



Land Redistribution in Zimbabwe: Five Census Surveys of Farmland Transactions, 1996-2000

by

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Broadening Access and Strengthening Input Market Systems

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ABSTRACT

Broadening Access and Strengthening Input Market Systems (BASIS) research project in Zimbabwe focuses on the issues of broadening access to land markets and sustainable use of farmland acquired by disadvantaged people in Zimbabwe. This study presents results of five census surveys of farmland transactions recorded in Zimbabwe during the period 1996-2000. Secondary data collected from the Deeds Registry in Harare and Bulawayo were stratified and analyzed by race, gender and mode of land acquisition. The results show that a total of 226 504 hectares of commercial farmland were redistributed to disadvantaged owners. This translates to a cumulative rate of land redistribution of 1.518%.

There were marked differences in both the quantity and quality of farmland transferred by different modes of redistribution. Private purchases (mortgage bonds and private cash) accounted for 86% of the total area redistributed. Thirty-five percent and 64% of the total market value of farms acquired was by mortgage and private cash respectively. There were no government-assisted transactions recorded with the Deeds Registry in 1996, 1997 and 1998. However there was one government assisted transaction in 1999 and two in 2000. Additional information of government assisted transfers was obtained from the Ministry of Lands and Agriculture and this data was analysed separately. Land acquired through government assisted transactions was of much lower quality (ZW\$/ha) than privately financed transactions.

There is a new trend in registration of farmland title deeds. As from 1999, it seems most farmland transfers are being registered as corporate entities, which makes it easier to access funds from financial institutions. Fifteen percent of the total area redistributed was acquired by females and accounted 13% of the total market value. The majority of land acquired by females was through private non-market transactions (inheritance and donations). On the overall corporate entities dominated the private land market. Women were poorly represented in land transactions financed through mortgage bonds, which might imply financial institutions are still reluctant to extend credit to females.

The question for policy is should government pursue land redistribution through the private or public markets. This study reveals that the private land markets are performing poorly overall. Thus there is need for government to improve policy on the private land market transfers. For example, by augmenting the role of private financial institutions through the provision of public grants for financing land purchases as is currently the case in South Africa. The issue of public grants was discussed at Land Donors Conference in 1998, but never took off the ground.

1. INTRODUCTION

Agriculture is the mainstay of the Zimbabwean economy and land is the key resource in agricultural production. During the colonial era in Zimbabwe, land was distributed along racial lines, approximately 4660 large scale commercial farms mainly white owned occupy 11.2 million hectares and about 6 million black smallholder farmers occupy 16.4 million hectares in mainly low agricultural potential areas (UNDP, 1998). Resolving the land issue is arguably one of the greatest challenges that face the Zimbabwe government. Since independence, the government has been undertaking programmes to reallocate land mainly from the white large-scale commercial farmers to the black smallholder farmers to address the inequities of the past. The government 's land redistribution has mainly focused on the resettlement of black smallholder farmers from crowded communal areas, thus land redistribution is largely politically driven as opposed to market driven. There is little understanding of private land transfers between the whites and the disadvantaged, outside the government land redistribution framework, which is the major thrust of this paper. This section gives an overview of the land redistribution subsector in Zimbabwe.

1.1. Land Distribution over Time (1969-1997)

In 1969, the colonial government gazetted the Land Tenure Act, which replaced the Land Apportionment Act. Land was roughly divided equally between the Europeans and Africans. In real terms the division was unequal, as the whites constituted a minority group. According to (Bond-Stewart, 1986) an average white farmer owned about one hundred times more land than a black farmer did. Table 1 shows the division of land according to the Land Tenure Act of 1969.

Table 1. Division of land according to the Land Tenure Act of 1969

Land Category	European	African
	ha	ha
Forest Area	753023	171635
General land	15580056	
Tribal Trust Land		16151905
Specially Designated Land	7370	117831
Purchase Area		1482991
Parks and Wildlife	1770913	254733
Total	18111362	18179095

Source: Riddell J.C and Dickerman C (1986)

When independence was attained the Tribal Trust Lands (TTLs) or native reserves were overpopulated by about 51% (Bond-Stewart, 1986). The new government embarked on the first phase of the Land Reform and Resettlement Programme (LRRP-1) to redress the inequities of the past and set itself ambitious targets for the programme. The government's initial target was to resettle 18,000 families on 1.2 million hectares over three years; this was later increased to 162,000 families on 10 million hectares due to political pressure (World Bank, 1991). The slow speed of land redistribution has been attributed to various reasons, which include the clauses entrenched in the Lancaster House Constitution (Hlatshwayo, 1993), prohibitive prices during the market oriented driven land reform and unsuitable land offered by white farmers in Natural Regions IV and V (GoZ, 1990; World Bank, 1991). Other authors (Bratton, 1994; Maposa, 1995; Mhishi, 1995) have attributed the slow progress to lack of political will on the part of government. Also the government holding land or leasing or selling to selected individuals is used as evidence that it was not land, which was short, but effective resettlement schemes.

After the expiry of the Lancaster House Agreement in 1990, the government amended the entrenched clauses in the Constitution to remove the constraints to land transfer from white large-scale commercial farmers to black farmers.

Table 2. Land distribution after independence

Land Category	1980	1990	1997
	'000 000 ha	'000 000 ha	'000 000 ha
¹ Communal Areas^a	16.4	16.4	16.4
¹ Resettlement Areas	0.0	3.3	3.6
² Small Scale Commercial Farms^b	1.0	1.4	1.4
² Large Scale Commercial Farms^c	14.8	11.4	11.3
¹ State Farms	0.3	-	0.1
¹ National Parks and Wildlife and Urban Settlements	6.0	6.0	6.0

Source: 1. GoZ (1999); 2. CSO (1998)

Notes on table 2:

- a) Communal areas formerly known as Tribal Trust Lands or Native Reserve.
- b) Small Scale Commercial Farms formerly known as Purchase Areas.
- c) Large Scale Commercial Farms formerly known as European Areas or General Land.

After amending the Constitution, the government crafted a new National Land Policy in which new targets were put in place. The government sought to reduce the area under large-scale commercial farming to 5 million hectares whilst increasing the area under resettlement

to 8.3 million hectares (Moyo, 1998). Other categories of land were to remain unchanged save for the state owned farms. As at 1997, the total area under resettlement had increased by only 300 000 hectares to 3.6 million hectares, which falls far short of the target and the large-scale sector has been reduced to 11.2 million hectares.

Recently, the government launched the “fast-track” approach to speed the pace of land acquisition and transfers under the Land Reform and Resettlement Programme phase 2 (LRRP-2). The main objective of the “fast-track” approach is to make up for the deficit of the target set in the National Land Policy. By December 2000, a total of 2540 farms with a total area of 5.88 million hectares had been identified and gazetted for compulsory acquisition (Msika, 2000).

1.2. Legislative Framework

Land redistribution is undertaken within a particular legislative framework. Section 16(1) of the Constitution of Zimbabwe states that: “*No property of any description or interest or right therein shall be compulsorily acquired, except under authority of a law...*” The laws governing land redistribution in Zimbabwe have undergone transformation since independence. The first ten or so years were governed by the Lancaster House constitution. Under this constitution land redistribution was purely market based on a “willing buyer, willing seller” basis.

After the expiry of Lancaster House Constitution the government amended section 16 of the Constitution, which related to the protection from deprivation of property. With this amendment, all land including utilised land, buildings and unexhausted improvement to land were now capable of being acquired compulsorily for settlement and agricultural purposes (Hansard, 1990 Vol.17 No. 58 pp. 2913 to 2916) with a fair compensation determined by parliament being paid to the affected land owners.

The Land Acquisition Act of 1985 was replaced by the Act of 1992. After the amendment of the Constitution of Zimbabwe Amendment Bill No.11, the aspects associated with land acquisition were incorporated in the Land Acquisition Act of 1992.

After losing the referendum in February 2000, the government amended the Land Acquisition Act of 1992 mainly for political gains close to the June 2000 Parliamentary elections. The government removed its obligation to pay compensation in respect of agricultural land required for resettlement purposes. In terms of this new amended Act, compensation shall only be payable for any improvements on or to the land.

1.3 BASIS Land Redistribution Objectives

Broadening Access and Strengthening Input Market Systems (BASIS) research project in Zimbabwe focuses on the issues of broadening access to land markets and sustainable use of farmland acquired by disadvantaged people in Zimbabwe. The major objective of this study is to monitor the various means by which farmland in Zimbabwe’s land market is transferring to, and being used by disadvantaged people. Specific objectives include:

- a) to monitor and compare rates at which farmland transfers to different classes of disadvantaged people over time, both as a result of government land reform programmes and private land market transactions,

- b) evaluate the rate of land redistribution, comparing the quantity and quality of redistributed land and the gender composition,
- c) establish the causal relationships between the modes of land acquisition (government assisted land purchases versus private purchases) and lastly
- d) discuss some policy recommendations emerging from the analysis of the five-year census data to improve the performance of the private land market.

The paper is organized into six distinct sections. The paper begins with a description of the data sources and methodology and move on to review the rate of land redistribution. The following aspects of land redistribution are also covered in this paper; quality of redistributed land, modes of land redistribution, gender analysis and conclusion and policy recommendations.

2. DATA SOURCES AND METHODOLOGY

Land transactions data used in this study is secondary data obtained from the records kept by the two Zimbabwe Deeds Registries, one located in Harare (with records for Mashonaland, Manicaland and parts of Midlands and Masvingo provinces) and the other in Bulawayo (with records for Matabeleland and parts of Midlands and Masvingo provinces). The Deeds Registry has records of nearly all land and /or properties in the country and the owners any point in time, including changes in land ownership that take place. Government assisted transactions are not normally recorded with the Deeds Registry. Thus additional information of government assisted transactions was sought from the Ministry of Lands and Agriculture, and analysed separately. Thus government assisted information that appears in figures and tables are *only* from the Deeds Registry.

Unlike the previous years 1996-1998, the Zimbabwe Deeds Registry has since been computerised and now keeps an electronic record for all land transactions involving transfer of title. From the Registrar of Deeds, records for all the land/property transfers in the country were obtained for the years 1996-2000. Each Deed of transfer contained the following information:

- Names of the new and previous owners, when they bought and/or sold the farm
- Name of the farm and subdivisions transacted
- Size of the farm and the subdivisions transacted
- The value of the farm
- The mode of payment used i.e. cash or loan, mortgage bonds or inheritance or donations.

Purposive sampling was used to identify all commercial farmland, which went through some sort of permanent transfer for the period 1996 to 2000. The full list comprised of more than 4000 commercial farms. Table 3. shows the resultant sample frames for the years 1996-2000. It must be noted that over the years some farms were subdivided into residential or industrial areas and these were excluded from the database by filtering all cases involving farms smaller than one hectare.

Table 3. Land Transfers, Zimbabwe 1996-2000

Year	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000
No. of farms transacted	392	367	290	166	127

The farmland transactions were then divided into two groups ‘disadvantaged’ group and ‘white’ group. For the purpose of this study the term ‘disadvantaged’ refers to people who were historically precluded from the land market by racial segregation. Within the disadvantaged group farmland transactions were further stratified according to the mode of financing (government assisted, private cash, private bonds and non market transactions) and gender of new owner (male, female and corporate entities).

Due to the issue of subdivisions mentioned above and the fact that donations and inheritances were made to more than one landowner the number of new owners and that of land transactions recorded did not tally. Purchasing of farms as joint ventures by two or more individuals or companies was also another reason. In such cases where land was acquired by companies, trusts or corporations, records from the Companies Registry containing the name of the directors were used to determine whether the land was transferred to disadvantaged people. This discretion was left to the researchers because both the Deeds and Companies Registry did not record the race or gender of the landowners. They were deduced solely on the basis of names.

3. THE RATE OF LAND REDISTRIBUTION

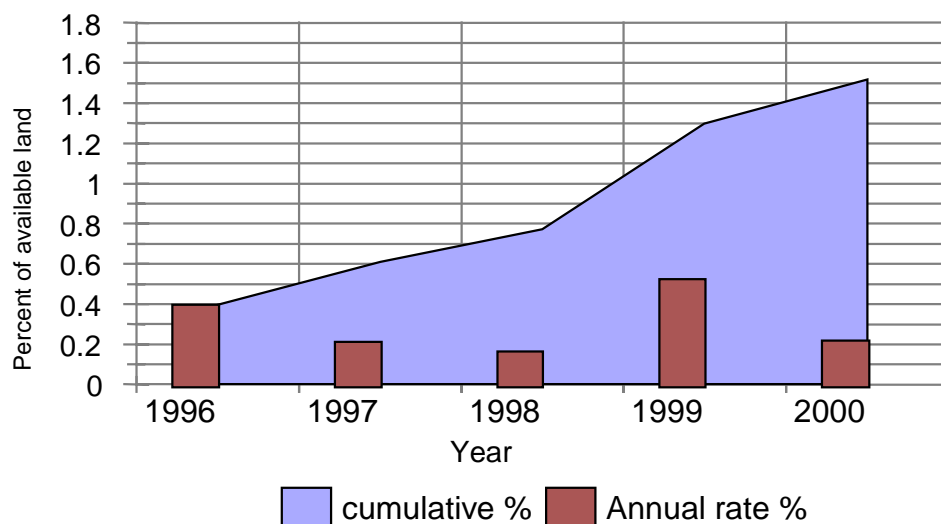
Data collected from the Deeds Registry was used to calculate the rate of land redistribution. The total area of land redistributed for the period 1996 to 2000 is shown in the table 4. The rate of land redistribution is computed as the ratio of land acquired by disadvantaged owners to the total amount of land originally estimated to be available for redistribution. The largest amount of land was redistributed to the disadvantaged group in 1999 totaling 79502 ha (rate of 0.527% land redistribution). The rate of land redistribution averaged 0.304% for the five year period.

Table 4. Estimated rate of land redistribution in Zimbabwe

Year	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000
Area of farmland originally available for redistribution (ha)	15106479	15106479	15106479	15106479	15106479
Area of land transacted (ha)	215058	350647	295450	133503	92443
Percentage of area redistributed (ha)	1.424	2.321	1.955	0.883	0.611
Net area of farmland acquired by disadvantaged people (ha)	59722	32715	24685	79502	33059
Rate of Land Redistribution (%)	0.396	0.213	0.163	0.527	0.219
Cumulative rate of land redistribution (%)	0.396	0.609	0.772	1.299	1.518

Usually +/-5% of land area is transacted in any given year in more or less developed land markets; thus Zimbabwe's private land markets are performing poorly overall in transferring land. The poor performance can be attributed to the poor performance of the economy, impacting mainly through prohibitive interest rates. This then implies that the cost of capital to finance land purchases through private bonds is a major limitation in the performance of private land market. Also the uncertainty bedeviling land subsector in Zimbabwe with land designation for acquisition and invasions, financial institutions have almost closed the door for mortgage finance for farm purchases. The decline in the number of land transfers as shown in table 3. is also reflective of the poor performance of the private land market in Zimbabwe. The trends in the rate of land redistribution are illustrated in figure 1.

Figure 1. Rate of land redistribution, Zimbabwe 1996-2000



4. THE QUALITY OF REDISTRIBUTED LAND

Table 5. shows the mean farm areas, mean farm prices and weighted land prices for all farmland acquired by both white and disadvantaged owners for the period 1996 to 2000. The prices are expressed at constant 2000 prices. The t-value reported in the table test for differences between the white and disadvantaged group. All t-tests were carried at the 5% level of significance.

For the entire period, the mean area of farms acquired by the disadvantaged group is lower than that of white owners except for 1999. The mean farm area for the disadvantaged group was on the decrease from 1996 to 1998 and increased in 1999 and slightly declined in 2000. A t-test analysis for the years 1999 and 2000 shows an insignificant decrease in the farm area for the acquisitions by the disadvantaged group. The trend for the farm prices almost resembles that of farm area, white owned farms have higher farm prices than those of the disadvantaged group across all years, except for 1999. Prices for farms acquired by both groups fluctuated between the years. In general, real farm prices for white owned farms are on the decline, while those of the disadvantaged group are relatively stable. However t-tests carried out across the years 1999 and 2000 for the disadvantaged group show no significant difference between the real farm prices for the two years.

There are varied differences in the quality of the land (measured by the weighted land price, ZW\$/ha). Land quality was higher for the white group for the entire period. Although there tends to be very small price differentials, there is a very wide gap in 1999 and 2000. Averaged over the whole five-year period, the disadvantaged group acquired land of lower quality compared to the whites. This can partly be explained by the lack of the much-needed

collateral by the disadvantaged group to access capital from financial institutions for land purchases.

Table 5. Characteristics of farmland acquired by white and disadvantaged owners in Zimbabwe, 1996 to 2000 at constant 2000 prices (2000=100)

Farm Characteristic		White	Disadvantaged	t-value
Mean Farm Area (Ha)	1996	694 n=260	406 n=147	
	1997	1089 n=280	346 n=93	
	1998	673 n=218	294 n=84	
	1999	651 n=83	779 n=102	0.96
	2000	932 n=63	636 n=52	-1.41
Mean Farm Price (Z\$ '000 000)	1996	4033454 n=247	2219697 n=132	
	1997	10757905 n=280	2912973 n=87	
	1998	5220830 n=218	2187655 n=72	
	1999	2952887 n=71	3197920 n=81	-0.54
	2000	2558621 n=57	2695842 n=41	-0.23
Weighted Land Price (Z\$/Ha)	1996	5651 n=247	6020 n=132	
	1997	9883 n=280	8140 n=87	
	1998	7761 n=218	6413 n=72	
	1999	22983 n=71	3939 n=81	
	2000	46304 n=57	3973 n=41	
Weighted Land Price (Z\$/Ha) 1996-2000		18516	5697	

5. MODES OF LAND REDISTRIBUTION

Since independence, various modes of land redistribution have emerged mainly influenced by the government. During the period 1980 to 1992, the state centred but market based approach was dominant. The state purchased land through the willing buyer-willing seller procedures for resettlement purposes.

The community lands occupation and state facilitated approach was also a mode of land redistribution in the first four years of independence. Communities played a leading role in land identification through land occupations of underused or unutilised, and the government would move in to acquire such land at market prices. This approach re-emerged again in 1998; landless people and war veterans occupied many farms gazetted for resettlement.

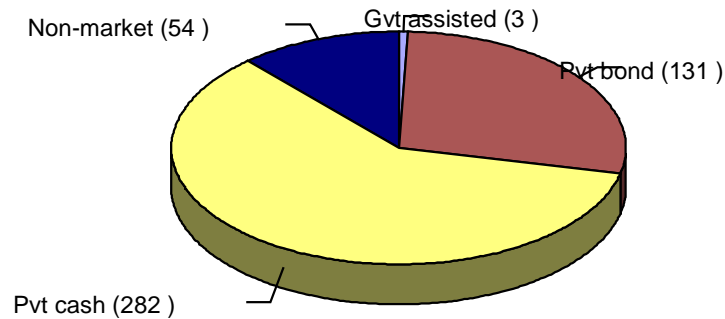
Another approach is the market-led redistribution assisted by the state, which was discussed at the Land Donors Conference in 1998. The private sector, communities and Non-Governmental organisations play a leading role. The role of the government would be to provide a public grant to beneficiaries. The use of the grant was left to the beneficiaries' choice (for land purchase or investments on the land). However this promising approach never took off the ground as the government opted for state compulsory acquisition. The most recent approach that is now being used by the government after the amendment of Land Acquisition Act of 1992 is state compulsory acquisition of land. In this approach the state only pays for developments to the land compulsorily acquired.

The above mentioned approaches have been used in combination during certain periods, except for the market led land redistribution, which was never implemented. It was substituted with 'fast track' approach that is currently the major mode of land redistribution under state compulsory acquisition of land. Outside the state centred approaches land redistribution has been occurring through private land transfers between the whites and the disadvantaged group.

Land transactions were stratified in four distinct modes of redistribution as illustrated in Table 6. All prices are expressed at constant 2000 prices. Market financed transactions included private mortgage, private cash, government assisted and non-market transactions. Private cash transactions include all those transfers that were financed using own private cash, whereas private mortgage, land transfers financed through private bonds from financial institutions. Non-market transactions are basically inheritances and donations of land. Government assisted transactions include land transfers with the help of government through the direct transfers of land from the state or financed with government grants.

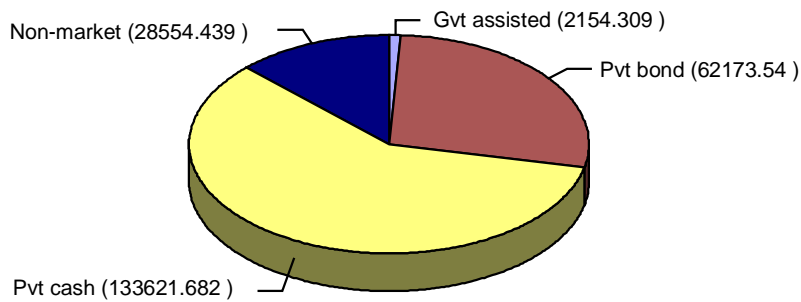
Private cash transactions dominated during the whole period 1996 to 2000 as can be seen in figure 2 and table 6.

Figure 2. Number of farmland transactions by source of finance, Zimbabwe 1996-2000



Private bonds financed 131 transactions in the five-year period compared to 282 through private cash. There were only three government assisted transactions recorded with the Deeds Registry during the five years. The total area acquired with each source of finance follows an exact trend to the number of transactions as shown in figure 3.

Figure 3. Total area of farmland transacted by source of finance, Zimbabwe 1996-2000



Disaggregated into the various years, in 1996 private bonds financed largest proportion of the total area redistributed to the disadvantaged group as clearly shown in figure 4 and table 6. This scenario was reversed from 1997 onwards, with private cash transactions accounting for the largest share of the total land redistributed. Throughout the entire period there has been a gradual decline of the private bond transactions share of the land redistributed. The decrease can be attributed to the growing uncertainty in the land subsector (land invasions and gazettes for resettlement), thus the banking sector is very reluctant to finance farm purchases and also the very high interest rates hovering above 50% is another key factor. In 1996 non-market transactions accounted for an almost equal area to private cash transactions.

Figure 4. Area of farms transacted by source of finance, Zimbabwe 1996-2000

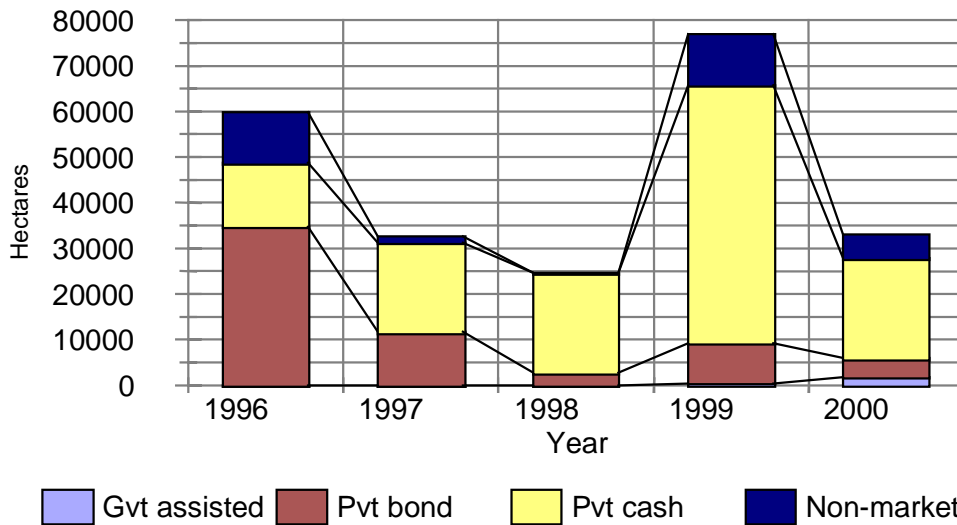
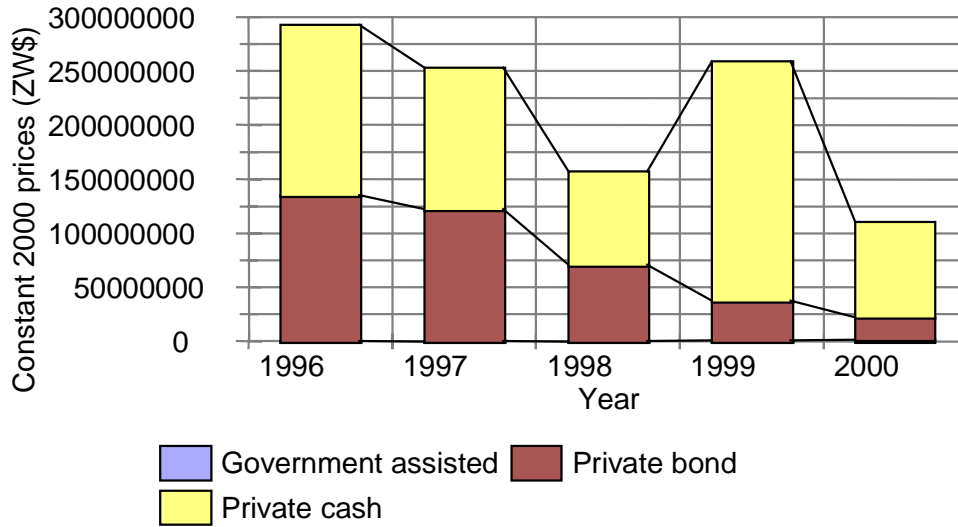


Table 6: Characteristics of farmland by mode of redistribution in Zimbabwe, 1996 to 2000 (2000=100)

Farm characteristic	Year	Government Assisted	Private mortgage	Private cash	Private non-market	Total
Number of transactions	1996	0	58	74	14	146
	1997	0	34	53	4	91
	1998	0	23	49	4	76
	1999	1	8	72	21	102
	2000	2	7	32	11	52
	Total	3	130	280	54	467
Total area of land (Ha)	1996	0	34638	14042	11042	59722
	1997	0	11706	19430	1419	32554
	1998	0	2785	21776	62	24623
	1999	343	8906	56508	11176	76933
	2000	1811	4142	21866	5240	33059
	Total	2154	62174	133622	28554	226504
Total market value of land (ZW\$)	1996	0	134955456	157837005		292792461
	1997	0	122072893	131355757		253428649
	1998	0	70638858	86872296		157511154
	1999	492511	37102608	221436418		259031537
	2000	1260000	20570000	88699501		110529501
	Total	1752511	385339814	686200976		1073293301
Mean area of farms (Ha)		718	478	476	539	
Weighted farmland price 1996-2000 (ZW\$/Ha)		813	6198	5130		

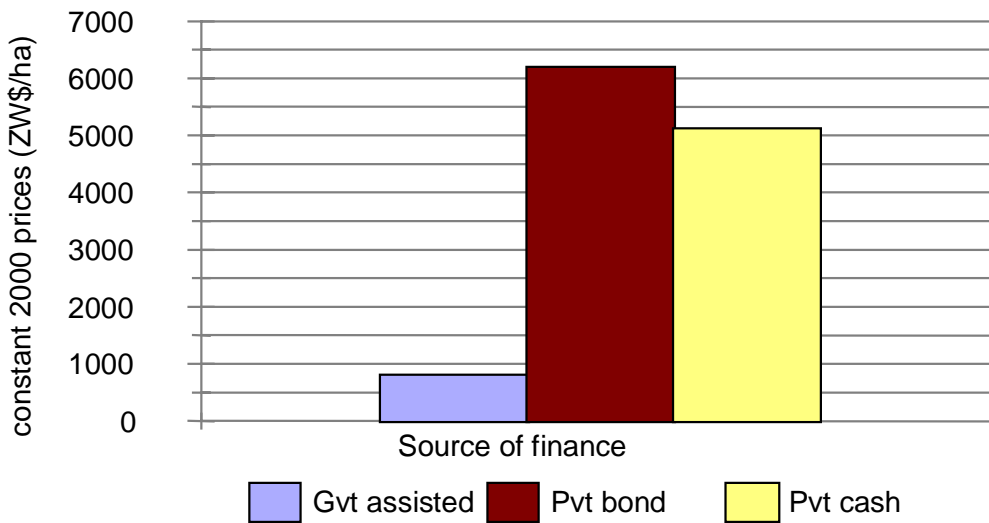
The figure 5 illustrates the land wealth redistributed by source finance. It is evident from table 6 and figure 5, save for the years 1996 and 1997 where private cash and private bonds redistributed almost equal land wealth, private cash redistributed more land wealth in all the other years. For transactions recorded with the Deeds Registry government assisted transfers only redistributed ZW\$ 1752511 of land wealth.

Figure 5. Market value of land transactions by source of finance, Zimbabwe 1996-2000



Land acquired using private bonds and private cash was almost of equal quality (ZW\$ 6198 per hectare and ZW\$ 5130 per hectare respectively) as illustrated in figure 6 for the five year period. Whereas land acquired through government assisted transfers was about one-eighth the quality of land acquired through private bonds.

Figure 6. Weighted farmland price by source of finance, Zimbabwe 1996-2000



5.1 Government Assisted Transfers

The table presents data obtained from the Ministry of Lands and Agriculture, for land acquired by government for redistribution. The Ministry only has records of the number of transactions, area, and the price of farms acquired only.

The government acquired 42 farms for redistribution during the period 1997-98 for redistribution extending to 92512 hectares as shown in table 7. Most of the farms were acquired through compulsory acquisition methods. Compared to data from the Deeds Registry, land acquired through private cash and private bond is double the quality that of government acquisitions. However, price for farms acquired through compulsory methods, the weighted land price does not give a clear indication of the land quality since the government fixes the price.

Table 7. Government Assisted Land Transfers

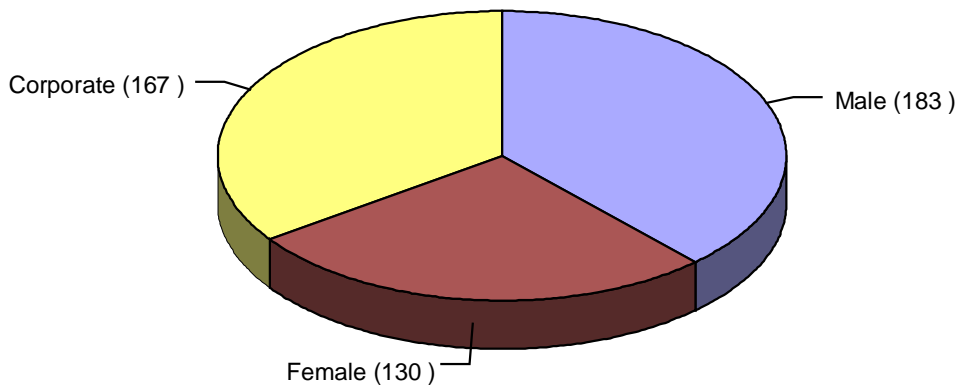
Farm Characteristic	Year	Compulsory Acquisition	Willing buyer-Willing seller	Donation	Total
Number of transactions	1997-98	0	2	0	2
	1999	35	4	1	40
Mean Farm Area (Ha)	1997-98	0	3067	0	
	1999	2421	1290	2630	
Total Area of Land (Ha)	1997-98	0	6134	0	6134
	1999	84721	5161	2630	92512
Mean Farm Price (ZW\$)	1997-98	0	5182276		
	1999	5618724	5552438		
Total Market Value (ZW\$)	1997-98	0	10000000		
	1999	220000000	22209752		22209752
Weighted Land Price (ZW\$/Ha)	1997-98	0	2396		
	1999	3606	4842		
Average Weighted Land Price 1997-1999 (ZW\$/Ha)		3606	3619		

The next section describes the distribution of disadvantaged owners by category of the buyer (male, female and corporate owners) and mode of land redistribution in Zimbabwe during 1996-2000. The emphasis is on how much, and what quality of, farmland transacted to disadvantaged females over entire study period, compared with male and corporate owners.

7. GENDER ANALYSIS

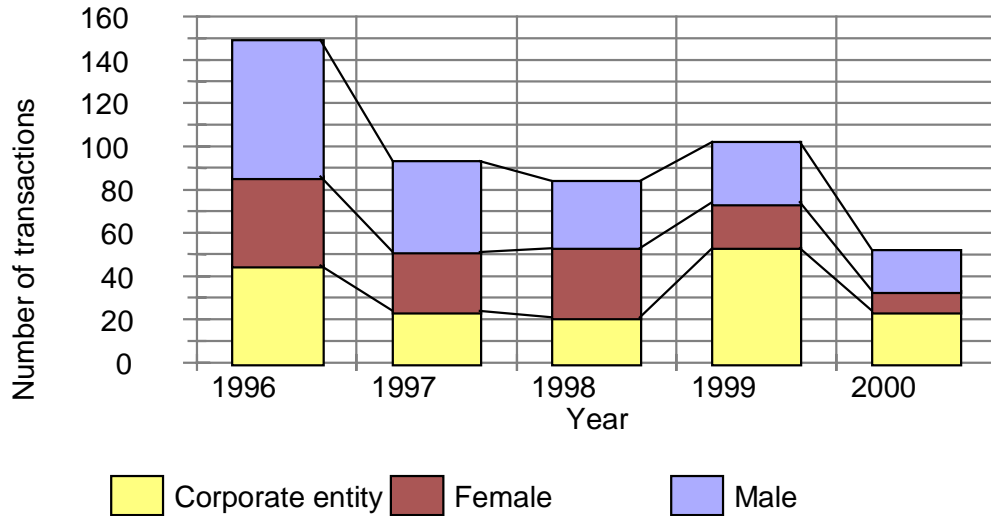
The Deeds Registry records names of landowners on which particular attention was given in order to identify the different gender classes of the disadvantaged entrants. The gender composition includes transactions involving farmland acquired by disadvantaged corporate entities (e.g. companies, trusts, and communal property associations), males and females. In such cases where land was transferred to a corporate entity, a visit to the company registry revealed names of the directors that were used to categorize the entity as disadvantaged or otherwise. If corporate entity consisted of half or more directors as no white males or females, it was classified as a disadvantaged corporate entity. It should, at this stage, be noted that this categorization was done solely on the basis of names and the authors' discretion. Female owners encompass those owned solely by a female(s) or co-owned (male & female/husband and wife).

Figure 7. Distribution of farmland transactions by gender, Zimbabwe 1996-2000



Overall, the analysis showed that the largest share of land (38%) was transferred to the males with a small difference of 3% to that of the corporate. Females had the least share as illustrated by the figure.

Figure 8. Farmland transactions by owner category, Zimbabwe 1996-2000



Disaggregation of the gender dimensions on yearly basis saw males dominating all farmland transactions in 1996. In 1997, transactions between the gender categories were almost equal. From 1999 onwards most farmland transactions were registered to corporate entities.

Table 8. Distribution of disadvantaged owners by gender category and mode of land redistribution in Zimbabwe, 1996-2000

Characteristic	Male owners	Female owners or married co-owned	Corporate owners
Number of transactions	N=183	N=130	N=167
Government-assisted (%)	100	0	0
Private mortgage (%)	34.9	24.9	40.2
Private cash (%)	46.6	21.4	32.1
Private non-market (%)	28.3	58.5	13.2
All transactions (%)	38.1	27.2	34.7

The table shows the distribution by gender category and mode of payment. According to this analysis the period 1996-1998 saw the females making the least cash payments (21.6%). Most of the transactions made by the women were inheritance and donations with 32.8% mortgage

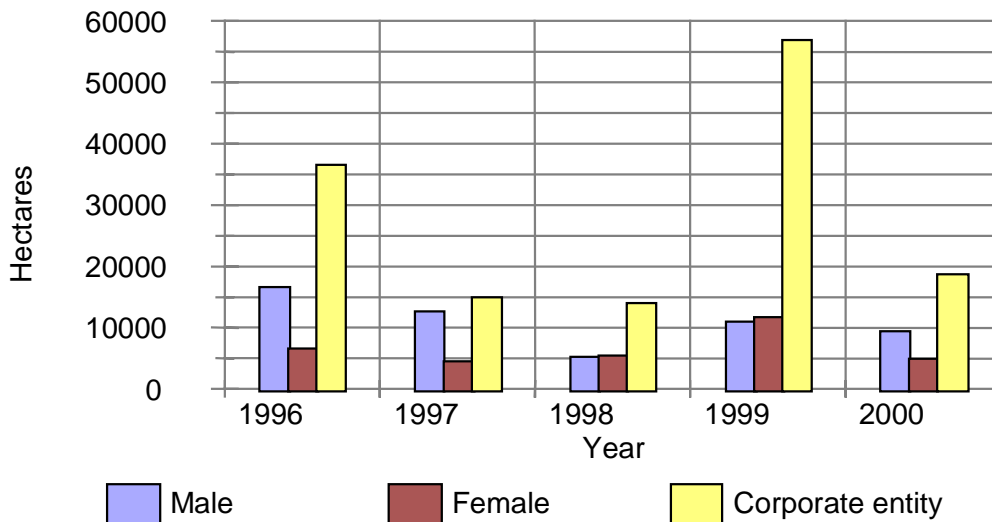
payments showing a good representation of women in that category. In transactions financed by mortgage loans women were under represented which is expected since most lenders are not willing to deal with females because they lack collateral and are perceived to be bad debtors.

Table 9 and figure 9 show a marked difference in the total area gained by disadvantaged males and females. This is further reflected in the mean area of the farms acquired by women as sole owners or married co-owners (256 hectares) which is much less than that acquired by the males (302 hectares).

Table 9. Gender specific characteristics of farms acquired by disadvantaged people in Zimbabwe, 1996-2000 (2000=100)

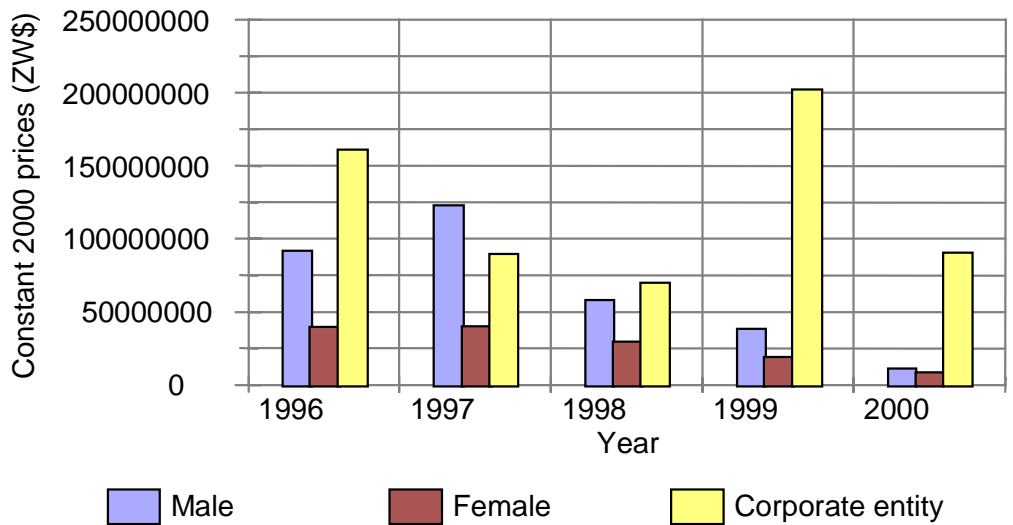
Characteristic	Male owner	Female owner	Corporate owner
Mean area of farms (ha)	302 n=182	256 n=130	849 n=166
Total area of land (ha)	54892 n=182	33238 n=130	141015 n=166
Total market value of land (ha)	322965584 n=160	137465752 n=98	612829997 n=155
Weighted land price (ZW\$/ha)	7065 n=160	6732 n=98	4585 n=154

Figure 9. Area of farmland transactions by gender, Zimbabwe 1996-2000



The total farm area acquired by the disadvantaged males throughout the survey period was much more than that acquired by the females. This trend took a different turn in 1999 were females acquired an area more of than that of their male counterparts. Although this was so, throughout the census period men acquired close to twice the total area that the females gained with the exception of 1998 and 1999 were the total area gained by both males and females was almost equal. These results could be an indication of how much little land is given or made available to women. Corporate entries had a larger proportion of the total area available for distribution accounting for more than the males and females combined.

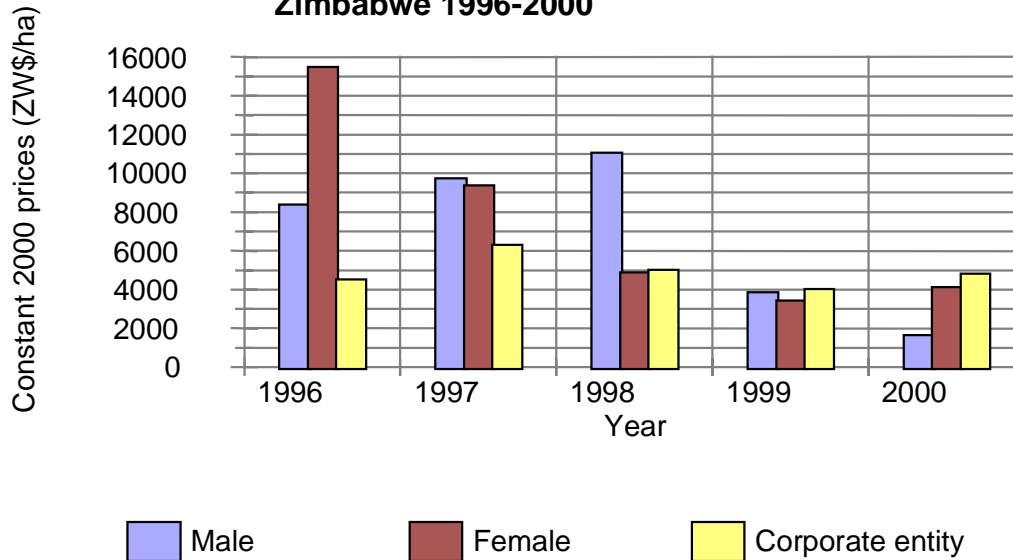
Figure 10. Market value of farmland transactions by gender, Zimbabwe, 1996-2000



The market value of land generally took a downward trend from 1996-2000 across all classes as clearly shown in figure 10. This was probably due to the reduction in number of transactions over the years. The market value for the corporate entries was the highest followed by that of males then females. 1997 was an exceptional year recording a larger market value of farmland for males than corporate entries.

It was assumed that weighted land prices would provide a more accurate indication of quality of land acquired by the different gender classes. Although the weighted land price for the disadvantaged men and women almost equalized in 1997, there was a significant difference in quality of land purchased by the males and females in 1996 and 1999. From 1998 to 2000 the weighted land price for the males decreased gradually whereas that of corporate owners remained almost constant throughout the census period, but took a sharp decline in 2000. The trends are shown in figures 11.

Figure 11. Weighted land price by gender, Zimbabwe 1996-2000



8. CONCLUSIONS AND POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

Zimbabwe farming sector still remains largely dominated by the minority white community and majority black smallholder communal areas and resettlement. When Zimbabwe attained independence in 1980, there were approximately 4660 large scale commercial farms mainly white owned occupying 11.2 million hectares of land in prime agricultural areas, whilst about 6 million black smallholder farmers occupied 16.4 million hectares.

At the onset of independence the new government initiated land redistribution programmes to redress the inequalities of the past. The government's land redistribution program was mainly centered on resettlement and was politically driven rather than market driven. By December 2000 the various farms of government centered approaches to resettlement had redistributed about 3.6 million hectares from mainly white owned large-scale commercial farms. However this extent of hectarage redistribution fell far short of the government's target as envisaged in the 1990 land policy document. In the 1990 land policy document the government sought to reduce the large-scale commercial farms from 11.2 to 5 million hectares whilst increasing resettlement areas to 8.3 million hectares.

When this study was initiated, little was known about private land transfers to the historically disadvantaged black population. The main objective of this study was to broaden the understanding of land transfers to the disadvantaged population of Zimbabwe by investigating all modes of land transfers which include government assisted, private cash, private bonds and non market (inheritance and donations) transfers. Results of the analysis of five annual census surveys of farmland transfer described in this report show that a total of 226504 hectares were acquired during the period 1996-2000 by the historically disadvantaged people in Zimbabwe. Private cash transactions accounted for 133622 hectares of this land, private land purchases (mortgage bonds and cash transactions) for 195796 hectares, private non-market for 28554

hectares and government assisted for 2154 hectares for data recorded with the Deeds Registry. This accounts for 1.5% of the total area available for redistribution. Additional data obtained from the Ministry of Lands and Agriculture show that a total of 92512 hectares were redistributed with the assistance of government during the period 1997-1999.

The annual rate of land redistribution averaged 0.3 percent during the study period. Overall the private land market is performing poorly. It cannot be disputed that the private land market has much more capacity to redistribute land to the historically disadvantaged than is presently the case. The study was very useful in identifying the reasons for the poor performance of the land market in Zimbabwe. Considering both data from the Deeds Registry and Ministry of Lands and Agriculture, private purchases redistributed more land than government assisted purchases and also farmland of much better quality (weighted farmland price of ZW \$6198 per hectare and ZW\$5130 against ZW\$ 813 and ZW\$ 3612).

The census data show that women were to some extent well represented in the set of transactions that transferred land to individual owners and married co-owners during the 1996-2000 period. The total area of land acquired directly by women as owners and married co-owners (33238 hectares) was almost 60% of the total area of land acquired by men (54892 hectares). Women also gained less land wealth through market transactions than did men an indication that women were under-represented in transactions that transferred land to corporate buyers. Corporate buyers mainly consisted of males and had the largest total area of land transferred, but of low quality compared to male and female owners.

There is evidence that women's access to mortgage finance decreased over the census period and this is a cause for concern especially with private financiers who should pay more attention to gender when awarding loans to purchase land. On the overall there is a cause for concern in the decrease in the number of farmland transactions financed by mortgage finance. At the onset of this study, private bonds financed the majority of land transfers. This decline in mortgage financing can be attributed to poor performance of the economy characterized by prohibitive interest rates hovering above 50% and the uncertainty in the land redistribution subsector (land invasions and designation for acquisition). Thus private financial institutions are reluctant to finance farmland purchases. This then calls for the government to relook at the public grant system proposed at Land Donors Conference proposed in 1998 and never took off the ground for various reasons. The government's role would only be to provide a public grant to beneficiaries at concessionary interest rates. The grant system has been very effective in South African Province of Kwazulu Natal. The grant system would be very effective within a market driven framework, with little or no government involvement in land purchases and identification.

Another policy, which can be very useful in activating the private land market, is through land taxation. The taxing of land discourages people from holding large tracts of unutilized land thus releasing land onto the market through subdivision. Land tax was recommended by the Rukuni Land Commission in 1994 and was never adopted by the policy makers. Revenue generated from the tax can be used to form a Land Fund, where people can borrow at very low interest rates, thus act as a revolving fund where people can access funds to finance land purchases.

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