Natrass, 2005). In Nyahukwe, targeted beneficiaries were landless people in need of land. From the narratives all the farmers did not have land of their own before the resettlement program as highlighted below. Mr Charamba's narrative highlight how he wanted land of his own since he was living in the communal areas:

The issue was on where to stay on a spacious fertile land, we used to stay in squashed communal areas in Makoni District while the whites have bigger and fertile land. Before, during and after the war of liberation we were promised that we will get some land of our own to stay from the government. I saw the programme as an opportunity to own land where I could stay with my family.

Mr Charamba's narrative shows that he used to stay in overcrowded communal land. He also wanted land of his own as promised by the government before independence. This reflects that other farmers joined the resettlement programme, as they perceived it as government's means of redressing racial imbalances. This made some farmers feel like they were taking ownership of their country's resources for better living conditions. On the other hand, other beneficiaries wanted free and larger land as a basis for livelihood as Mrs Mutasa states that:

I wanted land where I could stay and grow crops so that I will be able to feed my children and grandchildren, take them to school. I have also built my homestead from the farm income. Even if I die, I know my children will have a place to stay and farm.

From Mrs Mutasa's reason, some farmers wanted land for habitation, farming and construction of livelihoods. Her narrative illustrates how land has benefited her family's wellbeing and livelihood by building a homestead, being able to feed and send her children to school. The research explores opportunities brought by land reform and resettlement programme (LRRP) on the capabilities of farmers to enhance livelihoods. According to the SLA, dissecting the asset pentagon this finding shows that land as a natural stock has capacitated the farmers to derive sustainable livelihoods.

Other respondents stated that they grew up in the resettlement area and agriculture is the basis of their livelihoods. Others have been allocated sub-divided land on the basis of their marital status such as "varoora" (daughter in law) plots. Such responses came mostly from married males and females between the ages of 25-45 years. Some females highlighted marriage as the reason for coming into the resettlement scheme such as Mrs Musariri, originally from Mozambique who met her husband while seeking for refugee status. After independence she came along with her husband who was resettled through the LRRP in village F. Her livelihood is now based on farming. Despite the many reason attributed to famers' resettlement, the findings show the targeted beneficiaries of the resettlement program all needed land.

6.2.2. Assets prior to resettlement

Table 6:2 Assets of respondents before resettled

Assets prior to resettlement	Number of respondents	Percent
chicken, hoes	16	53.3
chicken, hoes, few cattle	3	10.0
chicken, hoes, goat	2	6.7
Hoes	4	13.3
hoes, plough, chicken	2	6.7
Nothing	3	10.0

Information from the interviews and questionnaires show that most of the farmers had chickens and hoes (53%), which they used in the communal areas where they stayed before being resettled. About 13% had hoes only and 10% of them had nothing. This shows that the farmers did not have many assets before they were resettled. According to Aliber et al. (2011), the acknowledgement of land need is important to finding a more useful model to implement a land reform for the best beneficiaries. This is done by assessing the assets and needs the beneficiaries have prior to resettlement bearing in mind the diverse opportunities created by land reform. This resonates with the farmer's disparate reasons for resettlement with few or no assets. Thus, the LRRP was implemented targeting such farmers in need of land but with few assets.

6.2.3. Livelihood Activities in Nyahukwe

Zimbabwe's land reform resulted in a shift in agricultural production and resources which created a change in the livelihoods portfolio (Mujeyi, 2010). The Sustainable Livelihoods Approach (SLA) was used to look at the resources and asset accumulation of farmers to enhance their multiple livelihoods after land reform. This helps to demonstrate that the vast majority of households have one or more sources of income, be it active participation in trade, service provisioning and remittances (Scoones et al., 2012). These may be on or off

farm activities undertaken to enhance livelihoods. Nyahukwe resettlement is largely characterised by agricultural activities although some off farm activities are employed.

6.2.4. Crop production in Nyahukwe

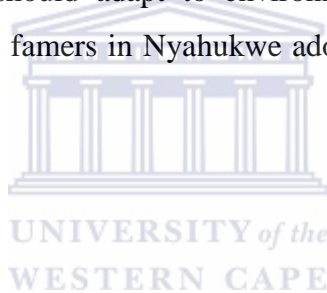
In Nyahukwe, subsistence farming is the main source of livelihoods for most farmers. Dry land farming has limited the farmers to produce mainly maize which is a staple food for households. Other crops such as beans, sorghum and tobacco are produced for sale. There are also family or community gardens where the farmers plant vegetables such as spinach, carrots, peas, tomatoes, butter beans and others (74%) (See Table 6.3). Most of the farmers sell their vegetables to the local markets and nearby towns like Rusape.

Table 6:3 Types of crop production in Nyahukwe

Type of Crop production	Number of respondents	Percent
maize, sorghum, ground nuts, soya beans	3	10.0
maize, sorghum, potatoes, sweet potatoes	2	6.7
maize, soya beans, peas, vegetables, groundnuts	14	46.7
maize, vegetables, tobacco, gumtree plantation	8	26.7
maize, sorghum, sunflower, soya beans	3	10.0

One of the questions the research looked at is how resources have contributed to sustainable livelihoods of farmers. Most of the farmers produce and sell crops such as tobacco, soya beans and sorghum (54%). The selling of produce has enabled farmers to get cash income, which is used to build houses, send children to school and to buy inputs and livestock. This shows that land as a natural asset has enabled the farmers to produce crops which they can use to generate income (financial capital) to improve their livelihoods. The SLA states that, for livelihoods to be sustainable there has to be a combination of assets relating together (Scoones, 1998). Crop production in Nyahukwe brought to the fore this interaction as farmers sell crops from the land (natural capital), sell their produce to get financial capital which has capacitated the farmers to purchase inputs and livestock.

Most farmers produce maize and soya beans to feed their households. Mr Maguta emphasised that when he was resettled, he used to produce a lot of maize, wheat and soya beans which he would sell to the Grain Marketing Board (GMB). This was because of the support from the government with inputs such as seeds, fertilizer and chemicals which resulted in high crop production. This has, however, changed as surplus market produce has decreased due to the lack of adequate support from the government. From the narratives, the farmers stated that they have sufficient produce to cater for household needs. The surplus is sold and the proceeds are used to pay for labour, buy groceries and livestock accumulation. Farmers who do not have marketable surplus are still food self-sufficient. Currently, land reform has become a pro-poor strategy for rural food production and poverty reduction (Akram-Lodhi et al., 2007; Borras, 2003). The findings highlight that land has enhanced self-sufficiency for food security as most farmers are able to feed their households. When the farmers were resettled they cleared the land for farm production using human capital. This echoes with SLA which states that people should adapt to environments and accumulate assets for sustainable livelihoods. Thus, the famers in Nyahukwe adopted crop production as the basis of their livelihood activities.



6.2.5. Livestock Production

Livestock production is integral to rural livelihoods (Ellis and Allison, 2004; Hatch, 1996; Shackleton et al., 2001). From the African perspective, livestock depicts the income and wealth of people or family (Hatch, 1996). From the respondents, cattle production has the same instrumental value. Most of them did not have cattle before they were resettled but they have managed to have relatively more as a result of their farming activities. From the findings, all families own at least one or more cattle along with chickens, goats and pigs (Table 6.4). The respondents showed that they gained meat, milk, manure, hides (skins) from livestock production. Livestock is used for farming, transportation on scotch carts, selling during difficult financial situations and for *lobola* (bride price). Hatch (1996:81) stated that “the wealth of a man is always reckoned in cattle, since it is in cattle that he must acquire wives for himself and his sons”. Thus livestock production is used by Nyahukwe farmers as means of wealth and income.

According to (Kinsey, 2005), selling of cattle is rare in Zimbabwe and it usually occurs when there is dire and urgent need of money. Similarly, in Nyahukwe, Mr Moyo said: “*Cattle*

production is for ownership and family wealth, not for selling". He further reiterated that selling is rare for he can only recall selling one of his cattle because he wanted university fees for his son who is now an engineer. According to him he made an investment as he can now receive help from his son. Thus, acquisition of land, a natural asset has enabled farmers to build present and future livelihoods. Mr Moyo now receives remittances from his educated son while he is still farming. This has diversified his income portfolio as stressed by SLA that an increased income portfolio is equal to a sustainable livelihood. This has helped farmers to use livestock production as a resilient livelihood option. Land as a natural asset interacts with other resources and is used by farmers to build livelihoods options to cope with stresses and shock of life as reflected in the SLA (Chambers and Conway, 1992).

6.2.6. Livelihoods strategies

Different strategies are implemented in order to adapt and cope with stresses and shocks to improve livelihoods (Chambers and Conway, 1992). Literature on livelihoods highlight that rural livelihoods are facilitated through diversified activities (Bryceson, 2002; Ellis, 2000; Scoones, 1998). Livelihood security strategies according to the SLA, happens when households combine their livelihood resources and utilize their established connections to pursue a number of different strategies (Scoones, 2009). Strategies can include various types of production and income-generating activities like agricultural production, off-farm employment, informal sector employment or a combination of multiple activities. The study assessed the livelihood strategy portfolios that farmers pursue and the pathways they have taken. Focus group discussions and data from interviews pointed out that, although farmers in Nyahukwe acknowledged farming as their main livelihood source, they also have diversified income activities. Remittance and short term employment are the key non-farm livelihoods diversification strategies.

Table 6:4 Income generating Activities of Nyahukwe farmers

Income generating activities	Number of respondents	Percent
broiler feeding	1	3.3
broiler feeding, rearing pigs and rabbit	3	10.0
dairy farming, broiler feeding, kitchen parties	1	3.3

fish keeping, broiler feeding	1	3.3
home based care, round cooperative	1	3.3
home based care, round cooperatives, remittance	3	10.0
kitchen parties, home based care, round cooperative	3	10.0
Nothing	2	6.7
piece works	4	13.3
Remittance	3	10.0
remittance, broiler feeding, beer brewing	2	6.7
remittance, pension fund, broiler feeding, cattle selling	1	3.3
remittance, tobacco selling	1	3.3
selling surplus, tobacco selling	4	13.3

Income generating activities according to the SLA contribute to a livelihood strategy. In a study undertaken in the Western Cape, South Africa, Thomas et al., (1996) identified rural non-farm activities such as trading and social grants which have a potential of creating sustainable livelihoods. In Nyahukwe information from most interviews show that farmers end up opting for other non-farming activities. Whilst land based activities like crop and livestock production are prominent, a variety of off-farm and non-land based activities that farmers engage in are becoming more essential and contributing to livelihood incomes (Table 6.4). For instance, if one has harvested surplus crops he/she can do barter trade with one who has many chickens or goats. Short term employment including brick moulding, building, thatching houses and carpentry is also used as another form of non-farming livelihood strategy. Information from interviews show that young men look for piece works in the surrounding villages and cities. Mr Chihuri who is 35 years old explained that,

“During off farming season we look for piece jobs like moulding bricks for sale, cut grass for thatching houses to the huts which need rethatching after rain season. We can be paid in cash or barter trading like I can thatch one’s hut and they give me 10 buckets of maize or soya beans. We also do carpentry jobs in the village or go to Rusape, Mutare or Harare city for temporary jobs. When its farming season we come back to farm, for this where our lives all depend on and where we belong”.

Only one respondent from the interviews mentioned retirement salary as a source of income besides farming. He narrated that he was resettled and got a job in Harare as a policeman; he

left his wife and children on the resettlement scheme. When he retired, he came back to Nyahukwe resettlement where he had built a brick homestead, electrified it and put tapped water. This shows that, although farmers diversified their livelihoods, farming remained a part of their livelihood.

Remittances can be defined as money and goods that a household receives from people working away from their communities of origin (Rigg, 2005). Remittances are important in rural livelihoods through the growing role that they play in rural households, contributing to agricultural production in supplying inputs and as a form of financial relief for households (Rigg, 2005). Remittance is also a livelihood strategy in Nyhahukwe resettlement scheme that helps farmers especially the older respondents who have children working such as Mrs Chikore who said that:

Land from the resettlement helped us a lot, for we were able to take our children to school with money we made from farm produce. The children are now teachers and nurses taking care of us here and there when we need help. My children send me money, groceries and fertilizer which has helped me a lot.

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Similarly, some families highlighted that they get groceries or cash from their sons although it is not on a monthly basis. Another interviewee, Mr Chari, acknowledged receiving fertilizer and seeds from his son during farming season to boost production. Thus, indeed remittances used on purchasing inputs and other agricultural equipment enables rural farmers to continue agricultural activities despite having no profit from their farm produce. Few households reiterated that they do not rely on remittances as most of their children are also struggling to survive in the cities. Despite not receiving remittances constantly, it can be seen that remittance emanated as one of the livelihoods strategy resulting from acquiring land.

According to the SLA, social capital determines the ability of farmers to establish and manage relationships and networks. Women in Nyahukwe indicated the use of kitchen parties as a non-farming livelihood strategy for households by buying kitchen utensils such as pots, spoons and cups (Table 6.4). These are complemented by round cooperatives (Stokvels) where each woman is given some monthly cash to assist family needs (26%). About 7% of elderly women have shown that they sometimes brew traditional beer from their produce and

sell to the community. Beer brewing is one of the income sources for African rural families (Bryceson, 2002). Some women talked of being employed by Non-governmental Organisations as home based care givers who look after sick and elderly people in the village (23%). The income generated by care givers was used to buy some livestock to build an assets base. These are social networks that have been established by farmers in Nyahukwe to enhance and create non-farm livelihood activities.

From the data collected, selling of vegetable crops such as spinach, carrots, peas, tomatoes, butter beans and others (74%) is used as a livelihood strategy. Scoones (2009) identified agricultural intensification and diversification as strategies for sustainable livelihoods. The farmers in Nyahukwe adopted vegetable gardening as a means of intensifying and diversifying their farming activities in order to enhance their livelihoods. Mrs Chikware also adopted vegetable growing as strategy to complement maize production. Initially, Mrs Chikware had few cows in his kraal (Figure 6.1 below) while doing maize production.

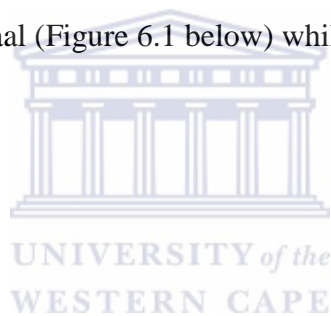


Figure 6:1 Mrs Chikware’s kraal before diversifying



Source: Author's Field Work, 2015

Since the deterioration of maize production due to lack of support on inputs and effective market which has reduced the produce of farmers. Mrs Chikware used the vegetable growing as a strategy to produce fresh vegetables (Figure 6.2). These vegetables are sold at local markets and nearby towns.

Figure 6:2. Mrs Chikware's vegetable garden



Source: Author's Field Work, 2015

The cash gained by Mrs Chikware from selling the vegetables was used to buy more cattle (Figure 6.3 below). This led to the accumulation of more cattle which she was not able to do before adopting vegetable production. It shows that even though land was initially allocated for growing crops such as maize, the farmers are utilising the land differently as different strategies. The farmers have started to diversify the usage of land like vegetable growing which has resulted in the diversification of livelihood strategies.

Figure 6:3. Mrs Chikware's cattle kraal after selling vegetables



Source: Author's Field Work, 2015

The question raised is, can diversification be a means of promoting survival and poverty reduction to land beneficiaries. Livelihoods are not static due to the constant change of social and institutional contexts surrounding them (Ellis, 2000; Shackleton et al., 2001). In order to reduce livelihood shocks and risks, it is essential to construct and increase diverse activities and assets in order to survive or improve the standards of living (Ellis, 2000). Scoones (1998) identified livelihood diversification as a strategy for sustainable livelihoods. The findings of this research support that diversification promote sources of income and wellbeing of people as they can get monetary or valuable assets.

Livelihood diversification is an important strategy by which resettled farmers work in combination with assets to attain sustainable livelihoods. The outcomes of livelihood diversification for Nyahukwe farmers resulted in increased income and possession of many assets. Similarly, Scoones et al., (2010) found that diversification of off-farm and farming production improved the lives and wellbeing of farmers after the FTLRP. Maize and livestock production in the resettlement areas were high, resulting in food self-sufficiency and improved well-being. Equally, results from a research done in Karishume and Springkaan, South Africa shows that farmers diversified and intensified their production which resulted in increased income (Aliber and Cousins, 2013). For instance, Mrs Chikware in Nyahukwe diversified her income streams by engaging in vegetable gardening which

provided her with cash from the produce and the cash enabled her to buy more cattle. Thus, livelihood of Nyahukwe farmers was formed through the means of gaining a living which can be diversified through asset and resource utilisation by different pathways or trajectories which forms the simple definition of livelihood.

The key question of the research assesses livelihoods strategies of farmers after land reform as a resilient activity. The SLA helps to unpack the complexities that affect livelihoods strategies. Through the asset pentagon the SLA asserts that, assets have to interact through processes and adaption to accumulate other assets to form a sustainable livelihood. This means that different assets are interrelated and combined by people's activities to build their livelihoods. Therefore, the research findings as illustrated by Mrs Chikware's case who attained land (natural capital), engaged into crop production using human capital, which she diversified with vegetable production. The proceeds from the sale of her vegetables (financial capital) assisted her to accumulate more livestock assets and increased income. Thus, diversification is important to maintain livelihoods by providing flexible sources of income. However, it is difficult to know which capital is more important than the other and which one influences the other as illustrated by the SLA. The farmers in Nyahukwe showed that they integrate or increase assets in order to accumulate or they adopt a strategy that will be accessible and profitable as some farmers use vegetable production a better strategy, others use tobacco production and some rely on remittances and social networks.

6.2.7. Asset accumulation after resettlement

An asset such as land is a means with which farmers create their livelihood pathways (Bebbington, 1999). Assets are resources that give farmers the capability to be and to act as they are empowered to reproduce. This creates patterns called livelihood systems that enable one to accumulate (De Haan and Zoomers, 2005). In Nyahukwe, since the resettlement programme after independence, the farmers had few basic assets like hoes, chickens and utensils (see Table 6.2.above). As they began production on the resettled land, the farmers have increased their assets. All of them have managed build a home, about 57% have cattle, a plough, a scotch cart and a wheel barrow (Table 6.5 below). Some have managed to buy tractors and cultivators (10%) through the loans they accessed after resettlement. Some farmers are involved in tobacco and gum tree contract farming (27%). Contract farming is

production undertaken on the basis of agreement between the buyer of the crops and the farmer.

Table 6:5 Assets accumulated after resettlement

Assets accumulated after resettlement	Number of respondents	Percent
cattle, goats, plough, scotch cart, wheel barrow, homestead	17	56.7
plough, cattle, wheel barrow, scotch cart, barn for tobacco ,homestead, gum plantation	7	23.3
ploughs, homestead, scotch cart, harrow, wheel barrow, pigsty	3	10.0
tractor, cultivator, plough, wheel barrow, homestead, cattle	3	10.0

The research assessed assets accumulation after land reform to analyse the effect of land resettlement on the livelihoods of farmers. The findings show that the farmers accumulated many assets since resettlement. Livelihood strategies pursued by farmers in Nyahukwe have distinct pathways of assets accumulation. Difference in initial assets (Table 6.2) and current assets accumulated (Table 6.5) shows that some farmers have utilised, exchanged or increased resources. The strategies implemented by farmers to cope with the economic hardships and the limited assistance from the government has enabled the farmers to utilise accessible assets to climb up the livelihood ladder. For example, most farmers came with only a few chickens and hoes but they have managed to accumulate enough assets to move into cattle production. This relates to the SLA which explain that assets accumulate due to different strategies and livelihood activities. Asset accumulation allows survival and adaptation strategies for resettled farmers which improve the quality of life as well as enhance coping strategies for farmers.

6.2.8. Improved livelihoods outcomes

Livelihood outcomes determine whether households have been successful in pursuing their livelihood strategies (Scoones, 2009). The study looked at livelihood outcome measures such as farmers' well-being satisfaction, sustained access to food, increased income, assets

accumulated and improvements achieved in since they resettled. The respondents mentioned improved outcomes such as owning a farm and having a stable homestead, being able to take children to school and accumulating more assets (Table 6.6 below). Most of them proudly appreciated the resettlement as it enabled them to accumulate assets they did not have prior to resettlement programme. Mrs Chari also added that

Land reform helped me a lot in my life. I have managed to build a home, to buy ploughs, cultivator and have cattle. This made farming the basis of my life and family for I was able to take my children to school with money we made from farm produce. I am grateful to the government which gave me land, if not the resettlement programme, I could not be having all that I have and what I did to my family.

To farmers land reform and resettlement improved household food security as well as their well-being. The gratefulness to the program shows that there is a huge positive impact as they state that they would not have all they accumulated if it was not for the resettlement program. The farmers acknowledged the importance of all capitals for it was not only the land but also financial and social capital. Assessing the effect of land reform to accumulation of assets for better livelihoods is one of the objectives of the research. The findings have shown that the farmers acknowledge the improvement of their lives since they resettled by managing to accumulate assets they did not have before. This is illustrated by the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach that interaction and access to capitals enhance improved livelihood outcomes like the case of Nyahukwe farmers.

Table 6:6 Livelihoods outcome after resettlement

Livelihoods Outcome	Number of respondents	Percent
homestead, increased income, educate and feed grand children	5	16.7
increased income, feed vulnerable, kitchen utensils	7	23.3
increased income, homestead, educate, feed children	12	40.0
increased income, homestead, improved livelihoods	6	20.0

Small scale commercial farming has brought improved livelihood outcomes after the transferal of land. Such was the findings by (Moyo and Chambati, 2013) on the impact of the Fast Track Land Reform (FTLRP) in five provinces of Zimbabwe. The findings show that small scale farmers had high production levels, increased income and improved livelihood outcomes since the FTLRP. In Nyahukwe Mr Tongogara echoed the same as he explained that he was able to build a mud thatched hut since he resettled. He managed to accumulate farming assets until he then decided to commercialise his small scale farm by planting tobacco on 3 hectares of the 5 hectares (Figure 6.4 below).

Figure 6:4 Mr Tongogara grading his tobacco



Source: Author's Field Work

For tobacco planting, the farmers receives assistance from inputs, research support through extension officers during harvesting and drying of tobacco leaves as well as marketing to British American Tobacco (BAT) in Harare. About 27% of the farmers have become emergent commercial small scale farmers through tobacco planting. This has become profitable to the farmers as they have assistance in inputs and market where the farmers get

pay instantly when they sell their tobacco. The payment has been effective and convenient as the farmers also can buy groceries and furniture whilst still in Harare where it is cheaper. Mr Tongogara states that has been enabled to build a steady iron roofed house for his family by buying the building material in Harare after selling tobacco (Figure 6.5 below). This is an illustration of a successful livelihood outcome of Mr Tongogara as the research looks at how land has reinforced accumulation of assets and diversification of livelihood activities for better outcomes. The farmers are diversifying their livelihood strategies as a means of risk, shock and stress aversion. At individual household level, diversification has meant that some farmers are having complex livelihood strategies such as Mr Tongogara. Diversified livelihood strategies employed by Nyahukwe farmers are a reflection of several opportunities that provide higher income activities and sustain shocks to livelihoods.

Figure 6:5 Household outcome for Mr Tongogara after selling tobacco



Source: Author's Field Work, 2015

Livelihood outcomes rely on access to assets and income from off-farm activities. Livelihood pathways are created from various sources and patterns. From the findings some farmers are diversifying to off-farm activities, while others are farming different types of production such as subsistence farming combined with vegetable production or tobacco farming. Understanding land reform and resettlement through patterns of accumulation helps link

livelihoods activities and strategies farmers employ to sustain themselves. The research findings demonstrate that gaining access to land is an important boost to livelihood outcomes. Analysis of outcomes through the lens of the SLA becomes imperative as it determines what needs are currently not being met as well as highlight what trade-offs are there between needs.

6.2.9. Agricultural and Infrastructural support in Nyahukwe

Livelihoods are sustainable if and when they are supported during and after the distribution of land. Land alone might not lead to the enhancement of livelihoods (Dorward et al., 2004; Kepe and Cousins, 2002). The benefits of land reform are strengthened by follow-up support to the beneficiaries with inputs, technology, financial support and output markets. In Nyahukwe, there is agricultural and infrastructural support from the government and non-governmental organisations. The physical infrastructure enhances the farmer's livelihoods through Agricultural Research and Extension services (Agritex) offices, clinic, roads and shops within the village. There are extension officers and veterinary officers who live and assist the farmers by educating the local farmers. Agritex officers "*madhumeni*" reside within Nyahukwe offering agricultural and horticultural support on production. An interview with Mr Marara who is one of the research officers explained how they have bonded with the community not as leaders but like one of the farmers. He stated that:

We work with the farmers everyday helping them with relevant information. We farm like them, eat with them, take our children to the same school and we live like family as one. The government provided motor bikes for easy access to all villages and we help all farmers at all times. We do trainings and demonstration on the farming of new crops to be planted together and sometimes we learn something from the farmers.

Mr Marara further highlighted how they work together as a collective in community projects which has increased the yields of farmers. The officials also reckoned their involvement with the community as benefitting them also for they also farm for their family and sell the produce also. Resettled farmers showed appreciation of services of the village extension officers as it improved their farming and productivity. Such is the case of Mr Tongogara who gave much credit to the extension officers for his high tobacco production since he joined tobacco farming. Most of the farmers pointed out that the officers were instrumental in their health, livestock rearing and farming projects. The findings show the existing physical

infrastructure as a catalyst for improving the lives of farmers. The findings show that there is also a clinic, tarred road with a lot of transport as it along the Rusape-Nyanga highway road, grocery shops, beer outlets grinding mills and schools. Electricity is also available and a few households and shops are connected, telecommunication is mainly through cell phones. The availability, quality and benefit of infrastructure is necessary for a sustainable livelihoods.

Data from the focus group and interviews shows that immediately after resettlement, it was the government's responsibility to provide social services and assist the farmers in all farming procedures. Literature has shown that LRRP through the government's initiatives, managed to increase smallholder production through the supply of hybrid maize seed, fertilizer, extension support and easy access to credit services with reduced interest rates (Kinsey, 2005; Rukuni, 2006; Weiner et al., 1985). Findings from Nyahukwe farmers also shows that farmers were supplied with seeds, fertilizer and the Grain Marketing Board (GMB) was the main buyer of produce. The Zimbabwe's Farmers Union (ZCFU) and the AGRIBANK also assisted farmers with long and short term loans to complement government supplies inputs and availability of markets. Mr Chari recounted that

One could just apply to ZFU or Agribank with the estimate of the amount of money and inputs required for production depending on the acres intended to farm. The bank could give short term loan to buy inputs like seeds, fertilizer and chemicals. There could be long term loans with the provision of cattle, ploughs, harrows, wheel barrows and scotch carts. Things were better then, we had high yields we sold making profit and able to plant the next season. However, now we cannot access such services anymore as individual small farmers for the banks now restrict the loans and one should have high income. The banks now assess how you will pay back or what you have as insurance for their loan. This has left us with no help at all. It is tough for us now since the government is not supporting us any more, we have to find our own means of getting seeds, fertilizer and how to sell our produce.

The interview highlights that, there was post resettlement support from the government which increased the farmer's livelihood base on farming. Livelihoods are sustainable when they are supported during and after the distribution as the benefits of land reform are seen by follow-up support to beneficiaries (Dorward et al., 2004; Kepe and Cousins, 2002). The farmers relied on the government's assistance in inputs and the selling of their produce. The GMB

was the state's authorised company to buy crops from farmers. The supply response by smallholders was dramatic and they became the largest suppliers of maize and cotton to formal and informal markets (FAO, 2009). The stimulation and support of smallholder agriculture is also seen as a means towards achieving food self-sufficiency and food security among communal farmers.

Livelihoods after land reform have been assessed by looking at how far the land provision succeeded in enhancing livelihoods. This is reinforced by the level and type of support to the beneficiaries post resettlement. From the findings, agricultural support was high when the farmers were resettled. Currently, limited support has prevailed since the government has not been able to supply relevant inputs and markets due to the economic hardships. The farmers received inputs, loans and had markets to sell their produce at good price. However, they experience difficulties accessing inputs and markets to sell their surplus. Most farmers now rely on their children to buy them fertilizer, seeds and chemicals every season and they either sell to nearby markets or do barter trading within the community. This indicates that social capital has created relationships and networks that farmers base their livelihoods.

To increase production of smallholder farmers, contract farming has been used recently to support farmers in Nyahukwe. Contract farming renders opportunities for new farmers to sell their produce to agribusiness or government at predetermined terms and prices (Duma and Thomas, 2008). The findings highlight that tobacco farming and gum tree plantation from private agribusinesses have been adopted as a strategy to sustain farmer's lives since the government has not been able to provide sufficient support to the resettled farmers after 2000. Private tobacco companies like the British American Tobacco (BAT) and Tobacco Auction Floors (TAF) offer individual contracts to about 27% of Nyahukwe farmers. The contracts are agreed on purchase and loan terms of inputs, quality and quantity to be produced. Nyahukwe farmers enter into a contract to plant tobacco or gum tree used as energy to dry the tobacco leaves. The farmers are supplied with all necessary inputs, assisted during production processes and during harvest they get help to transport the tobacco leaves to Harare to sell to the private company they are in contract with. The contractor companies will buy all the tobacco produce from the farmers as narrated by Mr Moyo who is a tobacco farmer:

There tobacco contracts from the British American Tobacco (BAT) and Tobacco Auction Floors (TAF) are agreements on the tobacco produce per hectare. If you have

a large land they will give you a bigger loan. They help you with all necessary inputs like chemicals, seeds and fertilizer. The companies also assist with gumtree plantation or charcoal for drying of the leaves for we are not allowed to cut down trees. We sell tobacco to them and they take their loan and the interest for example if I take a 1500 dollar loan you might pay back as 2500 dollars. This is reasonable because I might have sold all my tobacco for 5000 dollars. If you fail to produce enough to pay back the loan they will give you more loan and inputs to boost you on produce and be able to cover back their money. For transporting tobacco to Harare they charge 10 dollars per bail which they will deduct when we sell. What I like about them is that you get your money there no cheques or delay payments like GMB and they sign you again for another contract. This has really helped us especially the hard working tobacco farmers who do things consistently to get good and more harvest, if you try to dodge the farming process like if you use few fertilizer in order to sell the other, you will not have quality leaves which give you more money.

Given the information, contract farming has supported Nyahukwe resettled farmers through private agribusiness partnership in tobacco farming. Similar findings echoed in the study by (Mandizadza, 2010) in Athlone, Zimbabwe where farmers who were in contract farming had increased income. Athlone resettled farmers produced soya beans and maize for Banwax private stock feed and oil producing company on high prices making most of the farmers to engage in contract farming. Mr Moyo has shown that tobacco farming through contracts is a good option to make cash as he acknowledges that the companies they sell their tobacco pays them without delay. Mr Moyo contrasted the payment method with that of GMB which is ineffective with low value prices which did not benefit the farmers due to high inflation rate. There are few farmers engaged in tobacco and gumtree planting because most of the older respondents pointed that they are not willing to start new crop production. Most of them said it is also an emerging contract method after the failure of GMB so they want to experiment on the few young farmers who joined. The findings have shown that contracted farmers have adopted the farming method for there is guarantee of assistance throughout the production process and get cash income from selling tobacco which they use to build or buy assets.

6.3. Challenges faced

6.3.1. Access to markets

The economic decline in Zimbabwe has led the limited or no support of government's affected agricultural support to the beneficiaries. This has affected the farmers' access to input markets, output markets and labour issues within farmers. Inputs have become expensive and difficult to acquire for Nyahukwe farmers since they relied on the government's input assistance programmes since resettlement. The economic meltdown has impacted negatively on the government's assistance in agro-industry which adversely affected the beneficiaries.

The resettled farmers showed that they now employ formal and informal ways of accessing inputs like seeds, fertilizer and ploughs needed. The formal ways include buying the inputs at high cost in cities if they have cash and some rely on their children who buy seeds and fertilizer every farming season as stated by Mr Chari in his interview. The informal ways include acquiring inputs from black market or from corrupt officials who are responsible for distributing fertilizer and seeds from the government to people. A limited number of farmers source their inputs through private supported schemes like the tobacco and gumtree contract schemes. However, both formal and informal markets have become expensive for the farmers as high costs have affected the availability of inputs.

Agricultural outputs are marketed through informal channels apart from the state marketing authorities. Output markets have been affected by low value costs of produce which has reduced formal marketing. Farmers have opted to sell their produce to informal markets where they are able to determine the price and make profit. In Nyahukwe, the government no longer supports farmers in selling their produce as the GMB was the sole buyer of crop produce. The farmers highlighted that the GMB has introduced price control on basic crop produce which is not profitable to the farmers. The farmers have to transport the produce at their own expense to GMB where they are offered low price with long waiting time to receive payments. The hyperinflation affected the value of money such that when the farmers received payment the profits were affected. This would lower the affordability of farmers to cover operational costs and be able to buy inputs for the next season. However, most farmers now rely on social capital and networks or informal trading. The farmers have to sell to nearby cities or have a manager they know working in a supermarket where they supply

vegetables. Others highlighted barter trading as an option like the farmers with a lot of goats or chickens exchange them for staple crops such as maize to feed.

6.3.2. Limited financial support

There is also the issue of limited access to credit by the farmers who no longer have access to the loan facility. The Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe had loan facilities in commercial banks like the Zimbabwe Commercial Farmers Union Bank (ZCFU) and Agribank. The banks have put stringent requirements which individual small scale farmer cannot meet. The farmers have to join to form an association or they must have a trustee as surety in case they will not pay. Nyahukwe small farmers cannot afford trustees and they do not have enough money to form a joint association as they need financial assistance themselves. The lack of financial capacity to buy machinery and inputs has adversely affected the affordability of labour. Most farmers relied on family members to assist in the fields. A few farmers who have receive remittances inform of cash or second hand clothes form children hire labourers in exchange of the goods or money which one has. Most of the young farmers stated that they sometimes work in people's fields for cash, clothes, harvested crops or chickens known as "maricho" (various labour exchange arrangements). The use of labour as a means of survival differs from one year to another depending on the harvest one had in the previous season or whether the children managed to send money

6.3.3. Lack of irrigation scheme

Irrigation schemes help to provide sufficient supply of food production throughout the year as farmers will no longer on rain fed crop production. There is no irrigation scheme in Nyahukwe which the farmers have highlighted as a step back in their annual production. Most of the farmers when asked what they want the government to help with, they stated that if they could have an irrigation canal to help with all year production. Mr Tongogara stated that

If the government could assist us with an irrigation scheme, we will have water provision all year from Brown dam. We can now plant all kinds of crops through crop rotation which will increase more our production and income.

Most farmers mainly plant once on large scale during the rainy season and opt for garden production using their wells at homesteads. During low rain or dry season years their produce is low and affected. They believe if they had an irrigation scheme together with the arable land, they would have succeeded more than they did.

6.4. Discussion of findings

The research aimed to gather and assess the livelihoods of resettled farmers after land reform. Thus livelihood experiences and capabilities of farmers were explored looking at the assets they accumulated, strategies used and the outcomes gained since they resettled. The research specifically focused on how land has contributed to positive livelihoods and outcomes of resettled farmers.

Evidence shows that Nyahukwe resettled farmers managed to accumulate key assets from farming, increased income and became food self-sufficient. The findings show that land as a natural asset has had an effect on the resettled farmers. The land together with other assets gave the farmers many livelihoods options which they diversified through strategies determined by economic and social circumstances and activities employed. All the respondents stated sufficient food needs for the family even though their produce has decreased. Remittances, piece works (brick moulding, thatching houses and building houses), and social cooperatives such as beer brewing, kitchen parties and round cooperatives have helped to sustain the farmers. From the findings all respondents acknowledged that land as a key asset improved their livelihoods in one way or the other despite the current socio-economic situation in Zimbabwe.

The pinnacle of livelihoods strategies for resettled farmers is in agriculture (Masiwa, 2005; Moyo, 2009). The findings show assets before resettlement (see Table 6.2) and the assets they have accumulated up to now shows that they all have homesteads, farming land and many equipment (see Table 6.5). These may have been acquired directly from farm produce or non-farming production but the farmers acknowledge land gave them the capability to do and have what they have. Subsistence farming is dominant with little number of contract farmers adopting small scale commercial farming by planting tobacco and gum trees for

commercial purposes. Livestock production is mainly cattle, goat, sheep and pig rearing used for many purposes like milk production, for ploughing and selling for money. To some extent, some subsistence farmers sell their surplus crop produce to their local markets at the business centre or transport to Rusape town. The livelihoods profile show that the resettled farmers practice crop production for household food security together with different income strategies. These strategies include piece works, broiler feeding, round cooperatives, home based care, beer brewing and remittance while cattle rearing is valuable hence selling is rare. These findings therefore illustrate that land has had a positive effect to Nyahukwe resettled farmers although the extent varies due to socio-economic situation which might have inhibited full potential of farmers. This shows that beneficiaries managed to acquire assets and better livelihoods meeting basic needs after being resettled.

The livelihoods approach illustrates that assets interact with policies, institutions, and processes to shape the choice of livelihood strategies leading to outcomes (Adato et al., 2002; Frankenberger et al., 2002). The policies help to reflect post-transfer effects of redistributive land reform on livelihoods looking at viability and the targeting of land reform (Aliber et al., 2013). Viability looks at if the beneficiaries are capable of using the land productively in a sustainable manner, can they achieve food security and will it last longer (Aliber et al., 2013). The research findings show that most farmers could keep or improve their livelihood since they resettled, this makes it a sustainable livelihood. In Zimbabwe, a study in Masvingo showed that smallholder farmers both villagised or self-contained benefited from the land which expanded their livelihoods base (Scoones et al., 2010). In contrast, large scale farming model in Namibia also showed that land reform projects are prone to collapse through a top down approach in Namibia (Aliber and Cousins, 2013). Such redistributive land programmes have been seen as restrictive and limited for they are top down with presumed models for the beneficiaries which makes them prone to collapse (Aliber and Cousins, 2013). However, in Zimbabwe, small scale farming model tended to be viable as it accommodated many beneficiaries with high rate of agricultural activity making it a successful land based livelihood.

Sustainability and success of land reform depends on the land size and targeting (Aliber et al., 2013; Aliber and Cousins, 2013b; Moyo, 2011). Targeting looks at who need land not who qualify for potential success in production, thus it should be for the poorest of the poor. In

Nyahukwe, crop production is successful from their A1 villagised 5 hectares. Food self-sufficiency and accumulation of assets as smallholder farmers have enhanced their lives. In Masvingo region, the FTLRP also have been depicted as viable and successful to some extent as crop production increased (Scoones et al., 2012). Land reform programmes are designed for the poor to reduce poverty. In Nyahukwe, targeted beneficiaries were landless people in need of land after independence. From the narratives all the farmers did not have land of their own and they all did not have a lot of assets. Land capacitated the resettled farmers to increase production giving them more income as they diversified their activities. The Kirishume and Springkaan in Limpopo South Africa, the LRAD programmes echoed failure to include the vulnerable poor as its target as people have to apply in order to qualify (Aliber et al., 2013). The variations in need and viability have raised a question on whether land reform needs to be a one size fit all or it should assist different types of people in different ways. Land should not be given with the contention that farmers will be small scale or large scale on respective land sizes as people have different assets and aspirations when given the land.

The sequencing of assets in SLA is difficult to know which capital is more important than the other and which one influences the other. From the findings some farmers are of the view that their social networks and cooperation are more important as they lead them to be able to buy inputs to farm. Others believed that, agricultural growth and diversification was more important than the social relationships as they wanted to focus on farming more. Findings from the research also related to the SLA issue of asset substitution such as can one type of capital be substituted for another? Or are different capitals needed for the pursuit of particular livelihood strategies to substitute one with the other as they are interrelated.

The findings conclude that redistributive land reform has improved the livelihoods and production of small scale farmers in Zimbabwe through the case of Nyahukwe farmers in village F. The livelihood experiences and capabilities of farmers were explored looking at the assets they accumulated, the strategies used and the outcomes gained since they resettled. The findings therefore, show that land redistribution unleashes the capabilities of land based livelihoods as foundation for growth from below which enhances sustained livelihoods. The research specifically focused at how has land contributed to positive livelihoods and outcomes as key support to the research question. In this light, the findings of this research

have shown the farmers livelihoods have improved since the land reform and resettlement. Therefore land reform in Zimbabwe is not all that doom and gloom, there is a positive effect on livelihoods as shown by Nyahukwe resettled farmers. Therefore, access to land has been crucial to people's capacity to construct viable livelihoods and overcome rural poverty although the question on the effect of land reform on enhancing livelihoods has been subject to debate.

7. Summary of Key Findings, Recommendations and Conclusion

The broad aim of the research was to explore and assess livelihoods of resettled farmers after the Land Reform and Resettlement Programme (LRRP). The research specifically looked at how the redistribution of land as an asset has led to positive outcomes for resettled farmers, how the farmers have managed to accumulate other assets after LRRP and how the farmers explored livelihood capabilities as strategies to diversify their livelihoods. Nyahukwe resettlement scheme in Rusape, Manicaland Province was used as a case study. Qualitative analysis was employed to explore the questions and aims of the study through the lens of the sustainable livelihoods approach. This chapter concludes with the major findings and concluding remarks from the study, provide recommendations and highlight areas of future research.

7.1. Natural Capital

Land as a natural capital was provided to all respondents as the key means to production and livelihood. Natural capital consists of natural resource stock where livelihoods are derived. The study has shown that land redistribution in Nyahukwe has improved the livelihoods of the resettled farmers. The findings showed that the farmers are food self-sufficient, have increased household asset possession, diversified income and sustained outcomes. In this research, the provided land is used for farming and habitation. Resettled farmers acknowledge and appreciate the provision of land as an instrumental asset, not just for them to farm without ownership but to own and habitat.

The findings demonstrate that provision of land has enabled the beneficiaries to gain assets they did not have prior to resettlement. All resettled farmers base their livelihoods on land as the pinnacle for wellbeing and food security. Natural capital such as arable land and Nyahukwe being located in a good natural region has improved the production of farmers. The farmers, however, echoed for an irrigation scheme to supplement the rain due to climate change which sometimes affect their yields. Based on focus group discussion farmers pointed out that change of raining season has impacted the yields as most of the crops dry before they are harvested. The change in crop production has led to diversification of farmer's livelihoods through different strategies. The findings also show land as a natural asset interconnect with other assets in order to sustain shock and stresses of life. Nyahukwe farmers also used other assets such as social, financial, human and physical.

7.2. Social Capital

The SLA has also shown that land is a capital amongst others needed to acquire positive outcomes (figure 1). The findings show that though land was a necessary asset but other capitals to enhance livelihoods need to be employed. Social capital is strong among the farmers in Nyahukwe villages. Social capital indicate the quantity and quality of social resources like networks, members in groups, social relations, trust and access to wider institutions in society upon which people draw in pursuit of livelihoods (Ahn and Ostrom, 2002). Kinship ties in Nyahukwe have created networks by virtue of staying together in the village. Most of the respondents were not related except the children who are now getting land for their own or by marriage. When they resettled in the 1980s, they were given land regardless of culture and ethnicity but they ended up being related by being clustered in villages.

Land is embedded within a range of “socially constructed meanings, values and relationships” (Aliber et al., 2004:20). This shows that once the people are on the land they construct social relationships. This is seen through the farmers' homesteads which are nucleated together and subdivided in the case of the '*varoora*' stands. The farmers have coordination on funerals, traditional functions, community meetings, projects and traditional functions. The farmers have a weekly gathering '*Dare*' at the chief's place where the villagers are informed, updated and consented about any activity. Such gatherings have

strengthened bridging networks for they become one family as they have to agree and highlight their problems as well. The Village Development Committee (VIDCO) will give the Ward development Committee (WADCO) the compiled meetings and agendas which goes to the District Administrator. Therefore '*Dare*' is intrinsic to the farmers as it give them access to institutional structures like the government.

Within the village, social networks like home based care, kitchen parties, round (cash) cooperatives, beer brewing, borrowing arrangements and community gardens have been constructed. Borrowing of farming equipment is common like ploughs, wheel barrow and scotch carts by those who do not have or those who cannot repair. Cattle and donkeys are borrowed among the strong networks if one does not have. Focus group discussion indicated that cash borrowing is limited in Nyahukwe because they say it is hard to get, one has to borrow cash when you are quite sure of getting cash. The farmers normally do barter trading between farm crops and livestock.

The women also highlighted their cooperatives like kitchen parties which they recently started as helping them to have kitchen basics especially the young married women. The round cooperatives also assist them by getting money they use to buy non farming basics like clothes, cooking oil and pay school fees. Community gardens help them during off raining season because they use wells to water the plants hence they have food and surplus to sell. The home based care programme has assisted the vulnerable in the community and a few elderly women stated that they brew beer for money as well as gathering people together to feast and drink as they sell their beer cheaply. The SLA explain that community networks and social groups consists of associations within which individuals and households function or belong. These networks can have positive or negative influences on the livelihood strategies that people pursue. Thus social cohesion has enhanced sustainable development for the resettled farmers through sharing, borrowing, group affiliation and community cooperatives.

7.3. Human Capital

Human capital consists of skills, knowledge, labour and good health that enable people to employ different strategies to achieve livelihood objectives. When the resettlement was initiated, it was the government's role to support the farmers. The government established Agritex offices within the resettlement to educate and help the resettled farmers as most of

them had no education or training in agriculture. The findings show that Agritex provides “*madhumeni*” extension officers to assist and educate in farming and environmental health officers who inspect and advise on environmental and basic hygiene. Hygiene and good health promotes wellbeing of the farmers as well as their life span. From the interviews, the research found that about 60% of the resettled farmers have primary level, 37% have secondary education and 3% have tertiary level. These results show that the farmers need support and training in order to cope with the fast advances in farming techniques and methods. The extension officers have been their pillars in training and assistance since the farmers were resettled. Non-governmental organisations (NGO) such as CARE for home based care have capacitated the community members by training the primary health care to HIV/Aids patients and the orphans. This has empowered especially the women to provide sustainable development to the vulnerable orphans, elderly and the sick in the community.

The analysis of human capital in Nyahukwe shows that at household level, the farmers can produce food and they were able to acquire assets after they were resettled. The findings are similar to studies which found that despite low capital investment, small scale farmers have performed well (Moyo, 2009; Moyo and Chambati, 2013; Scoones et al., 2012). The farmers were able to clear the land, farm the land, invest in accumulating assets from produce and provide better wellbeing for the family. Thus the resettled farmers are able to ensure household food self-sufficiency. This hopefully strengthens the notion of more effort and support to small holder production as a means for food security.

7.4. Physical capital

Physical capital entails the basic infrastructure such as houses, tools and machinery, food stocks or livestock, transport and communication and manufactured goods that enable people to pursue their livelihoods. Physical capital supports the farmers’ enhancement of livelihoods through other socio-economic factors such as transport and communication, markets, schools and clinics. All the respondents have homesteads which are either roof topped or grass thatched with basic equipment for farming on a small scale and livestock inform of cattle, goat or pigs.

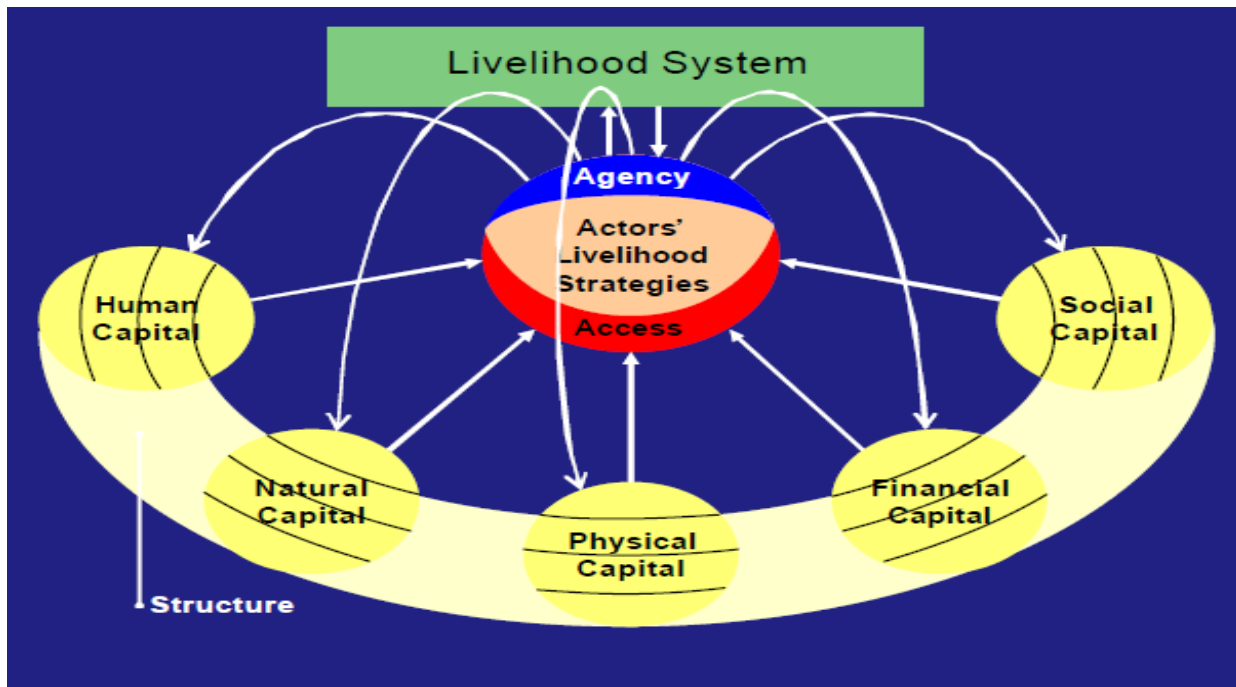
From the area resource map (Figure 2), Nyahukwe is along the tarred road of Nyanga-Rusape with reasonably better transport using the road, there are two primary schools, one secondary

school and one clinic. These physical infrastructures have enabled transportation, education, health and wellbeing of the farmers. The Brown dam constructed has enabled the community to have water which they are suggesting should be built a stronger wall to provide irrigation water for them. The Agritex offices from the government have also provided skilled personnel for the resettled farmers. Although markets are a problem due to the economic hardships affecting prices and profits, the farmers have access to the road for transportation of produce.

7.5. Financial Capital

The findings also showed that financial capital encompass cash, credit or savings which can be regular flow of cash like remittances, pensions, social grants and clubs. Stocks like jewellery, livestock and savings also help financially to people's lives. An analysis of financial assets in Nyahukwe shows that social networks and remittances (see table 6.4) have helped the farmers to accumulate financial capital for their livelihoods. Remittances have highly supported most of the farmers' livelihoods as their children engaged waged employment. The farmers produce surplus but difficult to sell ending up opting for barter trading or joining group affiliations to help them acquire some non-agriculture commodities. Piece works in the farms, building and thatching have been forms of getting some income as most of the male farmers explained. Gardening and contract farming have become the only cash income farming at the moment which the framers states it is prone to collapse as the markets are flooded. There is limited access to loans and credit for farmers since the Agribank and ZCFU have stopped working with the government to support them. Nyahukwe farmers have however indicated that they have accumulated stock inform of homestead, farm equipment, livestock, goats and pigs although they need effective and efficient markets and access to loans.

Figure 7:1: A representation of livelihood system



Source: De Haan, (2000: 351).

Thus, the research has assessed the livelihoods of farmers in Nyahukwe looking at the access to accumulate assets and strategies employed by farmers to enable sustainable livelihood system (Figure 7.1). Livelihood systems are the activities that households engage in to make a living. These activities are strategies in which access to assets such as human, natural, social, financial and physical resources are used to diversify income sources and off-set risks (De Haan, 2000). (Mandizadza, 2010; Sachikonye, 2005; Scoones, 2009) have also concluded that land provision (FTLRP) has extended sustainable livelihoods to beneficiaries. The findings of this research have highlighted the assets before and after the resettlement, strategies used and the livelihood outcomes obtained. The land reform and resettlement programme (LRRP) has therefore had a positive improvement on the livelihoods of those who benefited drawing from the findings of Nyahukwe.

7.6. Concluding Remarks

The findings highlight key contributions to the research question. Evidence drawn from the findings shows that land reform has benefited Nyahukwe farmers as they have achieved food self-sufficiency and increased income activities as resilient livelihood strategies. The farmers have managed to accumulate assets they did not have before they resettled. All farmers reckoned being able to feed the family and to some extent sell their surplus produce or

exchange for other needs. The findings correspond to evidence from other studies that, despite low capital investment, smallholder farmers have a potential to produce with improved livelihoods (Mandizadza, 2010; Sachikonye, 2005; Scoones, 2009). Thus, the provision of land as an asset has improved household food sufficiency.

The empirical data showed that farmers have diversified their livelihoods through different farm and off-farm strategies. Different strategies implemented by rural livelihoods are facilitated through diversified activities in order to adapt and cope with stresses and shocks (Bryceson, 2002; Ellis, 2000; Scoones, 1998). The research identified strategies like piece jobs such as brick moulding, building and thatching of houses as some of the of farm strategies while women employed social functions like kitchen parties, round system (stokvel) , beer brewing and home based care. Farming strategies have been adopted in Nyahukwe in order to increase income and improve livelihoods. The study found that, some smallholder farmers in Nyahukwe are undertaking commercial production through contract tobacco and gumtree farming. This has commercialised smallholder production as farmers are able to get profits and accumulate assets which improved their livelihoods. The research compliments the notion that smallholder farming has the potential to support many and that small-scale agriculture combined with other livelihood sources can benefit many of the rural poor (Scoones, 2009).

The study showed that Nyahukwe farmers are supplementing their farm produce with gardening and livestock production (pigs, cattle, goats and sheep) as a means of intensifying and diversifying of their farm activities. This is understandable since agricultural products alone are no longer profitable. Agricultural inputs have not been available and accessible on the formal markets. Thus, the majority of the newly resettled farmers purchase their inputs. Inadequate supply and price control imposed by the government has hampered the availability of agricultural inputs. This has caused supplies meant for the formal market to be diverted to the parallel market where prices are exorbitant.

The livelihood outcomes of farmers explain the implications of land reform to Nyahukwe farmers. The research assessed the lives of farmers before and after resettlement and a remarkable improvement was observed. All the farmers have managed to do food production, increase income, assets, send children to school and build homesteads. The research also revealed that networks and relationships have strengthened the community. Land has created

a social community which helped establish connection and inter dependence amongst resettled farmers. This facilitated mutual support in labour provision, sharing equipment and assistance to the vulnerable in the community. Research extension officers within the community highlighted that their assistance has helped the production and livelihood of farmers although they do not have enough resources to operate.

Other findings centred on viability, effectiveness and efficiency of smallholder farmers after land reform. The findings and literature on the implication of LRRP shows that peasants were efficient in the way they used available resources and production. Evidence from Nyahukwe resettled reflects that land provision has enhanced livelihoods of resettled farmers. Prior to resettlement, all the farmers were landless, after resettlement the farmers can now provide food for their households, build homes and accumulate basic farming equipment. According to the findings of the research, the LRRP provided land to the landless beneficiaries who have managed to create and enhance their livelihoods.

In conclusion, the results of the research showed that land had positive implications on the livelihoods of farmers by assessing the assets before and after resettlement, the livelihoods strategies employed and the outcome achieved. The capitals in the asset pentagon of the SLA were used. The research has shown that there is a strong relationship amongst human, social, and natural capital in the post resettlement. The livelihoods of farmers showed improved wellbeing and enhanced livelihoods. The sustainability of smallholder farmers still need more attention as production varies due to different socio-economic environments prevailing as evidenced by land reforms in Zimbabwe. In light of the findings from the case study of Nyahukwe resettlement, land reform had a positive effect to the livelihoods of Nyahukwe farmers

7.7. Recommendations

The findings demonstrate that there is need for adaptive agricultural technology and modern inputs in order to reduce rural poverty through agriculture (Dekker and Kinsey, 2011). The resettled farmers need to improve farming systems like adopting soil fertility practices to complement fertilizer usage. They also need an irrigation canal and equipment which will help farmers to irrigate their crops. This will enable the farmers to intensify production by

farming throughout the year rather than just relying on seasonal rain. The findings showed that a few farmers make use of machines like harvesters and harrows which makes it easy for production. Instead most of Nyahukwe farmers still rely on human labour to work their fields. Therefore, there is a need for mechanisation and technological advancement in the farming techniques and systems used by farmers.

Post settlement support is crucial to ensure sustainability of land reform programmes. The findings highlight that immediately after the farmers were resettled, the farmers received basic support. The government managed to support the farmers through funding from the World Bank. When the funding ceased, the state could not afford to continue supporting resettled farmers at the same level. Assessing the sustainability the farmers pointed that if there is help on inputs and markets, they would more advanced in terms of their productivity as well as the sustainability of their lives. Therefore, the sustainability of livelihoods still needs to be strengthened although there is improvement of livelihoods. The study showed that developmental approach through land transfers have to be bottom up as the government considered the assets, skills (extension officers), infrastructure and support needed by the farmers in order to cater for all. The challenge is the effect of economic and political circumstances on the production and markets of smallholder production although their livelihoods have improved since resettlement. Thus, the government should facilitate the access to finance for farmers, improve the prices and availability of farm equipment and maintain existing infrastructure in the resettlement schemes. This will promote farmers livelihoods, development and provide an active market in order to sustain them.

Training and education for research extension officers and the farmers should be introduced. The findings show that the agricultural officers have limited resources and basic agriculture training. For effective production, the officers need to receive advanced education and training in order for them to assist resettled farmers on the current farming techniques and methods, for instance, climatic changes, use of fertilizer and crop rotation. The government should also train the veterinary officers as livestock production is becoming a major livelihood source in Nyahukwe resettlement. Government should also give more attention and recognition to livestock production as farmers use livestock production as a resilient livelihood basis.

Land reform should consider a variety of institutions that influence the livelihood outcomes of people. The State should provide services and civil society organizations provide either enabling conditions that can have positive effects on livelihood systems. It is important in any analysis to evaluate the involvement of various institutions when considering the formulation of sustainable interventions. Land reform is a component of rural development so a holistic approach should be considered. It should be understood in the local context in terms of its functioning and potential to accommodate all. Land reform should also work with Non-governmental organisations and other departments in addressing the needs of the community and plan ahead in terms of finances as well as expansion and diversification of livelihood. This will assist implementation of land reform with informed decisions to ensure a viable project.

7.8. Areas for Future research

Sustainability of smallholder livelihood after land reform still needs to be explored. A further study on class formation and differentiation in the accumulation of farmers after land reform will be required. Another area of further research will be on the gender issues in the tenure system of land reform and the problems faced by women. The researcher hopes that the distribution of assets such as land can be a basis for further related research in terms of its contributions and perceptions to women and social differentiations.

APPENDIX A



SEMI STRUCTURED INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR OFFICIALS

Project Title: **Livelihoods after the Land Reform and Resettlement Programme: A critical Appraisal of the Nyahukwe resettled farmers (Rusape, Zimbabwe).**

The purpose of this interview is to assess the effect of the land reform and resettlement programme to the livelihoods of the Nyahukwe resettled farmers in Rusape, Zimbabwe.

Please answer the following questions without hesitation.

1. When was the resettlement programme initiated by the government?
2. What has been the aims of the programme?
3. Have the aims been achieved or to what extend has it helped?
4. How many people have been resettled since the starting of the programme?
5. How has the resettlement schemes helped the lives of the farmers and Rusape town as a whole?
6. What are the problems faced by the resettled farmers?
7. How do you overcome/ tackle the challenges?
8. What type and level of assistance has been offered to help farmers to cope with such problems, if any?

9. What patterns and changes of livelihoods do the farmers resemble from their perspectives as you monitor and control the resettlement scheme?
10. What are the successes of the land reform and resettlement program, what future prospects or growth does it help to the small scale farmers at Nyahukwe resettlement scheme?

Thank you for taking your time to answer the questions

APPENDIX B

SEMI STRUCTURED INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR FARMERS

Project Title: **Livelihoods after the Land Reform and Resettlement programme: A critical Appraisal of the Nyahukwe resettled farmers (Rusape, Zimbabwe).**

The purpose of this interview is to assess the effect of the land reform and resettlement programme to the livelihoods of the Nyahukwe resettled farmers in Rusape, Zimbabwe.

Please answer the following questions without hesitation.

1. When did you benefit the land under the land reform and resettlement programme?
2. How did you know about the land reform and resettlement programme?
3. Why did you want to be a resettled as a small scale farmer?
4. What resources and assets did you initially have when you resettled?
5. What have you gained or improvement for your household so far from the programme after being resettled?
6. What problems have you faced since resettlement and what help did you receive?
7. What strategies and livelihoods diversification patterns have your household implemented to enhance your lives?

8. Has land been instrumental to your lives even though you diversify streams of income?
9. What benefits has the programme brought to your family and the community at large?
10. How many schools, clinics, shops and recreational facilities have been established in the resettlement catchment?
11. Where do you see yourself in 10 years' time as a resettled small scale farmer owning a piece of land?

Thank you for taking your time to answer the questions



APPENDIX C

FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION ON THE EFFECT OF LAND REFORM AND RESETTLEMENT PROGRAM ON THE LIVELIHOODS OF NYAHUKWE FARMERS, RUSAPE, ZIMBABWE.

The purpose of the Focus Group is to assess the effect of the Land Reform and Resettlement programme on Nyahukwe farmers in Rusape, Zimbabwe. Please answer the questions without hesitation.

1. How did you learn about the land reform and resettlement programme?
2. What was the process to follow for one to be considered for resettlement?
3. What benefits has the Land reform and resettlement brought to your livelihoods and the community at large?
4. How did the benefits improve your lives after you were resettled?
5. What problems or changes have you faced since resettlement and what help did you receive?
6. What other strategies or ways of sustaining your livelihoods have you implemented to enhance your livelihoods?

7. How has these ways enhanced your livelihoods?
8. Has land been instrumental to your lives even though you diversify streams of income?
9. Overall, what do you recommend the government should consider when implementing land reform programmes given the current situation?

Thank you for taking your time to participate in the discussion



APPENDIX D

RESEARCH QUESTIONNAIRE ON THE EFFECT OF THE LAND REFORM AND RESETTLEMENT PROGRAM ON THE LIVELIHOODS OF NYAHUKWE FARMERS, RUSAPE, ZIMBABWE.

SECTION A

DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

Please provide information applicable to you and your household.

- 1. Are you Male or Female*
- 2. Which of the following age group are you?*

0-18 YEARS 19-25 YEARS 26-34 YEARS

35-44 YEARS 45-50 YEARS 51-59 YEARS

60 ABOVE

- 3. What type of Education did you get and at what highest level.....*

4. *What is your main source of income.....*

5. *How many people do you live with:*

Number of children.....

Number of adults.....

6. *How many are employed form your household.....*

7. *What is your household's average income*

SECTION B: Effect of Land resettlement to farmers

To help assess the effect of the land reform and resettlement on your households

1. *When were you resettled*

2. *How much land has been allocated to your household*

3. *Did the land help you to sustain your lives.....*

.....

4. *What type of farming are you involved in and how many times a year do you plough*

.....

.....

5. *What assets did you have when you resettled*

.....

.....

6. *What has improved or have you acquired since you resettled*

.....

.....

.....

SECTION C: Livelihoods strategies

To know the livelihoods strategies adopted after the farmers resettled

7. *What other livelihoods strategies does your household employ other than farming*

.....

.....

.....

.....

8. *What are your Livelihoods outcomes after adopting the strategies*

.....
.....
.....

9. *Would you say the land Reform and Resettlement Programme has enhanced your livelihoods*

.....
.....

10. *What would you recommend the government should consider when implementing such programmes in future*

.....
.....
.....

Thank you for taking your time in completing this questionnaire



APPENDIX E

Letter of consent:

I....., have had the opportunity to ask any questions related to this study, and received satisfactory answers to my questions, and any additional details I wanted.

I agree to take part in this research.

I understand that my participation in this study is voluntary. I am free not to participate and have the right to withdraw from the study at any time, without having to explain myself.

I am aware that this interview might result in research which may be published, but my name may be/ not be used (circle appropriate).

I understand that if I don't want my name to be used that this will be ensured by the researcher.

I may also refuse to answer any questions that I don't want to answer.

Date:.....
.....

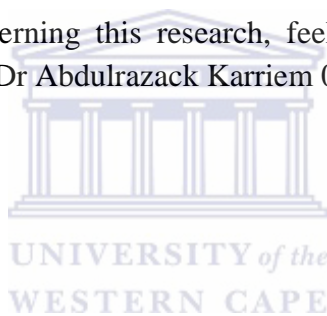
Participant
Name:.....
.....

Participant
Signature:.....
.....

Interviewer name: Marceline Mapiye

Interviewer
Signature:.....

If you have any questions concerning this research, feel free to call (Marceline Mapiye 00278233636 or my supervisor, (Dr Abdulrazack Karriem 0027 21 959-3853).



APPENDIX F

INFORMATION SHEET

Project Title: Livelihoods after the Land Reform and Resettlement programme: A critical Appraisal of the Nyahukwe resettled farmers (Rusape, Zimbabwe).

What is this study about?

This study aims to empirically assess the impact of the land reform and resettlement to the livelihoods of the farmers resettled at Nyahukwe scheme in Rusape, Zimbabwe. Your participation in the research is due to the fact that you are one of the resettled farmers who benefited from the old land reform and resettlement programmes initiated by the state. It is hoped that the study will provide information to show the impact of land reform which will help the agrarian policies, recommendations and improvements on the implementation of land reform to the government and other agrarian institutions.

What will I be asked to do if I agree to participate?

You will be asked to share information, opinions and suggestions concerning your livelihoods after resettled on how it has enabled the diversification of livelihoods strategies. The interview will last approximately 30 -40 minutes in which you are free to ask and answer

question and it will take place within your community. The interview will be face to face between the interviewer and the respondent.

Would my participation in this study be kept confidential?

Participating in this study will not in any way infringe upon your privacy as utmost care will be taken to protect your confidentiality. All personal information will be kept confidential and will remain anonymous throughout the study. You will be required to sign a consent form to protect your privacy and confidentiality while participating in this study. The identity of the people to be interviewed will be kept confidentially and details of identity will only be provided voluntary or used only with consent. The information collected will be kept safe and used for the purpose for this research project. In this research report, identity of the participants will be protected to the maximum.

What are the risks of this research?

There are no physical, psychological or any other risks involved in participating in this research project. From the beginning, the aims and objectives of the research will be clear.

What are the benefits of this research?

This research is not designed for personal monetary or material gains for the participants. It is hoped that the research findings would provide useful information and recommendations to improve the effectiveness land reform and resettlement schemes in Zimbabwe as a strategy for livelihoods diversification.

Do I have to be in this research and may I stop participating at any time?

Your participation in this research is voluntary and you may stop participating at any time. If you stop or decide not to participate, you will not lose anything.

Is any assistance available if I am negatively affected by participating in this study?

There are no negative or harmful effects that could happen from participating in this study.

What if I have questions?

This research is being conducted by **Marceline Mapiye**, a student at the University of the Western Cape. Her contact numbers is +27 784233636.

If you have any questions about the research study itself, please contact **Dr Abdulrazack Karriem** at The Institute for Social Development (ISD), University of the Western Cape, telephone number +27 (021) 959 3853 or email akarriem@uwc.ac.za

Should you have any questions regarding this study and your rights as a research participant or if you wish to report any problems you have experienced related to the study, please contact:

Professor Julian May
Head of Department: Institute for Social Development
School of Government
University of the Western Cape
Private Bag X17

This research has been approved by the University of the Western Cape's Senate Research Committee and Ethics Committee



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