New land, new livelihoods: agrarian change following land reform in Zimbabwe

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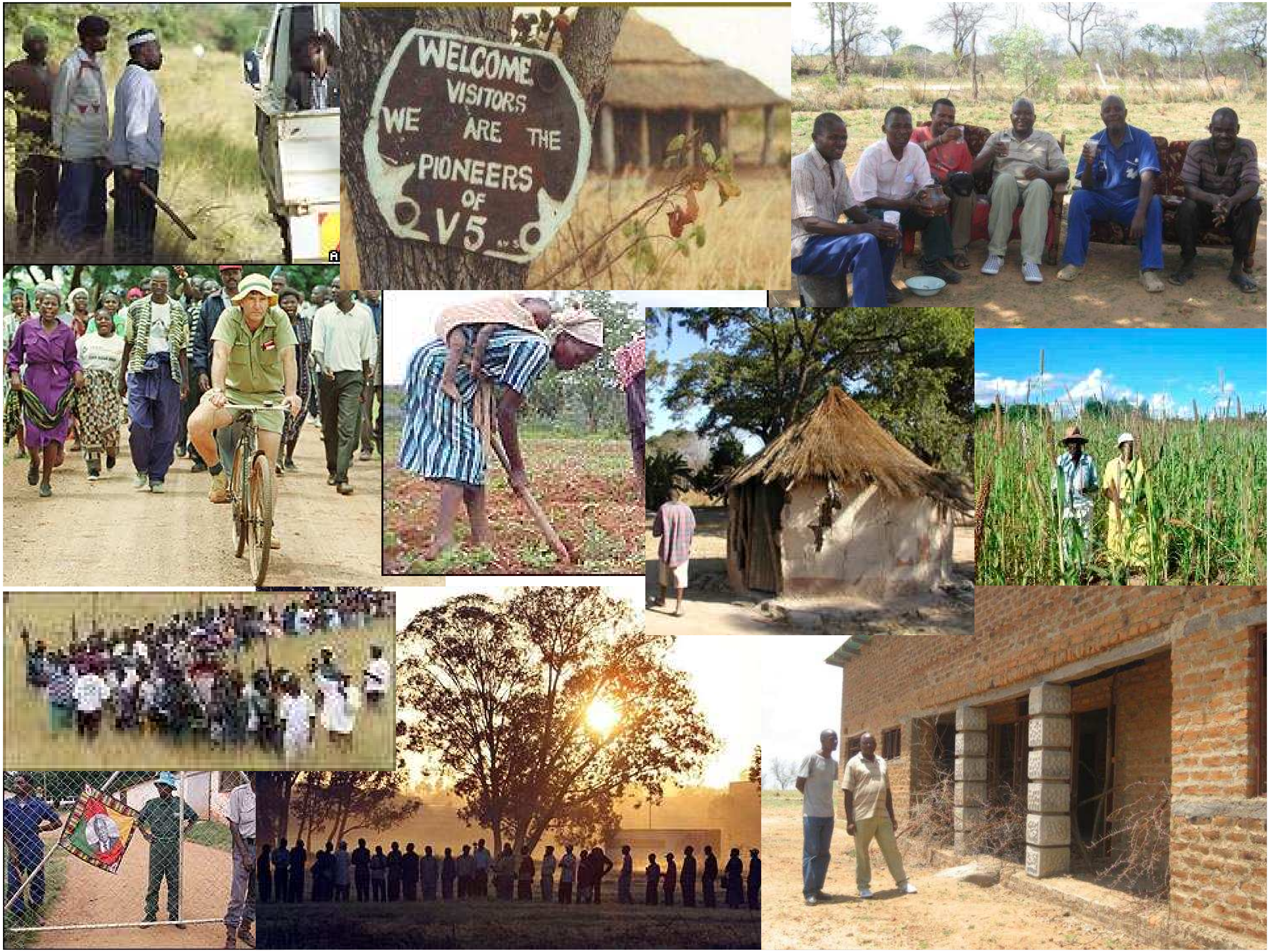
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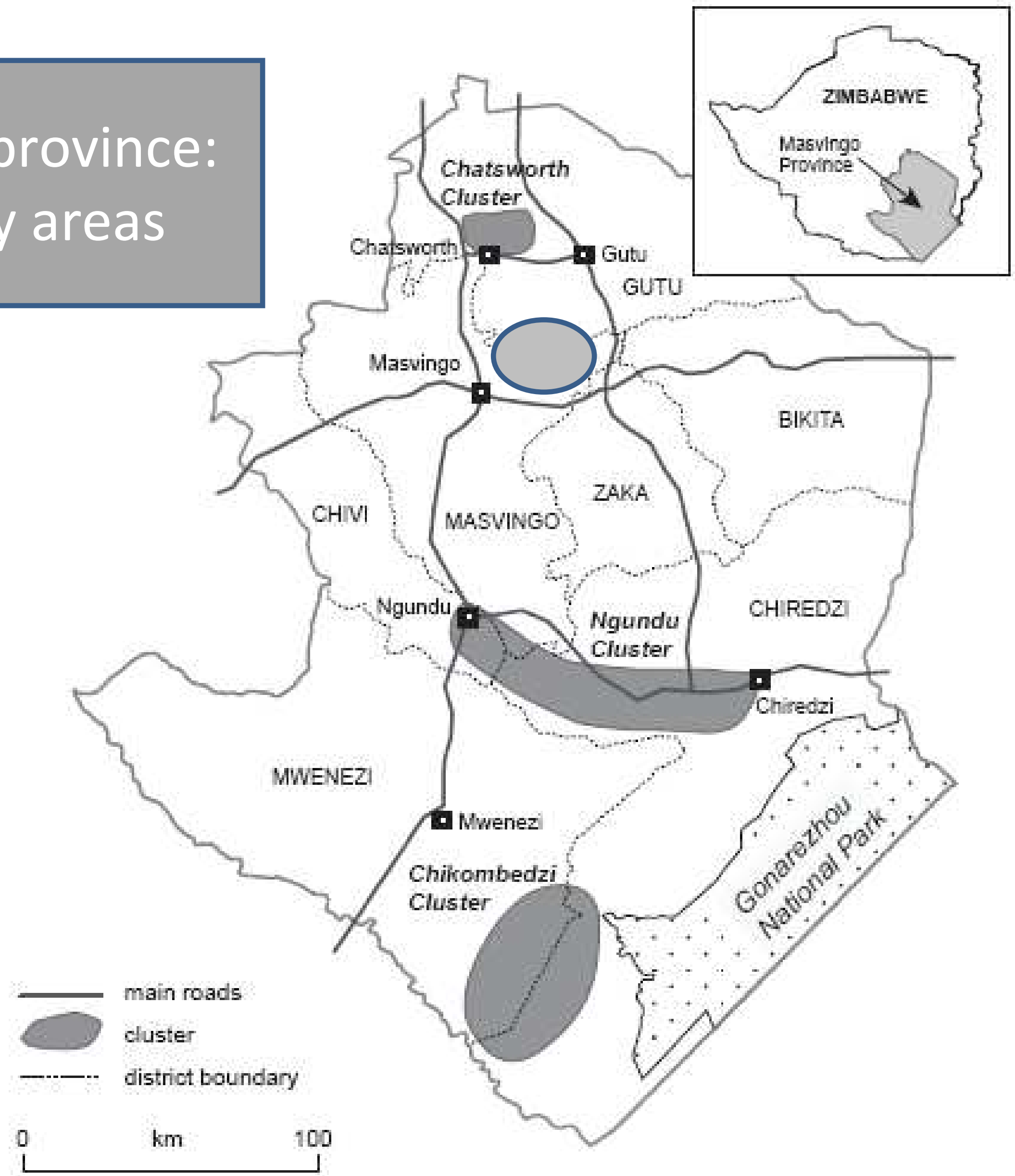
Myths and realities….

- Myth 1: Zimbabwean land reform has been a total failure
- Myth 2: The beneficiaries of Zimbabwean land reform have been largely political ‘cronies’
- Myth 3: There is no investment in the new resettlements
- Myth 4: Agriculture is in complete ruins creating chronic food insecurity
- Myth 5: The rural economy has collapsed

Masvingo province: the study areas



Masvingo province: a new agrarian structure

Category	Area (hectares)	% of Total
A1	1 195 564	21.1%
A2	371 520	6.5%
Old Resettlement	440 163	7.8%
Communal area	2 116 450	37.4%
Gona reZhou National Park	505 300	8.9%
Remaining large scale farms (white owned)	44 724	0.8%
Other (indigenous-owned large scale farms, small scale farms, state farms etc)	982 879	17.5%
Total	5 656 600	100.0%

Scheme type	Settlement patterns	Gutu	Masvingo	Chiredzi	Mwenezi	Province
A 1 villagised and self contained	Total farms settled	83	56	33	72	244
	Total area (ha)	154522	70455	248176	722411	1195564
	Total settlers	5 479	3209	11155	12 754	32597
	Average area / settler(ha)	28.2	21.9	22.2	56.6	36.7
A 2	Total farms settled	18	21	73	64	176
	Total area (ha)	58281	27755	73927	211557	371520
	Total settlers	179	372	672	372	1169
	Average area / settler(ha)	326	75	110	569	318

New land, new people….. Were they ‘just cronies’?

(% of settlers across scheme types)

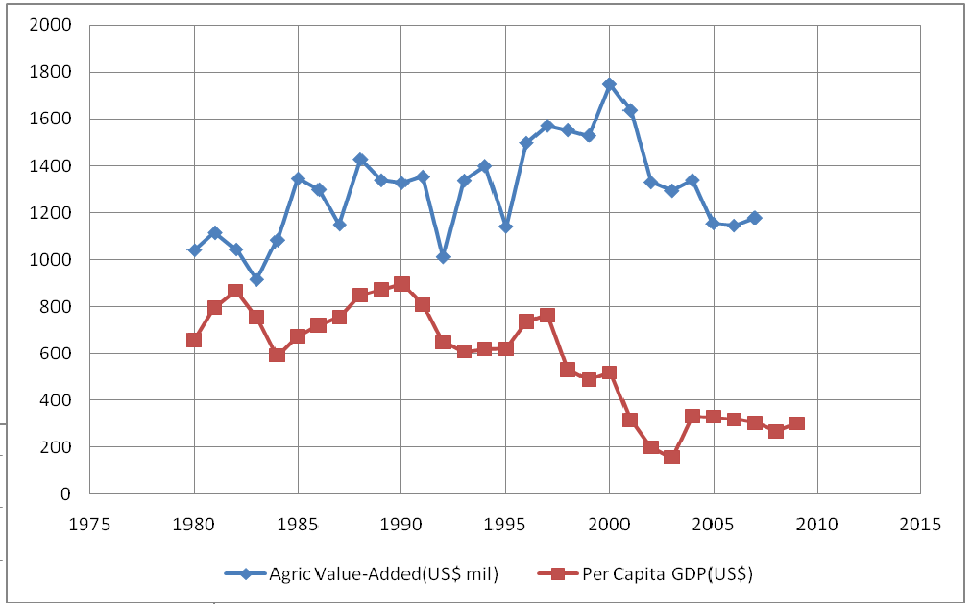
	A1 villagised	A1 self contained	Informal	A2	Total
‘Ordinary’: from other rural areas	59.9	39.2	69.7	12.2	49.9
‘Ordinary’: from urban areas	9.4	18.9	22.6	43.8	18.3
Civil servant	12.5	28.3	3.8	26.3	16.5
Security services	3.6	5.4	3.8	1.8	3.7
Business person	3.1	8.2	0	10.5	4.8
Former farm worker	11.5	0	0	5.3	6.7
N	192	74	53	57	376

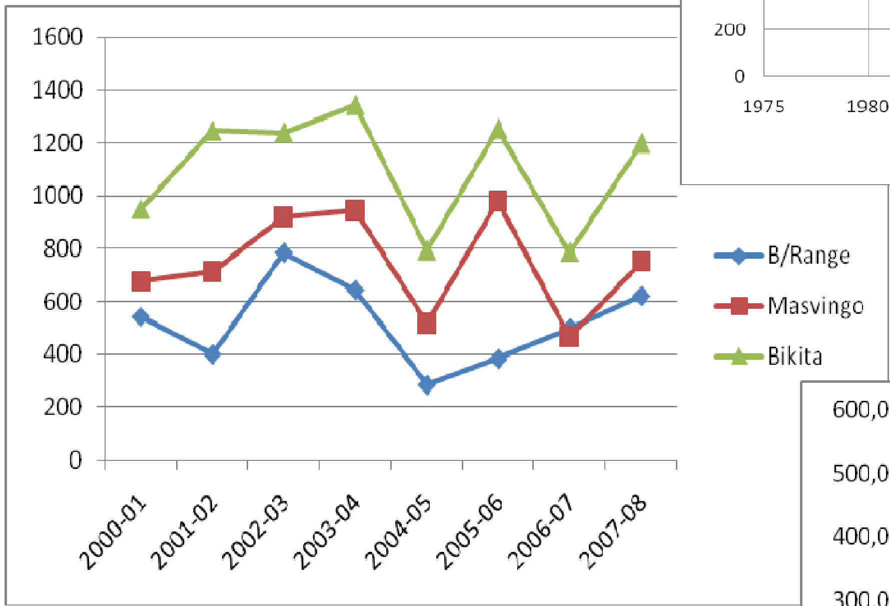
No investment....?

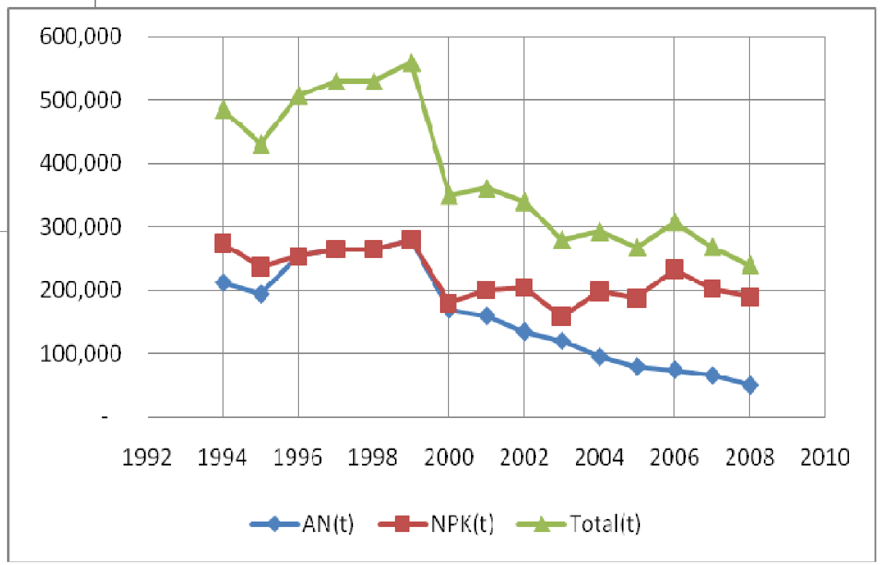
(estimated value of investment since settlement (across 400 hh)

Focus of investment	Total value across study sites (US$)	Average per household (US$)
Land clearance	154124	385
Housing/buildings	252429	631
Cattle	245075	612
Farm equipment	79142	198
Transport	60361	150
Toilets	30734	77
Garden fencing	11613	29
Wells	31638	79
Total	**$855116**	**$2161**

Tough conditions….







Agricultural decline....?

Crop	1990s Average	2000-01	2001-02	2002-03	2003-04	2004-05	2005-06	2006-07	2007-08	2008-09
Maize	1668.6	1476. 2	1526. 3	929. 6	1058.8	1686.2	915.4	952.6	575.0	1242.6
	% Change	-11.5%	-8.5%	-44.3%	-36.5%	1.1%	-45.1%	-42.9%	-65.5%	-25.5%
Wheat	219.3	250	325	213. 0	122.4	135	134	150	75.0	38.0
	% Change	14.0%	48.2%	-2.9%	-44.2%	-38.4%	-38.9%	-31.6%	-65.8%	-82.7%
Small Grains	50.01	90.7	99.6	35.8	131.2	196.1	128.6	138.6	93.2	270.2
	% Change	81.4%	99.2%	-28.4%	162.3%	292.1%	157.1%	177.1%	86.4%	440.4%
Edible dry beans	5.3	7.4	7.2	7.1	10.8	56.8	21.5	30.3	3.8	37.3
	% Change	39.6%	35.8%	34.0%	103.8%	971.7%	305.7%	471.7%	-28.3%	603.8%
Groundnuts	92	191	168.7	59	141	135	57.8	83.2	131.5	216.6
	% Change	107.6%	83.4%	-35.9%	53.3%	46.7%	-37.2%	-9.6%	42.9%	135.4%
Tobacco	197.61	236.97	202.57	165.87	81.87	68.97	73.47	55.57	69.815	63.6
	% Change	19.9%	2.5%	-16.1%	-58.6%	-65.1%	-62.8%	-71.9%	-64.7%	-67.8%
Cotton	214.11	242.02	280.32	194.22	228.01	198.01	265.03	300.03	226.415	246.8
	% Change	13.0%	30.9%	-9.3%	6.5%	-7.5%	23.8%	40.1%	5.7%	15.3%

Perennial food insecurity….?
(% of hh producing more than a tonne of maize)

District	Scheme Type	2002-03	2003-04	2004-05	2005-06	2006-07	2007-08	2008-09
Gutu	A1 self-contained	18.4	50.0	45.5	75.0	63.4	28.6	61.5
	A1 villagised	13.3	39.1	24.0	79.3	63.3	36.7	78.6
	A2	0.0	0.0	44.4	75.0	66.7	nd	63.6
Masvingo	A1 self-contained	55.3	63.2	56.4	100.0	100.0	51.3	100.0
	A1 villagised	28.0	38.1	45.8	95.7	91.2	15.8	77.9
	A2	0.0	25.0	25.0	xx	75.0	75.0	100.0
Chiredzi	A2	14.3	38.5	46.2	50.0	66.7	50.0	88.9
	Informal	18.8	10.2	3.9	86.5	51.0	24.5	62.5
Mwenezi	A1 villagised	26.9	8.0	0.0	4.8	0.0	0.0	0.0 (57)
	Informal	11.5	11.5	0.0	0.0	26.7	6.7	0.0 (73)

Differentiation and production
(nos of bags of maize sold in 2009 by 'success group')

		2008-09		
Scheme Type	(SG)	0 bags	1-20 bags	21+ bags
A1 self-contained	1	26.1	8.7	65.2
	2	51.9	22.2	25.9
	3	58.6	24.1	17.2
A1 villagised	1	38.9	29.6	31.5
	2	52.8	35.8	11.3
	3	67.9	19.7	10.7
A2	1	60.0	20.0	20.0
	2	70.0	10.0	20.0
	3	90.0	0.0	10.0
Informal	1	84.2	15.8	0.0
	2	96.6	3.4	0.0
	3	100	0.0	0.0

Differential accumulation....
(nos of cattle per household by 'success group')

Scheme Type	SG 1		SG 2		SG 3	
	At settlement	2008	At settlement	2008	At settlement	2008
A1	6.3	10.4	4.5	4.5	1.9	2.6
A1 self-contained	11.2	16.2	1.3	10.9	0.9	3.7
A2	18.9	20.5	13.6	14.8	11.1	4.4
Informal	7.5	12.5	4.5	3.8	0.0	0.5

Labour: the new farm workers

	A1 and informal				
	Temporary cropping	**Temporary livestock**	**Permanent both**	**Permanent cropping**	**Permanent livestock**
Percentage of hhs employing workers	20	13	9	11	9.3
Nos employed	244	29	19	38	12
% of these female	48	31	26	32	25

	A2				
	Temporary cropping	**Temporary livestock**	**Permanent both**	**Permanent cropping**	**Permanent livestock**
Percentage of hhs employing workers	67.6	43.5	44.8	71.9	43.3
Nos employed	233	15	60	88	25
% of these female	27	7	23	26	28

Category	Strategy	Total
Dropping out (10.0%)	Exits	4.4%
	Chronically poor, destitute	3.3%
	Ill health	2.2%
Hanging in (33.6%)	Asset poor farming, local labour	17.8%
	Keeping the plot	10.3%
	Straddling	5.6%
Stepping out (21.4%)	Survival diversification	2.8%
	Local off-farm activities	5.3%
	Remittances from within Zimbabwe	5.0%
	Remittances from outside Zimbabwe	4.4%
	Cell phone farmers	3.9%
Stepping up (35.0%)	*Hurudza*	18.3%
	Part-time farmers	10.6%
	New (semi-)commercial farmers	4.7%
	Farming from patronage	1.4%

Livelihood and development implications

- New people, new clients for ‘development’: younger, more educated, assets, skills, connections, urban linkages (a different ‘middle farmer’)
- But highly diverse: different livelihood types, contrasts by scheme type, agro-ecology. Need for effective targeting and tailored programmes
- A2 not just scaled down large scale, and A1 not just communal system scaled up. Social, economic interactions key.
- A new area-based social-economic dynamic with much (untapped) potential. Local economic development.
- Requires a fundamental rethink of old models and roles - for policy and intervention.

Conclusions

- Myths challenged: need to shift policy discourse (all political parties, donors)
- Exceptionalism? Masvingo, Zimbabwe
- Accumulation from below: potentials for a new agrarian dynamic? But need for support.
- Beyond dualism (and settlement models): flexibility in land holdings, production systems
- Agrarian politics: An emerging struggle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Future options

1. Area based development, fostering economic linkages and multipliers, developing value chains, linking A2-A1-communal.
2. Re-gearing research and extension: ‘intermediate’ technologies , alternative extension delivery models, rethinking agricultural education/training.
3. Infrastructure investment: water and roads. Replicating the 1950s-60s investments on large-scale commercial farms, public-private partnerships.
4. Input supply systems: private sector capacity and agro-dealer networks – avoiding market distortions through ‘relief’ aid.
5. Tenure security: multi-form tenure, conflict and confusion over authority. Beyond focus on administrative/legal model, to building clear, accountable land governance arrangements from the ground up.
6. Rural finance and credit: delinking from inappropriate packages, alternative forms of collateral/state guarantees, new intermediary/contract farming arrangements.