

**OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES FOR SOCIO-ECONOMIC
TRANSFORMATION IN RURAL ZIMBABWE**

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ABSTRACT

The focus of the thesis is the impediments of rural development in Zimbabwe and how opportunities for socio-economic transformation can be enhanced in the current setting. The study embarks from a conceptualization of rural poverty in Zimbabwe using theoretical and empirical evidence. Poverty in rural Zimbabwe has a historical legacy of deprivation and dispossession and is concentrated in communal areas which have low resources bases with low agriculture potential due to low rainfall and poor soils. The myriad of challenges in rural Zimbabwe point to the incoherent of rural development policies which are distorting markets for inputs and produce. Thus the study sought to address the rural development policy bottlenecks and develop a policy agenda for development.

Using mixed methods approach, the study considered household economic conditions, their production practices and their vulnerability contexts in three selected districts which represent communal, old resettlement and small scale A1 and A2 areas. The household data is blended with interview data of rural development practitioners in both private and public agencies to produce comprehensive information on the impact of rural development policies. Archival research method was also used to do content reviews on government policy papers and programs so as to provide a holistic approach to analysis. Naturally mixed methods produce large volumes of data which requires thorough analysis. This was only possible through the use of analytical computer software packages for qualitative and quantitative data such as Atlas Ti and Excel spreadsheet, respectively.

The study revealed that rural households in Zimbabwe are farmers. The majority of these farmers are smallholders who are located in remote communal areas and resettlement areas. Communal farmers constitute the bulk of rural citizens and live on less than a dollar a day. They are engaged in mixed farming methods and other non-farm activities especially during off-agriculture season. Communal households basically produce staples, with a low percentage producing cotton and groundnuts. Production choices and methods are shaped by subsistence needs of households but more so by risks and vulnerability contexts which they operate in. Farmers in resettlement areas face a different set of opportunities and threats to their livelihoods as they are located in prime agricultural land. However they are still challenged with the rural development approaches of central government.

On the policy front, there is no pronounced rural development policy in Zimbabwe. The current setting has numerous pronouncements and programs which all seek to alleviate underdevelopment in Zimbabwe. These programs are replicating each other in practice and in most cases benefit the political elites and large scale commercial farmers. The multiplicity of government institutions which deal with rural development results in incremental decisions and programs which further impoverishes rural households.

The study posits a rural development policy framework which is based on a comprehensive policy agenda which takes into cognizance the production requirements of households. Such a policy needs to be inclusive to the rural households in terms of governance and programs. A rural development policy agenda and framework would require the harnessing of resources from both the government and private players in well-articulated market friendly approaches. This would stimulate high productivity,

enhance off-farm activities, raise incomes and foremost create appropriate social protection programs. Thus the potential for sustained economic growth and development in Zimbabwe lies with smallholder agriculture based rural development framework which can impact on the 67% population who live and work in rural areas.

DECLARATION

I, CEPHAS MUTAMI, hereby declare that this is my original work and all sources have been accurately reported and acknowledged, and this document has not been submitted to this or any other university in order to obtain an academic qualification.

Signature _____

Date _____

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I would like to thank the Lord Almighty God for giving me the wisdom, freedom and good health to attend to the matters of this thesis. May Your Name be praised forevermore.

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DEDICATION

To my wife Prudence, daughter Eunice Grace, son Nyashadzashe and my mother Eunice.

ACRONYMS

ZIMSTAT	Zimbabwe Statistics Agency
CSO	Central Statistics Agency
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organisation
TIMB	Tobacco Industry Marketing Board
GDP	Gross Domestic Board
ZIMVAC	Zimbabwe Vulnerability Assessment Committee
AREX	Agriculture Research and Extension Services
ANSA	Alternatives to Neo-liberalism in Southern Africa
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
UDI	Unilateral Declaration of Independence
SAPRIN	Structural Adjustment Participatory Review International Network
OECD	Organisation of Economic Cooperation and Development
GMB	Grain Marketing Board
AGRA	Alliance for Green Revolution in Africa

RNFE	Rural Non-Farm Economy
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
ARDA	Agriculture and Rural Development Authority
DA	District Administrator
ZRP	Zimbabwe Republic Police
CA	Communal Area
ASPEF	Agriculture Sector Productivity Enhancement Facility
DFID	Department of Foreign International Development
AusAID	Australian Aid
PWSAIS	Presidential Well-wishers Special Agriculture Input Scheme
ZANU PF	Zimbabwe African National Unity Patriotic Front
MDC	Movement for Democratic Change
AISP	Agriculture Input Support Programme
COTCO	Cotton Company
ZFU	Zimbabwe Farmers Union
CFU	Commercial Farmers Union
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development

DMB	Dairy Marketing Board
CSC	Cold Storage Commission
AMA	Agriculture Marketing Authority
ESAP	Economic Structural Adjustment Programme
ZIMACE	Zimbabwe Agriculture Commodity Exchange
ICT	Information, Communication Technologies
DDF	District Development Fund
CFC	Common Fund for Commodities
ZESA	Zimbabwe Electricity Supply Authority
ZISCO	Zimbabwe Steel Company
NGOs	Non-governmental organisations
PDC	Provincial Development Committee
RDDC	Rural District Development Committee
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
BEAM	Basic Education Assistance Module
ZIMTA	Zimbabwe Teachers Association

ZECT Zimbabwe Emergency Cash Transfer

MFE Missing Food Entitlement

CSOT Community Share Ownership Trust

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CHAPTER 1 THE RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROBLEM AND ITS SETTING

1.0 Introduction

The diagnosis of poverty and its prescriptions in Zimbabwe is fraught with contestations, debates and competing policy directions. The scale of poverty and underdevelopment is alarming. Over 70% of Zimbabwe's population live on less than US\$1 per day and about 67% of them is in rural areas (ZIMSTAT, 2013). It is important to note that poverty and unemployment in Zimbabwe have been on the rise since 1990, reaching a peak of 76% and 80% in 2008, respectively (World Bank, 2002a). A clear conceptualization of the development problem in Zimbabwe requires a review of the geographical, climatic, economic and historical imperatives which have continued to shape the present day economy and development conditions within the country.

Geographically Zimbabwe is land-locked country which is found in Southern Africa. The country is nearly 400 000 square meters neighbored by South Africa to the south, Zambia to the north, Botswana to the west and Mozambique to the east (Muregerera, 2003). The country has relatively high altitude with 80% of the land above altitudes of 600m but below 1500m (Muregerera, 2003). Of notable regions are the eastern highlands which have high altitudes and are generally mountainous areas. The lowvelds in the south of the country are plains which are warmer than the rest of the country. The country has a number of inland water sources including perennial rivers like Save, Zambezi, Limpopo, Mazowe, Mupfure and others which all flow into the Indian ocean passing through Mozambique. There are also man-made dams and lakes,

the largest being Lake Mutirikwi in Masvingo province, with other notable ones like Osborne dam in Manicaland, Lake Chivero near Harare and Mazowe Dam in Masholand. There are other dams which are spread throughout the country, though many are in the eastern highlands, Masvingo province and very few in the drier Matabeleland region. In terms of inland surface water sources, the country has capacity to transform into irrigation-based agriculture which has the potential to boost production.

In terms of climate, Zimbabwe has dry cold winters (April to July) and wet hot summers (October to March). According to Vincent and Thomas (1960), Zimbabwe is divided into five main agro-ecological regions or zones namely region one, two, three, four and five. These regions are a function of effective rainfall, rainfall patterns and temperatures. Agricultural production, particularly crop production tend to deteriorate from Region I to V. Annual rainfall is highest in natural region I which covers approximately 2% of the land area and receives total annual rainfall of above 1000mm. It is a specialized and diversified farming region with plantation forestry, fruit and intensive livestock production. Tea, coffee and macadamia nuts are grown in frost-free areas. Natural region 1 covers the Highveld and Eastern highlands, which are mainly in Manicaland province. Natural region II covering 15% of the land area, receives lower rainfall than region I (between 750 to 1000mm); it is nevertheless suitable for intensive farming based on crops or livestock production. Natural region III is a semi-intensive farming region covering 19% of Zimbabwe. Although rainfall in this region is moderate in total amount (between 650mm to 800mm), severe mid-season dry spells make it marginal for maize, tobacco and cotton, or for enterprises based on crop production alone. The farming systems are therefore based on both livestock (assisted by the production of

fodder crops) and cash crops. Natural region IV is a semi-extensive farming region covering about 38% of Zimbabwe. Rainfall is low (between 450 to 650mm) and periodic seasonal droughts and severe dry spells during the rainy season are common. Crop production is therefore risky except in certain very favorable localities, where limited drought resistant crops are grown as a sideline. The farming is based on livestock and drought resistant fodder crops. Natural region V is an extensive farming region covering about 27% of Zimbabwe. Rainfall in this region is too low (less than 450mm) and erratic for the reliable production of even drought resistant fodder and grain crops and farming is based on grazing natural pasture (ZimFarmer, 2011). Extensive cattle or game ranching is the only sound farming system for this region.

It is interesting to note that Zimbabwe's agricultural land-use and structure is organized around the natural ecological regions. The previous colonial settler government enacted land laws which relocated black African farmers from fertile and ecological favorable regions to regions which receive erratic and low rainfall. The Land Apportionment Act of 1930 divided the colony's land into three areas characterised by tribes: zones where white, Shona or Ndebele could own property; and zones which were held in trust for indigenous peoples on a collective basis either as "tribal trust lands" per 1965 statute and "communal areas" per 1981 statute (Tongkeh, 2008; and CSO, 2003). One effect of the apportionment was that some families were moved from land they had held for generations. The Land Apportionment Act of 1930 formed the basis for subsequent laws and continued in effect until independence. Most tribal trust lands (later communal land) were in Natural ecological regions 4 and 5 with very few communal lands located in region 3. These regions are low potential areas for both crop production and livestock

production. It is pertinent that the relocation of Africans into these areas did not take into cognizance their environmental capacities hence overcrowding and population growth further depleted the nutrient replenishing systems of the land.

Prime agricultural land is located in mainly natural regions 1 and 2, which are highly productive regions, both in terms of crop and livestock production. It is important to note that agricultural land in these regions was partitioned into a large scale commercial zone which was purely for white settlers. Commercial agriculture in pre-independence has enjoyed favorable conditions from the successive settler governments including title tenure, loan schemes to finance infrastructure and capital projects on the farms. The land structure and tenure systems continued well after independence, with whites who constituted 5% of the total farming population owning 80% of all prime land in the country (Government of Zimbabwe, 1999). This scenario was changed though in the post-2000 period when the government embarked on an accelerated land redistribution programme.

The reality of land ownership and agriculture production in pre- and post-independence era in Zimbabwe has resulted in a dual agriculture system which exhibits commercial agriculture and communal agriculture (which is mostly subsistence except in some few districts like Gokwe where cotton is the predominant crop). Currently commercial farming includes large scale and small scale farmers who are now mostly blacks who have been resettled by the government. Communal agriculture in Zimbabwe is predominantly smallholder and subsistence farmers located in poor nutrient, ecologically unfavorable regions. Large scale commercial agriculture occupies about

40% of total Zimbabwean land whereas smallholder farmers are occupying 42% with the rest being urban land (Mudzonga and Chingwanda, 2009; CSO, 2003).

Zimbabwe's land-use is predominantly agriculture with small scale farming increasing its share both in racial representation and hectareage under cultivation. This is reinforced by data on rural population and economic-wide linkages from agriculture. Though urbanization is increasing in Zimbabwe, at the rate of 3.4% per annum, rural population remains high at 62.7% of the total population (World Development Data, 2010). The Zimbabwean economy has a GDP per capita of US\$500 (CIA World Factbook, 2011) which comprises of 20.4 % agriculture, 24.6% industry and 54.9% services. If economic linkages are to be considered, the economy is primarily based on agriculture (Blunch and Verner, 1999) as 80% of the country's labour-force is in agriculture and over 40% of raw materials for industries are from agriculture (World Bank, 2010). Of all the exports, agriculture contributes about 40% through mainly flue cured tobacco.

The Zimbabwe economy clearly shows that agriculture has strong linkages with manufacturing, mining and service industry and thus poor performance of agriculture can have wide ranging effects on the whole economy (Blunch and Verner, 1999). This shows that to address the question of poverty in Zimbabwe one has to revisit the role of agriculture and the rural setting of the majority of the population. This is no easy task. It is pertinent to point out that agriculture- led growth has proponents and skeptics. Proponents for agriculture argue that the sector has the clout in terms of sufficient scale and growth-linkages to influence aggregate growth, reduce poverty (Diao et al., 2010), and promote shared growth as well as raising incomes for the majority of Africa's population (Birdsall, Ross and Sabot, 1995). This is true to Zimbabwe, as the

contribution of agriculture to the GDP rose from 4% in 1967 to about 40% in 1990 reaching a peak of 49% in 1996 before slumping to lower levels of slightly above 20% in 2009 (UNCTAD, 2009). The sector employs about 80% of the labour-force (both formal and informal) in Zimbabwe and most of these are in smallholder farming which is a way of life to most rural people. It is however important to point out agriculture's contribution both to national economy and food security has been fluctuating, reaching very lower levels in 1991-2; 2001-2 and 2007-8 agricultural seasons (UNCTAD, 2009). It is also imperative to note that besides agriculture, there are few if no viable alternative to stir growth as industry has staggered in the current decade with a 1.9% as compared to 2.5% of agriculture between 1990 and 2004 (World Bank, 2006; Wiggins, et al., 2010).

Despite the critical role of agriculture in Zimbabwe, there are policy inconsistencies which have been debilitating against the sector. Cereal production which was on the upward increase from 1961 (1.2 million metric tonnes) to about 3.4 metric tonnes in 1985 has started slumping down especially after 1996 (3.1 million metric tonnes) to less than 1million metric tonne in 2008 resulting in huge food deficit during the post 2000 period (FAO, 2010). It should be emphasized that the liberalization programme implemented by the government in 1992 resulted in many large scale farmers shifting from food crop production to cash crop due to the removal of cereal subsidies by the government. This is clearly shown by the continuous increase in tobacco output from 120 000 tonnes to as high as 224000 tonnes in 2000 (FAO, 2003). Tobacco production has continued to rise even in post land reform due to the increase in small scale farmers who have allocated commercial land (TIMB, 2011).

The decline in cereal production in Zimbabwe can be attributed to a number of reasons. First there has not been a consistent agricultural investment by the government especially for smallholder farmers who are the majority. Masters (1994) argues that government expenditure as a percentage of GDP though has been increasing until 1985 (at about 50%) has declined to as low as 6% by 1994. This scenario has continued to happen in the post 2000 era where the economic recession and inflation decapacitated the government to bankroll agriculture projects especially the poor smallholder farmers. Also the land reform disrupted farming operations and the majority of the small scale farmers who were resettled were not supported by inputs, technologies and irrigation schemes to enhance production. Besides infrastructure investments in farming communities in Zimbabwe were always in large scale commercial sector which until 1988 were administered by rich and white Rural Councils whereas in communal areas it was the Rural District councils which continued to reflect the colonial legacy of poverty. For example in 1990 road density was 20.3 km per 1000 persons in large scale commercial farming areas as compared to 4.9 km per 1000 persons in communal areas (Masters, 1994:61). This is despite the fact that roads are vital links for input supply and produce marketing. Besides there has never been a concerted effort to boost fertilizer use by smallholder communal farmers in Zimbabwe with for example maize crop area always higher than required fertilizer applied. In these communal areas reports are high that certified hybrid seeds continue to be the privilege of the rich farmers only further reducing yields of staples.

In a nutshell, the dualistic agricultural sector in Zimbabwe though with a potential to contribute substantively to the development of the country is underfunded and exhibits

two nostrums of poverty (smallholder farmers and affluence large scale commercial farmers). The environment of communal smallholder farmers is characterized by poor soils, overcrowding, poor infrastructure, low investments in infrastructure and technologies and low productivity; this requires a rethink of smallholder agricultural policy to impact on the majority of Zimbabwe and create conditions for sustainable development. It should be stressed that without a relook of agricultural policies particularly on smallholder subsistence agriculture, development in rural Zimbabwe is a pipedream and if it happens accidentally in the urban areas may bypass the majority and the poor, (World Bank, 2007). Resolving the productive crunch in agriculture and enhancing the smallholder farmers goes a long way in addressing the deprivations of the majority as well as the historical agrarian question in Zimbabwe.

1.1 Statement of the Problem

The study seeks to impact on agriculture and rural development transformative implementation matrix for Zimbabwe to redress a myriad of socio-economic challenges of rural areas. Customizing the agriculture for development agenda of the World Bank (2007) requires a holistic homegrown policy implementation framework which answers to the dynamics of a developing country like Zimbabwe which resonates with the political economy which is fluid and in a development ideological dilemma. Harnessing the commitment of the state to champion the development needs of the majority of its citizens implies creating opportunities of technological innovations which are geared for rural smallholders, who are often peasant subsistence farmers and an enabling policy

framework for socio-economic opportunities in rural areas is the hallmark for sustainable development.

In Zimbabwe the rural development problem is further compounded by a weak, unstable state which has failed to articulate cohesive, local based rural development policies which can arrest the anarchy of poverty, food insecurity and unemployment especially in rural areas where 67% of the population lives (ZIMSTAT, 2013). Rural development policies have remained elusive, fragmented, uncoordinated and devoid of grassroots input. Though the Zimbabwean state has undertaken land reforms to impact on the farm structures and tenure systems of the colonial legacies, the programme needs further interrogation on how it can impact on agriculture productivity especially on redistributive agriculture growth which can impact widely on poverty and the post-2000 persistent food shortages. The biases of the state towards large scale A2 farmers for supportive policies have sharply increased the pervasiveness of poverty in rural communal areas whose inhabitants are subsistence multi-occupational farmers. Governmental agricultural programs like the Farm Mechanization programme, Presidential Input Scheme, Government Input Schemes have all been hijacked by powerful politicians and senior bureaucrats at the expense of smallholder farmers who make up the majority of the farmers. It is imperative to note that small scale farming is a way of life in Zimbabwe and undermining their viability perpetuates poverty and food insecurity.

Currently rural development in Zimbabwe is in a state of crisis. The World Food Programme (WFP) estimates that over 70% of Zimbabwe's population who live in rural areas have food shortages and are in need of food aid, while the Zimbabwe Vulnerability Assessment Committee (ZIMVAC) estimates that rural harvests are 50%

less than the national grain target (2009). This entails a state unable to feed itself due to a cocktail of discordant policies which are not broad based hence excluding smallholder farmers. In fact the focus on championing the needs of the urban population and elite business enterprise has relegated the plight of the majority to the dustbins of poverty and underdevelopment. The guiding development ideology of the Zimbabwean government appears to be divergent to the current development thinking of opening opportunities for employment, food security and rural development. Most government support to farmers like the land reform, farm mechanization and input schemes are mostly targeted to large scale A2 farmers even against growing evidence from government institutions like Agricultural Research and Extension (AREX) that small scale, communal farmers are capable of supplying 60% of the national cereal need.

The state ought to enhance its role to small scale farmers in rural development, especially if poverty escape pathways for present and future generations are to be sustained. It is crucial to appraise the development role of the state, and its ability to execute supportive policies for agriculture so as to enhance the developmental benefits to rural people. The state should allow the creation of wider transformative rural economies which are vital in stimulating local economic growth and poverty reduction in rural areas. It is in this regard, that the study seeks to probe how to bring about adequate, equitable and sustainable rate of economic and social transformations, food security and create the basis for all Zimbabwe's citizens to provide a better life for all. Rural development in Zimbabwe has the potential for equitable distribution of wealth as well as providing a platform for long-lasting poverty alleviation programme. Rural and agricultural development has the potential to equitably distribute benefits of economic

growth, which is fundamental for the global and local reduction of poverty and hunger. Numerous studies have provided evidence that the impact of economic growth on reducing hunger and poverty depends as much on the nature of the growth (e.g. industrial or rural economy based) as on its scale and speed (FAO, 2006; Wiggins, et al., 2010; Diao, et al., 2010; Rahim, 2011). In India economic growth in rural areas and in the agriculture sector has had a much greater impact on reducing poverty than did urban and industrial growth (World Bank, 2007). Other studies that analysed the relationship between growth and reduction in hunger revealed a similar pattern (FAO, 2006). Thus economic growth in the agricultural and rural sector has a much greater impact in reducing poverty and hunger than do urban and industrial growth.

There is growing evidence that rural-urban migration is increasing in Zimbabwe due to the lack of investments (both private and public) which has led to a crumbling socio-economic infrastructure. This is pushing young people into cities where they face new challenges of unemployment, food insecurity and poor housing. This scenario can only be reversed through a revitalised rural development policy which improves smallholder agriculture through technological innovations in seeds, fertilisers and infrastructure to enhance productivity.

1.2 Objectives of the Study

The aim of the study is to come up with a rural development policy implementation agenda which improves market access of smallholder farmers, enhances their competitiveness, improves their subsistence livelihoods and enhances skills development for increased employment opportunities. Such a holistic approach needs

to appraise the ability of the state to transform itself into an active state with an interventionist policy agenda for the express benefit of the majority.

The principal objective of the study is to assess the rural development policy setting in Zimbabwe and how it can be adapted to fight poverty, unemployment and food insecurity. The pervasive poverty in rural Zimbabwe requires an elaborate policy implementation matrix which understands the current policy inconsistencies and the fluidity of the Zimbabwean political economy.

The study also seeks to appraise the conditions of smallholder farmers in relation to market accessibility, competitiveness of their production systems, and the welfare of their subsistence agriculture particularly how opportunities for socio-economic transformations on their human conditions can be mainstreamed in the current dispensation.

The study posits to examine the rural labour market in relation to the current development of an agricultural transformative agenda in Zimbabwe. Stagnant rural economies and low skilled rural population groups in Zimbabwe are threatening the fabric of peaceful stable communities which are vital for sustainable development. The scourge of political violence in rural Zimbabwe is being fueled by these restive youthful groups in the polarized political environment. Developing a rural development implementation policy matrix is therefore crucial to the lasting peace and development of rural communities in Zimbabwe.

The study objectively seeks to redefine the role of the state in bringing adequate rural socio-economic transformation, food security and sustainable development in an

increasingly globalised socio-economic environment. Making the role of the state right is sometimes difficult and elusive especially in developing countries like Zimbabwe where the state ideology is poorly defined and the propensity of the state to rush for populist policies which can later negatively impact on the poor is high (Dorward, et al., 2004; Gabre-Madhin and Haggblade, 2004) This calls for a clear conceptual framework on the role of the state in development and a critical analysis of the ingredients of the 'developmental state' (Fritz and Rocha, 2007). Current thinking about the developmental state has been strongly shaped by research into the experiences of the East Asian tigers. Although there is some disagreement in literature regarding the core set of policies that enabled the original Asian tigers (and now others) to achieve high levels of development and economic growth, there is general consensus about the essential features that characterized these successful developmental states (Fritz and Rocha, 2007). Essentially for developmental states, a strong core of state institutions with the capacity to promote economic growth without being 'captured' by particularistic interests is regarded as having been essential. In Zimbabwe reconciling the elitist interest of the state and that of rural masses requires a new political ideology which is shaped by the aspirations of the majority rural people. This is what Evans (1995) has called 'embedded autonomy'. The developmental state establishes its autonomy through the creation of a rationalized (core) bureaucracy characterized by meritocracy and long-term career outlooks. These traits make civil servants more professional and more detached from powerful rent-seeking groups attempting to influence them. At the same time, the state cannot be too insulated from society because it would then run the risk of becoming self-serving rather than responsive to the demands and needs for

further development. Thus, it must also be embedded in society, that is, should relate to a concrete set of social ties that bind the state to society and provide institutionalized channels for the continual negotiation and renegotiation of goals and policies' (Evans, 1995)

1.3 Theoretical Overview

The study utilizes a conceptual framework which incorporates the rural development theories and theories of the state as a development agency. It is essential to combine these two frameworks as both seem to champion the needs of the rural poor and increase the welfare of their subsistence lives. With an active state agriculture and rural development would be fraught with implementation difficulties that can only be addressed by the central involvement of the state (Todaro and Smith, 2012; Diao, et al., 2010; Wiggins, et al., 2010; Rahim, 2011).

Poverty is a multidimensional and elusive concept. The definition of poverty is influenced by disciplinary influenced by different disciplinary approaches and ideologies. The dominant Western definition since World War II has defined poverty in monetary terms, using levels of income or consumption to measure poverty (Grusky and Kanbur, 2006:11) and defining the poor by a headcount of those who fall below a given income/consumption level or 'poverty line' (Lipton and Ravallion, 1993:1).

The economic definition of poverty has been augmented by other approaches that define poverty in a more multidimensional way (Subramanian, 1997:35). These approaches include the basic needs approach (Streeton et al., 1981), the capabilities approach (Sen, 1999) and the human development approach (UNDP, 1990). Their

acceptance is reflected in the widespread use of the United Nations Development Programme's (UNDP) Human Development Index (HDI), which is a composite measure of three dimensions of human development: (i) life expectancy, (ii) educational attainment and (iii) standard of living, measured by income in terms of its purchasing power parity (UNDP, 2006: 263). It is also reflected in the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development's (OECD) conceptualisation of multidimensional poverty, defined as interlinked forms of deprivation in the economic, human, political, socio-cultural and protective spheres (OECD, 2006).

In this study, poverty is also defined by a sense of helplessness, dependence and lack of opportunities, self-confidence and self-respect on the part of the poor. Indeed, the poor themselves see powerlessness and voicelessness as key aspects of their poverty (Narayan et al., 2000). Further, the acknowledgement of the multidimensionality of poverty is reflected in the range of both quantitative and qualitative methodological approaches adopted to conceptualise and measure poverty. Thus the multidimensional nature of poverty requires reduction approaches which are able to impact on the social, cultural, physical and economic aspects of poverty.

The causes of poverty and underdevelopment are varied. According to Marxism (conflict structuralism) theories poverty is attributed to the existence of class divisions in society (Dercon, 2005). Poverty helps to maintain the domination of the bourgeoisie; it serves the interest of this wealth owning class. The concept of a culture of poverty as advocated by American anthropologist, Oscar Lewis, can also cause poverty. The culture of poverty constitutes a "design for living" that is passed on from generation to the next. Individuals feel marginalized, helpless and inferior, and adopt an attitude of

living for the present. According to Lewis the culture of poverty perpetuates poverty: It “tends to perpetuate itself from generation to generation because of its effect on children.

The quest to impact on poverty, food insecurity and unemployment in rural Zimbabwe makes it imperative for the study to conceptually utilize the entitlement approach (Sen, 1981). The entitlement approach is appealing for it holistically addresses the critical issues which rural households face by focusing on what entitlement bundles they own

and at their disposal for them to earn a living. Sen (1984:497) views entitlement as a set of alternative commodity bundles that a person can command in a society using the totality of rights and opportunities which they face. Also Devereux (2001) expounds this view by positing entitlement as a, “system of beliefs, created in political practice about who ought to get what under what circumstances,... and the embodiment of those beliefs in legal and economic process”. The nuts and bolts of the entitlement approach are crucial to the analysis of rural poverty, food insecurity and unemployment because they provide the necessary policy thrusts and context settings for rural development. The entitlement approach allows the conceptualization of a household’s ability to command food, how household assets determine ways of constructing effective frontiers for poverty alleviation. Entitlement analysis help in understanding the exchange possibilities which are offered to households and what is given for free as well as what is taken away from them. The approach would further allow the conceptualizations of rural development issues and the role of the state as a development agency. Without an active state, agriculture and rural development would be fraught with implementation

difficulties that can only be addressed by the central involvement of the state (Todaro and Smith, 2012).

1.4 Significance of the Study

The demographic realities of developing countries like Zimbabwe where the majority of the poor are living and working in the rural areas makes it imperative to search for new ideas and ways of bringing positive change and development. This requires intensive comprehension of the current state, operational environment and the opportunities in the broader rural economy for sustainable rural development. This is not only significant in providing a holistic framework of the role of the state in rural development but provides the necessary ground for establishing sound and distributive rural development policies which are sensitive to the poor people's livelihoods. Taking stock of the ailing and fragmented rural development policies in Zimbabwe would enhance future policy direction and allow international donor agencies to contribute to the development of the poor. Devising clear and concise rural development interventions anchored in providing opportunities, empowerment and social security rural livelihoods would be the basis for the creation of robust and innovative communities which are capable of combating poverty.

The study would be important for the state to better articulate its roles in policy issues as well as in development. Since independence the Zimbabwean state has always stated its objective of meeting the needs of the people. This state intent would be enhanced by a clear objective analysis of rural development. Thus by articulating the ideological role of a developmental state, the study provides the necessary guides for

rural development institutions in Zimbabwe in their operations. By clearly taking stock of the various uncoordinated policy efforts in Zimbabwe, the government may visualize the effective role of rural institutions and embark on a reform process which champions food security, employment and development.

Most importantly, the study provides a holistic approach to customize the current development thinking in the wider international community. This is important to direct development aid to the poorest in projects and programs which have the potential to uplift millions of Zimbabweans from poverty. A clear approach on stimulating rural economies may entice donors and solicit government funds for the socio-economic transformative agenda in Zimbabwe.

1.4 Research Methodology

A detailed anatomy of the research methodology is discussed in Chapter 3 of the study. The study uses both the triangulation research method in both data collection and analysis. These methods are the primary sources for information. The mixed methodology is critical for cross-checking data on documents and from interviews. Rural development and underdevelopment require a rigorous interrogation of stylized theories, facts and hard economic data in official and non-official documentary sources in order to fully articulate the role of agriculture and rural development in the socio-economic transformation of the poor. The study also utilizes archival research (particularly classified and non-classified documents of both the state and non-state development agencies) in probing state interventions in rural development. The analysis of the current and the envisaged role of the state in creating conducive environment for

rural opportunities, empowerment and vibrant rural economies requires evidence from rural communities on key developmental challenges which require interventions.

The study utilises the household as the basic unit of observation, analysis and source of information. Ellis (1998) defines a household as a social group which resides in the same place, shares the same meal, and makes joint or coordinated decisions over resource allocation and income pooling. This definition accommodates most of the households in the researched districts. The household head (HH) will be the respondent for the selected households. Village heads were also interviewed to verify household data and look for trends and triangulation in the study. Government officials in agricultural and socio-economic line ministries were also interviewed especially on rural development projects and policies of the state. Unstructured interviews will be the basis of data collection but also questionnaires were administered to get critical and statistical data. Overall the study depended on the qualitative approach to research and borrow some few techniques from the quantitative approach in analyzing and quantifying the impacts and effectiveness of rural projects..

The study used primary data sources from questionnaires and archival sources of information in gathering information on the efficacy of an agriculture-led rural development. The study also used both structured questionnaires and unstructured interviews to collect information. Structured questionnaires were administered to household heads (HH). These have limited open ended questions as their main use in the study to gather basic household characteristics and assets. Unstructured interviews were used to gather detailed data on policy issues which are key for a vibrant rural economy. The study used all households in each of the three selected districts as the

sample frame. The responding households were selected from a pool of sampled villages. Interviewees for unstructured interviews were selected using the purposive sampling method with the job position of relevant ministries determining whether the questions to be asked are policy or operational related to rural development. A detailed methodology approach will be dealt with in Chapter 3 of this study.

1.5 Delimitation of the Study

Due to time and resource constraints, the study focused only in three selected rural districts of Zimbabwe namely, Mudzi, Gokwe and Makoni which are all communal areas in natural ecological regions 3 and 4 except Makoni DC district which is in region 2 . The historical legacy of colonization where most rural populations were located in semi-arid to arid communal areas is evident to Zimbabwe and to these districts. This work only investigates the possibility of an implementation matrix for agriculture based intervention for rural development in the districts mentioned. The study does only consider agricultural and rural development policies (as many other social, political and economic policies may have an impact) that have a significant impact on food security and human welfare conditions of the rural areas under study. The study does not consider the whole totality of rural districts in Zimbabwe but rely on a representative sample of three districts areas and use key informants in rural development institutions. In light of the above the study is limited by its focus in 3 areas and may result in the results and conclusions being less significant in other countries. The use of representative sample also brings biases which may impact the reliability of the conclusions of the study. However the study can be useful starting point for future research on the impact of

agriculture based interventions in poverty alleviation and rural development in Zimbabwe. The study, because of its reliance on a specific context for rural development, may create avenues of developing planning paradigms which reflect the people's participation, employment creation and food security. This can be of use to poverty intervention projects and programmes as it can provide the basis for a framework for development planning and aid.

1.6 Ethical Considerations Guidelines

Research in the social sciences and development sectors should be guided by sound ethics for them to be effective and solicit true evidence for analysis. Ethical considerations in research are important as they provide the basis of fair, transparent and honest research output. Ethical research practice is influenced by funding and funders of the research, power relations of the sponsors and researcher, the researcher and the researched to power relationships within the culture of the research setting and between classes and clans (Brydon, 2006:26). Thus according to Brydon (2006:28) the development researcher, "should in addition be mindful of the standard twin goals of validity and reliability, be context sensitive, honest and up front about his/her interests and how they affect the research and the kinds of relationship she/he has with the members of the researched community".

Ethical issues were also central to the study, as they have the potential to disrupt, stop or even falsify the research. The study uses districts as units of research and analysis as the size and number of potential respondents is large and respondents' identities and locations remain anonymous to safeguard them especially in a political politicized

environment of Zimbabwe. Apart from adopting standard behavior practices, the study also emphasized a number of issues especially during data collection. Foremost, all the respondents, government authorities and community members were given explanations on the purpose, nature, and manner of the research (including a sample of questionnaires and questions for the structured interviews). The right to anonymity was also explained to respondents and this was very effective in unlocking responses in Zimbabwe. This was also necessitated by the fact that readership of the dissertation may be varied from community members to politicians, policy makers and academics, so anonymity was crucial. The researcher also made various visits to the study area for acclimatization to the various power relations, structure, politics prevailing in the region and community so as to define neutrality and unbiased.

The study was carried out in an open manner with all necessary permissions obtained before interviews were conducted in order to create rapport with respondents. Issues of rapport, trust and transparency were also imparted and emphasized to the research assistants. All participants were treated fairly and all introductions done according to local customs and values. Responses were recorded by writing down them on paper in open view of the respondents. The study prioritized explanations to the likely changes the community as a result of the study. However no promises were made concerning more government or external aid. It was also explained to the respondents that the study was for academic purposes and that the dissertation will be University of Fort Hare property. However efforts to submit copies to government authorities and the donor community of rural districts will be done. Above all the study cherished and

reinforced the issue of informed consent to be researched and framed based on the ethical guidelines of the University of Fort Hare.

1.7 Chapter Overview

The study is organized into six chapters, with Chapter 1 principally providing a contextual background on the problem and study. The chapter provides an expository of the current problem of food security, poverty, unemployment and stagnating rural economies in Zimbabwe. The current interest in agriculture and rural development by leading development agencies provides the basis of the study objectives, significance and impact to rural Zimbabwe. An overview of the conceptual framework for the study and the methodology is also provided in the first chapter. Chapter 2 deals with the conceptual framework of the study where the capability approach and theories of rural development are analyzed in relation to Zimbabwe. Chapter 3 posits the methodology which the study employed to investigate the underdevelopment problem highlighting the mixed methods approach as the cardinal research method. The archival research method is also discussed as it provided valuable insights to the research problem. Chapter 4 and 5 provide detailed data presentation and discussions on the research findings. Chapter 6 gives a summary and conclusion of the whole study. Recommendations are premised on the research objectives and geared towards impacting on the problem statement. Thus the chapter provides the details for a customized rural development implementation matrix for smallholder farmers in communal areas of Zimbabwe who have the potential to spur rural economic growth and reduce poverty.

1.8 Conclusion

The African development problem is inherently rural, due to the fact that the majority of the people lives and ekes a living in rural areas. These rural people are not only rural but smallholder agriculturalist that are poor and usually on the receiving end of development policy both nationally and globally. This is particularly true to Zimbabwe where over 62% of the populations are rural farmers. Developing a vibrant agriculture based economy is in the best interest of rural Zimbabweans, but also for the wider economy, that is if the backward and forward linkages which exist in the national economy are considered. The study posits that the battle on poverty will be won or lost in the rural areas. Winning the fight against poverty, food insecurity and unemployment requires a holistic, integrative policy which places the state as a central player in championing agriculture-led growth. The contribution of smallholder, staple food agriculture and the ancillary RNFE cannot be overemphasized.

CHAPTER 2 A CRITICAL APPRAISAL OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN ZIMBABWE

2.0 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to develop conceptual and theoretical frameworks for rural development which would be used to understand the poverty and underdevelopment challenges in Zimbabwe. The tentative framework developed in this section relies on theories and empirical works for addressing poverty, food insecurity and unemployment in Zimbabwe. In the foregoing discussion exploration would be made on the concepts of rural areas, rurality and rural economy which are intractably linked to spatial settings in Zimbabwe. This is critical so as to understand the existential human conditions in rural Zimbabwe.

The section further delves into entitlement approach as a theoretical framework for understanding rural development challenges. Sen's entitlement approach is used to understand the lack of availability of appropriate rights and entitlements which would allow appropriate development pathways to rural households. The reliance on the entitlement approach here is natural since it ensures the analysis and conceptualization of household livelihoods in holistic ways particularly with regards to constraints to their development.

Further, the chapter looks at the nature and character of rural communities and their economies, relying mostly on empirical studies on food security, employment and

improved human conditions. The rural economy in Zimbabwe is a sub-component of the dual economy. The rural economy has minimalist interactions with the urban industrial economy, making any developmental gain in urban areas peripheral. The geography of rural Zimbabwe, particularly the communal areas which are characterized by arid and semi-arid conditions creating a set of risks and vulnerability contexts which rural households try to cope and adapt through smallholder agriculture and livelihoods diversification. It is argued here that broad based development in Zimbabwe would only be achievable if the focus of development efforts addresses these risks and vulnerabilities, champion smallholder agriculture and the diversified off-farm activities of rural communities.

The chapter ends by proposing a state driven approach for rural development. Such an approach requires a clear analysis of the role of institutions (including the state) in opening opportunities, security and developing viable rural development institutions which can champion the needs of the voiceless. The state would need to be pro-active in creating development conditions in rural areas. The starting point would naturally be on developing an appropriate policy which coordinates rural development efforts. This should be followed by carefully designed market friendly interventions which address the production and marketing requirements of rural households who are predominantly farmers.

2.1 Rurality and the Rural Economy in Zimbabwe

In literature, the concept of rural is marred in a cloud of mists mainly due to different geographical locations of theorists and their experiences with rural areas. Rural areas

can be defined in terms of their functionality, territoriality, social constructions (Cloke, 2006:21). Gopaul (2006:2) further defines rural areas in qualitative and quantitative terms. Defining rural areas is not only important on rural research but also on policy interventions as argued by Wiggins and Proctor (2001:435) who categorized rural areas as peri-urban zones, the middle countryside and remote rural areas.

Cloke (2006:20) defines rural areas as composed of functional activities such as agriculture, forestry and landscapes. In this definition he alludes to three key elements which define the concept of functional rural areas namely:

- “areas which are dominated (either currently or recently) by extensive land uses chiefly among them agriculture and forestry;
- contain small, lower order settlements which demonstrate a strong relationship between buildings and extensive landscapes and which are thought of as rural by most of their residents; and
- areas that engender a way of life which is characterized by a cohesive identity based on respect of the environment and behavioral qualities of living as part of an extensive landscape” (Cloke, 2006:20).

However defining rural areas using functional areas appear to produce rural-urban continuums due to the sliding scale of differences between rural areas and urban metro poles. The rise of globalization phenomenon has given credence to political-economic conceptualization of rural areas. This view takes note of the socio-economic activities taking place in rural areas and is a direct result of global forces and interactions happening on the international level (Cloke, 2006:20). Rural life and activities have

increasingly been influenced by global trade and political activities which leave them deeply entrenched in urban environments and economy.

Rural areas can also be conceived in terms of the social constructs of rurality. According to Cloke (2006:21), rural areas, as social constructs, “lie in the fascinating world of social, cultural and moral values which are intrinsically linked to rurality, rural spaces and rural life”. This view is supported by Gopaul (2006) who claims that rural people know that they live in rural settings characterized by community hood and social relationships.

According to Gopaul (2006:1), rural areas can also be defined qualitatively and quantitatively. Qualitative definitions of rural areas tend to look at the rural quality of life, its demography, smallness and dullness. Conway (1997:135) upholds this view by describing rural areas as low potential areas where the majority of the population are poor and live in poorly resourced areas which highly heterogeneous, and risk prone areas. This approach may fail to capture the dynamics of social and economic life in rural areas especially due to the improvements of communication and transport services. Quantitative rural definitions emphasize population of areas. These quantitative approaches seek to define rural areas by positing population sizes which form towns and cities, which in the case of Zimbabwe are 2500 people (Government of Zimbabwe, 1987; 1996). Localities which do not have population numbers of 2500 are then qualified as rural. This kind of definition has challenges to high density rural areas or areas where involuntary dwellings have taken place.

Wiggins and Proctor (2001:427) provide a more workable definition of rural areas, by considering the socio-economic and physical characteristics of rural areas and rural conditions. In this approach Wiggins and Proctor (2006) used resource endowments in rural areas to categorize rural areas as peri-urban zones, the middle countryside and the remote rural areas (see Table 2.1).

The categorisation of rural areas shown on Table 2.1 by Wiggins and Proctor (2001:433) has extensive application to Zimbabwe. Peri-urban rural areas with good natural resources include Goromonzi Rural District, Mazowe District and Shamwa Districts. The proximity of these districts to Harare provides horticultural, dairy and vegetable production opportunities particularly for the sprawling urban market. These districts have fertile clay loam soils which are suitable for crop production. Poor resources rural areas which are peri-urban include Seke Rural and Chihota District which are close to Harare but are characterised by infertile soils and land degradation. These districts however rely on migration to Harare and vegetable production which they sell to the dormitory town of Chitungwiza.

Wiggins and Proctor (2001)'s middle countryside have also similarities to Zimbabwe's old resettlement areas such as Makoni resettlement area in Mashonaland East and Nyamandlovu in Matebeleland South. Both areas have extensive agriculture in form of mixed crop and livestock production. Makoni District would however fit well with the good resources category while Nyamandlovu District would be in the low resource categories.

Table 2.1: Rural Diversity: a Characterisation, with Most Likely Activities

	Peri-Urban Areas	The Middle countryside	Remote rural areas
Good natural resources	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Market gardening & dairying -Daily commuting to the city - Manufacturing industry may 'deconcentrate' from city proper into this space 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Arable farming & livestock production, specialised, with capital investment, producing surpluses for the market [Same for forestry, fishing, mining, quarrying] -Tourism & recreation -Some crafts -By-employment in rural industry? -Migration 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Subsistence farming, with only the production of surpluses of high value items that can bear transport costs Crafts & services for local markets Tourism & recreation Migration
Poor natural resources	<p>As above:</p> <p>NB: Quality of natural resources not so important since capital can be used to augment poor land – e.g. by irrigation, fertiliser – when needed for intensive farming</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Probably lightly settled Extensive farming, probably livestock. Few jobs Tourism & recreation Some crafts Migration 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Subsistence farming, low productivity. Surpluses very small or nil Crafts & services for local markets Tourism & recreation Migration

Source: Wiggins and Proctor, (2001:433).

Remote areas are probably occupying the largest area in percentage share (47%) of agriculture land as they accommodate the majority of communal areas (ZIMSTAT, 2013:14). The location of communal areas was the architect of the colonial government which pushed indigenous populations away from cities into regions with low resources in terms of rainfall. Such remote areas include Mudzi, Mutoko, Uzumba, Mt Darwin and many other communal rural districts of Zimbabwe. Thus Wiggins and Proctor's rural categories (2001) provide the basis for conceptualising the rural economy in Zimbabwe.

In Zimbabwe the rural economy is an integral and important part of the national economy. It is intricately inter-linked with the urban economy in production and consumption both through market and non-market channels (Jackson and Collier, 1988; Chiripanhura, 2008). The rural economic sector has 67% of Zimbabwean population and is viewed by economists as less productive than the urban sector (ZIMSTAT, 2013:1). In fact, African economies are segmented and dualistic with an urban (formal) sector existing in juxtaposition to a vast and largely subsistence rural sector (Mhone, 2000; ANSA, 2006). The dualism of the national economy pervades the commodity markets where the urban market is advanced with high product quality interlinked with national and interregional supply chain systems. Rural-urban linkages are dominated by the urban sector which is afforded low food prices through deliberate price controls for rural agriculture commodities. However the staggering of industrial growth and in some cases de-industrialisation mean that Sub-Saharan African economies have become volatile and unsustainable. The agriculture sector has numerous problems of interlocking markets and low productivity due to its subsistence nature and inadequate support from the governments (Todaro and Smith, 2012:434). Lack of high price

markets and infrastructure has left rural agriculture in sub-Saharan Africa in a vicious cycle of poverty and underdevelopment.

The structure of rural economy in Zimbabwe comprises of agriculture as the mainstay economic sector employing about 80% of the total labour force (Ministry of Agriculture, 2010). Apart from agriculture, the rural economy has rural extractive industries like crafting, alluvial mining, brick making and other off-farm activities. The rural agricultural sector comprises of communal and resettlement areas with different farming practices, with the former having subsistence farming as the core and the later commercial farming. Both communal and commercial agriculture practise mixed farming methods except for large scale commercial farming areas. The communal rural economy is heavily diversified in terms of mixed farming and non-farm rural activities while the resettlement area economy monoculture for large scale farms and mixed farming for small scale farms. Thus the nature of rural areas in Zimbabwe requires a conceptual framework which can capture the diversity of the rural economy while providing avenues for improvements in socio-economic and human conditions. Rural development provides such a holistic and adaptive concept to analyse the poverty and rural activities particularly within the framework for stimulating broad and diversified growth for the poor.

2.2 A Conceptual Framework for Rural Development

The concept of rural development is defined as actions and strategies of improving the economic and social conditions of people living in rural areas (World Bank, 2007). Rural development is a comprehensive strategy which seeks to address rural problems such

as poverty, unemployment, food insecurity and many other social challenges of rural areas. The overarching goal of rural development is fighting poverty through the provision of opportunities for development such as agriculture and non-farm rural economy activities which would allow sustainable livelihoods. Meeting the needs of diversified livelihoods in rural areas through the concept of rural development allows for comprehensive policy response to rural problems. The pervasiveness of poverty in rural Zimbabwe requires a conceptual framework which allows the development of intervention strategies by the state. Rural development as a conceptual framework allows deeper understanding of the rationale of efforts to alleviate poverty and their impact on the welfare and rights of households.

Under the rural development concept, the study uses Sen's entitlement approach to contextualise conditions in rural areas and actions and ways to alleviate poverty (1981). Entitlement denotes a set of different alternative commodity bundles that a person can acquire through the use of the various networks of relationships that are influenced by a variety of social, political and legal factors open to someone in this position (Sen, 1990: 23). Sen's entitlement approach allows the understanding of substantive entitlements and development issues in a multi-dimensional and pluralistic manner.

The study further adapts the entitlement approach to a rights based entitlement to socio-economic rights of rural citizens as the theoretical framework. Though Sen (1981) looked at entitlements during famines, the study extends this concept to the inclusion of rights of smallholder farmers in Zimbabwe. Rural people have social, legal, economic, cultural, political and environmental rights. They also have development rights meaning development should also be afforded to it. The state has an obligation to ensure that

these rights are enjoyed by its citizens through the creation of conducive development policy and food security.

The right based approach to rural development is critical, as it elucidates issues like food security in terms of unalienable rights of rural people. The entitlement approach helps in analysing the opportunities for smallholder agriculture growth and rural transformations. In this regard an entitlement can also be considered as a right to various developmental needs shaped by the policy framework in a country. Though the entitlement approach (Sen, 1981, 1984, 1986 and 1990) is predominantly a famine analysis framework, its generality and applicability in the field of poverty and social policy means its adaptation to rural development is of immense value. It is important to note that rural development is a composite of food security, employment, social and economic issues which are basically the same human conditions issues which preoccupied Sen (1981). A rights based entitlement approach does not only explain the social processes and dynamics of rural communities, but also provides a very integral way of looking at the opportunity bundles available to rural people. Perhaps the failure of earlier rural development efforts in Africa is their failure to look at the socio-political contexts in which rural people construct their livelihoods. Moreover with the rights-based entitlement approach one has the liberty to use an individual person, group or a community as the unit of analysis which is of great significance in rural analysis.

Sen's entitlement approach is built upon the endowment set, entitlement mapping and entitlement set of an individual (Sen, 1981; Murugan, 2003, Osmani, 1995). The endowment set is defined as the combination of all resources legally owned by a person (Osmani, 1995). In this study the composite rights of rural citizens are viewed as an

endowment set of rights. In the context of rural development, resources may mean tangibles such as land and equipment and intangibles such as skills, knowledge and social networks which are disposable to a household. Of course the utilisation of resources is subject to norms, culture, rules and laws governing their extraction and use. This is important for rural poverty reduction, as resources may be available but with limits on utilisation based on race, gender, caste or political practice. Thus the state ought to provide and secure an appropriate rights mixes and guarantees for rural people.

Central to the rights-based entitlement approach is entitlement mapping, such that the relationship between the endowment set on the one hand and the entitlement set on the other. Entitlement mapping entails the rates at which resources of the endowment set can be converted into goods and services included in the entitlement set (Kuklys and Robeyns, 2004; Osmani, 1995). Entitlement mapping basically includes three aspects of production, exchange and transfer components. In rural development understanding entitlement mapping provides a holistic analytical framework for efficient production systems, trade markets and state welfare system. The critical role of the state in safeguarding, promoting and capacitating smallholder farmers is an essential component of a rights-based entitlement approach. It can also allow the measurement of the efficiency of the markets in terms of lowering transaction costs.

The third and last component of the entitlement approach is the entitlement set which can be defined as the set of all possible combinations of goods and services that a person can legally obtain by using the resources of his endowment set (Sen, 1981:29). It is the goal of rural development to broaden the entitlement set within a locality so that

people would always have alternative pathways for the development. Broadening the rural economy through both on-farm and non-farm opportunities is another way of providing adequate entitlement bundles for poor rural citizens. Conceptualising the 'entitlement set' in rural development would require a central role by the state. The state should have deliberate efforts to provide appropriate policies and subsidies in smallholder agriculture production systems (which are cereal based), exchange markets (free or regulated markets) and social protection systems.

In rural development the study adapts the entitlement failure concept not only to refer to food only, but as failure to meet developmental rights sets. A rights-based entitlement failure thus requires reflections on the approach so as to properly diagnose whether the failure is due to endowment loss, production failure, exchange failure, and transfer failure. This is of immense value to policy makers as some form of rights failure in rural development may require direct state intervention (through strengthening rural assets or production systems) or some form of trade related interventions (such as lowering of transaction costs and input and output subsidies to stabilise the market).

It should be emphasised that the concept of entitlement as adapted in this study, is to provide lens through which the effects of various rural development efforts and narratives could be understood. The entitlement approach does not provide the substantive issues of rural development, but ensures that the substantive issues of smallholder farmers and institutions are discussed; their impact to the human conditions would be sufficiently dealt with. In this regard it is important now to look at the development of the narration on rural development in Africa but with a focus towards Zimbabwe.

2.3 Dualism and Rural development in Zimbabwe.

The dual economy has always been a historical fact of Zimbabwe. At independence, Zimbabwe inherited a dual economy characterized by a relatively well-developed modern sector and a largely poor rural sector that provided livelihood to about 80 percent of the country's population (Government of Zimbabwe, 2009:1). To fully understand poverty and development issues in Zimbabwe it is important to assess the nature and role of the dual economy in Zimbabwe.

The dual economy as expounded by Arthur Lewis (1954) seek to construct a "classical framework to solve the problems of distribution, accumulation and growth" by depicting two economic sectors namely modern and traditional (subsistence) sectors which he conceives as key drivers in the development process. The reality of the rural economy in colonial Zimbabwe points to a dual economy driven by manufacturing industries as the backbone of the nation state. This is true to Zimbabwe during the period 1958 to 1980 when the country has distinctly two economic sectors, urban and the periphery clearly marked by their racial and capital accumulation disposition. It is in this regard that a careful analysis of the dual economy model of development which was advanced in 1954 by Lewis be reconsidered in order to trace early policy implications of colonial development in Zimbabwe.

In conceiving the dual sector model, Lewis (1954) denotes an economy which has modern and traditional sectors. This sectorial view is qualified by excluding western countries and other developed countries where labour has proven to be scarce due to the advanced stages of development in the countries and areas where the population

appears to be too small for the resources available. The chief assumption which Lewis makes is the unlimited supply of labor particularly in countries where the population is so large relative to capital and natural resources and marginal productivity of labour is zero or negligible (Lewis, 1954). The economic conditions in colonial Zimbabwe point to the validity of Lewis's assumption on unlimited supply of labour. This is however subject to debate as to what created the excess labour as during pre-colonial period African farmers were engaged in productive farming with some trade activities happening particularly in central and southern Zimbabwe. It becomes clear that the colonial government created conditions to generate surplus labour through a cocktail of impoverishing measures. This was done for example through dispossessing Zimbabwean blacks of fertile and productive land and relocating them in semi-arid and arid regions where climatic and soil conditions inhibit productive agriculture. In colonial Zimbabwe the country was divided into five natural regions and Africans were resettled in Natural Region 4 and 5 which were the driest areas in the country. This impoverishing policy made sure that there will be unlimited supply of labor for the capitalist sector where even wage level is kept just at the minimum at which farmers can earn.

The colonial government achieved a dual economy based on manufacturing industries through a number of measures. The federation government of Rhodesia-Nyasaland meant that resources from other nation states (copper from Zambia) were used to finance capital injection in the manufacturing sector. Moyo (2004:4) further identifies two factors which greatly led to industrial growth in Zimbabwe. Firstly, there was large inflow of foreign capital into the country from Britain which was estimated to be around 13,5 million pounds in 1947 and reaching 50,7 million pounds in by 1951. Secondly, there

was inflow of European immigrants from the United Kingdom and South Africa who brought much needed skills for industrialization.

The colonial government of Zimbabwe also levied punitive taxes upon the black populace and which forced them to look for paid employment in manufacturing industries, commercial European farms and mines. This has an important dimension to rural development. Keeping wages in the capitalist sector low and maintaining a subsistence agriculture which is not enough for the whole household will perpetuate poverty and vulnerability especially when there is collusion between the capitalist and political authorities as agriculture extension work is hamstrung and there will be no technology transfers.

The colonial government in Zimbabwe was more interested in keeping total economic and socio-political control of Africans to further the interest of the capitalists in both cities and commercial agriculture than it was to rural development. In 1965 when the colonial government of Ian Smith declared a Unilateral Declaration of Independent (UDI) from Britain, this impoverishment policy intensified with some protrusions even in commodity pricing where the same crop would be priced differently depending on the racial and class structures (Arrighi, et al., 2010:411; and Kanyenze, 2007:275)

In post-independence Zimbabwe, the influences of the dual sector model in development process are camouflaged by the socialist policies but a closer analysis reflects the same basic tenets of the model as envisaged by Lewis. Although the policies of independent Zimbabwe sought to dismantle the tenets of the dualistic economic philosophy, the reality shows otherwise. The policies and programmes

implemented by the government of Zimbabwe show a myriad of policy inconsistencies which perpetuated the disenfranchisement of the rural peasantry at the expense of the capitalist sector.

The focus of the government after independence was to transfer political and economic rights to the peasants and lower the wealth gap with their urban counterparts. This was done to dismantle the core of class society previously championed by the white settlers. Bird and Shepherd (2003) note that these rights were not effectively transferred to the peasantry particularly those in rural areas as the new government simply embraced the new black bourgeoisie class. For instance the decentralization policy of 1984 which was supposed to give rural people more say over their development process was a huge failure as most development plans of villagers were simply ignored or were not financially supported by treasury (Helmsing, 1990).

Of much significance in the 1980s was the land reform and agricultural policies which were geared towards the communal areas so as to spur regional development. Though some scholars like Chitsike (2002) view this initial land reform as a success, the government itself admitted that it was not effective as not adequate land was ever bought to suffice the productive need of peasant farmers. The programme did not change the demographic spatial characterizes of Zimbabwe with over 60% of the population still remaining in arid communal lands. Though agriculture extension work did improve during this period, the marketing huddles particularly for cereal crops did not allow the creation and sustenance of surplus within the rural communities. The monopoly of state agricultural marketing agencies later proved a huge cost to peasants as they were riddled with corruption and began setting price ceilings so as to safeguard

the food security of urban population. This view is corroborated by Chattopadhyay (2000:16) who posits that the ineffectiveness of the Grain Marketing Board (GMB) negatively affected the viability of cereal farming particularly maize among the rural peasantry.

In the 1990s the government implemented the structural adjustment policy which has profound effects on the agricultural sector particularly the small scale farmers who are virtually peasants. The policy thrust of the reform agenda were:

- (i) reduction of direct state involvement in the production, distribution and marketing of agricultural inputs and commodities;
- (ii) removal of subsidies on agricultural inputs and credit;
- (iii) liberalization of export and import trade; and
- (iv) privatization of agricultural marketing. (SAPRIN, 2003)

The implementation of these policies resulted in a number of challenges particularly to rural communities. Scholars note the SAP policies led to widespread food insecurity and in some cases 30% of children fewer than five were having malnutrition (SAPRIN, 2003). This has been attributed to the rolling back of government input schemes and agricultural support services in rural areas. The general liberalization policy push meant that the rural subsistence sector was curtailed while at the same time the capitalist elite farmers and urban entrepreneurs became active thus further disempowering the rural peasantry. The market based agricultural production systems shifted focus from staple to cash cropping which has a significant effect to the food security of the nation

(Bernstein, 2007:23). SAPRIN (2003:23) further reveals that at the national level, “Zimbabwe, since the privatization of its marketing boards and the liberalization and deregulation of the agricultural sector, has been transformed, from a country that met all its domestic food needs and still had enough maize and wheat to export, to one that must import food from South Africa, Kenya and Mozambique”.

The experiences of post-2000 Zimbabwe in rural development show a cocktail of various theoretical narratives which may warrant a closer interrogation particularly on their effects to rural development. It suffices to point out here that Zimbabwe implemented a wide land reform program which was followed by an economic recession.

2.4 Agriculture and Rural Development

The dual sector has shown not to spur broad based development in particular to the rural poor who are always relegated to poverty miseries. In fact Lewis’s (1954) model does not envisage a process of development which benefits the poor nor push them out of poverty. Its main focus is to initiate development to the capitalist sector. Poor rural citizens are supposed to benefit through wages and employment opportunities in the modern sector, such benefit is peripheral and may not necessarily lead to above subsistence wage levels. There has been disenchantment with the dual model particularly when it relegates the agricultural sector to the fringes of development process. This has led to serious interrogation on alternative pathways of development. This has resulted in a narrative which views agriculture-led development as successful

in providing appropriate alleviating strategies to rural poverty (Mellor, 1961; World Bank, 2007).

Poulton, Dorward and Kydd (2010) raised a number of critical issues pertaining to the feasibility of agricultural-led development. First they argue that agricultural growth is a fundamental pre-requisite to wide spread poverty reduction, especially when the strong linkages between agriculture, rural economy and poverty reduction are considered. This entails dissecting the nature of economic growth within countries, pointing to its magnitude and source, that is attributing growth to either industrial or agricultural, and then clearly following the trickling benefits to rural people and the level of impact of such growth to poverty. It is clear in this narrative that direct agriculture growth would lead to sufficient development to alleviate poverty (Poulton, Dorward and Kydd, 2010).

Agriculture's potential to spur development is evidenced by the Green Revolutions in Asia, where "agriculture can be transformed from a traditional sector to a modern sector" through state mediation (Poulton, Dorward and Kydd, 2010:14). In Bangladesh and India agriculture has shown the potential to stimulate broad-based economic growth and development which is driven by small farms (Rosegrant and Hazell, 2000).

Green revolutions in Asian countries provide valuable lessons for the feasibility of African green revolution especially if context conditions are fully understood (Djurfeldt and Jirström, 2005). However African development requires a set of different strategies, analysis and policy thrusts to fully understand why poverty continues to be prevalent even after decades of agriculture programmes. This is the view Diao and Pratt (2007) who argues that the Africa's historical development process has not been

responding to development stimulus on agriculture as evidenced by the minute growth rate of the 1960s and 1970s. Therefore the grand question would be whether agriculture growth is feasible in Africa, and whether such growth would lead to development, and whether that kind of development would reduce poverty, particularly to the continent's 80% people who live in rural areas. Birdsall, Ross and Sabot, (1995) note that, "to significantly reduce poverty it would be necessary to promote shared growth". Shared growth is economic growth in which a significant share of poor people improves their well-being by contributing to and benefiting from the growth process (World Bank, 2011). While there is widespread agreement that economic growth is a necessary condition for sustained poverty reduction, there is ample evidence that the pattern of growth—how growth is generated and how it is distributed—is also critical for accelerating poverty reduction (World Bank, 2011).

The issue of "shared growth" needs to be evaluated which Birdsall, Ross and Sabot (1995) is prescribing here is of immense importance to Africa particularly in Sub-Saharan Africa. In South Africa, though the country has witnessed successive economic growth of above 5% for the last 5 years, inequality has also been increasing over the years. Obviously this is not the kind of "shared growth" that Africa needs today. Diao et al. (2010) note that in many African countries it is perhaps agriculture which has the type of scale and growth linkages which could significantly influence aggregate growth and spur broad based development.

Agriculture-led development in Africa requires theoretical and empirical evidence that is if concrete policy measures are to be realized. Theoretical arguments for agriculture led development date back to the 1960s when Mellor and Johnson (1961) detailed

economic benefits of agriculture particularly in early economic development stages in agrarian dominated economies, but most importantly it provide food security. Other benefits of agriculture growth include balance of payments through export earnings, labour and capital generation increased domestic demand for products of agriculture and other growth sectors.

Poulton, Dorward and Kydd (2010) and Diao and Pratt (2007) offer insightful narratives on the efficacy of agricultural growth. They argue that farm activities are more likely to offer opportunities for broadly based expansion with tradable activities with direct and indirect income and employment opportunities. It is clear here, that such growth in African countries like Zimbabwe where about 80% of the population are unemployed, then any form of intervention which may have direct employment benefits is welcome. Other scholars argue that even if the growth is in non-tradables, it would have much impact on reducing poverty provided such non-tradables are widely consumed as staple food. Diao et al. (2010) further support agriculture-led development as it is pro-poor and broader based than industry and export oriented growth.

The feasibility of agriculture-led development is doubted especially when considering the fact that since the 1980s agricultural growth have been slow and sometimes negative (Dorward and Morrison, 2000; FAO, 2000; World Bank, 2006). The World Bank (2006) notes that agricultural growth was slow during the period 1965 to 1998 than the growth of the agricultural labour force leaving a greater number of people unemployed, which further weaken the ability of the sector to increase rural incomes and growth. Poulton, Dorward and Kydd (2010) suggest that since 1980s there was a slight increase in cereal production attributed to yield increase as opposed to the

increase in cereal hectareage. Thus critics of agricultural development (Ellis, 1999; Ellis, et al., 2000, Bryceson, 2002, and Collier, 2002) argue that such empirical evidence showing the weak performance of agriculture reflects the weak institutions which are in rural development and the unfavorable agro-ecological conditions of most sub-Saharan African countries. Collier (2002) further points to the large size of the agriculture sector and its failed performance as one of its chief indicator for failure. Such criticism of agriculture come from the 1980s post-Washington Consensus which views agriculture as just any other economic sector, albeit one which often suffer 'negative protection' in the form of repressed prices and incentives to farmers (Krueger, et al., 1991; Anderson 2009:4).

However proponents of agriculture for development posit that the poor performance of agriculture reflects the inadequate investments and policies that are historically biased against agriculture (World Bank, 2007; Diao, et al., 2010). Besides, there are a few alternatives to agriculture when Africa's small industry is taken into account. This is true to Zimbabwe where agriculture contributes about 40% of the GDP and 60% of the total raw materials for industry (Bautista, et al., 2002). Industrial growth in Zimbabwe is currently hamstrung as most companies are operating below half their capacities. Thus growth in the sector both in the short and medium run is unlikely to be significant to reduce poverty. Using empirical evidence from Ethiopia, Diao and Pratt (2007) conclude that if Ethiopia is lower its poverty prevalence from 44.4% (in 2006) to 28% in 2015 it has to follow a development pathway which emphasize cereal and staple food production which is coupled by massive infrastructure and market investments. This

supports the view that if Africa is to be developed, it has to follow a broad based agricultural approach.

The superiority of agriculture-led development in Africa is now on the development radar again. Interest in agriculture has been rekindled by the World Development Report for 2008 (World Bank, 2007) which prescribe investments in agriculture to reduce poverty using various pathways in recognition of the different contexts of the world. The Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) views agriculture development as an effective strategy of reducing poverty through four pathways namely:

- i) by raising farm incomes thereby benefiting the many farmers who live in poverty,
- ii) by creating employment on farms given agriculture tends to employ more workers per unit output than other sectors.
- iii) By stimulating the rural non-farm economy through linkages in both production and consumption systems.
- iv) By pushing down the prices of staple foods to the benefit of the many poor who are net food buyers even in rural areas (2006).

The current state of policy conditions in rural Zimbabwe requires interrogation. The prevailing dollarization of the monetary policy resulted in the state rolling back most of its agricultural support programmes such as input facilities, marketing financing and infrastructure. The sole buyer of cereals, Grain Marketing Board (GMB) is in arrears in terms of payments to farmers, meaning farmers' cash flow has been heavily disrupted.

Thus this state of bankruptcy of the central government mean no meaningful state intervention programmes particularly to support agriculture in rural areas can be effectively pursued.

Zimbabwean agriculture today faces a plethora of global challenges. The producer prices of cereals on the international markets have declined that only the heavily subsidized farmers of Europe and USA are making huge profits (World Bank, 2007). Moreover the 'dumping' of food products on the developing countries' markets threatening the local viability of farmers. In Zimbabwe the dumping of Brazilian poultry products has led to the closure of most chicken processors.

It is expedient that if agriculture is to result in economic growth and reduce poverty, there is need to tailor it to suit the needs of the poorest and the majority. This calls for a strategy of whether the agricultural development has to follow small scale or large scale orthodoxies. Despite the general understanding on the role of agriculture in development as reflected by the World Bank (2007), there appear to be two varying strands of debate of smallholder agriculture versus large scale commercial agriculture, and agriculture and non-farm strategies for development.

While there has been some form of consensus and renewed vigor on the role of agriculture in rural development among international donors, there still remain grey areas on what form of agriculture small-scale or larger scale would results in growth and reduced poverty levels. The definition of small-scale (smallholder) farmers is varied to locality, context and ecological zones and is relative to what constitute large scale farmers in that particular country. The South African Department of Agriculture, Forestry

and Fisheries (2012:1) defines smallholder farmers as those farmers owning small-based plots of land on which they grow subsistence crops and one or two cash crops relying almost exclusively on family labour. This definition is loosely acceptable in Zimbabwe though the size of plots of smallholder farmers varies from 6 hectares to over 75 hectares due to the recognition of the resource bases of various ecological zones. For the purposes of this study, smallholder (small-scale) farmers are regarded as subsistence farmers who produce for household consumption first. Smallholder may sell the surplus to raise cash for other household goods and needs. This also includes resettled farmers who are increasingly farming for markets but to satisfy their household consumption needs. In contrast large scale farmers in Zimbabwe have over 100 hectares and basically commercial farmers with a production mix of largely cash crops for national and international markets.

Nagayets (2005) estimate that about 500 million farmers in the world are small scale farmers who live on and farm less than 2 ha of land and are part of the world's poorest. In Africa, where the bulk of these farmers are from, the farmers are not only poor but are also located in underdeveloped regions reflecting colonial legacies of capital accumulation (Arrighi, et al., 2010:413). This means any strategy to reduce poverty should target the poor themselves and therefore should have the smallholder farmers at the center.

The superiority of small farms was initially recognized in the 1960s by Schultz (1964:8) who through analytical surveys concluded that "small farmers were efficient but mainly were subsistence farmers". The efficiency of small farmers was later confirmed by empirical studies in Kenya, Korea and Taiwan (Borras, 2008). The small farm 'efficient

but poor' contradiction was to be overcome through modern input systems improvements such as those which later resulted in the Green Revolutions in Asia. It is however unclear in literature whether the success of the Asian Green Revolutions was wholly attributable to modern inputs or state policies and support schemes.

Small farms are valued due to a number of advantages which they have over large scale farms, these include:

- (i) small farmers make efficient decisions;
- (ii) they use family labour intensively, to the point of self-exploitation, because it is seen to have close to zero opportunity cost – and in doing so avoid the supervision constraint of managing a large, hired labour-force;
- (iii) they tend to be located in places (e.g. on slopes) that militate against mechanisation;
- (iv) as a result of (ii) and (iii), they maximise return to land, which is the scarce resource for them, and also for the nation;
- (v) they innovate successfully because new technology is scale-neutral and (these days) no more risky than traditional technology – both in purchasing and in application on-farm;
- (vi) they can participate successfully in marketing chains, either on their own, or with the help of co-operatives;
- (vii) they cause less environmental damage than large farms; and

(viii) they spend more of incremental income on locally produced goods and services, thus maximising growth linkages (Ellis and Biggs, 2001 cited by Maxwell and Ashley 2001:406)

Smallholder farmers were also considered as the most appropriate mechanisms of sharing wealth and development particularly in lowering inequalities among countries and within countries. Redistributing agricultural growth has the potential to spur development and share it with poor small farmers (Wiggins, et al., 2010:234).

The case for smallholder farmers revolves mainly on the strength that their scale that allows efficiency. Economies of scale which accrues due to the increase in farm size tend to be negative, implying diseconomies of scale. This is due to the fact that agricultural intensification tends to produce more output per unit hectare than agricultural extensification (Cornia, 1985; Eastwood, Lipton and Newell, 2004; Heltberg, 1998). Using empirical evidence observed from a number of countries, Lipton (2009) observes that large landowners are actually leasing their land to smallholder farmers which would not be the case if farming had economies of scale.

It should be stressed though, that smallholder efficiency is mainly derived from labour efficiency which is due to use and organization of motivated household labour. It is clear that 'smallholder farmers would require economies of scale when they are purchasing agricultural inputs, obtaining and negotiating financial resources and when accessing markets (Reardon, et al., 2009). Quality and standardization of agricultural produce required by the current sophisticated market require some form of scale economies.

This would be necessary if smallholder farmers are to access the direct market to supermarkets, wholesales and exporters.

This is the issue which has been raised by Wiggins et al. (2010:235) who posit that “if smallholder farmers are to compete with larger units and realize their advantages in the management of labour, then they need to find ways to overcome their increasingly disadvantages in their dealings with those in the rest of the supply chain”. Thus there is need for capacity building on the part of farmers on how to operate farming as a business.

The case for smallholder farmers in Africa is being championed by leading donors like the World Bank, Alliance for Green Revolutions in Africa (AGRA), and Millennium Villages Program who continue to see smallholder farmers at the center of agricultural growth and poverty reduction (Djurfeldt, et al., 2005). However not everyone is as enthusiastic on smallholder farmers as these donors are. Opponents of this approach are pointing to the changed circumstances from the Green Revolutions in Asia to the current requirements of technology and logistical and supply chain management skills which are beyond the reach of rural people (Maxwell and Ashley, 2001; Byerlee, et al., 2009; Ellis, et al., 2008).

Detailed criticism of smallholder farmers in Africa is provided by Collier (2008:71) who argues that:

... and reluctant peasants are right: their mode of production is ill suited to modern agricultural production, in which scale is helpful. In modern agriculture, technology is fast-evolving, investment is lumpy, the private provision of transportation infrastructure

is necessary to counter the lack of its public provision, consumer food fashions are fast-changing and best met by integrated marketing chains, and regulatory standards are rising toward the holy grail of the traceability of produce back to its source.

Nevertheless evidence from Zimbabwe reflects a growing capacity of smallholder farmers particularly after the post 2000 land reform program. Thousands of newly resettled smallholder farmers are pushing out of poverty as they a part the supply chain for tobacco, soya beans and cotton as producers (Scoones, 2009; Polgreen, 2012). Though this may be so in the resettlement areas, poverty remains entrenched in communal areas where the majority of farmers live. Zimbabwean agriculture which is basically smallholder agriculture provides income and employment to over 70% of the total population and accounting for more than 60% of the total raw materials for industry (Bautista, et al., 2002).

2.6 Rural Diversification for Transformation

Though there has been some consensus on the successes of the small farm paradigm, there also appears to be recognition of the diversity of poor people's livelihoods requiring policies to support rural transformations (Maxwell and Ashley, 2001; Ellis and Biggs, 2001). In rural areas it has been realized that "a few people collect their income any one source or hold their wealth in the form of a single asset or use their assets in just one activity" (Barret, et al., 2001:80). Thus the rural people are not only farmers (crop and animal husbandry) but are also engaged in non-farm activities for survival (Ellis, 2000).

Barret et al. (2001:82) defines the rural non-farm economy as all set of economic activities other than the production of primary agricultural commodities. Rural non-farm activities are broad but may include a whole array of mining, manufacturing, commerce, transport and services which can provide income. The size of the RNFE is depend on the local conditions, where for instance in Africa it has been put at 34-50% of household total income and just above 50% of the total income of household in Asia (Haggablade, et al., 2010; Bryceson, 2002; Bryceson and Jamal, 1997; Reardon, 1997; Little, et al., 2000; Rosenzweig, 1988). The total contribution of RNFE on household total income varies to local conditions but may increase due to conditions of near landlessness or landlessness (Haggablade, et al., 2010:1433).

The role of RNFE in Africa in poverty reduction is debatable, with one view dismissing it as a peripheral activity of predominantly subsistence farmers. Proponents of the RNFE view it as an alternative to the costly agriculture growth strategy for reducing poverty (Reardon, 1997; Ellis, 1999; 2000; Haggablade, 2007). The RNFE sector is seen as the absorber of excess and unemployed labour force in the rural areas created by both local and global conditions which are making agriculture unviable (shortage of arable land and the explosion of population). In the regard RNFE, though on a temporal off-season basis is considered as a genuine pathway out of rural poverty or plays crucial role in alleviating poverty.

It is important to note that RNFE is still heavily interconnected and interdependent to agriculture. Even those who argue for a case for RNFE development admits that “agriculture is the largest employer in the rural areas, the largest income generator, and largest purveyor of raw materials to rural industries (Haggablade, et al., 2010:1437).

This clearly shows that agriculture influences the size, structure and composition of the RNFE sector. This is supported by empirical evidence which show that for a dollar added to agriculture it will generate \$0.6 to \$0.8 of additional RNFE income in Asia and \$0.3 to \$0.5 in Africa (Reardon, 1997; Haggblade, 2007).

The significance of RNFE both as a policy issue and as poverty reduction strategy can only be appreciated based on whether the sector could rapidly grow and provide employment to growing rural labour-force in Africa. This directly posits RNFE as a significant pathway out of poverty. For such a buoyant RNFE sector to manifest, it requires a rural economic growth engine and that the poor control a significant bundle of assets (Haggblade, 2010). The 'engine for growth' at least in Africa can only be in the form of agriculture, in particular smallholder and cereal based production. It may be expedient here to point in many African countries, especially in Zimbabwe rural farmers in communal areas view RNFE activities as secondary and seasonal activities which should not interfere with agriculture. Perhaps this is a result of the poor socio-economic context in which many rural people construct their livelihoods.

The philosophy of RNFE sector growth is based on economic growth (mainly driven by smallholder agriculture) which may lead to more purchases of non-food items, thus creating more demand for RNFE products. The key ingredient here is on developing a vibrant RNFE is the economic base of rural areas, and whether such a base is broad enough to include the poor and the most vulnerable. In fact for the RNFE to be successful it must have comparative advantage of other external areas to allow a stable and growing market. Therefore an RNFE policy stimulant aiming at reducing poverty must spread the economic base among the poor and promote the positive correlation

between income and wealth on one hand, and non-farm activities which can spur development on the other hand.

For RNFE to fully augmented by smallholder agriculture as a policy options in rural development, special considerations must be made on the composition and equity implications of the sector. Adams(2002) note that in Egypt government jobs account for about 45% of total RNFE income, whereas in southern Africa, remittances accounted for the lion's share of the total RNFE income (Barret, et al., 2010; Ellis, 2000; Ellis and Freeman, 2004). This composition structure of RNFE reveals that without government and remittances component RNFE sector maybe quite small and ineffective as a poverty reduction strategy tool. Thus the high contribution of remittances and government on the income of RNFE may imply that 'core' RNFE activities may result in very insignificant income raising a policy question of whether the sector warrants special attention. In countries where industrial growth is sluggish and unemployment in urban areas is high, such as in Zimbabwe, means remittances are low and households have to focus on agriculture for survival.

Promoting RNFE through credit systems and technology transfers particularly from urban to rural areas requires equity considerations as in most cases this would increase inequalities within rural areas. Barret et al. (2001:327) note that the positive correlation between RNFE income and household welfare indicators means there is a high propensity for rural elites to capture programs for the poor. Studies in Southern Africa have revealed that women and the poor dominate low income non-farm activities thus further casting doubts whether such population groups may be reached by RNFE programs or through agriculture.

Successful rural development would require that the RNFE sector be inclusive to women and the bottom poor. For instance in Zimbabwe the decade long economic recession and recurrent droughts which has depleted their asset base, means that poor households cannot access the most lucrative non-farm activities (Lanjouw, 2007). The effects of liberalization and globalization further create substantial threats to the infant RNFE sector in Africa.

The role of RNFE in improving rural income and reducing poverty through a whole set of risk reduction and management activities can never be understated. The challenges for RNFE sector in Zimbabwe, and possibly in Africa, is to construct an institutional framework to superintend RNFE, and oversee a cocktail of financial, educational and health measures to steer the rural economy. The necessity of investing in physical and institutional infrastructure is to make markets accessible to the poor is of great value in rural development.

Therefore the debate on RNFE for poverty reduction redirects us to the proposition that rural development policies and strategies should be holistic. This should not mean the relegation of agriculture as a development strategy but rather to elevate it as the engine of rural economic growth. Most importantly the debate on rural development strategy points us to the role of the state and the necessary institutional needs of development which can create conducive conditions for local and global economic competitiveness.

2.7 Towards a State Driven Theory for Rural development

The state is a central political and social organization with processes and institutions which determine development policy and actions. The state can be defined as a “formal

group that is sovereign over its members and occupies a well-defined territory” (Rummel, 1976). The state can also be thought as a set of formal apparatus of authoritative roles and law norms through which the sovereignty is exercised. Of key importance to the study is the development of the state in Africa and in Zimbabwe in particular and its impact on policy formulation and policy agenda. The character and form of the state has always been conceptualized in terms of its role in development. The late 20th Century has the tremendous rise of the state as a welfare agent with a leading role in steering development.

The welfare state was popular for its interventionist approach to development particularly in East Asia. In these countries like Indonesia, the state provided a policy matrix which ensured the growth of the agriculture sector through a subsidy policy coupled with market and extension reform. The hands own approach of the state led to massive growth of agriculture and development strides in social and economic perspectives. The Green Revolution in Asia was led by the state in the provision of inputs and agricultural policies which encourage production particularly of smallholder farmers. However it should be noted that the structural economic problems of the 1980s and 1990s led to the rolling back of the state. The state was now being considered as a wasteful state which should not be involved in development as an actor but just as a regulator.

The state in Zimbabwe is an off-shoot of the colonial state which was based on discriminatory development. The post-colonial state in Zimbabwe like elsewhere in Africa where there was liberation wars, started as a welfare state. The first decade of independence was characterized by welfare programs such as the Growth with Equity,

Education for All and Health for All (Zhou and Zvaushe, 2012:12). These programs were born from the liberation struggle which popularizes the quest for political power through promises for broad based development. Therefore the post-colonial welfare state in Zimbabwe was a captive state of the liberation policies. It should be noted that the post-colonial state in Zimbabwe has some developmental characters, though it cannot be sufficiently classified as developmental state. A developmental state is defined as a state which plays an active role in guiding economic development and using the resources of the country to meet the needs of the people (Onis, 1991). A developmental state tries to balance economic growth and social development and uses state resources and state influence to attack poverty and expand economic opportunities (Marwala, 2006). Thus a developmental state attempts to impact on poverty and underdevelopment without maintaining urban biases through the deliberate pricing strategies for agriculture produce to the detriment of the farmers.

The operationalization of the current consensus on agriculture for rural development prevailing in the development realms requires extensive interrogation. Rural development does not occur in a vacuum but rather in a policy environment determined by the local, national and global social, political and economic conditions. The grand question is if rural development was achieved in Asia using the Green Revolutions, then what sort of policies and institutional frameworks were in place so as to develop a current policy response to African agriculture. Developing agriculture using smallholder farmers demands a set of institutional measures which are appropriate to the rural poor. The current policy context of globalization, local political economy and the diversity of rural livelihoods underline the continuing difficulties of kick starting agriculture for rural

development. The need for institutions and their operating frameworks cannot be overstated particularly in Africa where historically agriculture seems to be stagnating.

It is imperative that the role of the state be reconstructed particularly after the liberalization and structural adjustment phase in Africa when the state rolled back most of its support programs to poor farmers. Structural adjustment programs insisted on governments to cut expenditure on agriculture subsidies and output marketing structures in the hope of creating efficient financial, input and output markets (Mosse, et al., 1998; Chambers, 1995). The record of failure of these liberalization policies are high particularly in Zimbabwe where unemployment rose by over 50% by 2000 and poverty incidence arose to 65% in the same period.

For a complete conceptualisation of the role of the state, it is absolutely essential to revisit the historical state interventions in the form of integrated rural development policies and decentralization. Rural development does not occur in a vacuum but rely heavily on the institutional and operational policy framework. As early as 1970s development agencies initiated integrated rural development as the vehicle for championing the production based agricultural interventions for rural development. This was premised by strong state involvement in the planning, coordination and implementation of projects and programs in well elaborated agricultural plans which sought to maximize yields and services to small farmers. The implementation modality of integrated rural development was problematic to rural development as it alienated the poor and created structures whose mandates and management were different and difficult (Rondinelli, 1983).

This resulted in the formulation of democratic decentralization as the new way of tapping the local resources and opinions of the poor in fighting poverty, (Rondinelli, 1983; Mosse, et al., 1998, Chambers, 1995). During the first decade of independence from 1980, the government invoked participation as a necessary condition for development and creating sustainable rural development. However the massive inclusion of the voices of the poor did not yield significant strides in rural development as governments became aware of the difficulties of implementing coherent policy and the costs of reaching the lower segment of the voiceless poor. Despite institutional creations for participation in most developing countries like Zimbabwe, they become talk shows as they were not followed by devolution of the necessary financial resources for implementation. It is essential to point that decentralization policy as a framework for rural development requires a balance of autonomy and accountability to actors as well as the need for external agencies to foot the bill for the participation of the poor. The era of liberalization policies entrenched the role of the state to unattainable positions of reduced public spending in rural areas and left the rural poor with enough social support. Proper institutions which have the ability to regulate market excesses are prerequisites for opening up markets in developing countries.

If sub-Saharan countries are to stimulate rural development in the current global environment, then the state is a key role player. The global order creates a state which is soft and receptive of international policies and terms of trade. In Africa this has been in the form of the Brettons Woods policies such as structural adjustment programmes (SAPs) which cuts state expenditure among a host of outward economic policies. While globalization is inevitable, the state can still play a key role in stimulating rural

development which is inward in its policy and practice focus. The state's governance framework should be based on the three pillars of creating appropriate opportunities, empowerment and security to the rural people (Maxwell and Ashley, 2001). Thus a holistic approach to institute these tentative issues for policy is required.

Opportunity creation and sustenance is always a challenge in rural communities due the widespread urban biases and rural elites who capture every opportunity which comes by. The active role of the state in this regard is to kick-start rural economic growth. Policies which promote production in both agriculture and NFRE are central for they allow cross linkages in the economy. Institutions for the poor are necessary, that are able to create viable social capital and enhance social security.

Dorward et al. (2004) outline a number of necessary conditions for intensive cereal based agricultural transformation. These include appropriate high yielding technologies, local markets which have stable output prices, appropriate financing arrangements for inputs, secure and equitable access to land and infrastructure to support input, output and financial markets.

The notion of state intervention in rural agriculture is primarily based on the fact that there are widespread market failures particularly in food markets which prevent the private sector to deliver services (Desai, 1988; Todaro and Smith, 2012). Thus in essentially poor regions of Africa, the low level of development entail low volumes of transactions which result in high transaction risks and costs in input, output and financial markets. Transaction costs are particularly high where population densities are low and communications poor leading to pervasive coordination and market failures (Dorward, et

al., 2004). In the rural economy market failures depress the level of economic activity by rising per unit transaction cost resulting in cyclic underdevelopment effects (Todaro and Smith, 2012).

The issue of high transaction costs in rural areas requires the state to support institutional development. Dorward et al. (2004:83) categorizes institutional development as one concerned creating the institutional environment such as property rights and legal relations among economic agents, and institutional arrangements detailing the set of rules governing specific transactions. Thus the key role of the government is to intervene in financial, output and input markets either through direct participation or through the reduction of transaction costs to allow private agents in these markets (Rosegrant and Siamwalla, 1988).

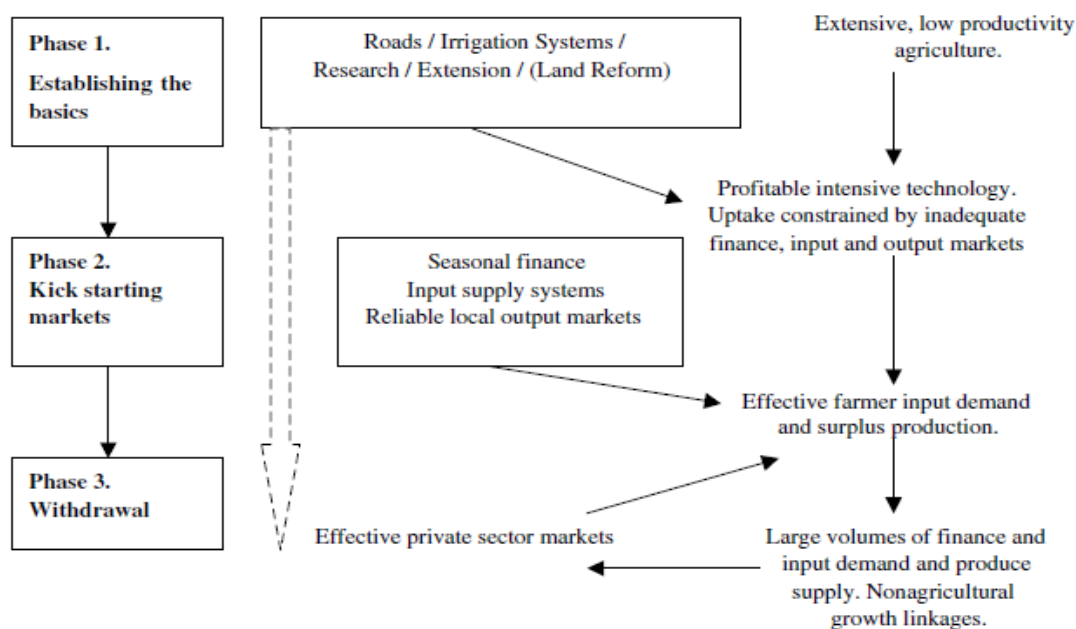
Fann et al. (2003) in a study of the Green Revolutions in Asia, find that there were high agricultural growth and poverty reduction payoffs from the government investments in India in the 1960s to investments in fertilizer subsidies, in roads, in agriculture research on high yielding varieties, in power and credit subsidies. If these kinds of interventions were made for irrigated farming, then for African rain-fed agriculture the government has to intervene through input and output subsidies in addition to transaction costs subsidies.

The development of output markets requires governments to “consider a wider choice of delivery system and institutional structures within which they provide financial services” (Kirkpatrick and Maimbo, 2002). This is particularly so in semi-tradable or non-tradable crop markets like cassava and grain. This is because the local market would not be

large enough to pay a fair price, hence the government has to intervene to allow the accumulation of, say a staple crop, reserve for food security.

Dorward et al. (2004) posit some phases of state intervention for successful agricultural transformations highlighting the necessity of the government interventions in the early stages of development. Figure 2.1 below show the different state interventions phases and the nature of such interventions:

Figure 2.1 Policy Phases to Support Agricultural Transformation



Source: Dorward, et al. (2004:82)

Of note is the importance of the state to stimulate markets and its withdrawal when markets are competitive enough to produce high density transactions and low transaction costs. It is important to note that a successful institutional development policy has to integrate the multiple objectives of various sectorial policies related to

agriculture and economic growth, food security and poverty alleviation (Wanmali and Islam, 1997).

Another institutional narrative is that provided by Bingen et al. (2003:415) which focus on producer organizations especially where there are no meaningful state and donor agencies to assist farmers. Grouping farmers in producer organizations would improve accountability and lower transaction costs. The roles of these communal organizations have long been appreciated by the World Bank as it summarizes the contribution of voluntary producers' organizations to rural development:

. . . producers' organizations amplify the political voice of smallholder producers, reduce the costs of marketing of inputs and outputs, and provide a forum for members to share information, coordinate activities and make collective decisions. Producers' activities such as input supply, credit, processing, marketing and distribution (World Bank, 2002b:16).

It should be stressed that for agriculture led development to materialise, the state has to take an active role of setting a clear policy environment and of directing participating in the rural economy and provide stimulants that can effectively lower rural transaction costs. In achieving such institutions, the state has to include the private sector and the rural producer organisations in its institutional policy, all with clear roles and responsibilities.

2.8 Conclusion

Rural development is in a state of confusion. National governments have been softened by the free trade doctrine of the World Trade Organization (WTO) and as such borders are now porous to cheap food imports. This is particularly threatening the viability of farmers particularly the smallholder farmers who have shown incapacity to match the ever demanding standards required by today's food processors, wholesalers and supermarkets. The role of the state is again being put on the radar for analysis, especially on the role of the state to regulate imports and stabilize internal markets.

However in Zimbabwe, new trends are developing, showing signs of national economic recovery and most importantly those smallholder farmers particularly in resettled commercial areas are gaining market share and raising production levels of maize, tobacco, soya beans and poultry products (Polgreen, 2012; Scoones, 2010). Evidence from recent studies are pointing to a buoyant smallholder farming with production surpassing even the former levels of commercial large scale farmers. This calls for reflection the roles of the state today, to leverage the progress in agriculture and remove the general impediments which make small farmers fail so as to establish the basis for a successful rural development programme.

CHAPTER 3 METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

3.0 Introduction

The study on the efficacy of rural development as a poverty reduction strategy in Zimbabwe requires the utilization of mixed methods for both data collection and analysis. This is primarily due to the fact that rural development issues cut across socio-economic, cultural disciplinary and methodological boundaries. Mixed methods are superior for their ability to harness the strengths of both qualitative and quantitative data methods in both collection and analysis. It is expedient to point out that the study has a bias towards qualitative methodologies as these provide a thorough analysis of epistemological issues especially the phenomena of poverty and its effects on the livelihoods of the poor. Rural development and underdevelopment require a rigorous interrogation of stylized theories, facts and hard economic data in official and non-official documentary sources in order to fully articulate the global economic effects on the livelihoods of the poor. The study is therefore hinged on qualitative methodologies such as archival research, in-depth interviews and observations as vital research methods of data collection and analysis. Archival research particularly on classified and non-classified documents of both the state and non-state development agencies is central in probing state intervention in rural development and has the potential to provide adequate policy issues particularly on international trade and its effects on rural development. The analysis of the current and the envisaged role of the state in creating conducive environment for opportunity, empowerment and security to protect the vulnerable rural populace in the current socio-economic order requires evidence

analysis which can allow the interpretation of issues to reflect the meaning of life in rural areas. Interviews with key informants in rural development institutions provided relevant and critical data on rural development policies, processes and performance in Zimbabwe. Quantitative methodology has been utilized in the analysis of data particularly from archived documents and national development statistics on Zimbabwe so that a full comprehension of the development discourse is enabled.

3.1 Research Design

The term research design as Harwell (2011:147) notes is widely used in social science research, yet it takes on different meanings in different studies. Research design may reflect the entire research process, from conceptualizing a problem to the literature review, research questions, methods, and conclusions, whereas research design may refer only to the methodology of a study such as data collection and analysis (Harwell, 2011:153). The study utilized the latter definition of research design which emphasizes the aspects of data collection and analysis, though other scholars use these meanings interchangeably.

Trochim and Land (1982:1) further define research design as the glue that holds the research project together. A research design is used to structure the research, to show how all of the major parts of the research project including the samples or groups, measures, treatments or programs, and methods of assignment and how they work together to try to address the central research problem.

Research designs are framed using key elements or features. Crotty (1998) describes four key features to consider in research design. These include the ideology that

informs the research such as the rural development methods, knowledge processes and analysis instruments. The second key feature in research design is the philosophical stance underlying the methodology in question that is whether it is post-positivism, constructivism, pragmatism, advocacy/participatory (Crotty, 1988; Morgan, 2007). This study considers pragmatism and advocacy/participatory as the philosophy of the research design. This is out of the fact that rural development involves some of activism on the part of development practitioners and or the state. The other two elements of research design are “the methodology itself, and the techniques and procedures used in the research design to collect data” (Crotty, 1988).

The study utilized mixed methods as the basis for data collection and analysis. The foundations of mixed methods are typically traced to the multi-trait, multi-method approach of Campbell and Fiske (1959, cited in Teddlie and Tashakkori, 2009:31), although it is considered a relatively new methodology whose key philosophical and methodological foundations and practice standards have evolved since the early 1990s (Teddlie and Tashakkori, 2009:29). Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004:17-18) conceptualism mixed methods research as:

the class of research where the researcher mixes or combines quantitative and qualitative research techniques, methods, approaches, concepts or language into a single study. Mixed methods research also is an attempt to legitimate the use of multiple approaches in answering research questions, rather than restricting or constraining researchers' choices (such that, it rejects dogmatism). It is an expansive and creative form of research, not a limiting form of research. It is inclusive, pluralistic, and

complementary, and it suggests that researchers take an eclectic approach to method selection and the thinking about and conduct of research.

The definition by Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004:22) not only captures the intents of the study but also its guiding philosophy in conceptualizing rural development diverse localities which are characterized by multiple if not conflicting policy conjectures as in Zimbabwe. Rural development cuts across traditional socio-economic sectors and its content represents a myriad of coherent but different aspects of agriculture, non-farm economy, poverty and social welfare programs making a case for an analysis framework which is pragmatic and multiple in practices.

The mixed methodology approach employed by the study incorporates both quantitative and qualitative research methodologies. Johnson and Turner (2003) argue that the fundamental principle of mixed methods research is that multiple kinds of data should be collected with different strategies and methods in ways that reflect complementary strengths and non-overlapping weaknesses, allowing a mixed methods study to provide insights not possible when only qualitative or quantitative data are collected. Thus for a complete analysis of rural development in Zimbabwe, evaluative data on policies and sectoral strategies of fighting rural poverty need to be coherently analyzed in both numbers and words while skirting the dogmatic trepidations cited by Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004).

Whereas there is general acceptance of mixed methods in development discipline, there seems to be illusion as to what exactly is contained in mixed methods. Tashakkori (2009:23) sidestep this illusion by positing that “a mixed methods study is any study with

both qualitative and quantitative data, whereas other authors say a mixed methods study must have a mixed methods question, both qualitative and quantitative analyses, and integrated inferences”. It is pertinent to point out the emerging disagreement regarding various aspects of mixed methods, such as when mixing should occur, such that at the point of designing a study, during data collection, during data analyses, and/or at the point of interpretation (Denzin, 2006; Sale, Lohfeld and Brazil, 2002; Smith and Hodkinson, 2005). However for the purpose of this study, ‘mixing’ occurred throughout the research process.

The mixed methods approach which the study adopted utilizes qualitative and quantitative methodologies in both data collection and analysis. It is therefore imperative to articulate these methodological disciplines. Hiatt (1986) defines qualitative research methods focus on discovering and understanding the experiences, perspectives, and thoughts of participants—that is, qualitative research explores meaning, purpose, or reality. As noted earlier by Lincoln and Guba (1985), the key issue of qualitative research method is the presence of multiple “truths” that are socially constructed.

A more detailed explanation of qualitative methodology is provided by Denzin and Lincoln (2005:3) who note that:

It consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible. These practices transform the world. They turn the world into a series of representations, including field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings, and memos to the self. At this level, qualitative research involves an interpretive, naturalistic approach to the world. This means that qualitative researchers

study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them.

Quantitative methods were also used in the mixed methods design of the study. Harwell (2011:130) notes that quantitative research methods “attempt to maximize objectivity, replicability, and generability of findings, and are typically interested in prediction. Integral to this approach is the expectation that a researcher will set aside his or her experiences, perceptions, and biases to ensure objectivity in the conduct of the study and the conclusions that are drawn.”

Quantitative methods are deductive in nature, in the sense that inferences from tests of statistical hypotheses lead to general inferences about characteristics of a population. Quantitative methods are also frequently characterized as assuming that there is a single truth that exists, independent of human perception (Lincoln and Guba, 1985).

3.2 Unit of Analysis

The study used two units of analysis, one as the nation state and the other as the Household Head (HH) for research enquiry, observation and analysis. This has been necessitated by the centralized nature of data in Zimbabwe and the decentralized household data. Data at the sub-national level of many developing countries is in most cases unavailable or where it is available incomplete and inconsistent. Thus the use of national data was the natural sanctuary for the research as the effects of global practices of other states and non-state agencies on rural development can be best researched and analysed at the national level. Though individuals from state ministries dealing with issues of rural development and other concerned civic organizations were

interviewed, they were informed that this was in their official capacities not at personal level. Household heads were selected due to their position in the household to make livelihood decisions for the whole household.

3.3 Population and Sampling

The population of the study included public officials who are charged with rural development practice and policy formulation in Zimbabwe. Smallholder farmers and their organisations were also considered as the population of the study. The study made use of stratified purposive sampling in selecting the respondents for the in-depth interviews. Two officials per ministry or government department (which deals directly with rural development) were being interviewed as key informants. Selection of these officials was based on their official duties and responsibilities especially with handling rural development issues. In instances where the officials charged with rural development policy formulation and implementation were more than ten, in-depth interviews were sought only from two or three most senior officials. Critical state ministries and departments which were interviewed are Agriculture, Rural Development, Economic Planning and Development, Finance, Agricultural and Rural Development Agency (ARDA), Zimbabwe Revenue Authority and the Central Bank.

Ten interviews were also conducted on ten different civic organizations which were selected through stratified random sampling, according to the relevance of their rural development roles and responsibilities. These civic organization in-depth interviews included farmers unions and donor agencies engaging in rural development in Zimbabwe. In these organizations one interview was done with one person who was

charged with rural development operations and policies. The purpose of in-depth interviews of both the government ministries and civic organizations was to provide clear and consistent effects of globalization on rural development and grassroots solutions to the development dilemma in this current global age.

Stratified purposive random sampling was also used to select respondents for questionnaires in both communal and resettled farming areas. Three districts were selected for farmer's questionnaires due their variations in terms of agriculture, though all are made up of smallholder farmers. These are Mudzi District in Mashonaland District, Makoni District in Manicaland and Mazowe District in Mashonaland Central. These districts were purposively selected due to their characteristics which captured communal, old resettlement and A1 and A2 resettlement areas. Another important consideration was accessibility of the respondents in the selected villages, as the researcher has families who resided in these districts and therefore could interact at easy with households. In each of the selected districts, 50 respondents were randomly sampled using stratified sampling from list of farmers kept by the District Administrators (DA) of each respective district. The 50 respondents were selected based on the standard sample of 10% of the population although in this study constraints of mobility due to the spatial spread of farmers resulted in the lowering of the household respondents to approximately 8.9%.

3.4 Data Collection Instruments

The study used both secondary documents and structured in-depth interviews to collect information. Structured in-depth interviews were administered to responding officials.

Structured in-depth interviews were used to gather detailed data on socio-economic impacts of global policies on trade and development on rural development. Secondary documents in the form of classified and non-classified sources were used. Thus documents from government on rural development such as white papers, policy discussion papers, government gazettes and policy documents were used. A detailed discussion of these data collection instruments is provided below.

3.4.1 In-depth Interviews

The study used in-depth semi-structured interviews to gather data on rural development policies and practices particularly from key public officials in rural development and agricultural ministries. In-depth interviews utilize open-ended questions which result in detailed responses and somewhat unexpected responses. Rural development researchers may have biases against the rural populace which may be corrected using open ended question. In fact rural development being a multi-sectoral and inter-discipline require plural voices to stimulate productive policies and development. Rural development perceptions, attitudes, beliefs and values may only be apparent through the use of interviews.

In-depth interviews on the efficacy of smallholder agriculture development in rural Zimbabwe may provide complete and detailed responses since such type of interviews allows the interviewer the opportunity to re-play the interview responses and checks the viability and reliability of the information. The study utilized in-depth interviews as they are more flexible and friendly than other data collecting instruments like questionnaires and observation.

In this regard the study conducted in-depth interviews with key public officials in agriculture, rural development, industry and trade, and other none state actors. The interviews were voice recorded and transcribed using Express Sound software, which greatly enhances the transcribed interviews. The interview transcripts were then analyzed using qualitative analytical software Atlas Ti.

The in-depth interviews followed a schedule of questions to guide the discussions. Interview guides in the form of questions allow for a logical discussion of issues and ensures that all crucial issues which ought to be probed are sufficiently covered. The schedule of questions is tentative as follow up questions may be put across and more evidence solicited.

In-depth interviews were also done to verify information on completed questionnaires. The interviews were done for selected households which were practicing NRFE activities. In each of the identified NRFE activities the 2 interviews were conducted save for the gold panning community of Makaha in Mudzi where the three village heads near the goldfields were interviewed.

3.4.2 Questionnaires

The study used questionnaire as a data collection tool for household data. Closed questionnaires were used in collecting data from smallholder farmers in the three selected districts. 100 questionnaires were administered to smallholder farmers in resettled areas and 50 questionnaires were administered to communal farmers in Zimbabwe. The study considered small scale farmers as those defined by the Ministry of Agriculture as small farmers for the purposes of land reform. The segmentation of

smallholder questionnaires was premised by the need to capture the views from different spatial and resources endowments areas and test the viability of commercial and or subsistence predisposition in rural development. The questionnaires for smallholder farmers were the same so that crucial knowledge dimensions among farmers are tested on the same basis. The socio-economic conditions in newly created resettlement areas and colonially created communal areas have changed and hence their different opportunities in rural development.

A critical issue in using questionnaires as a data collection tool is the wording of the instrument. The wording of a questionnaire may influence the comprehension of the questions by the respondents and the subsequent responses which are being sought. In relation to a study on smallholder farmers who resides mainly in rural areas, the educational levels and literacy levels dictate simple language in questioning and in most cases on sport translations to vernacular language. It was therefore clear for the researcher to clearly train research assistants who were to administer the questionnaires. This allowed for critical responses to be collected without the risk of misconceptions of the questions. Besides the questionnaire wording which required personal approach, the political setting in newly resettled farming areas requires clear introductions and clarity of the purpose of the questionnaires to avoid political misconceptions and violence.

The choice of questionnaires over other data collecting instruments in collecting data from smallholder farmers was necessitated by a number of merits. First questionnaires were cost effective in terms of data collection from a large scale and geographic area where standardization of questions is critical for valid and reliable responses. This

standardization of questions among large scale data yielded specific and comparative data which was viable particularly in the study where rural development strategies are to be mapped and tested.

In this study the risk of misconceptions and low response rates associated with questionnaires were heavily mitigated by the use of research assistants who interpreted the questions and to a lesser extent controlled the respondent environment. However the use of the research assistants has been fraught with challenges of costs and sometimes limits the time respondents require to reflect on questions and complete responses.

3.4.3 Participant Observations

The study also used participant observations to understand contextual issues of rural development in Zimbabwe. This was basically limited to smallholder farmers in both newly resettled and communal farming areas. The researcher was allocated a six hectare plot of land in Mazowe District during the post-2000 land reform and utilizes this opportunity to probe the socio-economic conditions of smallholder farmers particularly the production policies of government including input access and costs. The researcher also has numerous visits to Mudzi district where his parentage resides and managed to attend over 6 local meetings on input and development projects. The role of local farmers' organisations in both communal and resettled areas requires personal probing on their effectiveness of providing farming services and marketing opportunities, roles which are at the center of agricultural growth and rural development. The researcher

also used personal networks to participatory observe socio-economic conditions in rural areas.

Participatory observations are vital for offering direct firsthand information on development issues, particularly on politico-economic conditions which may be lost through second hand reporting. In politically volatile regions information relaying may be a contested phenomenon as attributing positive development may be conceived as supporting mainstream political agenda or vice versa. A case in point is in resettlement areas where most are in local structures of the ruling party and therefore may construe negative issues to protect their political affiliation. It should be clearly stated here that though participant observation useful in grounding the researcher into contextual issues, they raise critical reliability issues due to the risks of subjectivity and lack of observer consistency. This was however mitigated in the study by using data from questionnaires and other data collection methods for rigorous data cleaning and checking.

3.4.4 Document Reviews

Rural development does not occur in a policy vacuum, but in set of policy and regulatory frameworks which govern the socio-economic conditions of development. Key policy pronouncements are mostly contained in government policy documents in the form of white and green papers and in other documents such as national budgets, parliamentary reports and non-state sectoral reports. The study heavily relied on documents in analysing critical policy issues as well as consistently follow production and performance issues of the agricultural sector in general and smallholder activities in particular.

Document review is a systematic process of data collection where secondary sources of written documents are used. The researcher used documents from government departments, non-governmental organization, private companies and transnational organizations such as the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) to understand rural development issues. Document review provides a record of events over a period of time which is significant in researching rural development phenomenon where timelines are important to be noted. This aspect of document review allowed the study to track key issues from various records which has greatly improved the validity of findings and data integrity.

The study utilized the nation state as the unit of both data collection and analysis. This has implications towards the scale of the study and whether the study did fully saturate the unit. This was addressed by the use of document analysis where content review allowed an overview insight to be gained in rural development issues in Zimbabwe in an otherwise cost effective way. Document review produced data which was specific and detailed as well as data which is uninfluenced by researcher bias. The study utilized document review due to the robustness of data and its level of accuracy as compared to human recollections of events by respondents.

However it should be pointed out that the researcher has to carefully scrutinize documents for truthfulness of data as some government documents did seem to praise issues when the reality pointed otherwise. The study has to screen for relevance as most documents from government sources were general and voluminous yet only small sections covered rural development issues in detail.

3.5 Data Collection Procedures and Methods

The supremacy of a research methodology does not only lie with the choice of research methods but also in the manner in which the data is collected. Data collection procedures have the effect of improving the validity and reliability of the study especially if the process is well managed, consistent and appropriate to the research settings. The study devised procedures which were appraised of the socio-political context.

3.5.1 Preliminary Procedures

The study applied for ethical clearance from the Govan Mbeki Research and Postgraduate office in order to carry out research on human subjects. The clearance was part of the academic processes at the University of Fort Hare which ought to be followed by all research students. The researcher also applied for clearance to carry out the research from the Government of Zimbabwe, through the Ministry of Information and Media. This was done to facilitate access to government documents on agriculture, trade and development policies which included classified and unclassified documents. This clearance was also important in conducting interviews particularly with government officials who may have reservations in granting unsanctioned interviews. The political settings of agriculture and rural development in Zimbabwe is clearly permeated by the post 2000 land reform program where the ZANU PF led government redistributed land to about 350 000 black citizens (Government of Zimbabwe, 2009). The unfolding economic crisis led to polarization of the political climate in Zimbabwe with the opposition parties accusing the government of economic maladministration through the land reform program. The farmers and the rural population have been at the center of

this conflict with arguments being proffered to show non-performance of the sector to discredit the ruling party. As such any research on rural development and agriculture is skeptically viewed. Thus to protect the researcher and the assistants, proper clearances were sought from departmental heads, local leadership in carrying out the research. This allowed the research to be conducted smoothly as no confrontations with politicians of either side was experienced during the course of the data collection.

3.5.2 Procedures during Data Collection

All the 10 research assistants were trained on the instruments to be used prior to their deployments. Issues to do with ethics and conduct during the administration of questionnaires and interviews were clearly spelt. Prior to each interview or questionnaire administration, appointments were sought with respondents and the most convenient times were agreed. Each respondent was assured of anonymous status and appraised for the need of the research and the relevance of voice recordings during interviews. After interviews respondents were thanked for their time and input.

3.6 Data Analysis

Rural development is by nature a composite of epistemological and quantifiable objective data which should be subjected logical interpretation and analysis of facts. The study therefore employs document content analysis. A critical analysis of data from primary and secondary sources from national and international agencies and governments departments will be a key component of the research.

A mixed methodology for data analysis was adopted. Constant comparative analysis was used to identify patterns, code data and categorize findings of the in-depth interviews. This was to follow trends and discontinuities especially on rural development. Tables and figures were used where appropriate. The data was complimented by that from documented primary and secondary literature sources. Data from questionnaires was statistically analysed using statistical methods that are in line with respective research questions and assumptions. Some the statistical techniques adopted include simple descriptive statistics, correlation tests and analysis of variance. This strategy gave the necessary triangulation necessary in data analysis and interpretation.

3.5.1 Quantitative Data Analysis

The study produced quantitative data mainly from questionnaires and document content analysis. Quantitative data was mainly analyzed using Excel Spreadsheet. Excel spreadsheet provided valuable tools in the understanding of agriculture, production, policy and related issues to farmers and rural development institutions. Critical descriptive statistics, cross tabulations and inferences were conducted on the data producing valuable analysis. All the questionnaires were coded prior to their administration and all the answers were captured in the spreadsheet. All the data was captured and cleaned before analysis resulting in clear and concise analysis. Interpretation of the analyzed results was conducted simultaneously.

3.5.2 Qualitative Data Analysis

Data from interviews, document reviews and observations was analyzed using Atlas.ti which is a qualitative analytical software. This kind of software allowed the coding of data in the form of words to be coded and linked as families and networks for closer scrutiny and analysis. The volume of documents particularly from government, development partner's and farmer organisations necessitated software which could harness them into single family codes so as to trace themes and issues sufficiently. The software was also appropriate to analyze interview responses on the wide yet detailed discipline of rural development in Zimbabwe.

3.6 Conclusion

Zimbabwe is facing widespread underdevelopment. Rural development remains elusive and abstract. The new challenges posed by the globalizing world need not be overstated. Zimbabwe needs to take charge of strategic and cohesive policy initiatives now if underdevelopment scourge and stagnating rural economy is to be abated. Such a policy thrust requires rigorous methodology to gather data which reflect the true state of development and put the critical issues of development to the fore. Creating opportunities for growth, making markets work for the poor and instituting strong institutions to regulate the economic environment should be at the helm of government policy. Stimulating and securing sustainable livelihoods of the millions of Zimbabweans in the rural areas should be enough impetus for the state to redefine the terms of rural development. The study therefore used mixed methods to probe the socio-economic

conditions of rural areas in Zimbabwe. Relying on both qualitative and quantitative methods for data collection the key issues of rural development are captured

CHAPTER 4 DIVERSIFIED RURAL DEVELOPMENT: PRACTICE AND ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction

This section of the study provides a detailed description of the study's findings on smallholder agriculture and non-farm rural economic activities and their envisaged roles in fostering socio-economic transformations in Zimbabwe. It starts by addressing the land question particularly the issues of tenure, agriculture structure and the key institutions which govern and administer land. In the foregoing discussion on smallholder agriculture, the focus is on productivity issues and marketing structures that can spur development. Further analysis of infrastructure development' needs for smallholder farming communities is provided. This is preceded by the presentation of findings on non-farm rural economy (NFRE) activities and their implications for diversified rural development. In conclusion the section looks at new opportunities in contract farming which can proffer viable farming strategies that are capable to penetrate the global market.

4.2 Agricultural land: structural analysis

Land is at the core of Zimbabwean agriculture and its management and utilisation has the potential to either promote or retard growth and development. However it should be pointed out that the land question has been the centre of the political economy of Zimbabwe since 1932 when the colonial settler government apportioned land according to races and class structure. It is this historical ownership of land that created structural

poverty which has class and race dimensions. This is shown by the structure of land apportionment in 1932 where 5000 European settlers were allocated 51% of total land as compared to 1 million blacks on 22% of land in Zimbabwe. This is shown in Table 4.1 below:

Table 4.1 Land Apportionment in Southern Rhodesia in 1930

CATEGORY	ACRES	% OF COUNTRY
European Areas	49 149 174	51
Native Reserves	21 127 040	22
Unassigned Areas	17 793 300	18.5
Native Purchase Area	7 464 566	7.8
Forest Area	590 500	0.6
Undetermined area	88 540	0.1
Total	96 213 120	100

Source: Government of Zimbabwe (2002)

The subsequent legislation during the colonial government led to more disenfranchisement for black farmers who were put in reserves with low economic and agricultural potential. This is shown by the chronology in Box 4.1 below:

Box 4.1 Land Legislation and Political Events

- 1894 Gwayi and Shangani Reserves created.
- 1895 (May) British South Africa Company officially adopts the name Southern Rhodesia.
- 1896 (Mar) Outbreak of Ndebele uprising/*Umzukela Wokuqala* or *Imfazo II*.
- 1896 (June) Outbreak of Shona uprising or First Chimurenga.
- 1898 Southern Rhodesia Order-in-Council recognized by the British imperial government as the governing instrument of Rhodesia.
- 1903 Colonial Legislative Council introduced.
- 1903 Masters and Servants Act introduced.
- 1905 Sixty Reserves created.
- 1910 Southern Rhodesia Native Regulations introduced.
- 1912 South African Native African Congress (SMAMC) formed.
- 1914 Reserves' Commission established.
- 1914 P.S Ngwenya forms the African Home Mission.
- 1919 Matabele Home Movement petitions the Crown for the return of alienated Ndebele land.
- 1923 Responsible Government succeeds Company Rule.
- 1924 Morris Carter Commission appointed.
- 1927 Native Affairs Act introduced.
- 1927 South African Industrial and Commercial Workers Union opened branches in Rhodesia.
- 1930 Land Apportionment Bill adopted as the Land Apportionment Act.
- 1931 Land Apportionment Act put into effect.
- 1931 Maize Control Act introduced.
- 1934 Women's League of the Southern Rhodesia Bantu Voters' Association organizes a successful boycott of beer halls
- 1936 Bantu Congress of Southern Rhodesia formed.
- 1943 Howman Commission Report.
- 1945 Railway Workers Strike.
- 1945 Urban Areas Act.
- 1946 Revival Of the Reformed Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union (RICU), by Charles Mzingeli.
- 1947 African Voice Association (the Voice), founded by Benjamin Curombo.
- 1948 General Strike.
- 1951 Native Land Husbandry Act (NLHA) passed.

Source: Commercial Farmers Union of Zimbabwe (2013)

The structure of land allocations in colonial Zimbabwe resulted in a number of issues which have continued to influence rural development policy and agriculture development. First colonial land apportionment created structural poverty by dispossessing one group of people of their livelihoods and empowering another. It is historically evident that black Africans in colonial Zimbabwe were primarily farmers who were able to produce for their subsistence and have surplus for both local and external trade. However the resettlement of Africans to reserves like Gwayi and Shangani impoverished them due to inhabitable conditions coupled with poor soils for agriculture. This kind of poverty which is perpetuated by the state against its citizens has continued

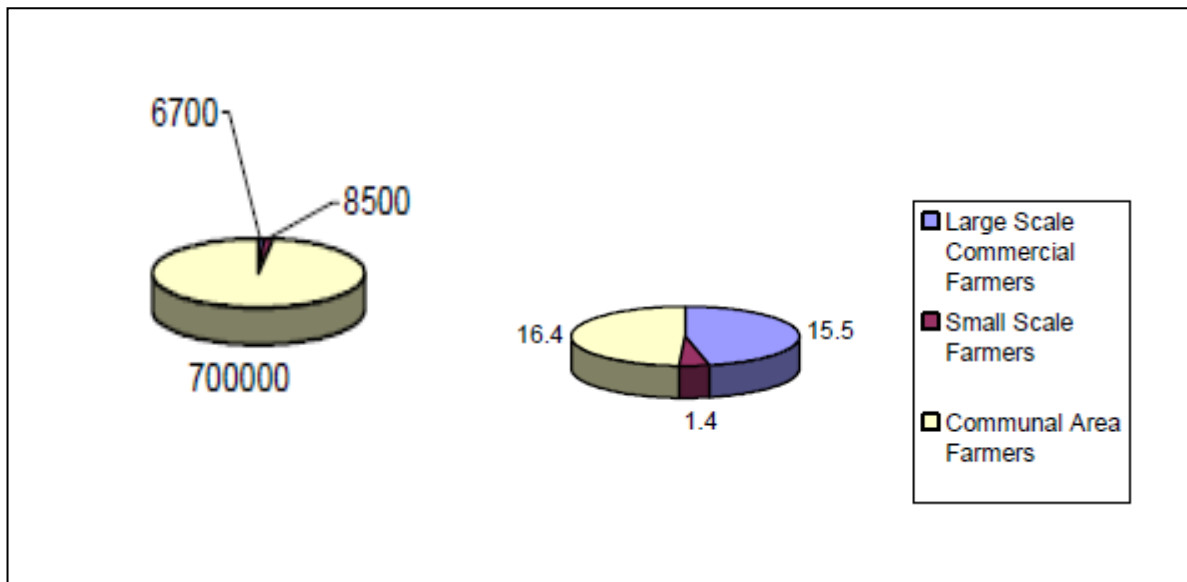
to dodge even post independent Zimbabwe as the majority of rural citizens continue to live and work in the colonially created reserves.

Secondly the legacy of colonial land apportionment is with the socio-economic support structures which were enacted. Finance and capital systems for agriculture were instituted and maintained to protect settler capital and support a process of capital accumulation while systems were put in place to continuously impoverish the black majority. Access to training in better farming techniques and methods and capital for inputs and related infrastructure was denied to blacks. In post independent Zimbabwe such systems have largely remained embodied in the economic fabric of the country that rural development has become difficult to attain.

Thirdly this unequal development of land was based on racial lines and it gave rise to nationalism and peasant consciousness that led to the liberation struggle (Ranger, 1985:14). The nationalist African movements seized the grievances of landless blacks and poor citizens to mobilise for war and mass resistance to white rule. It should be noted that the willingness of black participation in the struggle for Zimbabwe was highly influenced by the land grievance and continued segregation in agricultural support systems and marketing (Ranger, 1985:14).

The subsequent land reforms of Zimbabwe impacted on the land structure and redistributing formerly European land to blacks. In 1980 a large proportion of productive land was in the hands of white commercial farmers whereas on a small proportion of productive was in the hands of blacks as small scale commercial farms. This is shown in Figure 4.1 below:

Figure 4.1: Land Type and Number of Households in 1980



Source: Chitsike (2002:3)

Figure 4.1 shows that 6700 households were utilising 15.5 million hectares large scale commercial farming land compared to 8500 households on 1.4 million hectares small scale farmers and 700 000 households on 16.4 million hectares mostly the former colonial reserves.

4.2.1 Land Tenure and Agricultural Structure

Land tenure in Zimbabwe falls under freehold, leasehold and communal ownership. These tenure systems are systematically linked to the type of agriculture and the productivity of land. Freehold tenure is where a person has exclusive rights to land with both usufruct rights and title rights. Under this tenure system farmers have the right to dispose commercially their land rights and thus land has a value. It should be noted that freehold rights to agriculture land was abolished in 2000 as a result of the land reform

program as a way of nationalising land resources and of managing the truancy of white farmers who were refusing to cede their title to commercial land.

Leasehold land is where farmers are given the rights to use but not to own agriculture land. Though this was practised under Native Purchase land during the colonial government, it became the *modus operandi* during the post 2000 land resettlement program of the government. It should be noted that leasehold tenure under the current Zimbabwean land reform has limited rights as farmers are only given offer letters to land without signing lease agreements with neither the government nor previous landowners. The current offer letters for land are not transferable to other land users or investors, hence limited in their commercial value. Respondents in Mazowe district who are smallholder farmers and have offer letters from the government pointed a gloomy picture of them. One respondent noted that the land reform offer letter clearly reserves the right to withdraw the offer by the minister responsible for lands and resettlement without any legal recourse. Clearly this removes security of tenure which is vital for investing in capital projects and inputs. A notable case is the rise in disputes over offer letters as many people have double allocations to land.

Communal land tenure systems are the most common in rural areas occupying 46% of all agriculture land in Zimbabwe (ZIMSTAT, 2013). Under communal tenure land is owned by the state and the community is given land management rights while villagers have usufruct rights. Communal land cannot be sold in Zimbabwe, though one recently some people have purchased homestead improvements and subsequently inherited the usufruct rights of land. Communal land in Zimbabwe is located basically in natural

ecological regions three, four and five of Zimbabwe where rainfall is low and temperatures are high.

Land tenure systems in Zimbabwe are highly linked to the structure of agriculture systems. There are basically three variants of agriculture in Zimbabwe, being communal farming, small scale commercial farming and large scale commercial farming. This categorisation is based on whether production is for consumption only or for both consumption and marketing. This results in subsistence farming which is basically communal farming and commercial farming which is for trade. Current farming practices in communal farming however reveal that farmers are producing with the intention to consume and sell surplus. Of the communal farmers interviewed in Mudzi District in the study, 96% were producing various food crops for both consumption and trade and 85% were also producing cash crops such as cotton and groundnuts.

The land reform programme in Zimbabwe has also added another dimension to the farming systems in Zimbabwe. Under the post 2000 land reform, there were two schemes, one for small scale farmers which is A1 and the other for small and large commercial farmers which is called A2 model. The classification of land as smallholder or large scale has some difficulties in the current scenario of Zimbabwe. According to Dorward (2004:13) small scale farmers have land holdings of less than 2 hectares. However Zimbabwean landholdings are more than 6 ha as depicted in Table 4.2. Table 4.2 shows that on average basis small scale farmers occupy between 6 ha to 75 ha. It should be noted that land allocations are according to the region's economic and agricultural potential.

Table 4.2 Average Land Sizes and Households Pre- and Post- 2000

Farming Categories	Pre-2000		Post-2000	
	Households	Average	Households	Average
Peasant (communal/A1/Model A)	1 100 000	15	1 400 000	20
Small/medium family farms(small scale commercial farms; purchase areas; A2; Peri-Urban	15 000	100	58 000	75
Large scale farms				
White	4 500	2 000	3 000	1 000
Indigenous	750	800	3 000	500
Agro-industrial Estates	500	15 000	200	10 000
Landless	500 000	-----	200 000	-----
Totals	1 120 800			1 464 200

Source: Moyo (2004)

Land allocations in the post 2000 land reform era are regulated through Statutory Instrument 419 of 1999, which among other issues; sets out the maximum permissible land sizes per natural region whilst under Statutory Instrument 288 of 2000, land cannot

be transferred unless there is conformity with the Maximum Farm Size Regulation. The regulated maximum farm sizes are shown in Table 4.3 below:

Table 4.3 Region and Maximum Farm Sizes Post 2000

Region	Maximum Farm Size (ha)
I	250
IIA	350
IIB	400
III	500
IV	1500
V	2000

Source: Government of Zimbabwe (2009)

Farm sizes in Zimbabwe tend to increase as the region's agricultural potential decreases despite the fact that farmers may still be considered small scale due to the ecological value of their land. However the impact of land reform on farm sizes is its tendency to increase the average landholding size of smallholder farmers. It is pertinent to point out that smallholder farming units in Zimbabwe include a wide range of tenure systems and their implications to production efficiency is yet to fully understood.

The research finding on average farm size in Zimbabwe which is at variance with international small scale farm sizes has a significant bearing on the intensity of

agriculture. Smallholder farmers are characterized by their intensive use of land. This is common practise among communal farmers where the pressure for land is high but may be questionable to resettled farmers whose average farm size is larger. Of the resettled farmers interviewed in Mazowe and Makoni districts, where average land sizes was 35ha, which is lower than the national average, 67% indicated that they utilise about 6 to 10ha of land each year. This means close to 20ha were left either for grazing or fallow. It should be noted that one of the stated goals of land reform was to intensify agriculture as most large scale white commercial farmers were leaving the bulk of their land fallow. Intensive agriculture would increase output per hectare of land and release more land to landless people. If smallholder agriculture is to be intensive in increase output per unit land, it has to intensify agriculture by reducing land holdings size thereby concentrating finance and capital in operations on manageable land sizes.

Security of land tenure is vital for smallholder agriculture development. Zimbabwe abolished all ownership rights of commercial farms in 2002 and this has been entrenched in the new constitution. This has a significant impact to land investments as farmers would not naturally invest in farms which they do not have title. Resettled farmers and communal farmers do not have title documents except for the former who have offer letters. In the case of communal farmers, usufructs rights are the only rights enjoyed on land through traditional leadership. This virtually destroys rural land markets and farmers' abilities to use land as collateral for financial loans for improvements and production. This problem has been alluded to in recent literature on the land reform in Zimbabwe (Moyo, 2010; Hawkins, 2013; Rukuni, 2013 and Dore, 2013). Financial institutions including banks have snubbed the offer letters of resettled farmers mainly

due to their untransferable nature. The government has tried to offer 99 year leases for farms but they also have met resistance from financial institutions. Recently the government has offered land permits which have tried to address the limitations of the previous tenure documents.

If smallholder agriculture and rural development is to grow in Zimbabwe there is need to develop tenure systems to full ownership rights which are transferable. The government need to revamp the tenure systems by transferring state ownership of all commercial and communal land and provide such rights to individual households. Communal ownership of agriculture land should be improved by offering title to arable pieces of land per household and leaving other communally owned resources such as grazing, forests and water resources. Establishing the land market in both communal and commercial farming areas would improve investments in land and realignment of idle land for maximisation of production.

4.2.2 Land Institutions and Implications

At the core of land tenure and farming structures in Zimbabwe are land institutions which allocate rights to land and provide the governance and management framework for agriculture. Land institutions are critical in safeguarding tenure integrity and resolving property disputes thereby aiding in the optimum utilisation of farms. Zimbabwe's land administration and management policies are basically under the Ministry of Lands and Rural Resettlement. The Ministry has two departments namely land acquisition and transfers and resettlement and planning. The department of land acquisition and transfers basically deals with land identification for compulsory acquisition either for

urban development or for agriculture. The Department of Resettlement and Planning is charged with the allocation of farms, land database administration and agriculture land use planning. In conjunction with the Department of Agriculture Research and Extension Services (AGRITEX) under the ministry of agriculture, the department of resettlement and planning provides for farm sizes, land utilisation and capacity establishment on land. However it should be noted that the Ministry of Land and Rural Resettlement administers agriculture land and Stateland, though there is a separate Department of Stateland which is under Ministry of Local Government, Housing and Public Works.

Land administration in Zimbabwe has so many authorities particularly on government level which has made it difficult to resolve land disputes on agriculture land. This is revealed by one respondent from the Ministry of Lands and Rural Resettlement who alluded to the multiplicity of land institutions in Zimbabwe (see Box 4.2).

Box 4.2: Respondent's View on Government Departments on Land

The Ministry ought to be the custodian of all land issues in Zimbabwe, be it Stateland, commercial farming land and communal land to urban land. However the present setting has too many stakeholders at government level ranging from Ministry of Agriculture, Local Government, President's Office and many other departments who all have a say concerning various types of land. Even war veterans have a say in the way we allocate and adjudicate land disputes.

Source: Fieldwork (2013)

At sub-national level, there are several institutions who administer land which include the provincial land committee and the district land committees. The provincial land committee is chaired by the Resident Minister who is now called Minister of State for

Province. The committee members include Provincial Chief Land Officers and other provincial members of the civil service. Traditional chiefs, headman and war veterans' leadership also sit on the Provincial lands committee.

The District Lands Committee replicates the same structure for the provincial lands committee except that it is chaired by the District Administrator who is a civil servant from the Ministry of Local Government. The district Lands Committee has powers to identify and allocate land to farmers and sends such allocation for ratification to the province and ministerial head offices. Lands Committees also adjudicates and resolves farm disputes and conflicts. Most farm disputes are due to double allocations of the same land or boundary disputes. Interviews with resettled smallholder farmers revealed that considerable time for farming is being lost due to unending disputes over land as land committees continue to allocate land which has already been allocated to other people before. Other respondents view these re-allocations of land as corruption especially on the part of Ministry of Lands and Rural Resettlement officials. The shambolic state of national land databases at the Surveyor General mean that land boundaries and data is missing and powerful citizens may demand land which has been allocated to peasants before.

In communal areas land is usually administered through a system of traditional leaders including the village heads, headmen and chiefs. They preside over land disputes and allocate communal land for new migrants into villages. Disputes over land are minimal in communal lands as most land is inherited through kinship. However respondents pointed to scenarios where other villagers were stripped of their rights over land by Chiefs, though this was later reversed by the District Administrator.

For productive agriculture to be supported in resettled farming areas and commercial farms there is need to develop land administration capacities of the Ministry of Lands and Rural Resettlement so as to encourage investments. Sound administration through appropriate land information data management particularly at the Surveyor General will limit disputes and farmers would devote time and resources to farming.

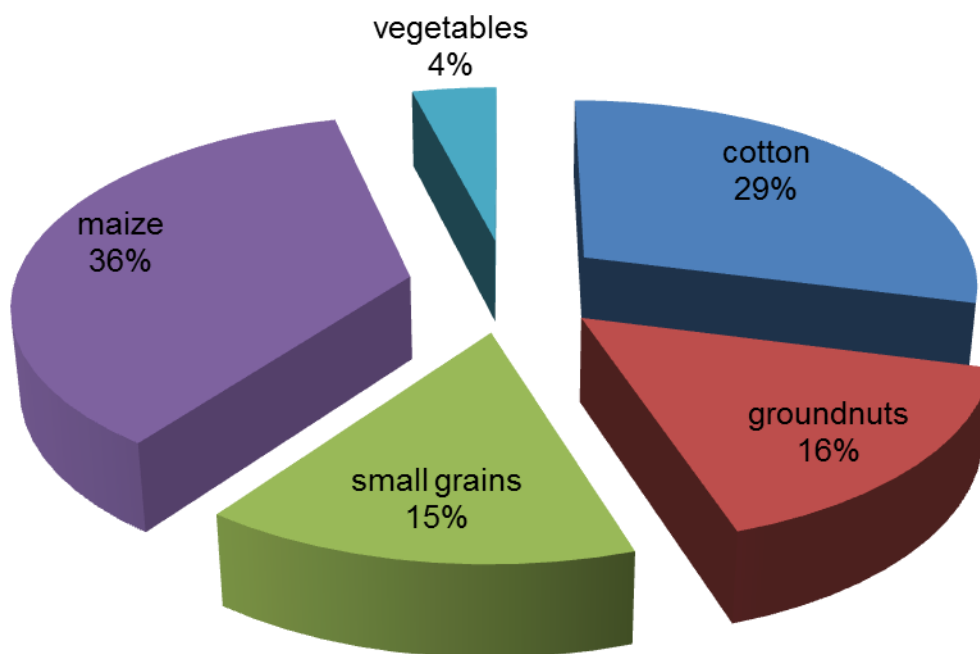
4.3 Smallholder Agriculture Production

This section analyses the study's findings on smallholder production practises and challenges. Smallholder farmers are identified as farmers who are in communal areas, resettled small scale areas (Makoni District) and small scale commercial areas in Mazowe. It is important to analyse production practices of smallholder farmers in Zimbabwe so as to determine policy interventions and implementation matrices that would create benefits for the poor.

4.3.1 Tenureship and Productivity

In Mudzi district the study found that the communal farmers predominately produce maize, small grains, groundnuts and cotton. Figure 4.2 below shows the crop mix for an average household in Mudzi communal area. The study reveals that crop mix is tilted toward cash crops with cotton and groundnuts constituting 56% of annual crop output. Maize has also a significant percentage due to its primary role as a staple crop in Zimbabwe. Small grains also have a significant portion as it they are normally taken as *sadza* the staple foodstuff. Vegetables have low output as most households produce them in winter when surface water is available.

**Figure 4.2 Percentage Household Annual Crop Mix (ton/year)
(N=50)**

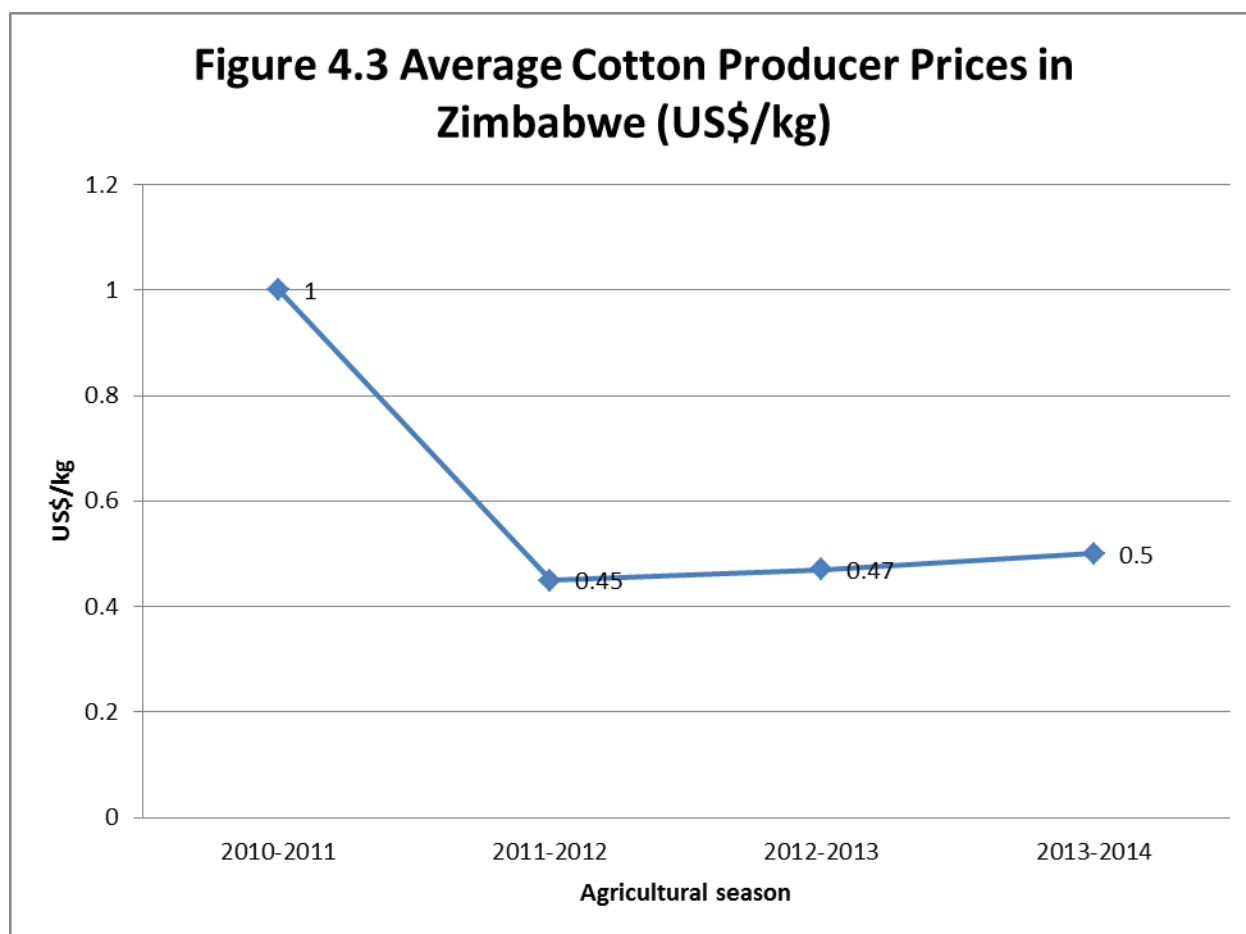


Source: Fieldwork, 2013

This crop mix of communal farmers has a direct impact on poverty alleviation and rural development for smallholder farmers in communal areas. First the respondents revealed that they do not change the average hectare for maize as it is the backbone of their food security and survival. However output has remained constant of approximately 1.6 tonnes per year due to lack of maize seed and the costs of fertilizers. This implies that any policy intervention in communal food security has to include seed maize and fertilizers as part of an input package if it has to be successful.

Traditional small grains are now a common crop in Mudzi. 86% of the respondents revealed that they have started growing small grains in the last 2 years due to the decline in annual rainfall and the campaigns by non-governmental organisations that see them as adaptive strategies to climate change effects. However most communal farmers point their low output as due to the low hactarage which they farm small grains as they require a lot of labour in their processing. An example is the millet crop which would need labour on re-planting, weeding, harvesting, pounding to remove stalks and pounding for mealie-meal. One interviewee indicated that they only produce small grains like millet as a fall-back crop in times of droughts as they can be stored for a long time.

Cotton production in communal areas has been on a steady increase, in terms of area under cultivation and number of households. The increase of population in rural Zimbabwe due to unemployment and shortages of housing in urban areas (Herald, 2013) has led to increase in adult labour force particularly for communal farmers. Labour is a critical input in cotton production. Economic factors have also led to the increase in the number of households producing cotton. The dollarization of the economy which has led to the circulation of US dollars means farmers have to grow cash crops so that they can make payments for school fees, grinding mill and other services. However the increase in the number of households cultivating cotton as a cash crop is under threat due to the declining cotton prices in Zimbabwe (see figure 4.3).



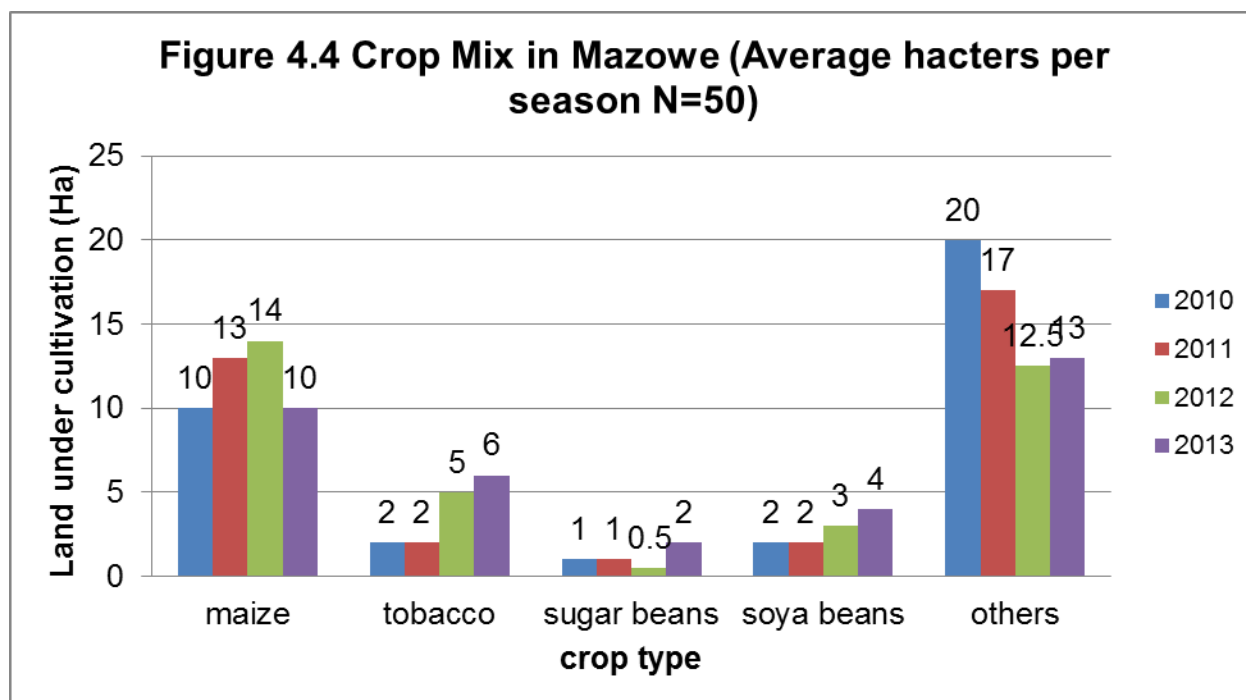
Source: Fieldwork, 2013

The declining cotton price in Zimbabwe which has been a result of the declining international cotton prices has led to farmers rethinking their continued cultivation of this crop. However 46% of communal farmers interviewed indicated that they may continue producing cotton and groundnuts which are cash crops as they are viable sources for the cash in the cash strapped rural economy in Zimbabwe. 34% of the respondents indicated that since they are under contract farming for cotton, they are willing to produce the cash crop and gain the little profit on the open market.

Communal agriculture is heavily linked to family size and gender. This is due to the fact that most resources such as labour and capital are provided by close family members and kinsmen. The study found out that households with more than 5 adult members tend to increase area under cultivation for cash crops and cereal grain which is due to the availability of labour. However households with elderly members and headed by women are mostly growing cereals rather than cash crops indicating challenges in procuring inputs and providing labour for production.

Livestock production is practiced by all the respondents interviewed though 65% have only small livestock such as goats, sheep and chicken while about 45% have both cattle and small livestock. Despite the huge benefits of small livestock in nutrition and income generation through sales, respondents noted that they require cattle for draught power and as safety against livelihood shocks such as death, drought and prolonged sickness. It was also noted from the study that household with cattle are likely to be male headed and have an average output of cereals of 4 tonnes per annum with a significant output of cash crops. This means poverty in communal areas is gendered and structured with family structure and size.

In the resettled small scale commercial farmers, which include the older peri-urban small farms, Model A and B and the A1 and A2 farmers, production is skewed toward production of maize, though flue cured tobacco production has been on the rise. Maize production in smallholder resettled farmers is for both household consumption and commercial trading. Figure 4.4 below shows the average crop mix of small scale farmers in Mazowe District where the average farm size is 50ha.



Source: Fieldwork (2013)

The study shows that maize crop dominates the crop mix of resettled farmers just as in communal areas. However the average hectares under maize since the year 2010 have been 12 ha signifying that resettled farmers are in commercial production of maize. Tobacco and soya beans production has been on the rise since 2010 owing to support systems such as contract farming to farmers from private companies. Sugar beans have the lowest area under cultivation as compared to other cash and staple crops over the years, with an average of one hectare owing to the depressed market and lack of seed inputs for this crop.

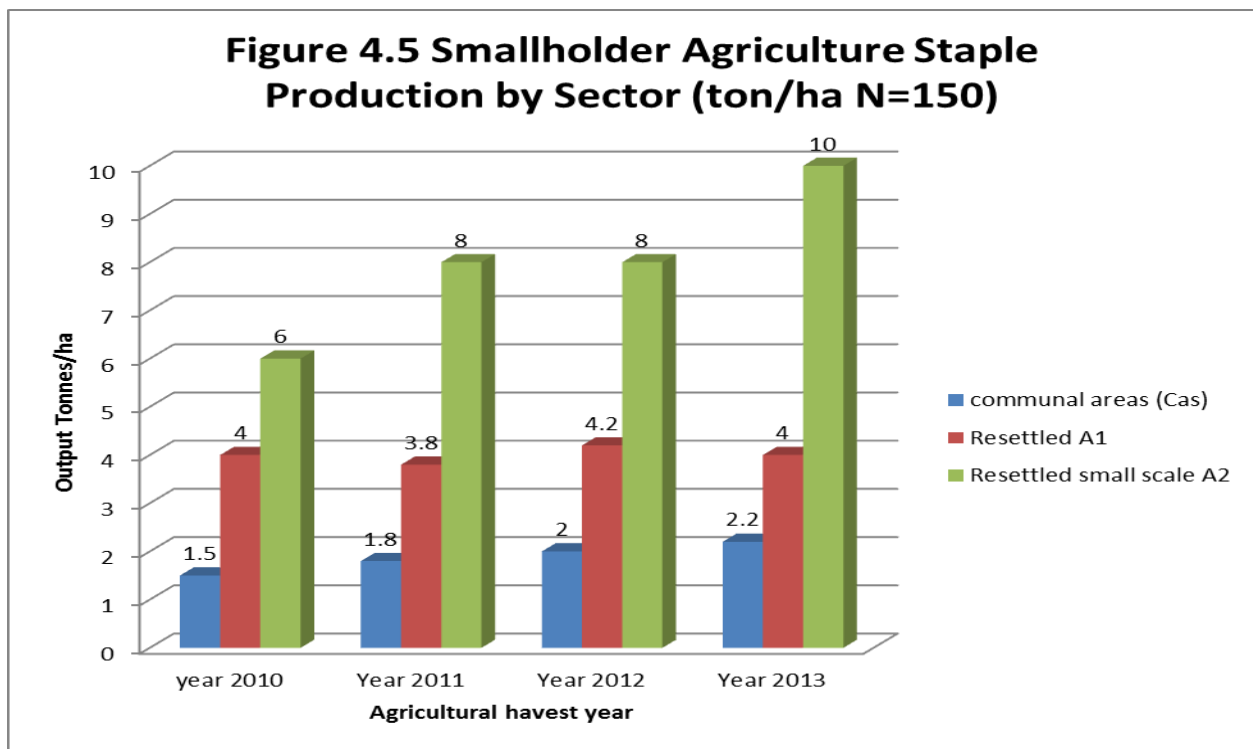
The crop mix cultivated area analysis has a number of implications for small scale development in Zimbabwe. First the prime agricultural area which is remaining fallow in Mazowe is a cause of concern. This was also the case with the former landowners

before land reform who left vast prime agriculture land fallow. In Mazowe the study showed that over 50% of the farm area was being left fallow. There has to be policy interventions to increase area under cultivation per farm so as to boost production output.

Livestock production is also a key farming practice in resettled farming areas. Over 90% of all interviewed respondents indicated that they own cattle and have at 4 cows per household. This is significant for draught animal power especially in light that farm mechanisation is minimal in resettled farming areas. However respondents pointed out insecurity on farms have resulted in many farmers losing their livestock to theft. This is corroborated by the Zimbabwe Republic Police (ZRP) who have indicate that cattle rustling has been increasing at a rate of 5% yearly from reported cases of 1223 in 2009 especially in peri-urban farming areas like Mazowe (Herald, 2013). Improving the security of resettled farmers improve their endowments sets and provide opportunities for further investments in agriculture.

The study revealed that output per unit area for staple crops is on the rise particularly for resettled small scale farmers. Generally output per hectare tends to rise depending on sector such as communal areas (CAs), resettled A1 and resettled A2 farmers. This is shown on Figure 4.5 below. It should be noted that in communal areas where there is low endowment sets and where rainfall is low and poor soils, cereal output has remained low below 2 tonnes per hectare per annum. One respondent indicated that maize production as the key cereal produce has become expensive due to high costs of fertilizers as the soils are now dependent on fertilisers. Though cereal output in resettled A1 farmers are above 4 tonnes per hectare they are over 60% lower than the expected

yield of 12 tonnes per hectare by the government's agricultural planning agency Agriculture Technical and Extension Services (AGRITEX). However it should be noted that in the A2 small scale resettled farmers cereal production has been on the rise since 2010 (see Figure 4.5). This basically is due to intensive farming systems used by these farmers as they tend to reduce area under cereal cultivation and increasing area under cash crops especially tobacco.



Source: Fieldwork (2013)

Another variant in smallholder agriculture in Zimbabwe is income. Income tends to be lower in communal areas where crop output and livestock sales are low due to huge transaction costs. One interesting finding of the study is that average income in resettled A1 farmers is increasing at a faster rate than that of resettled small scale A2 farmers. This has been explained by a number of issues. First A1 farmers have just 6ha

of land while their counterparts have an average of 35ha of land hence their operations tend to be intensive. Second most A1 farmers have been increasing land under cash crops particularly tobacco as they take advantage of some reforms in the tobacco industry such as input provision and marketing. Respondents in Mazowe (A2) indicated that since 2010 inputs are increasingly difficult to access as most programmes for input provision have scaled back or have collapsed due to the liquidity crunch in the country. Respondents from the Ministry of Agriculture pointed to the high default rates on loans accessed in banks which have led them to be snubbed by local financial institutions.

One critical finding of the study is that if cereal and cash crop output are to be increased to meet both national food security needs and trade balances the state has to improve the endowment sets of Communal farmers since that is where most farmers are located through the provision of modern inputs. The state has also to improve input supply systems in resettled areas and find appropriate financing options for farmers. This necessitate the study to closely examine the findings on agriculture input distribution and financing.

4.3.2 Input Distribution and Agricultural Financing

Agricultural inputs are essential in the production process, and their supply at appropriate prices and locations is vital. Agriculture in Zimbabwe, both small scale and large scale has options of inputs provision and financing options which range from government funded schemes to private schemes. The effectiveness of these financing options to various farmer groups such that communal, small scale resettled farmers is the subject of this analysis.

Government inputs provision and financing schemes include the Agricultural Sector Productivity Enhancement Facility (ASPEF) in 2005, Presidential Agricultural Input Scheme (2009 to present), Government Farming Input Scheme (2013 to present), Operation Maguta (2005 to present) and the Champion Farmer Programme (2007 to present) successor to Operation Maguta/Inala). Most of these input schemes were running concurrently or are no longer operative.

The Agriculture Sector Productivity Enhancement Facility (ASPEF) was introduced by the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe (RBZ) as part of its quasi-fiscal approaches to agriculture financing in 2005. The fund was to finance agricultural inputs, equipment and infrastructure provision. Among the fund's stated objectives include:

- i) to enhance food security;
- ii) foreign currency generation through exports;
- iii) foreign currency savings through import substitution on food and related products;
- iv) stimulate a positive supply response in key sectors of the economy;
- v) price Stability; and
- vi) employment creation

Source: Gono (2007:1).

The input facility was to procure inputs and loan them to farmers at concessional rates so as to stimulate production as the country was undergoing socio-economic decline. Farmers in resettled areas were also funded for the construction of dams, barns for

tobacco processing and other infrastructure as a capacity building measure. ASPEF funds were allocated to irrigation infrastructure, horticulture, beef cattle support, dairy support, piggery and poultry, crop and other livestock facility and export promotion. Except for export promotion and horticulture, all other funded areas were allocated 20% each of the ZW\$5 trillion (equivalent of US\$60 million, Gono, 2007).

The RBZ's ASPEF facility has a number of challenges. First prioritisation under the facility was a problem as the government failed to allocate resources to the crops such as cereals which are vital for food security. Food security is not only a key driver to economic development but also as a human right and basic entitlement to citizens (Rahim, 2011). Secondly the fund failed to allocate funds per sector or agricultural type, such that communal farmers, A1 and A2 farmers. Allocation of inputs was per province and farmers in general hence smallholder farmers were crowded out of the facility. 70% of communal farmers interviewed in the study revealed that inputs under ASPEF were secured only by influential A2 farmers and political leadership including Chiefs and headman. One respondent indicated that in Ward 2 of Mudzi, it was only the headman who got a tractor under ASPEF which is being used to fetch water and as a private transport by her nephew. Failure to categorise beneficiaries and allocation of inputs based on party structures resulted in the programme being abused.

Operation Maguta was launched in 2005, as an input scheme run by the Zimbabwe National Army aiming to boost agriculture production and food security hence ensure a stable security environment in the long run. The program initially has a target of 250 000ha of cultivated land targeting cereal production. Soldiers were assigned to districts especially in communal areas where they assist in disseminating farming information,

tillage of land and distributing seeds and fertilizer packs to farmers. The programme was expanded in 2007 to bring up to 800 000ha of land under cultivation. Operation Maguta though it managed to deliver inputs packs to deserving communal farmers it neglected A1 and A2 farmers who were also facing challenges to source inputs due to the prevailing economic recession. The input scheme placed orders on input suppliers in the country leaving low stocks on the open market. Fertilizer manufacturing companies were always behind in stocking the program and left with no room for stocking the open market. This means farmers who did not benefit from the input scheme were left with no alternative to purchase inputs hence subdued production. Critics of Operation Maguta point to partisan distribution of inputs particularly in communal areas. This is vividly captured by one respondent who narrated his assessment of the scheme in Box 4.3 below:

Box 4.3: Respondent's View of Operation Maguta

The army came with Operation Maguta when things were difficult. Inflation was very high and most of us here did not have money to finance our farming operations. The major challenge of the operation was to do with selection of beneficiaries for the program. Since the inputs were free local political leaders were demand a share hence as a result very few common villagers were taken aboard in the program. If one was labelled an opposition activist or a sympathizer then you could not enroll in the program. Another problem was that the input scheme did not work with existing agriculture extension workers in our ward but relied on soldiers whom we know are not farmers, so their methods were always different from ours when it comes to production.

Source: Fieldwork (2013)

The challenges of Operation Maguta as put forward by the respondent of partisan selection of beneficiaries were also corroborated by other sources in the Ministry of agriculture. Officials from the agriculture ministry felt that they were supposed to run the

program since they have structures in farming communities who could distribute the inputs efficiently. It was clear that the government in the preceding years of 2007 to 2008 was facing a serious economic meltdown which has left many government departments dysfunctional hence the need for a coordinated response from the army (Pazvakavambwa, 2009:3) further notes that, “there was gross abuse of this scheme resulting in the squeezing-out of genuine farmers, secularized input distribution, and the diversion of inputs to the black market by unscrupulous profiteers. The potential for food security had suffered another damaging blow”. Even the preceding Champion Farmer Scheme by the army suffered the same fate as of Operation Maguta as there were late delivery of inputs and targeted output failed to reach 50% of yields, (World Bank, 2010).

In 2009 the ushering in of the Inclusive Government ushered in a number of opportunities for agriculture financing. The dollarization of the economy and the re-engagement with the international community in Zimbabwe allowed new funding methods to the government. The Government in 2009 introduced the Agricultural Input Scheme (AIS) which was partly funded by the government and the international donor community.

The input scheme which was co-administered by the United Nations’ Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) and Ministry of Agriculture was funded by UK’s Department for International Development (DFID), the Australian Agency for International Development (AusAID), the European Union and Zimbabwe’s agriculture ministry, which also provides extension and training services. The Agriculture Input Scheme was targeted at communal farmers for inputs and tools for agriculture and was subsidized at the level of 90% and farmers expected to pay 10% of the costs. The

inputs were distributed through agro-dealers who were selected by FAO and were situated in the selected communities and have ability to stock to appropriate levels. Farmers were given a voucher with US\$128 and farmers top it with \$35 so that they can redeem it at the agro-dealer's shop. Agro-dealers stocks comprises of seeds, fertilizers and tools such as ploughs, wheel boroughs and small implements.

This subsidized voucher scheme was hailed by farmers and agriculture respondents. Respondents in Mudzi were ranking the scheme positively as they emphasized that selection of beneficiaries was politically neutral and the scheme enrolled almost 95% of households in a village. Analyst pointed the scheme's effectiveness on the structure of input packs were farmers were allowed to select the quantities and composition of the voucher basket on their own, meaning resources were optimally deployed. Moreover the fact that farmers were to contribute 10% of the costs meant that no farmers were able to priorities what they require and could not hoard inputs on the expense of others. Challenges of the subsidised voucher scheme "included the lack of collateral security among agro-dealers, resulting in reluctance by suppliers to supply in bulk, and a tendency among dealers to hike prices of inputs and tools" (FAO, 2009).

Another government input scheme is the Presidential Well-wishers Special Agriculture Input Scheme (PWSAIS) which was launched in 2010/2011 agricultural season. The input scheme objectively sought to avail agriculture inputs at no costs to the farmers by the President as a response to poor funding of agriculture by the Inclusive Government (Herald, 2010). The justification was that the Finance Ministry was stifling funding to agriculture so as to sabotage the ZANU PF government's land reform program (the then

Minister of Finance was Honorable Tendai Biti from the former opposition Movement of Democratic Change (MDC)).

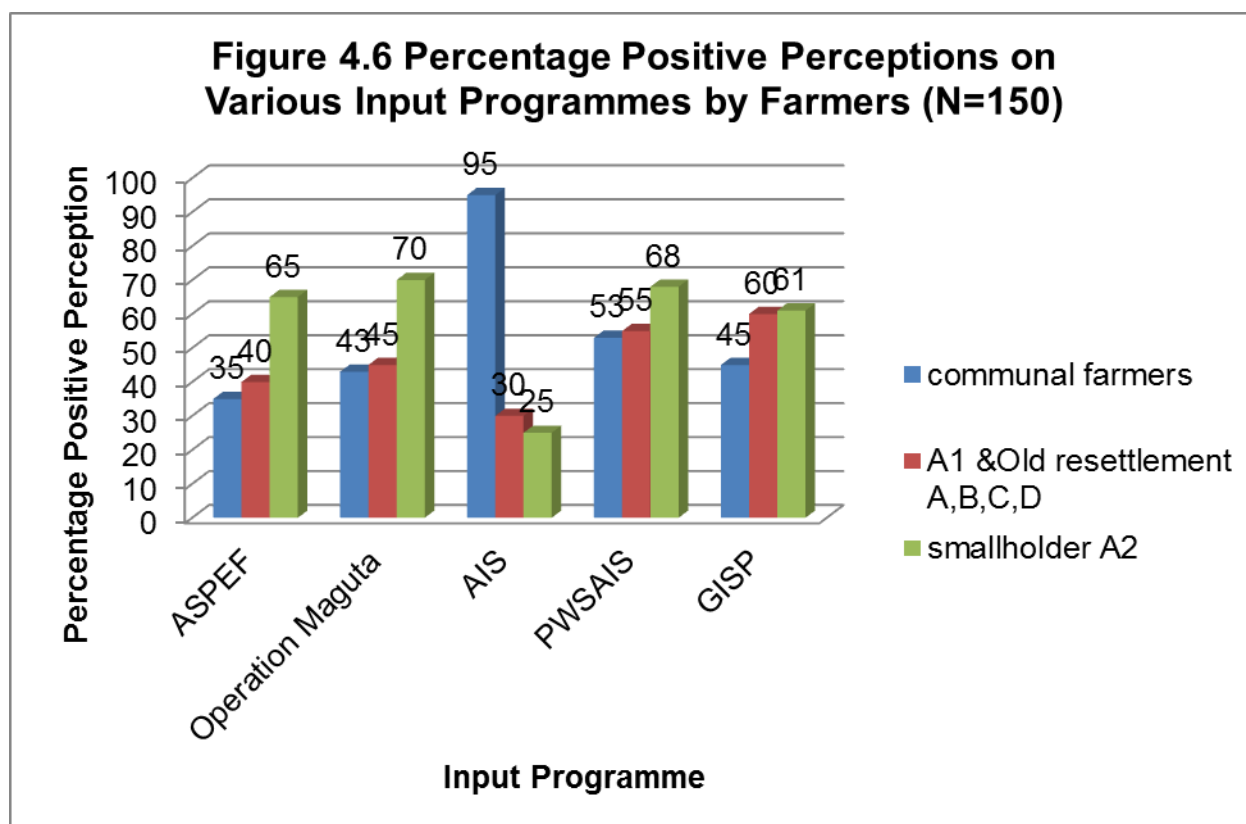
The PWSAIS sourced inputs such as maize seeds and fertilizers and distribute them to provinces who then distribute to farmers in districts. The scheme targeted 800 000 farmers including both resettled farmers including smallholder and large scale farmers. It also distributed inputs to communal farmers who were supposed to be the majority of the beneficiaries. Inputs were largely distributed through ZANU PF structures hence allegations that opposition supporters were not allocated inputs particularly in communal areas such as Muzarabani, Chipinge, Gokwe Nembudziya, Mudzi South and Murehwa North. In most provinces the large quantities of fertilizers were reportedly looted by senior politicians resulting in even ZANU PF supporters failing to access the inputs. It should be noted that the PWSAIS has become a yearly input scheme, hence efforts should be made to improve its transparency so as to benefit targeted households.

In 2013 the Government of Zimbabwe launched Agriculture Input Support Programme (AISP) for the 2013/4 farming season, targeted at 1.6 million households at the total costs of US\$161million. The input scheme targeted the communal, old resettlement, small scale and A1 scale and A 1 farmers. Under the scheme, each household will be given 50kg of Compound D fertilizer, 50kg of ammonium nitrate (AN), 50kg of lime and 10kg maize seed pack (Moyo, 2010). Under the same fund the government intended to clear its debt with input suppliers such as seed houses and fertilizer manufacturing companies which stood at US\$11.9 million. The government also owed about US\$10 million to the Grain Marketing Board (GMB) resulting in its failure to pay farmers for past grain deliveries made to it.

AISP intended to distribute the input packs through the GMB. However it was noted that this became the major challenge for the scheme as GMB is not situated in all farming communities. GMB has also suffered perennial logistical challenges in input deliveries resulting in failure to deliver inputs on time (Pazvakavambwa, 2009). Farmers also have to incur high transport costs to the GMB depots to check on the availability of inputs and to collect them.

Perceptions of respondents to the effectiveness of these government schemes vary due to whether the respondent benefited from the scheme or not, political affiliation as most ruling party supporters are eager to paint a rosy picture of party distributed input schemes. Perceptions also varied as to whether the respondent is a communal, A1 and A2 farmers. On the effectiveness of each scheme, the subsidized voucher input scheme (AIS) by the government in the 2010/2011 and 2011/2012 agricultural seasons was highly regarded especially by small scale communal farmers (see Figure 4.6).

Overall communal farmers ranked higher the donor and government funded AIS where they used vouchers, reflecting the effectiveness of the system and its ability to deliver inputs on time to farmers through agro-dealers. All the input schemes except the PWSAIS were ranked below 50% owing to their lack of transparency and poor selection criteria by the distributors. Most A1 and A2 ranked favourably the free inputs schemes which were distributed through party structures. This may be explained by the fact that most of these farmers have the political muscle to tussle the inputs especially when they were able to be allocated land during the land reform process.



Source: Fieldwork (2013)

The private sector has been running input schemes for farmers. This has been through contract farming where farmers are given all the inputs requirements for a crop or livestock. Farmers would sign contracts agreements with financiers on a specific hactarage and agree to sell the produce to the financier. This is mainly the case in cotton, tobacco and soya bean production. Companies which have been practicing contract farming in the Cotton Company of Zimbabwe (COTCO), Ivirnes, Dairyboard Zimbabwe and other financial institutions who have been of late financing tobacco growing.

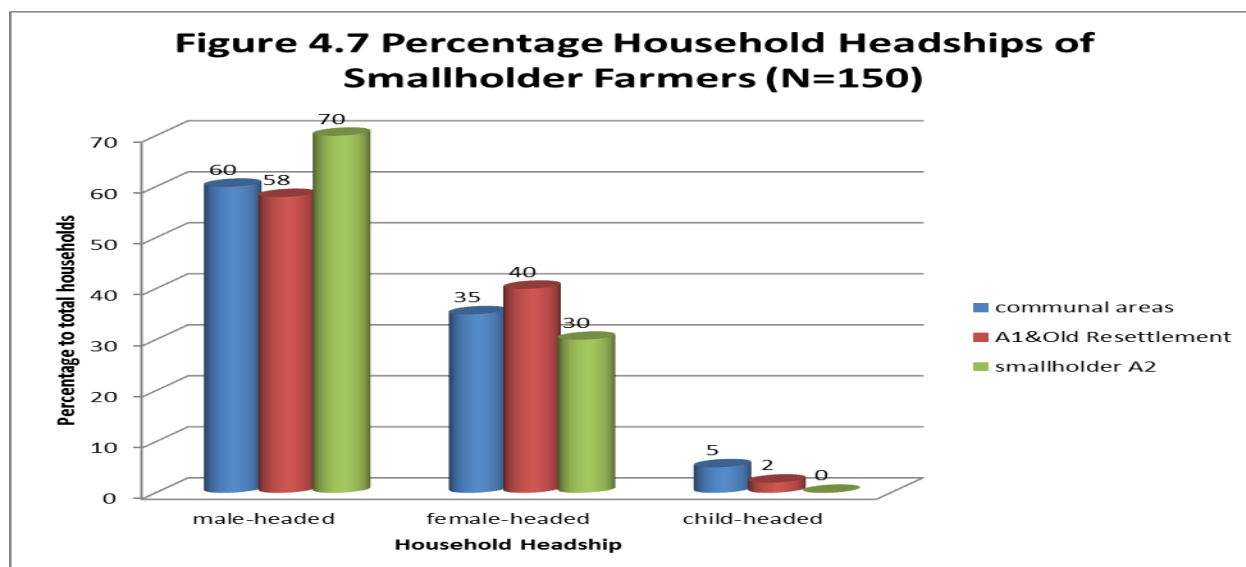
Challenges of contract farming in Zimbabwe have been largely due to mistrust between private financiers and farmers. Farmers allege that they are given inadequate inputs at

inflated costs while at the same time they are forced to sell their produce at low prices thereby running losses to their operations. Private companies point to the distorted input supply chain where government interventions distort prices and force available stock to be expensive and have to pass on the costs to the farmer. The prevailing liquidity crunch means that available financial options remain depressed hence credit becomes and farming largely unprofitable.

For effective rural development in Zimbabwe there is need for the active role of the state in the provision and financing of agriculture inputs. The state has to develop a framework for donors, private sector and agro-dealers to work together in providing affordable inputs in efficient markets. The subsidised voucher system where government partnered FAO and agro-dealers to offer subsidized inputs is a point to start. The state's direct involvement in the distribution and supply of inputs will remove market efficiencies, raise prices in secondary markets and may spearhead corruption and speculative hoarding of inputs. Such kind of distortion may result in expensive financial options to farmers and sub-standards input products which will affect productivity on farmers. The state need to devise a well-coordinated input supply chain at appropriate subsidy levels to various categories of farmers.

4.3.3 Labour for Smallholder Agriculture

Smallholder agriculture in both communal and resettlement areas is labour intensive. It is therefore important to consider the labour shortages and supply constraints of smallholder farmers. Of great importance to the study is the household headship in various tenure systems. Household headship is shown in Figure 4.7 below:



Source: Fieldwork (2013)

The study revealed that in all tenure systems households' heads are dominantly males though women constitute a significant proportion of these households. Further analysis revealed that of the 60% male headed households in communal areas, half of them are working or stay away from their families mainly due to work commitments, leaving women in charge of the households. This squarely puts the women responsible for production and labour arrangements. Combining the proportion of women whose husbands are away and female headed households means that communal agriculture is done mainly by women and children, which is the same view of the World Development Report 2008. Women are also seen to take ownership of land especially resettled land as the government moves to have gender parity.

Household headship has a number of implications on communal agriculture. Women and child headed households have challenges in accessing inputs particularly those which are distributed through party and government structures such as GIS and

PWSAIS. This is mainly due to the patriarchal dominance in traditional rural authorities where power allocates resources and women without husbands are seen as of low morals. The study further supports this contention by finding out that only 20% of female and child headed households were able to access inputs under PWSAIS. Representation in local committees and institutions which decide on beneficiaries of input schemes normally excluded female and child households heads, leaving males to dominate production and financial issues in the communities.

Gender relations in resettled areas have less bearing on resource mobilisation and access to subsidised inputs. The study finds that conditions of women in resettled areas (both A1 and A2) are better off than their communal area counterparts, owing to their social status. 70% of these women are either local leaders of political parties or war veterans which mean they do command power to wrestle resources with their male counterparts.

The study further revealed that 73% of communal households rely entirely on family labour for production of both crops and livestock. Average family size is 5 per household though the average adult working members are 3 per household. Households with paid labour were less than 20% in communal areas of which mostly it is one labourer who herds cattle. Crop production in communal areas is mainly by own family labour. This lack of paid labour indicates risk aversion strategies of substantive communal farmers, a fact which is noted by Todaro and Smith (2012:438).

Use of paid labour tend to increase in both resettlement tenure systems, with an average of 2 workers in A1 sector and 4 workers in A2 sector. This may be an indication

of rising income level owing to favourable farming regions and cash cropping. It was further noted that 80% of households who exceeded their category level of number of paid workers are all producing flue-cured tobacco.

It should be noted that farmers with few adults who can work in the fields and have no paid labourers tend to cultivate less hectares of land and tend to work seasonally on their farms. This is a contrast to A1 and A2 farmers who tend to cultivate over 6 ha per household and work for over three quarters of a year in their fields. Thus if production is to be raised in communal areas more production systems which minimise labour use ought to be adopted.

4.3.4 Farmer Producer Organisations

Farmer organizations are critical in efficient agriculture systems. They are critical in price negotiations for produce by farmers and assist in knowledge transfers on best practices for farming. “Membership of a farmer organization helps farmers learn new ideas and techniques for ecologically sound farming and for conserving an area’s natural resources” (Mupetesi, et al., 2012).

Farmers in Zimbabwe are mainly represented by two main producer organisations, which are Zimbabwe Farmers Union (ZFU) and Commercial Farmers Union (CFU). These organisations have other numerous affiliates which are crop or livestock specific. Historically these farmer organisations have a racial divide, with the ZFU being dominated by black Zimbabweans while CFU by white farmers. Though ZFU indicates that they have small scale farmers and large scale farmers, their membership diaries indicate that most of their members are large scale farmers. The CFU which is

traditionally dominated by whites has the majority of its members as large scale commercial farmers. Though both organisations has affiliates where small scale farmers are members, their cause is basically in commercial farming leaving small scale communal farmers without representation. This is clearly shown in the study where 96% of interviewed communal farmers are not members of any farmer organisations. Most communal farmers indicate that they only channel their representations to government through local party structures and agriculture extension officers. However about 6% of small scale farmers in resettled areas indicated that they were members of ZFU affiliated producer organisations, though none were affiliated to CFU.

In terms of technical farming expertise and organisational strength CFU appears to be on the top as it has a proper secretariat which runs it. CFU has run a number of commissioned researches in Zimbabwe particularly on reviving the agriculture sector. However the efficiency of CFU as a farmer organisation to engage the state and other stakeholders has been undermined by its racial membership and allegations that it was against the post 2000 land reform.

Although ZFU is favoured by the current government in Zimbabwe it lacks capacity to influence policy and practice. This has been due to its lack of resources as the bulk of its membership is in post 2000 land reform when the economy was in recession making contributions negligible. The most visible activity of ZFU is on negotiating producer prices particularly cotton and maize. However in most of these negotiations farmers seem to lose much as pegged producer prices of staple crops are usually below production costs (Chronicle, 2012).

It is critical that farmer organisations in Zimbabwe embolden their capacity in substantive issues of agriculture and engage the government effectively on policy matters. Current investment climate in Zimbabwe may be in favour of industrial growth and taking agriculture as a cheap source of raw materials. Policy issues on inputs supply chain and output pricing needs to be agreed by farmers, government and the private sector buyers. Effective representation of all farmers in markets and government policy level usually help in boosting production particularly of small scale farmers (Bratton 1987:397; IFAD, 2013 and Mupetesi, et al., 2012).

4.4 Agricultural Outputs Marketing

Zimbabwe's agriculture has got a regulated output market where state intervention and control is paramount. Direct state involvement in the marketing of agricultural produce started in 1931 by the colonial government in response to the World economic depression. During the succeeding colonial periods there was increased racial discrimination in produce markets particularly for maize or crops and livestock which blacks could also produce. This resulted in a number of legislations such as the Maize Control Act of 1930 which made sure small scale farmers' maize output was channelled to low export markets. This act was eventually repealed in 1950 and replaced by the Grain Marketing Board (GMB). There were other marketing boards which were instituted during this era including The Cold Storage Commission (CSC, 1937) and the Dairy Marketing Board (DMB) of 1952 and Cotton Company of Zimbabwe (formerly Cotton Marketing Board of 1969). During the colonial period these output marketing boards were mandated to differentiate the markets for produce in terms of pricing and

grading to the disadvantage of smallholder farmers who were predominantly blacks. The colonial marketing boards were having presence in all major towns and cities, further to the disadvantage of smallholder farmers in communal areas who would not afford the high transport costs to these depots.

At independence the government established the Agricultural Marketing Authority (AMA) which was put in charge of all marketing boards. Most of these parastatal marketing boards were tasked to decentralise to small towns and rural areas, particularly GMB which has a greater impact on small scale communal farmers. GMB was mandated to purchase all grain including maize, small grains groundnuts and beans through its network of depots, collection points and approved grain buyers. All grain buyers were registered with GMB and were not allowed to sell grain back to farmers. The same arrangements were made in the meat and livestock sector where CSC was tasked to slaughter and process livestock and sell through approved retailers. In the post 1980 era the government set the prices of all agriculture goods and abolished discriminatory pricing for some commodities. Controlled pricing of grain initially has a positive impact to small scale farmers in communal areas who have suffered under colonial rule, but by the late 1980s negative effects were felt in agriculture products. A study by the Food Studies Group (1992:13) found out that though the price of maize, sorghum and groundnuts rose in nominal terms from 1979 to 1989, in real prices these prices declined by more than 2% due to the controlled prices.

In the preceding era of the 1990s, the government embarked on liberalisation policies for the economy. The adoption of the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) by the government of Zimbabwe brought a new dispensation agricultural

produce markets were there was an impetus to deregulate commodity prices and commercialise marketing boards. Marketing boards which were eventually privatised during this era include the DMB which has rebranded to Dairyboard Zimbabwe and the CMB which is now known as the Cotton Company of Zimbabwe. All the other parastatals have remained largely in the hands of the state.

Liberalisation of markets has also led to government forming the Zimbabwe Agriculture Commodity Exchange (ZIMACE) in 1990. This commodity market was designed to allow more private players in the marketing of produce. There have also been renewed efforts to resuscitate this market in 2009 during the tenure of the Inclusive Government. However the commodity market has largely remained on paper as operationalization and has failed due to unconducive business environment in Zimbabwe.

4.4.1 Current Market Structures

There is also a deregulated market for selected agriculture produce in Zimbabwe for selected crops like tobacco and horticultural produce. Tobacco marketing is largely controlled by the Tobacco Industry and Marketing Board (TIMB). Tobacco being a top foreign currency earner in Zimbabwe has the government have strong interest in the industry. Tobacco in Zimbabwe is marketed through auction floor systems where buyers bid for the produce and farmers will be present. TIMB registers tobacco buyers for the auction floors. Farmers arrange their tobacco produce on the floors of such as Boka Auction Floors, Tobacco Sales and Auction Floors and Zimbabwe Tobacco Auction Floors. All the auction floors are located in Harare though the TIMB has plans to decentralise them to tobacco growing districts and towns. The auction system allows

market forces to determine the prices though 40% of respondents have pointed to collusion of buyers in bidding for low prices. This is normally prohibited by regulations but the fact that most of the buyers are international and work for multinationals with same interests may result in collusion.

Despite farmers valuing the tobacco marketing system as more efficient than that of maize and other grains they noted several bottlenecks of the system. Farmers were of the view that TIMB has an overarching role in both production and marketing which should be curtailed to make the auction system more efficient. Farmers are required to register with TIMB as growers so as to be allocated growers numbers which would be used as identity in the whole supply chain of tobacco. This grower registration is centralized and can only be done in larger at the head office of TIMB and farmers have to travel for long distances to register. This is an unnecessary burden to small scale farmers who are usually located in poorly transport serviced areas. TIMB also regulate tobacco financiers and check the contracts which farmers enter for tobacco contract farming. Private companies which are funding tobacco contract farming are providing the whole input packs and farmers only provide land and labour. TIMB officials interviewed indicated that this regulation of tobacco financiers is meant to safeguard farmers from exorbitant interest and unethical behaviour by private companies. Farmers were of the view that this regulation ought to be relaxed to allow more tobacco agro-dealers to take part in the business. Increased competition among tobacco agro-dealers for inputs supply will lower input costs. Respondents also noted that booking requirements for auctions ought to be relaxed to it to be done electronically even from

farms. Farmers need to be availed with information on the prevailing market prices at auction floors to allow decisions to sell produce to be made at their farms.

There is also a secondary market for maize, small grains and beans in Zimbabwe. This is a parallel market to the GMB system, which is developing due to operational and funding constraints of the former. This secondary market is being driven by individual buyers and private companies particularly those that are within the food processing industry such as Delta Beverages, Pro-Brands, Cairns and Olivine Foods among others. Individual buyers purchase grain direct from the farmers and resell it at higher prices in cities or drought affected districts. Non-governmental organisations are also purchasing grain for hunger faced districts. The grain secondary markets provide cash to farmers for their produce, allowing them to pay up debts and procure inputs early before the farming season when prices are still low. The major challenge of secondary markets of agriculture produce is the low prices than that being offered by the GMB. Prices for grain for GMB is prescribed by the government after taking note of input costs including costs of finance. Table 4.4 below shows maize price differences of GMB and secondary markets from 2010 to 2013/2014 agricultural seasons. The continued low prices on the secondary market for grain is despite the yearly increase in GMB producer prices. In the 2013/2014 marketing season farmer organisations were actually demanding US\$400 per tonne arguing it would allow them to break even. Surprisingly more than 60% of respondents have already sold their maize produce at the secondary market at a lower price as shown in Table 4.4.

Table 4.4 Comparative Maize Producer Prices GMB and Secondary Market

Agriculture Season	GMB Producer Price (US\$/tonne)	Secondary Market price (US\$/tonne)
2010/2011	\$285	\$150
2011/2012	\$295	\$200
2012/2013	\$378	\$280
2013/2014	\$390	\$300

Source: Adapted from Herald Reports

4.4.2 Marketing Challenges for Smallholder Farmers

The current economic conditions in Zimbabwe which are characterised by liquidity constraints, deflation and undercapitalisation of state marketing boards pose a serious threat to viability of smallholder farmers. The operational and governance of GMB has resulted in a number of challenges to small scale grain producers. GMB has failed to disburse payments to farmers who have delivered maize to the board despite it selling the same to grain millers. This has worsened farmer financial situations resulting in failure to purchase inputs on the local market. In some instances GMB has offered to offer farmers whom they owe funds to take inputs in exchange for cash which has further exacerbated farmer problems as the inputs costs are either insufficient or do not fit in individual farming plans for the season. The centralisation of payments by GMB means that farmers continue to use more resources to travel to the GMB head office in

Harare to pursue non-payments of produce. If financial stability is to be enhanced for smallholder grain producers then GMB should be capacitated to allow payments to farmers at delivery points.

Erratic transport services and poor road infrastructure have resulted in challenges for marketing agriculture produce for small scale farmers. The study found out that ownership of transport assets in both communal areas and resettlement areas is still low. Only 15% of farmers in resettled areas have access to motorised vehicles for inputs and produce transport while in communal areas, less than 30% own ox-drawn carts which they use for transport. The low transport assets among farmers have resulted in over reliance on private transporters who provide expensive and erratic transport service. In most cases private transporters require prompt payments for services rendered a condition whereby farmers who deliver their produce to GMB are unable to make. This has led to barter trading with transporters at unfavourable rates to farmers. Poor road conditions and damaged bridge infrastructure which have not been maintained have led to some communities being inaccessible for inputs delivery and produce marketing. This was highlighted in Mudzi West where the bridge which link the community and Kotwa Growth Point where GMB is located has been washed by rainfall 3 years ago.

Small scale farmers are also facing storage problems particularly for grain and tobacco. Communal farmers indicated to the study that their granaries are small and designed only for subsistence consumption needs and cannot store surplus for sale. Thus 80% of the respondents indicated that they have to sell the produce immediately after harvesting to avoid crop deterioration. In the resettlement small scale farming areas

where cereal production has been rising since land reform (Scoones, 2010), lack of storage has led farmers to sell their produce soon after harvesting hence flooding even the secondary markets. With regard to tobacco growers, lack of storage barns has led to leaf quality deterioration resulting in unsustainable prices at the auction floors.

Information gap between farmers and markets have to be reduced if farmers are to improve their agriculture productivity. In the case of cash crops which are sold on the open market, farmers under contract farming have faced several challenges. Private contractors do not usually disclose current producer prices to farmers on buying produce, resulting in farmers selling at prices lower than the market rates. This is despite the crop outputs fetching higher prices on the export market.

Lack of current market information have also led to price losses to tobacco farmers who end up delivering crops at the same time at the auction floor where prices will be subdued. Investment in communication and information technologies (ICTs) will be important to ensure producers are well aligned with market trends and appropriate marketing decisions are made. The entry point in such ICTs investment is to take advantage of the high tele-density in the country and offer mobile based information platforms for farmers. The future of smallholder farmers is in efficient production systems coupled with high marketing skills to obtain high value of produce.

4.5 New Sharecropping in Zimbabwe

The critical issues raised in the study on smallholder agriculture; low productivity, low incomes, lack of inputs, inefficient markets and low producer prices, require a coordinated response and innovative policy interventions to stimulate high productivity

among small scale farmers. New approaches for smallholder agriculture require the combined effort of both the government and the private sector. The farmers themselves have to play a very pivotal role if the current agriculture development phase in Zimbabwe is going to alleviate their poverty and create the basis for sustainable socio-economic rural transformations. One clear smallholder agriculture issue which require attention is linking farmers to efficient and effective markets. This is based on efficient production systems whose input supply chains are vibrant, dynamic and cheap. There is need to leverage the already underway currency of contract farming to spur agriculture growth particularly in communal areas. Though much of contract farming has been happening in small scale commercial farmers under resettlement and for mainly cash crops such as beans, tobacco and cotton, there is ample room to extend it into cereal production. Providing efficient market linkages between farmers and markets through the private sector may harness resources which are evidently absent to the state.

The state has a critical role to play in providing the appropriate policy framework for contract farming. The current bottlenecks in the government input programmes and the general budgetary constraints by government mean that if agriculture is to be resuscitated and poverty is to be alleviated, government has to be taken aboard new financing options for small scale farmers. Such policy framework has to be two pronged one of based on cereal production subsidy and the other on contract challenges in agriculture and spur them for growth. Contract farming will ensure access to inputs loans and operational credit, provision agriculture production and technical extension services and transfer of appropriate technology and farm management systems. On the other hand boosting cereal production particularly on small scale communal farmers

require that government initiate a single subsidy input system as like the voucher system implemented by the government and FAO in 2009. Such a voucher system need not be uniform across all tenure systems, but one where levels of subsidies are carefully differentiated to not the endowments and entitlement sets in farming communities.

Elevating contract farming practise in Zimbabwe has to overcome a number of impediments from farmers, private companies and government. Farmers need to build trusts with private companies who supply those inputs and extension services for credit. Appreciating business ethics would ensure that agreed contracts will be adhered to and improve reliability of raw materials to food processing companies. This would increase viability of the companies and ensure prosperity of the sector. Side marketing of crops and failure to follow extension advice from company agronomists, means that yields will be low and farmers and companies would have loses. A study by SNV Netherlands in 2009 on smallholder contract farming in Zimbabwe found out that in all crop categories was less than 50% of targeted yields. Reasons for low yields were cited as disregard by farmers to follow advice from extension workers and company agronomists. Thus farmer attitudes and behaviour ought to change to allow knowledge transfer in farming areas. Farmer organisations may help in training and capacity building of farmers' business acumen.

Private companies in contract farming ought to supply adequate inputs and technical services so that farmers may only contribute labour and their land. Failure to fully finance operations may result in farmers borrowing inputs from several companies or community sources, which may end in side marketing to offset such debts. Companies

who supply all the required inputs and even advance funds for labour realise high returns for their investments (Dawes, et al., 2009:12). Another important issue for companies in contract farming is to fully disclose the terms of contracts agreement to farmers. 42% of interviewed farmers in resettled farming communities (including old resettlements) indicated that though they signed contracts, they were not sure what clauses and their obligations are to them. They indicated that they have challenges with companies when they demand to buy all of their produce as part of the contracts agreements. Full disclosure of contracts contents coupled with simplified versions of contracts may increase farmer adherence and loyalty to contract programmes.

The government has to simplify registration procedures for contract farming companies. In the tobacco sector, companies have to register with both the Ministry of Agriculture and TIMB despite the fact that the latter is a subsidiary of the former. Simplifying registration may help in bringing in competition in contract farming which may result in low inputs costs to farmers. Government should also provide for an arbitration and commercial courts framework in farming communities to allow aggrieved parties to settle contracts disputes. Fully deregulating the agriculture market particularly for legumes and cash crops will enhance market efficiencies.

4.6 Physical Infrastructure Development and Mechanisation

Improving the endowment and entitlement set of smallholder farmers would require development of key infrastructure in agricultural communities. Infrastructural constraints inhibit farmers to reach optimum levels of production. Such infrastructure gap increase the risks and uncertainties of farming which will eventually to small scale farmers

resorting to subsistence farming for survival. There is a huge deficit for roads, bridges, dams and tobacco barns in communal and resettled area which require urgent attention if development is to cascade to these communities.

Roads in most communal areas have been damaged resulting in erratic transport services for inputs supply and for produce to the markets. Since independence in 1980, the government has been upgrading rural road network so as to link communal farmers to the national markets. This was done through DDF which is mandated to develop rural road network. Larger parts of the rural road network have been updated during this period particularly from earth roads to gravel roads. Gravel roads require periodic maintenance particularly in the rainy season to improve their conditions and traffic passability.

The capacity of DDF to maintain rural roads were seriously eroded in during the post-2000 economic recession that 90% of its road equipment is obsolete. Rural districts councils in communal areas which should work with DDF in the maintenance of roads have also suffered through the economic recession and in the post dollarization era have failed to retain positive revenue inflows. Interviewed respondents indicated that roads were lastly maintained some 8 years ago resulting in some bridges being washed away during the rainy season.

Poor road network means few transporters would be willing to service communal areas resulting in high passenger and goods transport costs. Transport costs contribute immensely in the overall total production costs. This has a negative impact on the input and output markets. Furthermore this will lead to investments in the rural sector to

plume making farming uncompetitive as compared to other investments. This has a risk of increasing incidences of subsistence farming which may be difficult to change.

The road network in communal areas is in contrast to resettled farmers under A1 and A2 schemes who inherited a well maintained road network in commercial farms. Efforts are required to expand the resettlement road network to cater for changes in boundaries brought by the land reform. Maintenance of rural roads in resettled farming communities is the responsibilities of the Rural Councils who inherited a fleet of road equipment to service these roads in the rainy season.

Other infrastructure needs of rural smallholder farmers are small farm dams which would encourage irrigation and improve productivity. In the communal areas where water is a scarce resource due to low rainfall and high temperatures small dams will also improve livestock growth which in turn will boost draught power and production. Respondents pointed out to the poor state of these dams which are now filled with sand. Prior to the land reform each farm has its own farm dam, but demarcations of farms have meant that a lot of farms now do not have dams. There is need for considerable investments on dams in agriculture sector especially earth dams which harvest water effectively but cost less to construct. Another critical element of water in farming communities is the issuance of water rights. The Zimbabwe National Water Authority (ZINWA) has water rights for surface water bodies in Zimbabwe particularly on state land and may levy the use of such water. The fact that resettled farmers have only usufruct land rights means that even dams located within their farm boundaries belong to ZINWA which has of late demanded payments for water use. Utilising dams in commercial farms on communal basis will complicate relations in resettled farming

areas as land is on leasehold. A long lasting solution may be to provide farmers with loans to develop small dams for irrigation on farms. This would not only boost production levels on farms but boost food security levels in Zimbabwe.

4.7 The Nexus between NFRE and Smallholder Agriculture in Zimbabwe

Rural households in Zimbabwe are primarily agriculture based, but they also engage in non-farm rural economy (NFRE) activities for survival. Evidence from the study showed that NFRE (including remittances and donations) in communal areas contributes 49% of total household income while in resettlement areas it contributes 8% and 1% in A1 and A2 resettlement models respectively. NFRE in rural areas has a seasonal dimension, as households tend to engage these activities during off-farming seasons. In such instances NFRE is regarded as secondary activities which ensure that household income are above minimum consumption levels throughout the year. This section of the chapter presents findings on NFRE activities in the selected districts, emphasising the symbiotic relationships between these activities and agriculture activities.

Recent studies have indicated that rural people have diversified livelihoods and engage in farming and non-farm productive activities for survival (Davies, 2003:9; Reardon, et al. 2009:3; Ellis, 2001:19; and Maxwell and Ashley, 2001:406). It is important to note the different constituent roles of various activities in household income and survival strategies.

Rural non-farm economy (RNFE) activities are broadly defined as all activities which generate household income except agriculture, including remittances and donations (Davies, 2003:6). These activities normally include primary production activities, service

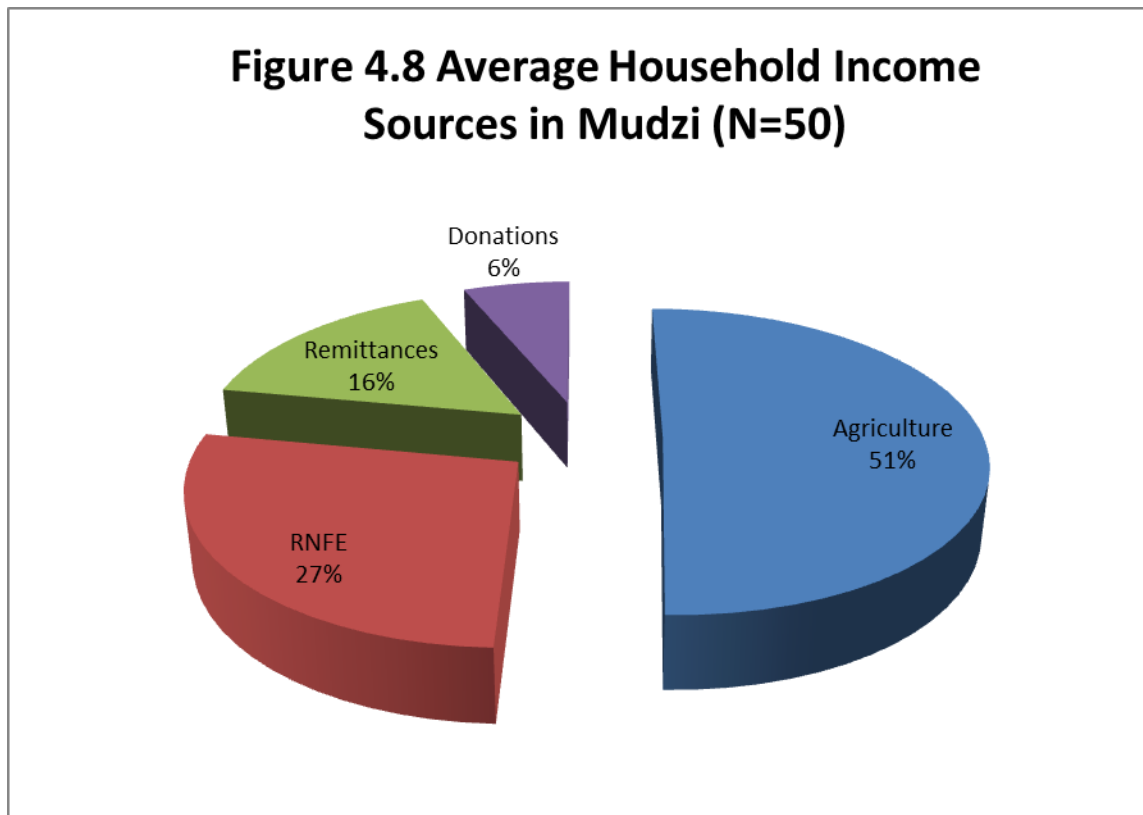
provisions and manufacturing. Primary based commodities include brick-laying, carpentry, construction and basket making. Manufacturing based activities include tailoring, welding and food processing. Services include rural transport services using motorised or non-motorised transport, food restaurants, shoe repairs and remittances. RNFE may also be classified in sectoral basis such as mining, manufacturing and environmental services.

4.7.1 RNFE Activities in Communal Areas

It is important to understand the income sources of rural households to understand the overall contribution of agriculture and RNFE. The study revealed that average income per annum of communal households is US\$800 including the value of subsistence crop output valued at prevailing market prices. This average household income need to be clarified as it may appear as rural communal people of Mudzi are not poor, yet the amounts are low compared to the average consumer basket for urban areas which is currently pegged at US\$565 per month. Besides the average income includes the value of stored harvested food crop, which may never be on the market, and on which prices may be lower if all is put on market. However the average income may provide a clear baseline to understand constituent role of RNFE and agriculture. As shown in Figure 4.8 below, communal household income in Mudzi is chiefly from agriculture (51%). Agriculture therefore remains the core of communal areas economy (see Figure 4.8) and any policy to address poverty should take cognisance of this important fact.

Agriculture's 51% need to be understood in the context that it does not relate to other agricultural assets the households have but considered to be for future years income.

This unenclosed income includes livestock such as cattle and goats which are continually rolled to each successive year and only sold if households face shocks and stresses.



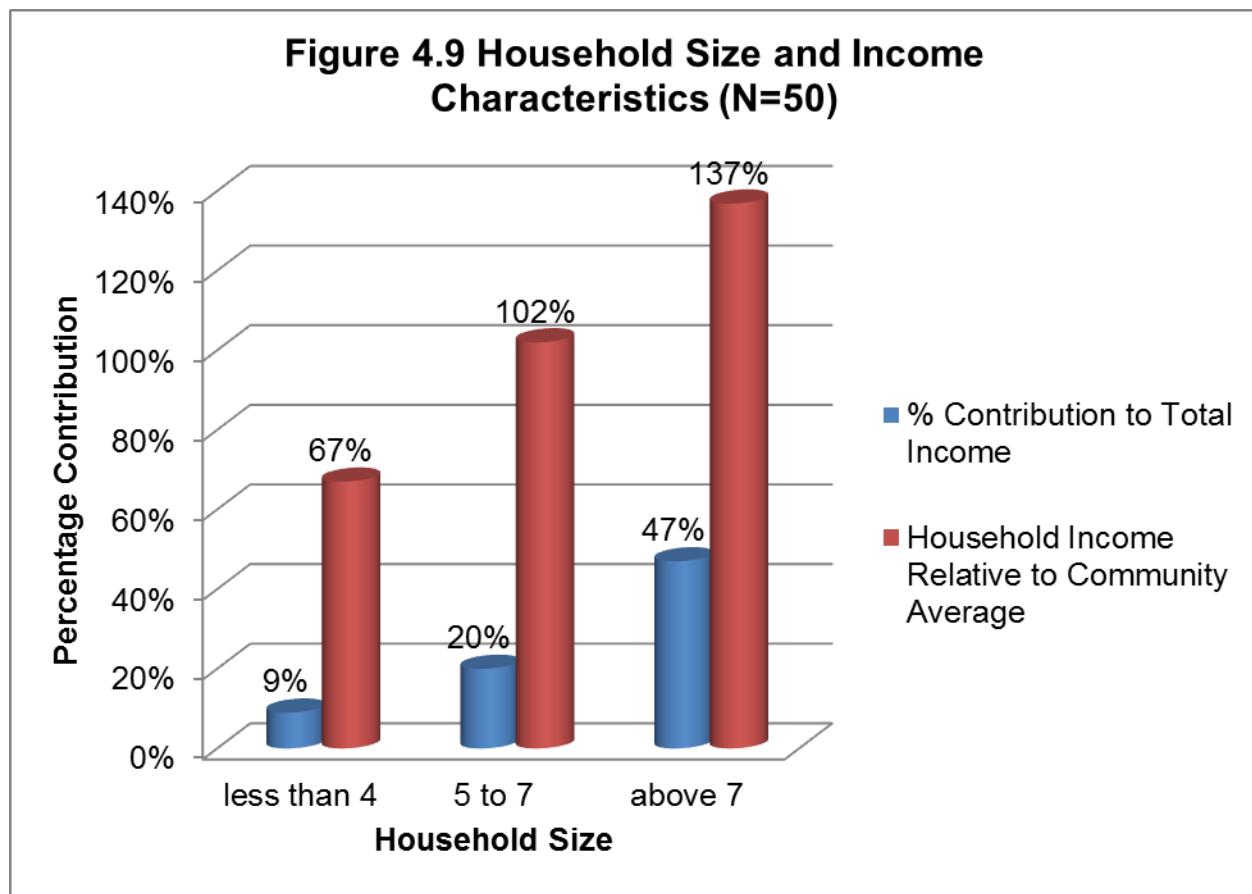
Source: Fieldwork (2013)

If remittances and RNFE income activities are combined the per annum income for an average household tend to be 43% based on non-farm activities. This is quite significant as would warrant policy interventions to secure the continued contribution of this sector in the rural economy. This data is supported by Maxwell and Ashley (2001) who have empirical evidence that RNFE supports between 30 to 40 % of rural income.

Income from agriculture need to be analysed in terms of non-consumptive stock so as to determine the level of surplus value, and how such value may be used to secure other households needs such as health, education and social needs. The study found out that of the 51% income from agriculture 80% comprises of food stocks (maize crop) in holding for consumption. This means only 20% of agriculture income is available to be combined with other income sources to purchase other needs by households. This kind of data shows that a household may be considered poor even though it has sufficient food stocks as food is not the only costs aspect of rural life. Besides, most of the food stock is in the form of grain (maize, millet and sorghum) which need to be processed and there are other basic food items which may be required by the households from supermarkets and shops. Thus though agriculture remains important to household food security, other income activities need to be considered that can help offset household costs.

RNFE household income depends on a number of issues which include demographic factors, level of education, households' assets and level of agriculture productivity. Demographic characteristics such as family size, gender of household head and wellbeing of family adults are key determinants on RNFE income contribution to the average household income. Larger family size reduces the number of farm working days and allows RNFE activities during and off-farm season (see Figure 4.9). Households with less than 4 adults tend to have the bulk of their income from agriculture as they practice subsistence farming practices. The level of RNFE contribution to total household income tends to rise with increase in adult household members as many members are freed from farm employment. Comparative analysis of

small and large households also shows high income for larger households as compared to small households as compared to community average. This shows the central role of labour in rural economy as few labour resources tend to be allocated to agriculture entirely while abundant resources may be allocated to other income generating activities. Research and development of innovative methods of farming which reduces labour requirements in both crop and livestock production may eventually increase household incomes.

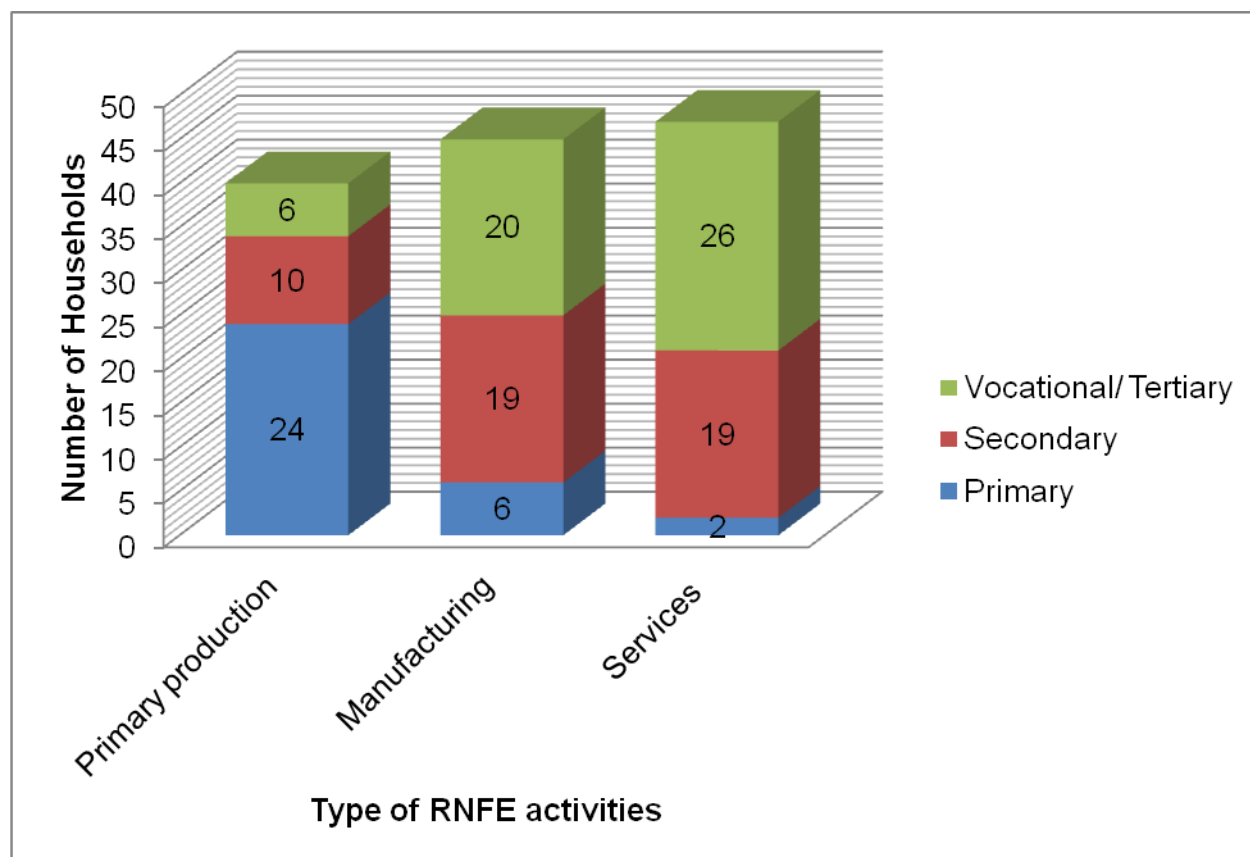


Source: Fieldwork (2013)

Communal RNFE is also linked to the level of education with people with only primary education or informal education engaged in production based activities, while

households with secondary and vocational educational levels engaged with services and manufacturing activities (see Figure 4.10).

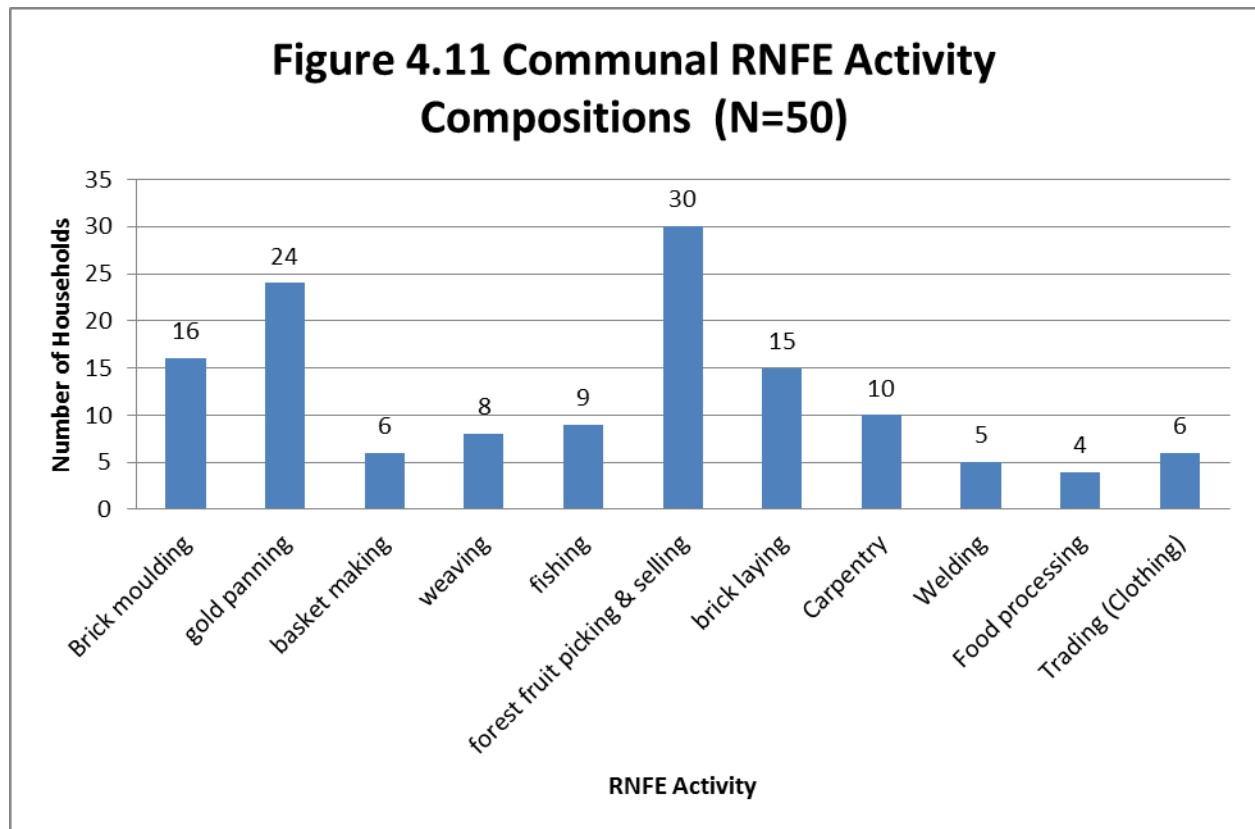
Figure 4.10 Relationship between Level of Education and Type of RNFE Activity (N=50)



Source: Fieldwork (2013)

The study revealed that the level of education of household-heads determine the type of NFRE activities that a household engage. The significant number of households engaged in primary production who have secondary or higher education may be explained by the incidence of small scale artisanal gold panning in Makaha, Mudzi.

The composition of RNFE activities for an across the communal area under study is a key determinant of policy. Figure 4.11 below shows the number of households engaged in the identified RNFE activities.



Source: Fieldwork (2013)

The study revealed that popular activities in Mudzi communal areas are forest fruit picking and gold panning. Forest fruit is usually like *masau* (*Ziziphus mauritiana*) which are edible fruits popular with urban people. *Masau* trading has been found to be effective livelihoods strategies for a number of households in Dande, Mutoko and Mudzi (Nyanga, 2013:169). The value of *Masau* in communal areas livelihoods has also been appreciated in a study in Dande communal area of Mashonaland Central, who found out that it raises an average of US\$559 income per annum per household representing

19.4% of total households' income. This is the same with finding in Mudzi where households who are actively involved in the masau trading report to have raised over US\$500 in 3 months. It should also be said that masau harvesting is basically done by women (84%) who gather the fruits and travel to urban areas for selling them. The fact that this highly beneficial activity is in favour of women is a commendable phenomenon in rural Zimbabwe. What needs to be done is to link these traders to urban markets through efficient low costs transport. Marketing in urban areas is not regulated and is done in agriculture market stalls in Mbare, Harare or on road pavements as shown in Figure 4.12 below.

Figure 4.12 Marketing Masau in Harare (road pavement)

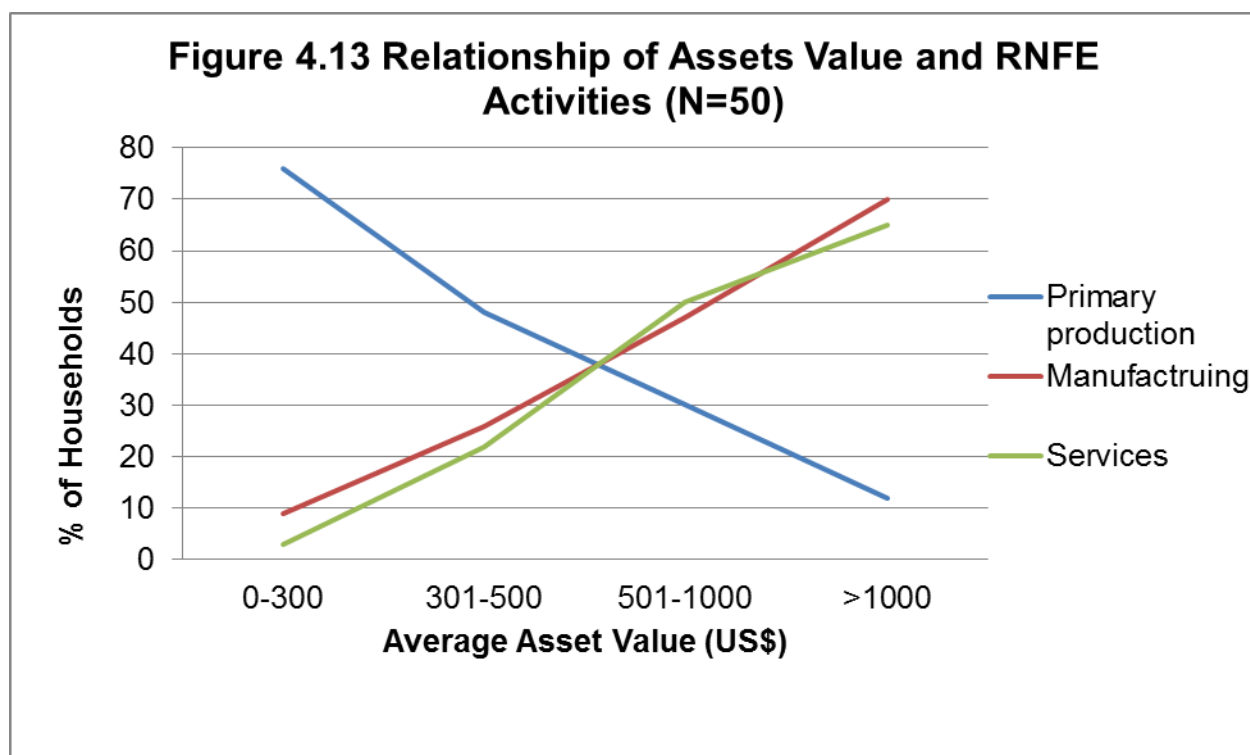


Source: Fieldwork (2013)

Issues of hygiene and transport should be addressed to support this livelihood strategy. Research into other commercial use of this product may increase households' participation and increase overall income in communal areas.

Gold panning along the Mazowe River is also a popular activity to most households in Mudzi. 67% of gold panners in Mudzi are women and they tend to crowd in high risk and low paying activities. 32% of gold panners in Mudzi indicated that they are fulltime in mining while 52% indicated that they practice both agriculture and panning. Income from gold panning varies with skill and experience of a household in panning, ranging from US\$160 to US\$380 per month. Gold panning is mainly practised in Mapombo area of Mudzi. Respondents indicated that gold panning is a lucrative activity though the highly regulated industry and marketing make it difficult for them to realise substantial profits from the trade. Male respondents indicated that they prefer dealership opportunities rather than the mining itself as earns more money. However 60% of surveyed gold panners indicated that poor security in the mining fields meant that gold dealers are more at risk from robbers than panners.

Assets of households also determine the nature and intensity of productive activities which households may follow. Households with low asset base tend to follow primary based activities like brick moulding, while households with a high asset base tend to follow high premium risk RNFE. Figure 4.13 below shows the relationship of assets value and RNFE income potential to households.

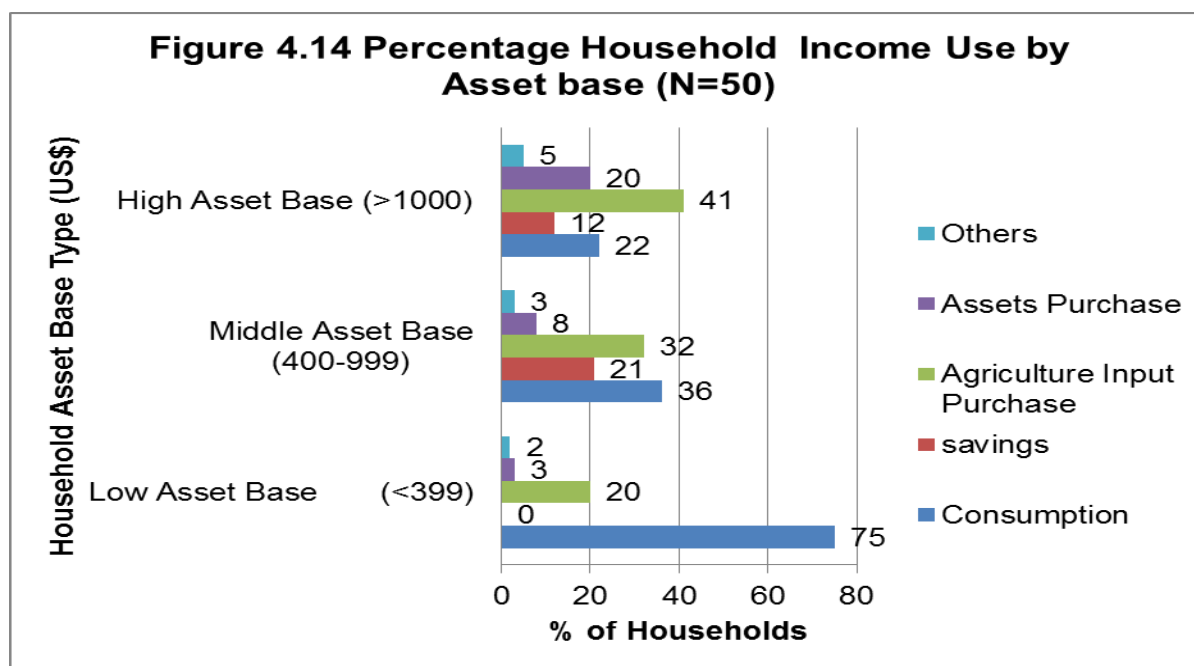


Source: Fieldwork (2013)

The composition of assets of the respondents also has a contribution to the household's choice of RNFE activities. 67% of households with assets valued at greater than US\$1000 (as shown in Figure 4.13 above) and who engage in high premium activities have more than 5 cattle, scotch carts, pickup trucks and a number of agriculture and non-agriculture equipment and tools. Low premium activities are basically done by households with low assets base comprising of low value agriculture tools and small livestock such as chickens and goats. This entails that if RNFE activities are to be pursued as an effective rural development strategy in communal areas there ought to be finance arrangements to allow households to raise their assets base.

Income use is a very important variable in rural economy development. However in this study, income use did not separate sources of household income and their subsequent

use as a general assumption was made that surplus agriculture income would normally be combined with other income and used. Besides rural respondents do not keep records of their income sources and use, but rather have rough estimates of how they used their income. Average household income use in Mudzi is shown in Figure 4.14 below. The study reveals that households with low assets base spend three quarters of their income on household consumption leaving little for investments and assets building. In fact the low asset base households do not save as their income is spread to cover other households' needs. However households in middle and higher assets base tend to spread their income to key adaptive issues such as savings, assets and agriculture inputs procurement. The ability to lower spending on consumption is key in poverty alleviation as more income would be spread to other key sectors of household economy.



Source: Fieldwork (2013)

Of great importance is the high percentage of spending of household income on agricultural inputs. This means rural communal areas are dependent on agriculture for survival that even if they get non-farm income they would reinvest in agriculture to allow high yields. Thus as shown in Figure 4.14 even households with low assets base tend to reinvest in agriculture inputs after their consumption to guarantee household survival. This also shows the strong link between agriculture and RNFE activities and the intertwined nature of household income in communal areas.

4.2.1a Communal Gold Panning in Makaha, Mudzi

In Africa small scale artisanal mining particularly for gold is widespread. The Common Fund for Commodities (CFC) estimates that there, “9 million people directly engaged in ASM activities across 45 countries of the continent” (2008:12). Further estimates put the number of people who depend on small scale mining for their livelihoods to 54 million especially which is a considerable number in Africa (CFC, 2008).

Small scale gold panning in Zimbabwe is common across all the country though its intensity and practice is dominant in areas where there are known gold deposits. These areas include Kwekwe region, some parts of Matebeleland, Kadoma, Mazowe River course and Shurugwi. There are other communities with pockets of gold deposits such as Makaha Ward 14 in Mudzi South which are dotted around the country. Areas with deposits which are deemed to be adequate to sustain commercial mining have medium to large companies which have set up their mines in these areas. Small scale mining including artisanal gold miners are usually concentrated in regions where gold deposits are low or are too scattered to set up a mine. This is the case with Makaha area in Mudzi South.

Gold panning in Zimbabwe took pre-eminence from the 1990s when the government started to liberalise the economy, restructuring government civil services leaving many out of employment. Liberalisation of the national economy led to massive retrenchments from both the public and private sector due to the preceding economic challenges in Zimbabwe. These retrenchments worsened in the post-2000 era when inflation and lack of balance of payments further led to retrenchments. Many of these retrenches who flocked to rural areas found the few economic opportunities besides agriculture. This forced a new wave of panning (known in local language as *chikorokoza*) in Zimbabwe. A number of events led to the increase of gold panners in Zimbabwe. Successive droughts, economic recession and laxity in environmental policies led to increases in gold panners (Murombedzi, 2005:16). Perceptions of the public to panning are generally negative as they are viewed as lawless, ruthless and retrogressive (Murombedzi, 2005:17).

The contribution of gold panning in Zimbabwe have been long noted particularly by the Ministry of Mines, which has advocated the inclusion of panners in the official gold supply chain by opening marketing opportunities to them and relaxing government anti-panning stance especially by the Zimbabwe Republic Police (ZRP) (Government of Zimbabwe, 1999). Artisanal and small scale gold mining in Zimbabwe contributed on average of 1 tonne of gold in 2002 and has contributed over 30% of the 11.79 tonnes of gold produced in 2012 (CFC, 2008). The increasing contribution of gold panning to the overall economy has forced the government to revise its role in improving the conditions of artisanal miners particularly in rural communities. Improving the working environment

for artisanal miners in poor rural communities does not only improve local livelihoods but the economic performance as well.

Unlike in other areas in Zimbabwe where gold panning occurs, in Makaha there are few established gold claims which are registered with the government. Respondents indicated that mining by villagers is usually done mostly in the communal grazing land where no households are situated. The sector in Makaha has an open entry framework as villagers from Mudzi are free to dig at their own sites. There have been reports of panners from other provinces or districts who come to Makaha for panning, though these face difficulties in election years when they are suspected of being opposition supporters and face violence. The gold panning sector in Makaha is dominated by women, though younger boys and older men are also involved. Very few middle aged men are involved in panning in Makaha as they prefer to mine in areas with known lucrative deposits such as Kadoma and Kwekwe.

The process of gold panning in Makaha start acquainting oneself with gold identifying skills and some site recognisance skills. Miners who are relatively new to the sector and have inadequate gold identifying skills tend to have low returns as they fail to identify potential sites with gold. The process then involves digging gold ore in sufficient quantity and takes it to sieving as impurities are removed from the ore. Further processing of the gold ore will involve the intensive use of water and mercury until there is pure gold. Once there is pure gold there are gold buyers who are readily available to purchase the quantities. Gold buyers use some scaling machines to weigh the gold and negotiate the price for the quantities. In the case of women and younger boys, they prefer to sell their gold on daily basis and return home for other household activities.

Women and teenagers in gold panning in Makaha indicated that they preferred the open cast panning approach than the underground. One young woman who once entered some underground tunnels in search of gold indicated to the researcher that she was raped by unknown people when her light went off. Such horrific tales and the dangers of the underground tunnels to collapse mean women and younger miners prefer open cast panning. This according to one respondent interviewed is safe though there are low returns. Men prefer to dig underground tunnels following a gold 'belt' underground. Box 4.4 is an excerpt from one male respondent who practise underground mining:

Box 4.4 Respondent's Narration of Underground Gold Panning

"I normally do *chikorokoza* (artisanal) for gold with four of my friends. We usually look at the soils and rocks of an area and estimate its potential for gold. When we identify it we dig up an open casts and eventually follow the thread of gold. Underground we use candle light or the lights of our cell phones to provide illumination. Normally in our group we don't just take a heap of soil but we only take high quality ore for 3 to 4 days. In most cases we only come out of the tunnels after 3 days to replenish our food stocks and rests that is if we do not sufficient ore to go to the mill. As a team we no longer wash the gold on our own, but we take it to the mill near the shops were it is purified by the machines. We usually sell the gold at the mill as there are buyers there. We usually make about US\$900 per day which we share equally the five of us. After selling our gold we may rest for a week drinking beer and having good time, as it is very dangerous underground."

Source: Fieldwork (2013)

The process of mining gold through artisanal means is fraught with dangers particularly in Zimbabwe where statutes have largely remained against the practice. The study found that lawlessness in the panning fields is rife as many young men are usually intoxicated with alcohol and marijuana. Women respondents indicated that they are often abused by their counterparts through sexual harassment both physical and psychological. Researcher observation in Makaha panning fields shows young men shouting obscenities at women miners alleging that they are following their gold tracks. Such environment is not conducive for working and definitely challenging for conservative rural married women.

The effectiveness of panning in household livelihoods has long been questioned (CFC, 2008). The gold supply chain seems to give high premiums to gold traders and dealers than the men and women who locally process the trade at primary level. In Makaha perceptions of the effectiveness of panning vary though the majority are against the practice. Local village heads interviewed during the study indicated that panning has destroyed their forests environment and grazing pastures and has brought up nothing for the community or for the miners. The clear view from respondents who appear to be coping well in Mudzi South is that gold panning is for the poor who are largely exploited by the middlemen and those on the upper supply chain level. One village head respondent reveals that most of the women panners were former farmers who failed to produce adequate crop output because of failure to procure inputs and ended up panning. This is the view of CFC which in studies across Africa in 2008 found out that artisanal small scale mining are driven into the trade by poverty and often drawn away

from productive agriculture (2008:13). Thus gold panning have the tendency to impoverish further those who practice it.

Perhaps there is need for policy intervention to improve gold panning in communal areas through safe and secured working environments for both women and men, and access to the market to realise good returns. The role of environment regulators and the police in preserving the interest of poor artisanal miners is essential if these rural livelihoods are to successfully transform.

Interventions to improve the viability of panning livelihoods in communal areas need to be instituted particularly at government level. The Zimbabwe Mining Policy of 2013 is a good start though much has to be done to incorporate the informal gold panners in the overall government policy. The gold industry is a high security issue in Zimbabwe especially with regard to the Gold Trade Act Chapter 21:03. The Gold Trade Act read with conjunction with the Gold Trade Regulations criminalise the mining of gold outside a registered claim. The two regulations also prohibit the sell or buying of gold by unauthorised dealers except those who are registered by Fidelity Printers as the sole buyers of gold. This increased regulation of gold mining and trade favours formal mining institutions and companies who afford the costs of licensing than the general public in rural areas. The role of ZRP in enforcing these regulations has left to a larger extent most artisanal gold miners vulnerable to the corrupt practices of officers. ZRP's Minerals Unit has in the past mounted several raids on artisanal gold miners in Makaha which has resulted in the confiscation of panned gold. According to respondents interviewed the most infamous of policy raids was "Operation Chikorokoza Chapera" (Operation stop illegal mining) in 2007 (Herald, 2007). In this police operation ZRP officers

confiscated mining tools and gold and left poor households more vulnerable. Thus the government need to institute policies which promote rather than dismantle livelihoods of artisanal gold mining especially by recognising and allowing them to sell their gold directly to Fidelity Printers.

The government needs to provide for a framework for awarding small mining claims to individual artisanal miners with defined land rights and boundaries. Such mining claims given in areas with known gold deposits like Makaha may provide security of working women and enhance access to finance for operations. Providing broad based and equal opportunities would ensure access and rights of artisanal miners to resources will ensure the inclusion of women who are engaged in this livelihood activity. However for the government to effectively provide such land rights in communal areas there is need for its capacity to be boosted in licensing, land demarcations and management.

Improving the role of environmental watchdogs like the Environmental Management Agency (EMA) would ensure the protection and reclamation of the environment. Currently the role of EMA is limited to fining artisanal gold miners. Miners need to be educated on land reclamation and use of mills for purifying gold rather than using mercury. The environmental conflicts in Makaha may derail these panning activities as most households with livestock are blaming the miners for death of their animals after drinking water contaminated with mercury. Thus environmental education of miners will help minimise conflicts and environmental degradation.

Providing capacity and security endowments to artisanal gold miners in communal areas would require a re-orientation of the role of the state in the regulation of gold

mining with particular emphasis in promoting small scale artisanal mining. Such policy directions require inter-governmental frameworks to provide services at the gold panning fields. With improved government service in security and access to land communal artisanal mining can provide after agriculture another pathway out of poverty.

4.7.1b Rural Cottage Industries and Crafting Activities in Mudzi

Rural transformation would require households to align their livelihood activities with high premium NRFE options. Rural handyman and crafting activities particularly in welding and foundry, carpentry and wood sculpturing generate high incomes for respondents. There is need to broaden participation in these high paying activities to other rural households. This would entail supporting the availability of raw materials such as steel and iron to rural technicians and strengthen the product markets in rural areas. Stimulus policies to support these emerging rural areas would help in creating employment particularly in the current situation in Zimbabwe where there is reverse rural-urban migration. This section of the study provides analysis of these manufacturing services as they are practised in Mudzi.

Welding and steel fabrication are two distinct activities whose returns in terms of income to households is high. The number of households who have started welding and steel fabrication business has been on the rise since 2005 topping to an estimated 10% of the population in 2013 (Mudzi Rural District Council, 2013). The significance of these sectors to livelihoods in Mudzi is high. The services which are offered by welders and steel fabricators range from making door and window frames, steel bars for perimeter walls, repairing tools and lithographic services. Welding sites are distributed at most

business centres in the district but about 60% of welders are located at Kotwa Growth Point which is like the district rural town. The spatial distribution of welding shows the broadening of the industry to new players and its expansion into the rural services centres. This rural industry uses raw materials such as steel bars, sheets, welding rods and electricity for the production process.

Households who are engaged in welding and steel fabrication have each a member who is usually engaged on a fulltime basis with the activity though during the agriculture season days are shared with farming operations. The contribution of welding and steel fabrication to household income is approximated to be over 50% by respondents owing to the price of their finished products. The amount of income realised per household engaged in the welding varies depending with location and construction activities happening in that location. This explains the conglomeration of welders at the local Kotwa Growth Point due to the huge housing development initiated there. In the rural services centres welders' income is directly linked to the performance of the agriculture. Respondents noted that if there is good harvests especially of cotton and groundnuts sales of steel products would be booming as most households would be renovating their houses.

Challenges of welding and steel fabrication business include raw materials, power cuts (due to load shedding of electricity by the Zimbabwe Electricity Supply Authority (ZESA)), low skills base and low product markets. Most of the steel which is used for welding comes from Harare which is 240km away from Mudzi, making it expensive in terms of transport costs. Besides the shutting down of the ZISCO Steel (a major steel manufacturing company) due to economic and liquidity challenges mean the supply of

steel has become problematic as the available product has to be sourced from South Africa. The resuscitation of ZISCO Steel would help assist local steel manufacturers to increase output and help lower the price of steel on the local markets. Electricity shortages being experienced in the country are exacerbating the plight of rural industries as most respondents who are welders indicated that they may experience power cuts of more than 10 hours per day. Welders use welding machines and they have to stop their work as steel bending and cutting and welding would require electricity.

Markets for finished steel products in rural areas are small in size and tend to be seasonal, only reaching a peak market during the agricultural marketing season (starting in May and ending in August). This means welders have approximately three months to sell their products. Welders pointed out the need to produce more stock prior to the season to optimise the high market offered by the agriculture selling season. It is crucial that all the market for steel products be wiped as failure to satisfy the market may lead it to shift towards urban suppliers. Increasing the participation of youths and women in welding and steel fabrication has the potential of uplifting households out of poverty. Inclusion into this rewarding activity would require training on steel cutting, measurement and welding, which skills are normally provided for at Vocational Training Centres (VTC). Unfortunately VTCs are located away from communal areas and remain largely near large towns and cities regardless of the fact that their training is required by rural people. There is need to relook policy of technical skills training so as to improve the rural skills base.

Carpentry and wood curving is another NRFE activity being practised in Mudzi. These activities require technical skills and training to match products in urban areas.

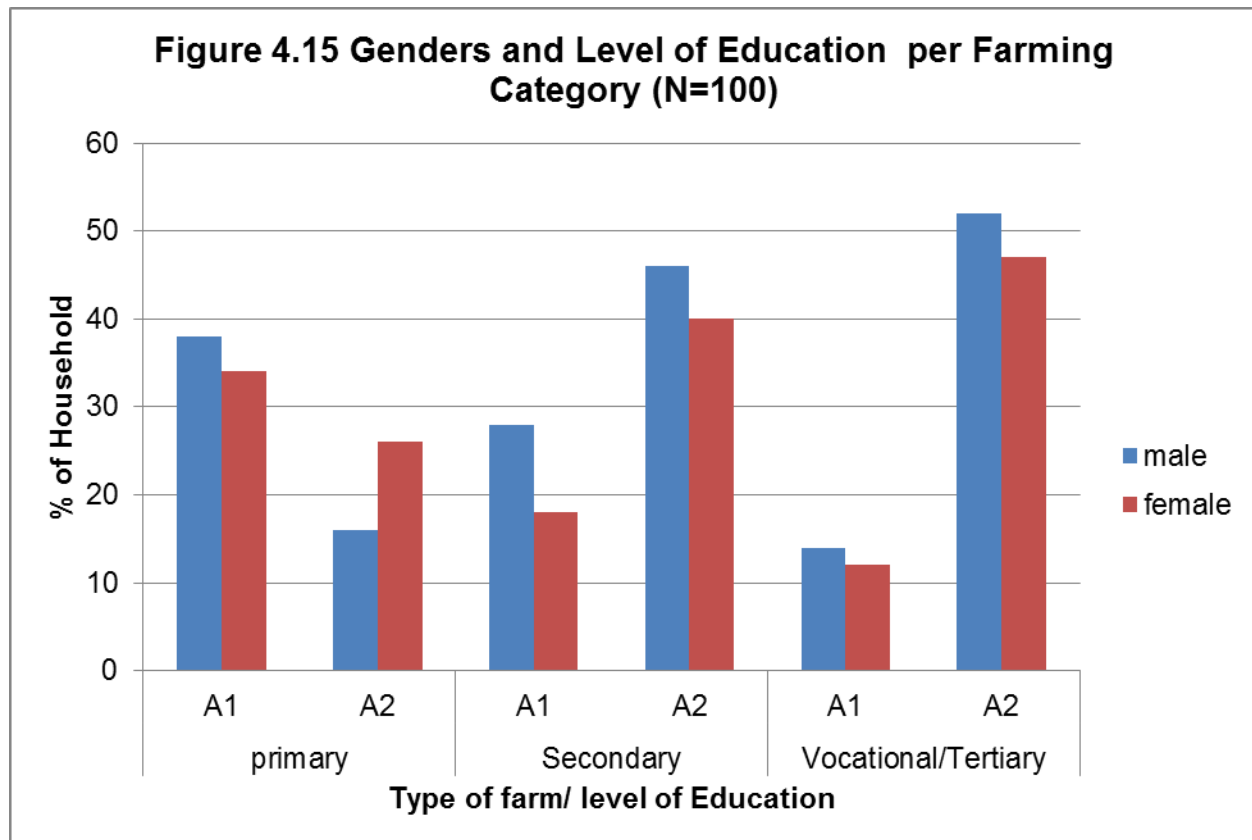
Carpentry products include benches, chairs, wardrobes, seating lounges and beds while curving products include sculptures and small traditional tools for processing grain. There are few households practising this activity due to skills constraints and financial challenges for buying equipment and tools. Only 6% of the respondents indicated that they have members of their households who are practising carpentry and curing either at Growth Point or at rural service centres. Despite the low number of households undertaking these activities in Mudzi, households with carpenters indicated high incomes of as high as \$2300, which is way above the community average of \$800. The wood industry is dominated by men as 98% of all carpenters were men. Most of the carpenters who responded to the study indicated that they were in the age group of 35 to 50 years and most have once worked in wood industry in Harare before their companies retrenched them.

It should be noted that cap entry and wood curving also faces the same challenges as with welding activities. Lack of financial support, electricity shortages and low markets continue to disrupt livelihoods which are based on carpentry. Training of women in carpentry as well as financing small business in rural areas would improve the welfare of rural households.

4.7.2 RNFE in Resettlement Areas

Households in resettlement areas have demographic and economic activities which are different to communal areas warranting a different analysis for their productive activities. Demographically resettlement areas are characterised by an average family size of 5 with women consisting of 43% of households' heads particularly for A1 and A2 areas.

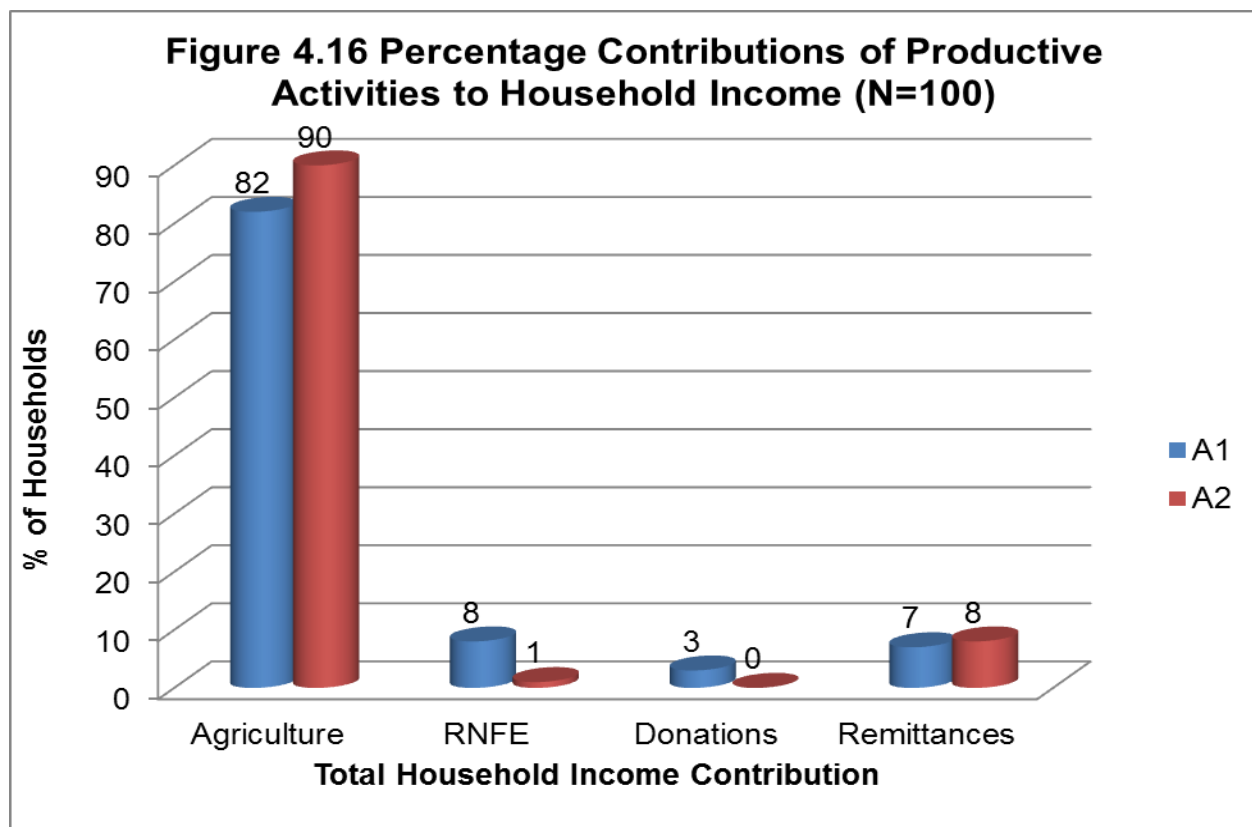
However there are a number of disparities between gender and level of education in resettlement areas (See Figure 4.15 below). These disparities are important as they influence household activities and income levels.



Thus as indicated on Figure 4.15 there is a gender parity in each farming category as there are marginal differences between males and females. This can be attributed to the government's policy 50-50 gender balancing in the land reform process. However the level of education is a key variable in resettlement areas as it has an inverse relationship with increase in farm size (see Figure 4.15). A number of explanations are attributed to this arrangement. First since land reform was a controlled process by the state, larger farms were allocated to people with the economic potential to produce effectively shown by their bank statements or their education. This means the A1 farms

are dominated by households with less economic endowments while A2 farms are for the economically viable class. The presences of households who have primary education as their highest qualification indicate the political nature of the land allocation process. The lands committee at both the district and provincial level have a war veteran member who is charged to preserve the interest of the liberation fighters of the 1970s. It should be noted that these war veterans went to war when most have just completed primary level or in the middle of their secondary education.

The contribution of NRFE in the resettlement areas economy is largely low due to the primacy of agriculture. Figure 4.16 shows the contribution of RNFE towards total average household income in both A1 and A2 resettlement areas.



Source: Fieldwork (2013)

Average household income is chiefly contributed to by agricultural income followed by remittances and donations in both A1 and A2 resettlement schemes. In A2 donations and RNFE activities contribute insignificant proportions. Of the RNFE and remittances contributions to household income in both resettlement areas most of it is from formal employment in Marondera and Harare which are cities near surveyed districts of Makoni and Mazowe, respectively.

It should also be noted that in A1 and A2 resettlement areas average incomes per household are US\$2380 and US\$6000 per annum respectively as compared to the average of US\$800 in communal areas. This means low engagement of RNFE activities in resettled areas is not due to poverty or lack of an asset base, as the case with low asset base communal households, but due to a choice to intensify agricultural production. The ecological endowments of the 2 resettled districts, in terms of high rainfall and average temperatures mean that agriculture produce high returns than other petty activities. In fact most of these households in resettled areas spend 95% of their time per annum on farms, during and off-season. The increase in the number of small scale tobacco farmers in both A1 and A2 sectors means more time is required on land preparation, tillage, planting and harvesting, leaving no other time for RNFE activities.

Thus it has become apparent in the study that effort be made to appraise RNFE activities as they relate to communal areas since that is where they provide a vital hedge during droughts and poor marketing seasons. Households in resettled areas are better off intensifying agriculture production if incomes and development is to be realised from these regions. RNFE activities support and policy should not be just blind

to communal areas, but be focussed on popular activities particularly those that engage more woman than men as they will have a bigger impact on poverty alleviation.

4.8 Conclusion

Smallholder agriculture remains the backbone of the Zimbabwe economy. Providing appropriate policy framework for smallholder agriculture would entail the realisation of development rights and entitlements of 67% of Zimbabweans who live in communal areas (ZIMSTAT 2013:14). Rural households in Zimbabwe are diversified, though agriculture continues to be the mainstay activity in terms of time and resources allocated to it by farmers and also in terms of income contribution to the household. Developing rural areas in Zimbabwe would certainly require a staged approach which recognises the diversity of communal and resettlement communities. Communal farmers are increasingly diversified due to their vulnerability context where the natural climate and geomorphologic processes are adversely skewed against them. Policy interventions in communal areas should address the perennial problem of agriculture inputs and viable markets for produce particularly staple crops. Such a policy framework for smallholder agriculture need not be isolated, but a coordinated rural development policy which hinged on secured tenure systems which stimulate the agriculture land market, efficient tailor made production support and systems, efficient markets, appropriate and adequate agriculture infrastructure and support mechanism for farmers. Supporting smallholder agriculture in Zimbabwe would require a two pronged approach by the state. First the government should include subsidising smallholder farmers in staple production. The 2009 subsidised voucher system for inputs are a good start and

the role of agro-dealers in this input system need to be expanded to improve efficiency and logistics. Second the government should develop a win-win model for contract farming. Such a model may require incentives for companies funding farmers and removing all production and marketing hurdles in contract farming. One such hurdle is the pricing of agricultural produce. The government ought to liberalise marketing of produce, particularly cash crops. In the case of cereals timely pay-outs to farmers by the GMB would not only spur production, but ensure a food secured country.

Apart from smallholder agriculture, the government has to provide a whole set of intervention framework for non-farm rural economic activities. NRFE is low in resettled areas but prevalent in communal areas. Communal area NRFE requires the government to provide poverty sensitive policies in artisanal mining, manufacturing and environmental services such as the harvesting of non-timber forest products like masau. Harnessing financial support for communal households would diversify their livelihoods as well as uplifting them out of poverty.

CHAPTER 5 AN EVALUATION OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT POLICY PRACTICE IN ZIMBABWE

5.0 Introduction

This section of the study discusses policy findings and issues for rural development in Zimbabwe. It provides an analysis of the current rural development policy environment with particular reference to its structure, formulation and implementation. The policy setting for rural development is central to the unlocking of opportunities and development pathways for rural people as well as providing broad based nationwide socio-economic benefits. It is clear from the study that rural development policy in Zimbabwe is fractured and is a composite of various sectoral policies and regulations whose thrust has no rural spatial dimension. Probing the coordination and cohesion of various instruments and regulations in rural Zimbabwe becomes the thesis of this chapter.

The section further delves into social protection issues as they relate to smallholder farmers. Analysis of the effectiveness of social protection in rural areas assist the conceptualization of risks, vulnerability, poverty and social-economic development and how these interact to aid or curtail new effective rural development strategies in Zimbabwe. Evaluating the social protection mechanisms for rural farmers in Zimbabwe would provide opportunities of lowering risks in rural areas allowing farmers to embark on high risk yet high premium farming practices and activities.

5.1 Aspects of Rural Development Policy in Zimbabwe

Rural development does not happen in a policy vacuum, but rather under careful considered set of actions and behaviors which can be translated to development policy. It is therefore important that policy issues are interrogated in terms of their substantive and administrative dimensions so as to aid the debate on rural development. Policies may be construed as policies-in-intention, policies-in-implementation and or policies-in-experience. According to Guba (1984:24) definitions of policy such as: a goal or an intent; a standing decision; a guide to discretionary action; or a problem solving strategy define policy as a policy-in-intention, that is, a statement about policy. Policy-in-action implies sanctioned behavior, norms of conduct and output of the policy-making system which may also be grouped under policy-in-implementation. The third type of policy is suggested by defining policy as involving constructions based on experiences of the client (Mawhinney, et al., 1990:7). It should be stated here that in this study rural development policy is referring to the three policy issues of intention, action and implementation, and experiences which continue to influence the practice of rural development in Zimbabwe.

The current rural development policy setting in Zimbabwe is a composite of many policy pronouncements which target different socio-economic issues in both urban and rural areas. There has not been a coordinated rural development policy but one which is a fusion of sectoral regulations and policies. For a rural development policy to be effective it has to be two pronged, that is to alleviate poverty and to stimulate sustainable development. Such a development policy needs to be comprehensive, participatory and provide ample opportunity for coordination within rural areas. This is

clearly alluded to by one respondent in the Ministry of Lands and Rural Resettlement who says:

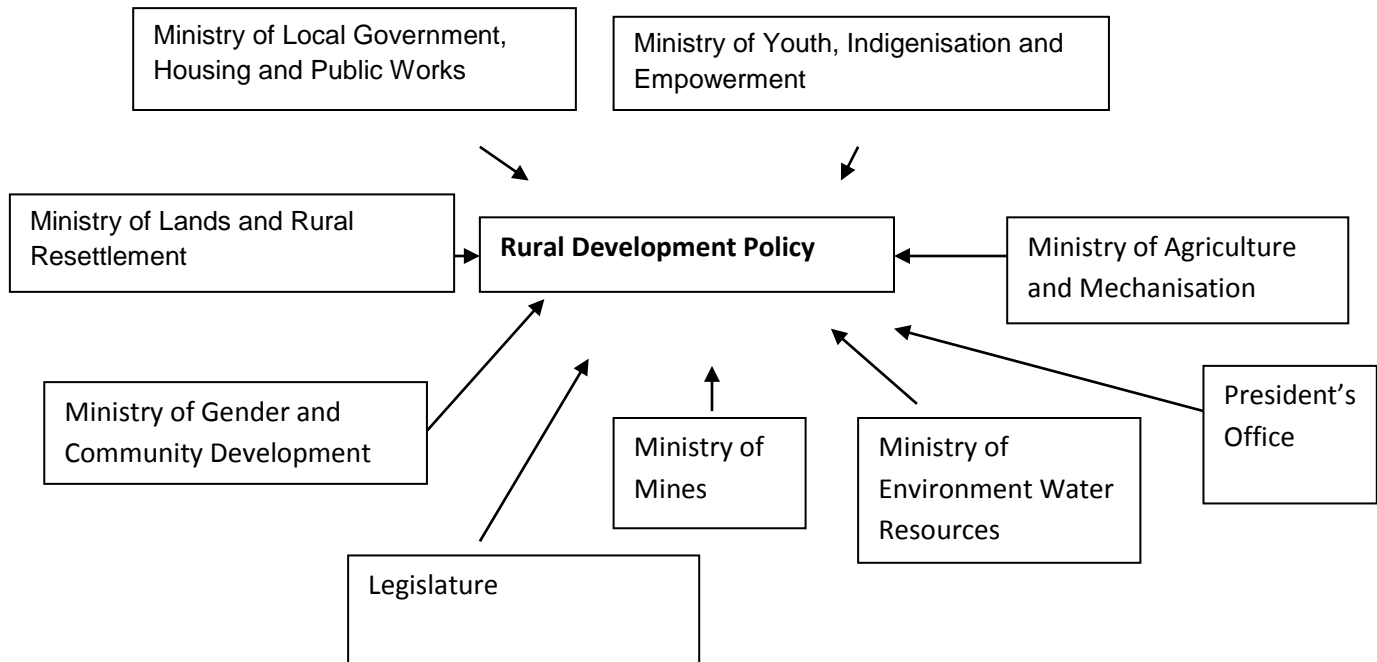
... rural development policy in Zimbabwe is fragmented. Each government ministry has its own policy approaches to follow when dealing with rural development projects. There is no a singular policy document to guide everyone on how to practice rural development, but rather each ministry deals with what they deem as most important issues. Infact you have to sieve the sector policy to see what it has for rural development (Respondent X: 2014).

This respondent reveals that the rural substantive issues are always submerged with urban or national social economic issues which make rural policy a non-crucial issue in development. This kind of policy misnomer evades the scrutiny of a rural policy, hence depend largely on piecemeal pronouncements and regulations which do not necessary address critical rural issues.

Policy formulation is the development of effective and acceptable courses of action for addressing what has been placed on the policy agenda. Critiquing rural development in Zimbabwe requires the understanding of current policy formulation process so that lessons for future policy directions can be proffered. In policy formulation there are two vital elements which sustain policy, analysis and authorization. Policy analysis and authorization are currently the preoccupation of the executive arms of the state. The current rural development policy problem in Zimbabwe is a result of too many policy organs and sectoral ministries which formulates and implements policy. Below is an

illustration of ministries which are formulating sectoral rural development policy in Zimbabwe:

Figure 5.1 Policy Formulation Institutions in Zimbabwe



Source: Fieldwork (2013)

It is clear from the research interviews that government ministries have the bigger say in policy formulation particularly on issue searching and putting issues on the policy agenda. One key informant working on government rural projects pointed out that though policy formulation is currently a preserve of sector ministries; the President's Office has enormous power in terms of determining policy issues and substantive development issues. Analysis of ministerial policy formulation processes reveals that technocrats and bureaucrats dominate at the expense of politicians and elected officials. Ministers and politicians' role in policy formulation appear to be limited to policy pronouncements, launches and parliamentary debates, yet they have the mandate to

develop and design policy from constituents they represent. Ministry officials, who form the bulk of bureaucrats, report to permanent secretaries who brief ministers but report to the Chief Secretary of Cabinet and President. It is under the President' Office, where key policy decisions are made, and in most cases, by the Chief Secretary or his/her deputy. Though the centralization of policy formulation process in the President' Office is vital to implement policies and coordinate various line ministries involved in rural development, it precludes key stakeholders like the rural people themselves. This is against the recent knowledge in literature that public participation greatly enhances effective policy implementation and increase buy-ins from the public. This is alluded to by one respondent in Mazowe District who said:

... the government does not really consult us on issues which affect us as farmers. The input supply systems and subsidy policy is one we have been trying to amend and make submissions. But all government officials here seem not interested in our views. This is the same with our farmer organisation which always is on the receiving end of government directives (Mazowe District Respondent, 2013).

This view is collaborated by Kaseke et al. (1998) note that policy formulation in both colonial and post independent Zimbabwe has precluded the public despite the immense benefits of an inclusive participation. It should be noted however that when it comes to social protection and social services policies the government relies heavily on non-governmental organisations to formulate policy. This can be attributed to the role of non-state actors in mobilising development assistance in rural Zimbabwe. Civic organisations and NGOs in social services provision appear to have space and power to initiate policy debates and eventually lobby for policy inclusion due their financial

resources. However the role of NGOs and civic organisations in rural development of Zimbabwe is heavily monitored by the state which fears that opposition political parties may use them for political gain. With regard to production and economic policies which has a wider impact on rural development, government officials formulate and implement public policy.

The study finds that there is no policy coherence in rural development in Zimbabwe. The fractious approach in policy making is cascading to implementation at the expense of rural development. Current rural development problems in Zimbabwe which include vulnerable livelihoods, food insecurity and lack of employment opportunities in rural Zimbabwe require coordinated efforts of both the government and the rural populace. There is a clear need to have a single policy document which guides government programmes and projects when dealing with rural areas. The current scenario where rural issues are treated as peripheral non-spatial issues and coming second urban and mainstream economy is leaving millions of rural citizens in poverty.

5.2 Rural Development Institutions in Zimbabwe

Rural development policies are implemented by formal and informal institutions in Zimbabwe. It is important to assess the role of these institutions in development as they are important catalyst for poverty alleviation and development change. Institutions provide the governance structure and may help in strengthening social-economic activities with rural areas. Institutions provide the basis for coordination of development efforts among producers, manufacturers and consumers and provide vital market links for agricultural transformation.

Formal institutions in Zimbabwe include those which are charged with direct rural development, line ministries and departments, local government structures and development committees for the control and use of financial resources. The study focused on how these institutions support rural development and proffer opportunities for socio-economic transformation in Zimbabwe.

5.2.1 Agriculture and Rural Development Authority (ARDA)

The Agriculture and Rural Development Authority (ARDA) was established by an Act of parliament Chapter 18:1 in 1972 and has been operational ever since. ARDA has the following functions as enshrined in the Act:

- a) to plan, co-ordinate, implement, promote and assist agricultural development in Zimbabwe;
- b) to prepare and, with the agreement of the Minister, to implement schemes for the betterment of agriculture in any part of Zimbabwe;
- (c) to plan, promote, co-ordinate and carry out schemes for the development, exploitation, utilization, settlement or disposition of State land,
- (d) any other functions and duties which may be imposed upon the Authority by any enactment.

(ARDA Act Chapter 18:1)

ARDA is mandated to stimulate projects in the agriculture sector and initiate rural development in Zimbabwe. However the authority's officials revealed that their

understanding of the mandate was as a government parastatal which is supposed to invest in agriculture and recoup profits to the government. This view of such a critical authority is at divergence to the agenda for rural development as it leaves the rural poor out of the production and supply chains of agriculture. Rural communities which surround the large farming estates of ARDA revealed that apart from seasonal employment, the organisation does not really provide any developmental assistance. The organisation which has access to capital from the state does not provide training or outreach activities to the farming communities in their vicinity. If this kind of organisation is to aid rural development it has to be fully integrated with community structures and allow knowledge transfer for better farming methods and techniques. The organisation boasts of a number of farming equipment and machinery particularly in commercial farming areas but does not invest in capacity building of smallholder farmers especially those who were recently resettled under the Land Reform programme.

Interviews with local populations who surround ARDA pointed the misplaced agenda of the organisation particularly in the disenfranchising the people of communal land in favour of huge investments. The Chisumbanje Ethanol Project in Chipinge was always cited as an example where the state authority has engaged a private investor and dispossessed the locals of their land. Though officials from ARDA pointed to employment opportunities availed due to such a project, but it is clear that the employment is mainly for urbanites that are better skilled to take up such sophisticated tasks. If the state is to stimulate sustainable development for its citizens it should empower rural communities to take leverage of such huge investments and contract the

small-scale farmers to supply commodities to the projects (in the case of Chisumbanje Ethanol Project, farmers maybe subcontracted to supply the sugarcane).

5.2.2 District Development Fund (DDF)

The District Development Fund (DDF) is a department which was formed by the government and is charged with the responsibility of providing and maintaining rural infrastructure within the Communal, Resettlement and Small Scale Commercial Farming areas of Zimbabwe. Its programmes are funded by the government, donors and the private sector. The department is administered in the President's Office who oversees the fund and operations. The department is chiefly for the development of roads, water reservoirs, boreholes and other communal areas infrastructure.

It should be noted that DDF as a rural development institution has been instrumental in the provision of infrastructure services to rural roads. This can be clearly shown by the Table 5.1 below which shows the number of roads which DDF has been upgrading since independence in 1980. Though the post independent government made strides in roads construction increasing total road length by 700%, the greater part of this road network is composed of earth and gravel roads which have trafficability problems in the rainy season. The road lengths indicated under the land reform in Table 5.1 Zimbabwe were never constructed due to constraints to the fiscus and DDF.

Apart from road rehabilitation and construction DDF also develops water infrastructure and provides tillage to smallholder farmers. A number of farmers and key informants pointed to the continued funding for DDF as they felt it is an organisation which has larger and tangible effects to the rural communities. However the low capacity of the

department owing to low financial resources has crippled operations. 83% of smallholder farmers in Mazowe District revealed that they do not receive tillage services from DDF despite the promises from government. Those who eventually have their land tilled by the department, receive the service late after planting despite paying the costs earlier. It is clear that there are institutional challenges at DDF which need to be tackled if the organisation is to fully support infrastructural development for sustainable socio-economic transformation in rural Zimbabwe.

Table 5.1 Roads Construction and Development by DDF since 1980 (km)

PROVINCE	BEFORE 1980	AFTER 1980	LAND REFORM ROADS	TOTAL NO. OF ROADS (km)
MANICALAND	417	2,941	584	3,942
MASHONALAND CENTRAL	393	2,007	205	2,605
MASHONALAND EAST	439	3,335	563	4,337
MASHONALAND WEST	365	2,343	1,172	3,880
MASVINGO	528	3,281	853	4,662
MATABELELAND NORTH	257	2,072	788	3,117
MATABELELAND SOUTH	261	2,203	1,348	3,812
MIDLANDS	382	3,684	1,565	5,631
TOTAL	3,042	21,866	7,078	31,986

Source: Government of Zimbabwe (1999)

5.2.3 Government Ministries and Departments

A number of departments in various government ministries are engaged in rural development or are implementing institutions for rural development. These include the departments of Agriculture and Extension Services, Mechanization and Irrigation Development, Livestock and Veterinary Services, Research and Specialist Services and many support services. The Ministry of Lands and Rural resettlement also hosts a number of departments particularly those which offer land use planning services, land management systems. The Ministry of Local Government, Housing and Public Works also host a number of departments which deals with rural development particularly on governance issues.

5.2.4 Provincial and District Councils

Development management is critical in rural development and in Zimbabwe it is provided for under the decentralised governance structures and institutions. Zimbabwe has 10 provincial administrative units of which 8 are rural provinces and 2 are urban. Rural provinces are made up of districts councils which may be both urban and rural and each district is made up of wards which are a group of villages in the case of rural wards. There is also a parallel structure which comprises of Chiefs who are the epitome of traditional authorities.

Provincial government is headed by the Provincial Governor who is appointed by the President. The Governor chairs the Provincial Councils whose members are drawn from all district councils, members of parliament and chiefs' representatives and other

nominees of the Minister of Local Government. The Provincial council is paired by the Provincial Development Committee (PDC) which is chaired by the Provincial Administrator and comprises of provincial heads of departments of government ministries. The PDC is the implementing institution of the Provincial Council and in most cases has to develop rural development plans and policies specific to provinces they operate.

District Councils and Rural District Development Committees (RDDC) are headed by the District Administrator who is a central government representative and coordinate the development projects within a district. District councils are also composed of elected councilors from wards and local Chiefs and Headman with the district. Non-state organisations such as non-governmental organisations and civic organisations also sit in the RDDCs and assist in terms of development funding and implementation.

As noted by Chatiza (2010) “local government structures are also critical in terms of facilitating participation in decentralised development planning. In this way they allow the meeting of local needs from local resources, while also acting as a conduit for securing local access to national resources and participation in national programs.” However it should be noted that the local governance in Zimbabwe has largely remained idle to championing development due to their hamstrung finances and political meddling from central government officials particularly the Minister of Local Government. This has created a developmental paradox where local communities and rural councils cannot effectively design nor does implement policies which suit their spatial areas. This view is supported by Makumbe (2010) and Helmsing (1990) who viewed Zimbabwe’s decentralisation of development a complete failure. For effective

rural development policy to be coordinated and implemented there is need to develop institutional governance which is sensitive to the needs of the majority poor.

5.3 Social Protection and Rural Development

Sustaining rural development in Zimbabwe and elsewhere in Sub-Saharan Africa would require a rethink on the policies that affect the rural people. The study's findings on smallholder agriculture and NFRE activities in communal and resettled farming areas show a common fundamental problem of low productivity. In the communal areas the study revealed that the average income from both agriculture and NFRE activities is US\$800 for a household of 5. This shows that the majority of rural communal farmers are living below the poverty datum line of a dollar a day. Thus this pervasiveness of poverty increases the livelihood risks and vulnerability contexts of communal farmers. Farmers have tried to caution themselves from risks through mixed farming and engaging in NFRE activities. These activities have failed to reduce risks as income levels have continued to be subdued due to the low productivity. In the case of Makaha households in Mudzi, they have embarked on gold artisanal mining to cope and adapt livelihoods risks, though this activity has captured many in a vicious cycle of poverty and lured them away from productive agriculture activities.

Even in resettlement areas, where average incomes tend to be above the communal average, livelihoods are increasingly vulnerable and at risks of falling under minimum consumption levels and livelihoods failures. The low productivity in resettlement farmers which is threatening contract farming emanates from farmers' interpretation of risks and their vulnerability contexts. Resettled farmers tend to practice mixed farming particularly

of staple and cash crops so that they guarantee minimum levels of livelihood consumption for their households even at the detriment of their cash crops and commercial contracts' terms on output produce. Neglecting risks and the vulnerability contexts of rural smallholder farmers in Zimbabwe would perpetuate poverty even after implementing agriculture related programs for poverty reduction. Conceptualizing these rural risks and vulnerability contexts and appraising the effectiveness of current policy responses to them in Zimbabwe will improve the endowment and entitlement rights of rural farmers.

The concept of risks and vulnerability context of the rural people has long been in development thinking since 1990s, though of late there is renewed focus in international development agencies, governments and academics (Devereux, 2001; 2009; 2010; Awokuse, 2011; Béné, 2011; Johnson and Krishnamurthy, 2010; Todd, et al., 2010; Maluccio, 2010; Sabates-Wheeler and Devereux, 2008; Wood, 2011; Niño-Zarazua, et al., 2012). Todaro and Smith (2009:438) allude that rural subsistence farmers particularly in Sub-Saharan Africa suffer risks such as droughts, debts, underemployment and low productivity of staple crop outputs. Without addressing these risks rural farmers are unable to uptake new opportunities in rural development be they in technological innovations, input arrangements and marketing opportunities which can push them out of poverty.

According to Siegel and Alwang (1999, cited in Devereux 2001:2) risks and uncertainty are stochastic events with known or unknown probability distributions but result in welfare losses for households. Vulnerability implies exposure to a threat and its impact on households depends on their susceptibility or sensitivity to its adverse effects and

the rural poor have greater exposure to it (Devereux, 2001:3). Small scale farmers suffer generic risks such as seasonality, droughts, and volatile international commodity prices and markets failures. Rural households also suffer from shared community risks and individual risks which are specific to individual circumstances.

Vulnerability of rural households in Zimbabwe is being caused by a number of issues. HIV/AIDS pandemic has infected over a 1.6 million people of which 67% live in rural areas (ZIMSTAT, 2013). The sickness and deaths of household adults decrease labour resource to rural areas. Mwabu and Thorbecke (2004:i23) views labour and land as a critical resource in rural livelihoods that its decimation by HIV/AIDS in Zimbabwe has worsened the vulnerability contexts of households. In traditional rural areas of Zimbabwe death is a costly event whereby the deceased's family is expected to feed the community who gathers to bury the deceased after meeting hospital and transportation costs. Bad weather conditions, cyclical droughts and the negative effects of have also led to the increase of uncertainty among farmers. In communal rural areas of Zimbabwe farmers have addressed this climatic change risks by growing small grains which have reduced their outputs due to their intensive labour requirement and lack of hybrids and drought resistant.

The political conditions in the past decade in Zimbabwe have also exacerbated risks and vulnerabilities of households. The post-2000 era has been characterised by political polarisation, intolerance and violence particularly in rural areas. Zimbabwe has conducted parliamentary and presidential elections in 2000, 2002, 2005, 2008 (two elections) and 2013. Violence has always happened in each of these elections and has disrupted many livelihoods (Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum, 2014). It should be

noted that all these elections except the 2013 national elections were conducted during the agriculture season. Respondents in Mudzi indicated that sometimes there were summoned to political meetings as much as three times per week making livelihood activities difficult. Political violence has led to deaths, permanent assets destruction and human displacements all perpetuate the vulnerabilities of rural people. This is worsened by weak policing on the part of the Zimbabwe Republic Police (ZRP) which has only one police station in Mudzi district with over 133 000 people (ZIMSTAT, 2013).

Resistant to technological innovations is also prevalent in both communal and resettled farmers. Contract farmers of cash crops such as tobacco, paprika, cotton and soya beans have resistance on new farming methods and following instructions from company extension officers or agronomists. This increased their vulnerability contexts as most have low yields which would not offset inputs costs and remain indebted after the agriculture season. Farmers in rural Zimbabwe do not easily give up their normal practices even they yield low income as they want to guarantee minimum livelihood consumption first. Reducing these risks requires the expansion of agricultural educational extension work to farmers which is backed by scientific research. Rural research should be spearheaded by research institutions on practical farming needs such as those in Bangladesh which are known as rural academy.

Dimensions of risks in rural areas are different in terms of scale, predictability and trigger causality. At the global level, the volatility of commodity markets and the global financial crisis have impacted local productions in agriculture. In the case of cotton farmers in communal and resettlement farmers, the local prices which are related to the international markets have declined for instance from US\$0.85 per kilogramme in 2011

to US\$0.45 in the 2013/2014 agriculture season (The Herald, 2014). This huge decline in cotton prices have pushed many farmers who were now depending on a single cash crop for survival to lose their livelihoods. The successive low prices for cotton in the last three years mean that farmers are now unable to purchase inputs and meet minimum consumption levels of households. Another global risk to farmers in resettled farmers is the on-going agenda of banning flue cured tobacco production by the World Health Organisation. The Tobacco Industry and Marketing Board (TIMB) of Zimbabwe indicate that small scale tobacco farmers have grown from 4500 commercial farmers in the year 2000 to about 110 000 small scale farmers, of which 32% are women (Herald, 2014). Thus the vulnerability of these tobacco growing families will widen if WHO continues pushing for the adoption of its tobacco production policy. Such policies have the effect of making private companies who were contracting farmers in Zimbabwe rollback their programmes to the further detriment of smallholder farmers. Risks and vulnerability context at sub-national, community and individual households are being widened in by the infrastructure shortages in both communal and resettlement areas. Such infrastructure include roads, grain storage facilities, dams and irrigation equipment and tobacco curing bans which are constraining the livelihoods options of rural people. According to Devereux (2001:510) dimensions of insecurity and shocks may be predictable such as off season underemployment or unpredictable droughts and floods (especially floods which have affected Tokwe-Murkhosi farmers). Trigger causality such as illness and harvest failure are common in Zimbabwe (Devereux, 2001:510).

5.4 Social Protection Programs in Zimbabwe

According to the World Bank (2013) Zimbabwe's CPIA social protection rating (1=low to 6=high) was 1 from 2009 to 2010 and 2 since 2011. The CPIA social protection rating assesses government policies in social protection and labor market regulations that reduce the risk of becoming poor, assist those who are poor to better manage further risks, and ensure a minimal level of welfare to all people (World Bank, 2013). Thus Zimbabwe's low rating is as result of several economic problems which have resulted in it failing to reduce the risks of the poor. The prevailing socio-economic conditions in Zimbabwe make it difficult for the state to offer protection of the poor particularly in rural areas.

Historically post-independence Zimbabwe was based on socialism as the guiding philosophy of the state. During the early 1980s the government rolled out a number of social programs particularly in communal areas where poverty was pervasive. Such programs included free primary education, health and subsidized inputs to rural farmers. According to Kaseke (1988) social protection programs in Zimbabwe are fragmented and lacked comprehensiveness which is a key feature in rural development. Most of social security programs of post independent Zimbabwe were mainly before 1992. In the post 1992 era when the government introduced the Economic Structural Adjustment Program (ESAP) there was a concerted rollback of the social protection programs due to liberalisation (Kaseke,et al., 1998). During the post ESAP period vulnerability and risks rose among the rural people as government began to adopt the user pay principle for health and education. This further impoverished the rural people who were already

reeling under economic recession which was induced by ESAP. Moreover the rising urban unemployment due to massive retrenchments in the 1990s exacerbated the vulnerability contexts of rural people as remittances were cut back and the tax base which the government would use to fund social programs was reduced.

In the post 2000 period a number of social protection programs were instituted in rural areas so as to lower rural risks and vulnerability contexts. These programs include the Basic Education Assistance Module (BEAM), food for work programs, donor community development programs, private sector interventions and community based interventions. These social protection programs would now be considered in detail in the following sections.

5.4.1 Basic Education Assistance Module (BEAM)

In the year 2000 the Government of Zimbabwe launched the Basic Education Assistance Module (BEAM) which was conceived as part of the Enhanced Social Protection Project (ESPP). ESPP was conceived as a short term social protection program to curb the effects of souring food prices, unemployment and retrenchments and “alleviating irreversible losses to human capital in the areas of education, food security and health” (ZIMTA, 2012:5).

BEAM is a programme which targets vulnerable children who are either orphans or from very poor households. An evaluation by the DFID (UK) in 2008 found out that 98% of BEAM beneficiaries are from targeted households with children at risk for not enrolling and attending schools. BEAM is considered the equivalent of cash transfers in terms of its outcomes and intended social and economic impacts, (DFID, 2003). The BEAM

program has the potential to improve the income of households which they can use for other non-educational uses such as farming inputs and food. Thus by freeing these inputs BEAM would be able to provide social protection to poor households who would have even educated children who will support them in future.

To strengthen the impact of BEAM a number of policy issues need to be tackled especially if the goal is to provide sustainable livelihoods. It is imperative that the selection of households and children for BEAM be transparent and should target the most vulnerable children and households. In some districts the selection of households for participation into the project has been report to be highly political and benefiting wrong targets (ZIMTA, 2012). This means if the project targets the wrong people then the poor would remain with inadequate resources for consumption and for education of their children as they would have to squeeze their little resources.

5.4.2 Cash Transfers and Food for Work Programs

Since 1992 when the country experienced its worst drought, the government has provided drought relief to rural areas using food for work programs. The Food for Work programme as conceived by the government aims at providing basic food packages to houses who have failed to meet their minimum levels of consumption. The government also seeks to address the infrastructure maintenance requirements of rural communities where food insecurity is high. Community infrastructure projects which have been repaired through food for work projects include earth dams, bridges, footpaths and footbridges. Selection of community projects is done at village or ward level by community leaders including all the households in the concerned villages. Usually

selected work projects have high impact to communities as a whole and should benefit all the villagers.

Apart from ensuring food for minimum consumption to households, food for work programs have significant impacts on social protection to communities. The focus on community projects such as infrastructure would ensure improvement of livelihood activities such as livestock production. In Mudzi district respondents noted that the repair of the local dip tank in Ward 3 of Chimukoko community through food for work program resulted in less deaths of livestock in summer due to improved animal health services. Where food for work projects are aiming at public infrastructure such as bridges and footpaths, communities benefit from low costs transport services which may open new livelihood options.

Cash transfers programs have also been implemented in Zimbabwe particularly in the post-2009 period. Cash transfers are social protection mechanisms characterised by regular non-contributory payments of money provided by the government or other organisations to individuals or households, with the objective of decreasing chronic or shock-induced poverty, addressing social risk and reducing economic vulnerability. According to Harvey (2007) cash-based interventions include regular cash grants for those in emergency situations; cash for shelter; cash-for-work; cash payments as part of the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration process.

Tabor (2002) views cash transfers to rural households as preferable to in-kind transfers as they are economically more efficient and does not distort individual consumption or production choice at the margin (Subbarao et al., 1997). The beneficiary households of

cash transfers have freedom of choice in terms of cash use, such that whether to use cash on food or invest in agricultural inputs which will guarantee long run food security. Ahmed et al. (2009) concur in that cash allows beneficiaries to choose to buy what they need most and overly distributing cash is likely to be cheaper than distributing food or other commodities.

The efficacy of cash transfers in rural areas is further supported by Schubert (2005), households receiving cash grants use them for food and health care for the family, for the basic education of their children, and for investments in physical capital that can provide a future source of income. Usually cash transfers increase the purchasing power of rural households which may help in strengthening the local economy through demand for local goods and services. It is imperative that a programme to fight rural poverty and vulnerability has to have cash transfers to stimulate sustainable livelihoods.

Recently Zimbabwean government in collaboration of Concern Zimbabwe and other development partners implemented the Zimbabwe Emergency Cash Transfer (ZECT) Pilot Programme in three districts of Zimbabwe as part of the Vulnerable Feeding Group intervention for the food shortages of 2009/2010. The ZECT programme has the following objectives:

- To enable approximately 1,900 households in Zimbabwe to obtain their Missing Food Entitlement (MFE) for a period of five months (November 2009 to March 2010) by providing direct cash transfers.

- To enable approximately 1,900 households in Zimbabwe to obtain their Missing Food Entitlement (MFE) for a period of five months (November 2009 to March 2010) by providing 50% direct cash transfers and 50% food aid.
- To better understand, demonstrate and document market response to cash transfers in rural areas, and to draw lessons both for potential market enhancement programmes and for larger scale emergency CT programming.
- To better understand, demonstrate and document the community response to cash transfers in rural areas and to draw lessons for future years and potential scale up (Concern Zimbabwe, 2010:7).

An evaluation report in 2010 on the impact of ZECT finds that the program has achieved its main objective of providing food insecure households a monthly food entitlement during the lean season. It was noted that households who received cash transfers were better than those who received other forms of food aid as they increased dietary consumption, a higher number of meals a day, an increased variety on their diet. The report concludes that delivering cash rather than food is advantageous in that cash not only has a better impact on food security indicators, but could contribute overtime to stabilizing local market supplies and strengthen markets, unlike food aid which discourages traders and perpetuates the problem, (Concern Zimbabwe, 2010).

It is therefore imperative that social protection in rural Zimbabwe be implemented using cash transfers to improve the livelihoods conditions of poor households, stimulate rural markets and provide opportunities for new livelihood options in rural areas. Strengthening rural development in Zimbabwe would require innovative social

protection mechanisms which would not only provide minimum levels of consumptions in lean periods, but also be the basis for new high premium activities which would provide socio-economic transformation.

5.4.3 ICTs, Rural Development and Social Protection

The realization that public resources for rural development in Zimbabwe have become limited due to the economic recession in the country has led to innovative strategies to secure private resources for development. Private sector based social protection programs are concentrated to the mobile companies which have developed a number of technologies and business solutions to lower the risks of farmers and provide insurance to their activities.

Mobile insurance based programs such as EcoFarmer is run by Econet Wireless Company. The insurance programme for farmers is based on a weather-indexed drought insurance service for small-holder farmers. The key to the system is a highly innovative weather monitoring network which enables Econet to know exactly how much rain fell on the farmer's field. This allows farmers to make financial claims when they have drought induced crop failure or crop flooding. Under the insurance scheme, a farmer can buy insurance for as little as eight cents per day, which is deducted from their prepaid phone account during the agricultural season. Farmers can claim as much as US\$100 for every 10kg bag of maize seed planted in the event of crop failure.

The strength of the mobile insurance based schemes in rural Zimbabwe lies with their ability to include even the poor in covering for their crop failures. Insurance inclusion which has been the privilege of urban citizens has now been extended to rural

populations. Rural insurance to farmers allows them to undertake farming activities and crop mixtures which they would normally exclude in their farming operations. Cash cropping requires that farmers have food security guarantees before the farming season which is now possible through EcoFarmer Insurance. Mobile insurance to rural farmers ensures that farmers are able to manage their farming risk such as those induced by infrequent rainfall, which is the major contributor to droughts in Zimbabwe.

Another social protection program by private mobile phone operators has been in financial inclusion. Prior to 2009 many rural households were operating outside the formal financial system due to a low branch network of banks. Formal banking accounts remain subdued as the research found out that over 80% of respondents in communal areas do not have bank accounts. Lack of such financial access in rural communities means the poor would be bypassed by most opportunities in the formal economy. However the advent of mobile money transfer platforms mean rural households have access to a mobile account for savings, transfers and withdrawals through commercial agents which are spread throughout the country.

Mobile based financial services lowers transaction costs. It has been argued that the rural economy is expensive due to the high transaction costs in doing business, such as costs of capital transfers and of effecting payments (Griffin, 2002). Transaction costs determine the competitiveness of various spatial locations and capital would be invested where there are generally low. The lowering of financial transactions through mobile financial services improves rural business conditions through private and public investments which have the potential to reduce community risks. For example respondents in Mudzi Ward 3 indicated that emergencies and unexpected risks in the

current year were manageable as their relatives who are working in neighboring South Africa send money through Ecocash. Remittances contribute a sizable share of average total income of rural communities. Thus facilitation of the movement of remittances would have greater impact on coping and adapting stresses and shocks in rural areas. The high prevalence of international migration of spouses and relatives to South Africa, Botswana and Namibia from Zimbabwe makes mobile money transfer platforms important especially considering that they are quick, safe and efficient across countries.

Mobile based platforms like Ecocash has resulted in innovative financial services targeting rural households. Such financial products include savings and loans schemes run by Econet Wireless Company. Services like EcoSave which enable households to save minimum of US\$5 every month allowing an access to a loan of about US\$500 for individuals improve the capital of households for investments. The fact that EcoSave accept savings throughout Zimbabwe allows access to resources be spread across the country, without the biases of resources allocation between urban and rural areas. Besides access to financial loans at concessionary interest rates improve the profits which rural traders and producers to increase their profits. RNFE activities in rural areas require capital for raw materials, machinery and labour and financial loans are vital in this regard. Hedging against droughts and productivity downturns requires innovative financial solutions like those being proffered by the Econet Wireless Company. Smoothing consumption patterns and absorption of incessant risks require an easy access financial system and resources.

It is clear from the foregoing discussion that private sector based interventions in rural areas are responsive, adaptive and comprehensive to the diverse needs of diverse

livelihoods. The private sector interventions are acting as a source of vital investment and as a social protection program against the high risks and vulnerability context of rural communities. However these noble efforts should be complimented by the government which should provide a conducive policy environment for their operation. A case in point is the high taxes charged by government per every mobile transaction done. The high taxation may be easily absorbed by the large business volumes in cities unlike in rural areas where business volumes remain low. Considering tax havens and tax holidays for rural based transactions would incentivizes further development of the rural financial sector. When provided with appropriate insurance, financial loans and support, rural farmers are able to engage into high premium activities and agriculture practices. Besides market based financial products would increase the resources available to rural households for development.

5.4.4 Community Share Ownership Trusts for Protection and Development

Community Share Ownership Trusts (CSOTs) are publicly owned community trusts created under the auspices of the indigenization laws of Zimbabwe. CSOTs are trusts which were formed by foreign companies operating in Zimbabwe in transferring wealth to the indigenous populations of Zimbabwe. The foreign companies each contributed about US\$10 million each to trusts in the form of shares and gain indigenization credits. Each Trust is run by a number of individuals nominated by the government which may include the local district administrator, community development officers, and community leaders such as village heads and chiefs under which the community trusts is set up. In 2013 about 52 CSOTs were set up throughout the country (Ministry of Youth

Development and Indigenization, 2014). Examples of CSOTs set up include Mhondoro-Ngezi CSOT which was set up by the platinum mining company Zimplats.

The envisaged role of CSOTs in Zimbabwe focuses on transferring wealth (through ownership of a company shares) to communities in which they operate. CSOTs are supposed to provide carefully considered public investments programs in rural areas. Such investment may include the construction of community infrastructure such as schools, clinics, livestock dip tanks, dams and bridges. Emphasis of investments is on infrastructure which would benefit the majority of the people through supportive facilities for broader livelihood options.

It should be noted that public infrastructure in Zimbabwe is dilapidated and inadequate to lack of maintenance and repair and the overcrowding conditions in rural areas. For instance there is a serious shortage of primary schools in the country (estimated to be in short by 2300 schools) resulting in daily walking distances of more than 15km per day for pupils (The Herald, 2014). CSOTs have the potential to stimulate local markets and economies of rural areas through the provisions of loans to community members at concessionary rates. Access to loans for targeted community projects such as small livestock rearing project, curving and carpentry would create employment. This is particularly important in light of recent data on net urban-rural migration and the over 90% unemployment rate in the country (ZIMSTAT, 2014). The youthful unemployed population in rural areas requires massive investments in rural communities to kick start stagnating economies and spur growth.

CSOTs have greater potential to act as social protection program in Zimbabwe. In Mhondoro-Ngezi where a CSOT has been set up, there is a tentative discussion on setting up a grain bank for the local community. The grain bank is supposed to procure grain from the local community and provide storage for eventual selling to households in the community with insufficient food stocks or during drought periods. This is an innovative social protection program which lowers the risks of hunger and starvation and at the same time stimulates local grain production and markets through the purchase of grain.

Although CSOTs have the potential to lower risks, deliver public infrastructure and stimulate rural economies, they remain constrained with institutional and governance issues. Currently there are no clear guidelines on the structure and operations of CSOTs, as the government has just announced their composition despite that over a year has since lapsed since their inception. The study noted that nearly all the CSOTs have neither a secretariat to run its affairs nor offices to operate from. Besides there is vagueness of the roles of the members announced by the government as to whether they are trustees or are part of the secretariat. The government has not provided for the statutory guidelines for CSOTs 'operation.

Most importantly on the full operationalization of CSOTs in rural Zimbabwe, is the issue of their funding, whether they have to raise funds from selling the donated shareholding or through dividends. Besides in some cases companies who have earlier made shareholding donations have reneged such as the diamond mining companies in Zimunya-Marange. Thus for effective operationalization of CSOTs in rural development there is need to resolve the financial, governance and institutional issues which have

continued to negatively affect them. Unlocking the value of CSOTs in rural development may begin by clearly proving for a policy to fully operationalize them, including demonstrating how communities without CSOTs may benefit.

5.5 Towards a Comprehensive Rural Development Policy for Zimbabwe

The paralysis state of rural development in Zimbabwe reflects the comatose rural development which has remained fragmented and incoherent. The crucial challenge of rural development policy in Zimbabwe is of too many institutions doing the same issues in rural areas. Institutions of rural development in Zimbabwe are multiple ranging from government ministries to state departments all charged with rural development. For instance, ministries of agriculture, land and rural resettlement and of local government are all charged with rural development. Rural development issues are not fragmented by are composite issues which require coherent and comprehensive policy response.

A comprehensive policy for rural development would be central to sustainable rural development efforts in Zimbabwe. The starting point will be for government to kick start development through pronouncing a clear single policy for development. Such a policy would mainstream rural issues from competing national development issues and allows the focusing of efforts and resources to the majority. Policy coherence and completeness in terms of institutions, production, marketing and social protection would unlock resources towards broader developmental goals.

Institutionally such a policy should propose a single agency or ministry for rural development. In this regard it is paramount to start with the Ministry of Agriculture since it at present moment houses a number of departments which have wide ranging

impacts to rural development. A number of ministries such as lands and resettlement and local government need to be disbanded and annexed to the agriculture ministry. This is in response to the natural and central role that agriculture play to the rural livelihoods. Issues like land, water and governance are all intertwined with rural agriculture and target rural farmers. Thus having a single ministry for rural development would resolve policy discord issues and allow the careful consideration of development challenges by one authority. Institutional reforms are necessary especially in the areas of agriculture regulation, marketing and development. The high dependency on marketing boards for marketing agriculture produce has continued to deprive farmers of high returns and efficient marketing information.

A policy for rural development would be incomplete if it does not include production related issues. Access to agriculture inputs at affordable prices and at appropriate times is key to increasing productivity of rural agriculture. Policy should focus on how to avail inputs to farmers efficiently and using what kind of partners. As noted in the study with agro-dealers of seeds, stimulating market based strategies would remove historical problems of corruption in inputs supply. A comprehensive rural development policy should not only focus on agriculture inputs, but inputs such as capital, energy and raw materials to support the ballooning NFRE sector in rural areas.

The reality of rural development in Zimbabwe points to the increasing poverty conditions which prevent farmers from taking appropriate high premium activities due to their inherent risks. Addressing risks and vulnerabilities of rural people would require a policy which has enough social protection buffers. Such a policy thrust should not have the current replications of social programs in Zimbabwe but tailored to answer to specific

risks in rural communities of Zimbabwe. Further strengthening private market based financial and insurance based social protection measures would stimulate production and efficiency in rural communities.

Thus the study proposes a single policy approach (in terms of coordination and management of rural development) to address the pervasive rural poverty and stimulate high productive practices in Zimbabwe. A comprehensive policy would be appropriate for its completeness and adaptive characteristics and removes the confusion of too many institutions doing the same developmental efforts. Policy clarity through guidelines and legislation would make the state's development intentions clear and help in marshaling development resources to where there are required most.

5.6 Conclusion

Rural development policy is the nut which bolt rural development efforts together and provide the springboard for socio-economic transformation. The status of policy in Zimbabwe particularly in rural development is in a horrible state. The absence of such a policy to guide state-led development or actions and developmental behaviors of various government departments is hampering pathways out of poverty of the majority of Zimbabwe. At present rural development issues are submerged in urban and national policies which pay little attention to the spatial dimension of development, hence the majority of Zimbabwe construct a living outside the decent policy framework. There is a need to develop an integrated rural development policy which can be used by all spheres of government. Such a policy should be holistic to capture the developmental variants of the poor but also should streamline coordination and implementation in way

which could direct the future growth of rural economies. This kind of policy require an elaborate institutional framework in both the operations and implementation of rural developments projects but also in providing rural leadership and governance on social economic transformation in Zimbabwe.

CHAPTER 6 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

6.0 Introduction

This section of the study provides a summary of the major findings on rural development in Zimbabwe. It starts by providing a summative view of key issues raised in the study particularly on agriculture, rural non-farm economy (RNFE), rural infrastructure, development policy and social protection. The section ends by providing key recommendations for a rural transformative agenda for Zimbabwe. Developing a rural development policy agenda for social economic transformation has been a key objective of the study.

6.1 Summary of Key Findings

The study revealed a number of key issues on rural livelihoods in communal and resettlement areas. It has been noted that rural households who are mainly smallholder farmers are diversified, they engage in agriculture and RNFE for survival and adaptation. Rural livelihoods in Zimbabwe are not homogeneous, but reflect the complex realities of the spatial locations which they operate in. The productivity of rural farmers and their income levels varies considerably with whether they reside in communal areas or in old resettlement and in the newly established A1 and A2 resettlement schemes. The discussion below focuses on the study findings on smallholder agriculture production, RNFE, public infrastructure, rural policy and social protection.

6.1.1 Smallholder Agriculture and Rural Development

The agriculture sector in Zimbabwe is divided into sectors, which are communal, small scale resettlement and large scale commercial resettlement areas. The study revealed that the majority of Zimbabweans live and work in communal and small scale resettlement farms. Communal areas have the highest percentage share of the 67% of Zimbabweans who live in rural areas. The recent census report has found out that there has been positive immigration (1%) from urban to rural areas with the bulk share finally settling in communal areas (ZIMSTAT, 2013). Though the post 2000 land reform in Zimbabwe has increased the percentage share of prime agriculture land to communal people, its impact on overcrowding has largely been peripheral as only 300 000 people (out of 8 million people in communal areas) were resettled under the program (Government of Zimbabwe, 2010). Thus communal areas have continued to be overcrowded despite the fact that they are characterised by low resource base and are remote. Communal areas in Zimbabwe are the creation of the discrimination policies of the former colonial government which located the bulk of them in the natural ecological regions 4 and 5 which receive low rainfall, high temperatures and infested with tsetse fly, conditions which make the construction of viable livelihoods difficult. Of the three study areas analysed, communal areas have the lowest annual average incomes than resettlement areas, with 80% of the respondents living on less than a dollar per day. This means poverty is more pervasive in rural areas, but more so in communal areas than in other agriculture sectors.

Analysis of agriculture land structure and systems in Zimbabwe revealed a number of issues which affect the incidence of poverty, agriculture productivity and opportunities

for rural development. First agricultural land ownership and tenure systems reflect the colonial legacy of dispossession of prime agriculture land from black Africans to whites. The structure of land ownership is skewed in favour of elites including black Zimbabweans who have access to prime land and have title ownership. This is in contrast to the majority of rural citizens in communal areas who have no individual title to land. Resettlement farmers have land offer letters which have been unsecured as the government. Of great importance to agriculture is the financial and support structures which favoured commercial farming in large scale farms at the expense of communal and resettlement farmers. This is mainly due to the existence of transferrable property rights under the freehold land ownership which can act as collateral to financial loans and resources. Thus land tenure systems in Zimbabwe impoverish communal and resettlement farmers who have little security of land ownership rights and cannot access key resources for their development.

The post-2000 land reform program of Zimbabwe did not significantly change the demographic distribution of people on land resources as the majority of people remain overcrowded in communal areas. Even in circumstances where households were resettled to prime agriculture land, security of tenure remain a challenge as the new farmers were not supported by appropriate tenureship which can provide both usufruct and ownership rights. It is imperative that land rights and tenure be revisited and allows the individual ownership of land even in communal areas.

The study also revealed that land administration in Zimbabwe is fraught with so many challenges ranging from dealing with a wide range of institutional and governance authorities to multiple farm allocations. This has made land dispute resolutions difficult

to attain particularly in resettlement areas where land boundaries and water resources conflicts are widespread. Land administration is further handicapped by lack of resources and capacities to effectively manage land databases which can support modern land transfers. Thus the study found that land tenure systems and administration are inhibiting efforts for effective use of land as a means of production and as an investment unit.

In terms of smallholder agriculture production, the study revealed a number of issues which determine productivity and income levels of households. Production levels in Zimbabwe reflect the different tenure and agriculture systems. Farmers in communal and resettlement have differences in production choices and methods which impact heavily on their yields. In communal areas farmers rely on staple production for both consumption and for income. This is reflected by their crop mix which has low percentage share of cash crops and large hactarage of land under staple production. This is in contrast in contrast with resettled farmers who put high percentage of their land on cash crops such as tobacco, paprika and beans. Thus the motivating factor for production in communal areas is subsistence whereas in resettlement areas are profit and consumption. An analysis of cash cropping in all the study areas revealed that cotton and groundnuts are the major cash crops in communal areas whereas tobacco and beans are in both A1 and A2 resettlement areas. Even where the farmers grow staples in resettled areas the overriding goal would be for commercial interests. It is a result of these crop production choices that income and yields vary considerably in communal and resettlement areas. Cash crop choices impact directly on household income particularly in resettled farming areas where tobacco and beans earn high

prices on the international markets. This is in contrast to cotton which remains the predominant cash crop in communal areas and its prices has fallen drastically since 2011.

Of great importance is staple production, as high yields ensure household and national food security. Even though the staple crop takes the largest share of land to an average household, its average hactarage is considerably lower than in resettled farmers. This can be attributed to the average land sizes of communal farms as compared to that of resettled farming. Communal yields of staple crop per household remain low due a cocktail of issues chief among them lack of adequate and quality of inputs and resource endowments. Raising yields in communal areas would require revisiting agriculture conditions in these localities.

Agriculture conditions in all farming sectors reflect the incoherence of input policies, producer markets and production methods. The study revealed that access to inputs and inputs supply are the major impediments to agriculture growth and food security. Input supply for smallholder farmers have largely been through numerous government programs which are bedevilled by corruption and inappropriate logistical framework and distribution. Input supply has remained the key challenge in improving agriculture yields in Zimbabwe. Most of government input schemes to farmers are numerous, replicating each other and poorly targeted resulting in double allocations to political elites at the expense of common households. Government inputs schemes have largely benefited large scale farmers and bureaucrats in civil service who appear to hold senior positions in the ruling party. Besides distribution of inputs under government programs have largely been through party leadership, meaning beneficiaries are not based on need

basis or efficiency. Input schemes through contract farming which are funded by agro-companies are timeous in terms of delivery and provide access to farmers despite political affiliations. However private input schemes such as those on contract farming are hamstrung by contract breaches as farmers fail to reach required production levels or side market produce. The high regulation costs of agriculture contracts and the costs related to their management and execution makes contract farming a toll order to private companies. Efficient input supply at affordable prices to farmers may require state intervention using subsidies which would be designed to benefit the most need farmers. It may be important for such input programs to incorporate local agro-dealers who have a footprint in the input markets. The 2009 subsidised input scheme supported by FAO and government should be the basis for a viable input scheme. Input supply systems need to provide production choices, affordability to farmers as well as upholding efficient markets in rural areas.

Of great importance to smallholder farmers are labour use and needs in rural areas. The study noted that family labour remains the main source of labour in communal and old resettlement areas. Households in communal areas use labour intensive farming practices with the majority of such labour provided by women and children. This is in contrast with resettled farmers who use paid labour, use chemicals and equipment thereby increasing the productivity of labour. It has become paramount that any policy to raise agriculture productivity to small scale farmers provides appropriate labour reduction methodologies in communal areas to free women and children for other activities.

Another key finding of the study concerns organisations that represent farmers. Farmer producer organisations negotiate inputs and producer prices for farmers. The study found that communal farmers are hardly represented in farmer producer organisations and only a small proportion of resettled farmers have representation in the Zimbabwe Farmers Union (ZFU). The two larger farmer organisations in Zimbabwe which the Commercial Farmers Union (CFU) and Zimbabwe Farmers Union (ZFU) represent mainly the interest of large scale farmers though small scale may eventually benefit. Usually producer prices for staple and some cash crops are fixed and take into consideration the costs of production. It is apparent that large scale commercial farmers whose membership negotiates with government and buyers enjoy economies of scale which may not accrue to small scale farmers. This means prices negotiated do not represent the interests of small scale farmers. There is need to expand producer organisations membership and amplify the voices of the poor farmers in communal areas so that their interests may be incorporated into government programs and policies. Smallholder agriculture development requires capacity building of grassroots farmer producer organisations.

The ability of smallholder agriculture to raise incomes of rural households in Zimbabwe is largely hamstrung by restricted market structures and inefficiencies. Agriculture marketing in Zimbabwe is characterised by a both regulated and deregulated market regimes. Staple produce is mainly sold at the regulated market with price controls which are fixed by the government. The Agriculture Marketing Authority (AMA) is the statutory authority which regulates agriculture markets and has a number of affiliate crop based boards such as the Grain Marketing Board (GMB) which is the sole grain buyer in the

country. Most of agriculture marketing boards have capacity challenges which prevent them from executing their mandates. A case in point is the GMB which has suffered a plethora of problems ranging from undercapitalisation, corruption and archaic grain storage infrastructure. These challenges of GMB have affected mostly communal farmers who face huge costs to sell their produce in alternative markets. GMB has not been paying farmers on time for their delivered grain, resulting in farmers spending close to 2 years waiting for payments. This non-payment of produce is despite the fact that GMB would have sold grain to grain millers at a profit and cash basis. Compounding the marketing challenges of farmer produce is the tendency by government to announce the price of maize and procure the produce using its own marketing boards. Though government gazetted producer prices tend to effect cost of production in the setting up of the prices, the payment delays by GMB has created secondary markets for maize whose prices are set below the government prices resulting in farmers making huge losses. Usually agro-dealers who purchase maize produce use their cash payments as a bargain for low prices. It should be noted that prioritisation of payments to delivered grain would motivate farmers and improve yields and food security.

Developing efficient markets for smallholder agriculture would require the involvement of the private sector and promoting development of private markets. Already there is evidence of private sector markets for tobacco which are run by local and international buyers through an auction system. The tobacco auction floors are distributed around the tobacco growing regions of Zimbabwe to increase market accessibility and reduce transport costs. This has resulted in high returns for the tobacco industry and farmers

have benefitted immensely through this system. This clearly put the role of the state in agriculture marketing in providing a legislative framework for markets and acting as a watchdog against pricing cartels and market failures. Private based marketing companies should seek to develop marketing based information, in order for farmers to make informed decisions on marketing and production. Such kind of market based interventions may make use the high mobile phone ownership and use which is above 95% of adults in Zimbabwe (POTRAZ, 2013). Developing efficient markets for agricultural produce would require the rehabilitation of transport services to allow prompt delivery.

6.1.2 Public Infrastructure and Rural Development

The study also revealed public infrastructure constraints for produce transportation, storage and water resources. Communal areas in Zimbabwe are networked by gravel and earth roads which require constant repairs and maintenance. This has not been happening for over a decade and the road network deteriorated that some communities have become virtually inaccessible by roads. The situation has been worsened by the torrential rainfall which has been received in the past 2 agriculture seasons which have wiped away bridges and footbridges. Communal road repairs and maintenance is the responsibility of the Rural District Councils (RDC) with assistance from the now defunct District Development Fund (DDF). Both these government institutions lack financial, human and capital resources to maintain the roads network which they have allowed to deteriorate. The road conditions are a little better in resettlement areas than in communal areas as maintenance has been regular since most Rural District Councils

are well resourced as they operate in formerly commercial zones. However the challenge of resettled areas road network is in its inadequate nature as result of land reform which has subdivided large farms raising the demand for road access to each farming plot. The expansion of the road network in resettled farming areas would require considerable resources for road surveying, planning and design which may not be available in the current liquidity crunch of the government. Thus for smallholder agriculture led development, the state ought to improve the transport network in rural areas to allow easy access.

Water infrastructure in communal areas has also suffered the same fate as with roads. Most communal dams have been heavily silted with sand and no longer hold adequate water levels to last the dry season particularly in arid and semi-arid regions where communal areas are located. This has seriously constrained water based livelihoods activities like livestock rearing, vegetable gardening and fishing which have traditionally has been done during the off-farming season. Water infrastructure in resettled areas concerns are the general inadequacy of dams and water reservoirs due the new farm boundaries and permits of land-use. It should be pointed out that water rights in resettled areas are not clearly defined particularly to the new land owners. The policy pronouncement by the Zimbabwe Water Authority (ZINWA) to control and manage all surface water in resettlement areas would clearly complicate water rights and inhibits private water infrastructure development. It is clear that encouraging high agriculture productivity through irrigation technologies would be possible if the water rights are clearly defined to benefit farming communities.

6.1.3 Rural Non-Farm Economy (RNFE) in Zimbabwe

Rural households in Zimbabwe are basically farmers but do engage in other rural none farm economic activities particularly during the off-farming season. The study found that RNFE activities are concentrated in communal areas that in resettlement areas. The income disparities between communal to resettled farmers indicate that communal households engage in RNFE to supplement their sometimes low income and fragile livelihoods. Thus smoothening consumption levels and managing temporal risks may be key drivers in RNFE activities.

The intensity and nature of RNFE activities in communal areas is determined by the asset base of the household, level of education and training and the available natural resources. These determinants define the endowment sets of rural households. Households with weak endowment set would concentrate on activities with low returns. For instance the study found that households with post-secondary education and vocational training engage in high returns activities such as manufacturing, welding and carpentry whereas lowly educated households tend to use natural resources for the construction of RNFE activities such as brick moulding and gold panning.

Strengthening RNFE activities in communal areas requires an elaborate policy approach, which recognises the sector' central role in livelihood security, and its potential to stimulate agriculture growth. Low premium activities like gold panning would require comprehensive policy responses to make them safe, secure and productive particularly to women who constitute the bulk of panners. Encouraging investment into small mining tools would improve labour productivity in this sector. Manufacturing are

high premium activities for rural households with relevant skills. Broadening this sector would require the training of rural women and youths in artisan courses and the availability of raw materials at appropriate prices. The government may support rural manufacturing sector by procuring materials and products for local government projects and programs. This may require participating households to be trained on certification and standardisation of products.

Environmental services based activities provides RNFE opportunities to rural households. The harvesting of non-timber forestry products like fruits (masau) improves the income of households. Other activities are firewood selling, charcoal production and wood curving. These livelihood activities have the potential to provide sustainable livelihoods options to the poorest rural households. However these livelihoods are threatened by environmental legislation which severely punishes environmental use without licencing. The Environmental Management Agency (EMA) focuses on environmental protection through prosecution of unauthorised users without providing a framework for local communities to sustainably utilise the environment. The government needs to appreciate that environmental resources are the only natural available resources to poor households who lack capital and assets for other options. Thus providing a sustainable environmental utilisation framework for rural communities would enhance livelihood viability in communal areas.

6.1.4 Rural Development Policy Environment

Rural development policy provides a framework for guiding both state and non-state actors and activities in practice. Policies emanate from acceptable policy agenda. A

policy agenda for rural development outlines the intentions and values which citizens and government would want development to be. It emphasises on the nature and directions a country or region's development would want to follow. For a policy agenda to be effective it should be based on consensus, and its definition and goals should be defined by a broad spectrum of actors ranging from the public, government and other development partners.

In Zimbabwe it is apparent that there is no policy agenda for rural development. Though successive governments in post-independence Zimbabwe had made numerous policy announcements and actions for rural development, key aspects of state programmes such as financial budgets, investments and taxation remain in favour of urban areas particularly rural development alone. The government seem to be entrapped in an industrial-led development, and rural development is being thought of as a secondary sector which is only necessary to the extent of supporting the primary industrial sector. This is despite the whole evidence found in the study that the rural development can be the best comparable advantage to other sectors which Zimbabwe can undertake to develop.

It is precisely the lack of a policy agenda for rural development that has led to incoherent and incremental approaches to rural development. Rural development in Zimbabwe is a composite of fragmented policy pronouncements and organisational programs which intend to alleviate rural poverty. Currently the major policy thrust of the government has been to provide agricultural inputs and food aid without articulating comprehensive policy procedures which would allow the realisation of immediate rural needs but also future strengthening of livelihoods. Piecemeal and incremental rural

actions and programs may cripple comprehensive and sustainable rural development. Rural development should be addressed as a complete rational policy issue and each action and decision are probed on its effects on rural households and the overall impact to rural livelihoods.

The fragmented nature of rural development policy in Zimbabwe is reflected chiefly at institutional level. Rural development in Zimbabwe suffers from the multiplicity of institutions offering the same programs and services to rural development. At the government level there are several line ministries which are charged with rural development issues. One would be tempted to think that the Agricultural and Rural Development Authority (ARDA) which is named after rural development would concentrates on the coordination and development of rural areas, but is focussing on commercial farming activities and joint venture with large corporations for agriculture processing. There is need to provide clear government agency with the sole mandate to coordinate policy and programmes for rural development.

Governance and implementing agencies should be mainstreamed and augmented to provide clearly defined support for rural development. Recognising the diversity of rural livelihoods in Zimbabwe would ensure that rural development agencies target the whole spectrum of rural livelihoods framework. Defining and encouraging the role of local institutions and rural people in their development would improve transparency of programs and ensure the full participation of locals.

In a nutshell rural development policy in Zimbabwe should address the substantive development issues of agriculture, non-farm activities and poverty protection. The policy

should also ensure public participation in the governance and implementation of projects. Rural development policy should ensure the creation of appropriate governance structures with clearly defined mandates. Good governance structures and processes enhance the effectiveness of development projects and strengthen local capacities in development management.

6.1.5 Social Protection and Rural Development

Addressing the policy and agriculture productivity challenges issues for rural development would be difficult if rural households' vulnerability and risks contexts are not ameliorated. The pervasiveness of rural poverty in Zimbabwe has created a complex set of risks and vulnerability contexts with which perpetually prevents households from undertaking high premium farming and non-farming activities. Own their own rural households have tried to manage these risks through diversified livelihood activities. However due to the rising vulnerabilities within which rural livelihoods operates, livelihood failures continue to increase. The ravaging HIV/AIDS pandemic, climate change and political violence in rural Zimbabwe has worsened the risks and vulnerability contexts.

Most importantly addressing the risks and vulnerabilities of rural households would strengthen livelihoods, prevent livelihood failures and stimulate the adoption and practice of sustainable livelihoods. Risks management should be appropriate to the circumstances of rural people. Though state interventions remain central in circumstances of complete livelihood failures, the role of the private sector in risk management should be encouraged as it brings in a wealth of resources which would

otherwise be available through the public sector. These risks management practices should be articulated in social protection policies.

Social protection programs to prevent protect and manage risks and vulnerabilities in rural Zimbabwe are varied. They range from state driven programs, non-governmental programs and private sector based interventions. State driven social protection programs in Zimbabwe include the Basic Education Assistance Module (BEAM), food for work programs, cash transfers and Community Share Ownership Trusts (CSOTs). These programs need to be modelled in such a way to allow timeous mitigation of stress and shocks of households and allow the development of community infrastructure. Most of these programs target vulnerable households particularly those facing imminent livelihood failures. The impact of these social protection measures is they free up economic resources and assets of households which they would use for other productive activities. Food for work programs provides food relief to households at the same building and repairing community infrastructure.

Cash transfers programs in Zimbabwe are a result of partnerships between government and development agencies to provide vulnerable households with cash to purchase basic households needs. Evaluation studies on cash transfers by the Department of Foreign International Development (DFID UK) in Zimbabwe had numerous positive benefits to the household and rural markets (2013). Households who are receiving these cash transfers have improved their consumption and nutrition levels and have used part of the cash to procure agriculture inputs for the next season.

Social protection programs should be carefully designed so that their impact is not only limited to emergency household needs but on reducing the vulnerability contexts of communities. Aid programs should be designed in the philosophy of food for work programs which ensures that livelihood failures are prevented yet at the same time community infrastructure should be repaired. Cash transfers would become more helpful to communities if households would provide labour to rural community infrastructure projects. Providing free aid to communities without them participating in community work would perpetuate the dependency syndrome among rural households.

Private sector based social protection programs in Zimbabwe take the form of market related interventions in insurance, financial inclusion, microfinance and community empowerment programs. Mobile phone companies are leading private entities which are championing the inclusion of rural households in the formal financial services. This has opened opportunities for risks management through farmer insurance programs, loan facilities and money transfer systems. These facilities have lowered transaction costs of rural communities allowing investments to flow into rural areas. The required financial tariffs for using these mobile platforms are generally lower than those of traditional financial companies like banks. Despite the huge benefits which rural citizens enjoy from mobile services, the government has recently upped its taxes and levies for every transaction, thereby increasing the costs of services. The government should revise mobile taxation laws particularly in rural areas where the growth of the rural financial sector growth should be encourage.

CSOTs are a result of local empowerment policies of the government. They seek to build community infrastructure and fund youth empowerment and self-help projects.

CSOTs are funded by international foreign companies operating in Zimbabwe which provide the initial capital of about US\$10 million from each company. Though CSOTs are fairly new institutions in rural development in Zimbabwe, they have great potential to fund rural infrastructure projects and livelihood activities. However as noted in the study, there is no enabling legislation for their operations. The current situation of just constituting CSOTs for the purpose of receiving funds creates conditions for opaque financial activities and embezzlement in the name of community programs. There is need to provide for governance institutions and procedures for CSOTs if they are to contribute meaningfully to rural development.

6.2 Recommendations

A key result area of this study is to provide recommendations frameworks for socio-economic transformation of rural livelihoods. The proposals outlined here entrenches a rural development policy agenda which is based on small scale agriculture coupled with a vibrant RNFE sector. Such kind of rural development should be set in a comprehensive rationale policy framework with appropriate social protection programs and mechanisms.

An overarching recommendation here is for a comprehensive rational rural development policy. The starting point of such a policy is by building consensus on a broad based policy agenda. It should be noted that rural development is not only a policy option for governments, but an integral imperative for developing countries governments whose economies are based on agriculture. Rural areas of Zimbabwe have the highest percentage share of population than urban areas. It is therefore important for the

government to have a rural development policy agenda as it will reinforce its legitimacy and moral standing to the majority of Zimbabweans. Having a government rural development policy agenda will ensure that economic growth would be more integrated and beneficial to the whole citizenry include the poor. It should be pointed out that the alternative to rural development is remote and limited especially considering the fragile industrial base of Zimbabwe. The decade long economic recession has worsened any policy option of industrial and service oriented growth.

The kind of rural development policy Zimbabwe needs should be comprehensive in the way it addresses poverty and underdevelopment of rural households. This is necessitated by the fact that rural households are intertwined in a set of social, political, cultural, economic, environmental and technological conditions which on their own may create sufficient magnitude of shocks and stresses which would distort the socio-economic balance of livelihoods. Piecemeal and incremental approaches to rural development would not generate enough growth of rural economies and may expose rural economies to intermittent risks and vulnerabilities.

This calls for a rural development policy which is rational, substantive in terms of its content and participatory in its formulation and implementation. Realigning rural development institutions in Zimbabwe would require the tenets of objectivity and good governance rather than the entrenched interests of politicians and bureaucrats. It has become imperative for a single rural development agency which implements and coordinates development efforts in rural areas. Such an envisaged agency should have facilities and interventionist roles to allow coherence and clarity of policy.

A rural development policy in Zimbabwe ought to recognise the central role of small scale agriculture. The realities of agriculture and rural development in Zimbabwe point to the existence of small scale farming households. Empirical evidence has pointed to the fact that small scale agriculture is the mainstay of the Zimbabwe economy as it has the largest share of the national populations, yields and agricultural land. Thus an effective rural development policy should identify itself with the socio-economic setting of smallholder agriculture with the overall aim of improving efficiency, productivity and transformation. Small scale agriculture would be greatly enhanced through appropriate input supply systems, technological innovations, infrastructure and appropriate produce markets. The temptation of populist regulations of these rural cardinal conditions should be resisted as it will wipe all markets benefits of households. This does not imply a docile state, but an activist one which strives to provide the policy framework for market friendly approaches through both the public and private sectors. The state's role should be to stimulate markets and monitor initiatives so that they may not be hijacked by profiteering capitalists. Encouraging win-win scenarios in rural development would remove distortions in both inputs and produce markets. It is in pursuant of this narrative that the state ought to roll back produce marketing boards and replace them with competitive markets such as the tobacco auction market in Zimbabwe.

Rural households in Zimbabwe are economically diversified. Households are not just farmers, but are temporary engaged in off-farm activities which improve their income and welfare particularly during off-agriculture season. RNFE activities does not only support rural livelihoods, but also provide pathways out of poverty and input capital for agriculture. A rural development policy therefore need not relegate RNFE activities but

rather encourage the sector through adequate provision of raw materials, training in relevant artisan skills and markets for produce. Thus the government ought to stimulate product markets for RNFE through for instance a deliberate policy for local procurement of rural products in local government projects. Creating appropriate tax havens and incentives in rural areas would encourage rural investments by lowering costs of doing rural business which would further develop rural economies.

Another critical sphere for a rural development policy in Zimbabwe is its role in mitigating prevalent risks and vulnerability contexts. It is essential for rural development policy to offer social protection particularly in communal areas. Currently there is a whole array of public and private sector programs which provide social protection to rural households. There is need for a policy framework which would reduce replication of efforts and encourage the role of the private sector to mitigate risks. In this regard there is urgent need to expand the current farmer insurance, financial loans and inclusion to cover the whole country so as make the programs viable and provide opportunities for growth to everyone.

Apart from policy recommendations rural farmers ought to be receptive to new technologies in agriculture and willing to learn and share experiences with extension officers. The global economy in which Zimbabwe operates is highly integrated and requires appropriate standards and farming methods for specific markets which are specialised. These specialised markets would only be penetrated if farmers are willing to enter into win-win contracts with private companies who have the knowledge base and capital. Issues of contract adherence and utmost good faith culture on the part of farmers should be developed to allow private-farmers contracts to flourish. Rural

agriculture research and extension would allow knowledge transfers to farmers and allow the adoption of good farming practices. Such arrangements will be the basis for the socio-economic transformative agenda.

6.4 Conclusion

The study sought to impact the problem of rural poverty, underdevelopment and stagnant rural economies of Zimbabwe. The major objective was to provide a rural development agenda which should address these socio-economic problems of rural areas. This emanates from the realisation that rural development can only be fostered from within rural areas themselves through developing frameworks which recognises the potential of the poor themselves in delivering their development. Conceptualisation of rural poverty in Zimbabwe was provided in the initial stages of the study so that policy prescriptions would be customised.

The study used the entitlement approach by Sen (1981) as the theoretical framework on understanding poverty phenomena and livelihood strategies of rural households. The EA was a natural choice to the researcher as it is adaptable to poverty conditions and able to critically assess the development conditions in rural areas which set the development options. In doing so, the study also relied on empirical evidence in Africa and the broader world on what development pathway Zimbabwe should follow, after taking stock of the current development impediments. Thus the theoretical and empirical review emphasized the need for a smallholder agriculture development approach for rural areas.

The methodology of the study was motivated by the multi-faceted and multi-disciplinary approach of rural development and the recognition that rural life and households a function of composite social, cultural, economic and environmental issues. As a result a multiple methods approach is used here providing validation of results and improving the reliability of the findings. In this regard questionnaires, interviews, observations and archival research techniques were all used to gather data. Data collection was approved by the University Research Ethics Committee and various ministerial permanent secretaries which all emphasis the need for informed consent of participants and confidentiality. Data integrity principles were employed both at data collection and analysis stages. Analysis of data was aided by computer aided applications such as Atlas Ti and Excel spreadsheet. Atlas Ti provided for analysis of qualitative data from documents and interviews through its ability to allow the linkages of networks, families and codes of knowledge areas and data. Quantitative data for household questionnaires and documents were analysed through Excel spreadsheet. Data presentation and analysis was arranged according to identified themes. Discussions hinged on the utility of data to impact on the development agenda and efforts were made to link issues with the broader goal of fighting poverty. Data on smallholder agriculture, RNFE, and policies on rural development was discussed.

Thus the study concludes by proffering a rural development agenda framework for Zimbabwe. This kind of approach interlinks both the roles of the public and private sectors in customising the quest for socio-economic transformation in rural areas. The current limits of state resources due to the economic recession in Zimbabwe would require the role of the private sector in creating win-win approaches to farmers. The

study concludes by noting the need for future research on CSOTs as they seem to be able to stimulate rural development especially considering the resources which are being channelled to them by private international companies.

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Acts of Parliament

Agriculture and Rural Development Authority Act Chapter 18:1 of 1976

Gold Trade Act Chapter 21:03

Land Apportionment Act of 1930

Maize Control Act of 1930

Appendices

Appendix 1 Ethical Clearance



University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

ETHICAL CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE

Certificate Reference Number: RAH0101SMUT01

Project title: **Rural development; Opportunities for Rural Transformation**

Nature of Project: PhD

Principal Researcher: Cephas Mutami

Supervisor: Prof A Rahim

Co-supervisor:

On behalf of the University of Fort Hare's Research Ethics Committee (UREC) I hereby give ethical approval in respect of the undertakings contained in the above-mentioned project and research instrument(s). Should any other instruments be used, these require separate authorization. The Researcher may therefore commence with the research as from the date of this certificate, using the reference number indicated above.

Please note that the UREC must be informed immediately of

- Any material change in the conditions or undertakings mentioned in the document
- Any material breaches of ethical undertakings or events that impact upon the ethical conduct of the research

The Principal Researcher must report to the UREC in the prescribed format, where applicable, annually, and at the end of the project, in respect of ethical compliance.

Special conditions: Research that includes children as per the official regulations of the act must take the following into account:

Note: The UREC is aware of the provisions of s71 of the National Health Act 61 of 2003 and that matters pertaining to obtaining the Minister's consent are under discussion and remain unresolved. Nonetheless, as was decided at a meeting between the National Health Research Ethics Committee and stakeholders on 6 June 2013, university ethics committees may continue to grant ethical clearance for research involving children without the Minister's consent, provided that the prescripts of the previous rules have been met. This certificate is granted in terms of this agreement.

The UREC retains the right to

- Withdraw or amend this Ethical Clearance Certificate if
 - Any unethical principal or practices are revealed or suspected
 - Relevant information has been withheld or misrepresented
 - Regulatory changes of whatsoever nature so require
 - The conditions contained in the Certificate have not been adhered to
- Request access to any information or data at any time during the course or after completion of the project.
- In addition to the need to comply with the highest level of ethical conduct principle investigators must report back annually as an evaluation and monitoring mechanism on the progress being made by the research. Such a report must be sent to the Dean of Research's office

The Ethics Committee wished you well in your research.

Yours sincerely


Professor Gideon de Wet
Dean of Research

Appendix 2 Interview Guide

UNIVERSITY OF FORT HARE DEPARTMENT OF DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

Interview Guide (15mins)

Un-structured Interview (Government Departments RD Agency)

1. What role does your organization play in rural development?
2. What policy (s) do you utilize for rural development?
3. Does your organization interact with smallholder farmers? In what capacity?
4. What are the challenges for smallholder farmers?
5. What financial options are available to smallholder farmers?

Thank You

Appendix 3 Household Head Questionnaire

Household Head Survey

HH NUMBER

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AREA IDENTIFICATION

Ward : _____

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Village : _____

RESPONDENT'S IDENTIFICATION

Respondent's Name 1 _____

ENUMERATOR & DATA ENTRY OPERATOR

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Date of interview :

--	--	--

Name of Enumerator : _____

AREA TYPE

: 1=Flood Prone, 2=Drought Prone, 3=Favourable

HOUSEHOLD WEALTH CATEGORY : 1=Upper middle, 2=Lower middle,
3=Poor, 4=Extreme Poor, 5=Others

(SECTION – A)

1. HOUSEHOLD SIZE

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2. HOUSEHOLD INFORMATION

Name of HH Member (Start with the name of HH head)	Relation to HH Head ¹		Sex ²	Age*				Marital Status ³	Education ⁴		Can read /write ⁵	Occupation ⁶			
				Year		Month						Primary		Second	
1.															
2.															
3.															

4.																
5. Number of other regular members =																

¹ Relation to HH Head: 01= H.H. Self, 02=Wife, 03=Husband, 04= Son, 05=Daughter, 06= Father, 07=Mother, 08=Daughter in law/son in law, 09=Brother, 10=Sister, 11=Father in Law, 12=Mother in Law, 13= Nephew, 14= Grandfather 15=Grandmother, 16=Others (specify).....

²Sex: 1=Male, 2=Female

³Marital Status: 1=Unmarried, 2=Married, 3=Widow, 4=Divorced, 5=Separated

⁴Education: 00=No class, 01=primary 02=secondary, 03=Advanced level3, 04=College, so on... 77=Non formal education, 88=Not applicable (If age is less than 6 years)

⁵Can read & write: 1=Yes, 2=No, 8=Not applicable

⁶Occupation: 00=Unemployed, 01=Agriculture, 02=Agriculture labour, 03=Non agriculture unskilled labour, 04=Fishing, 05= House helper/maid, 06=Professional (Blacksmith, Cobbler, Carpenter, Sewing, etc.), 07=Salaried worker, 08=Petty business, 09=Business, 10=Handicraft, 11=NGO worker, 12=Begger, 13=Student, 14=Housewife, 15= poultry rearing, etc. 16= Private/govt. service, 17=Dependent, 18= Others (specify), 88=Not applicable.....

Please enter HH heads details in first row

Age: Round up the age in year for the individuals 5 year old and above, and write in months for under 5 children.

12. Ask whether there are other members living regularly in the household who does not have relation with the household members. E.g. Servants, etc.

If the household got more than 11 members use a separate piece of paper.

1=Yes,
2=No

3. WHAT ARE THE SERVICES DO YOU HAVE ACCESS TO?

a) Department of agriculture extension	
b) Department of fisheries	
c) Health	
d) Private companies (Seed, fertilizer, pesticides)	
e) NGO/CBOs	
f) ZFU	
g) Public Transport	
h) Post Office and Savings Bank	
i) Veterinary Office	
j) Telecommunication services	
k) Land registration office	
l) Local Council services	
m) Government offices (AREX,	
n) Department of Public health	
o) Other govt. service departments	
p) Others (Specify)	

4. TYPE OF RESIDENTIAL MAIN HOUSE

a) Wall b) Roof c) Floor

Code for housing material: 1= asbestos/iron sheets/brick, 2=grass/wood, 3=Tin,4=cement/mud, 5= straw/wood 8=Others (Specify)

d) No of rooms in the house (main + other)

104 a,b,c. If a household owns more than one house, you have to collect only the information of main residential house.

5. TYPE OF LATRINE

1. Type of latrine. Code: 1=Pit, 2=Sanitary/ring-slab, 3=Septic tank (water flashing), 4=Blair toilet, 5=Bush , 6=Others (Specify)

6. HOUSEHOLD ASSETS

TYPE	#	Ownership Type
a) Watch		
b) Gold Jewelry		
c) Radio		
d) TV		
e) Fan		
f) furniture		
g) Bed		
h) cooking utensils		
f) Sets of clothes :		

7. LIVESTOCK, TREES, PONDS

TYPE	NUMBER		
a) Cattle (own+share out)			
b) Cattle (share in)			
c) Goats/ sheep(own+share out)			
d) Goats/ sheep (share in)			
e) Poultry/duck/pigeon			
f) Donkey			
g) Trees (2yr+)			

I. Household head			
II. Spouse			
g) Moldboard plough (Gejo)			
h) Threshing machine			
j) Transport			
I Bicycle			
II Wood cart			
III Engine boat			
IV Van			
V Cow Cart			
VI Pull Cart			
VII Motorbike			
k) Fishing gears			
l) Ag. Small tools (Spade, weeder, etc.)			
m) Other (specify)			

I Fruit			
II Timber			
III Fodder & fuel			
IV Others(specify)			

a & c. If the household owns cattle or goat but currently shared out, also include them.

g. Please collect only the information of trees those are aged 2 years & +.

8. LAND RELATED INFORMATION

a) Do your household has access to land?

☐

1=Yes, 2=No

If yes ask question no. 'b', if no go to 111

b) Information of land

(In Decimals)

a)	Own Homestead Land (Fallow+Adjacent)								
b)	Own Agricultural Land								
c)	Own Other Land								
d)	Land Share Crop IN								
e)	Land Share Crop OUT								
f)	Land Lease IN								
g)	Land Lease OUT								
h)	Land mortgage IN								
i)	Land mortgage OUT								
j)	Other accessible land								

DETAILS

CONTRACT
Owner

Renter

Code for Contract:

1=Annual Contract,
2=Seasonal Contract,
3=Other (Specify)

8=N/A

Share ration: Ratio of

a) Own homestead land: Homestead land including adjacent and fallow land owned by the household.

b) Own agricultural land: Agricultural land owned by the household.

c) Own other Land: Wood blocks, fallow land owned by the household and not considered as agricultural land.

- d) Land share crop in: Land taken from others for share cropping
- e) Land share crop out: Land given to others for share cropping
- f) Land lease in: Land taken on contract with a certain amount of money or crop. Usually this is not changed in case of crop failure or loss.
- g) Land lease out: Land given on contract with a certain amount of money or crop. Usually this is not changed in case of crop failure or loss.
- h) Land mortgage In: Ownership document of the land is taken from the land owner for a certain period of time.
- i) Land mortgage Out: Ownership document of the land is given out for a certain period of time.

9. HH MEMBERSHIP IN LOCAL INSTITUTIONS

1=Yes, 2=No, 3=Do not have time to participate

Affiliation Type	Adult men	Adult women
a) Affiliation with political party		
b) Membership in Farmers Union		
c) Membership in the committees of school/ health committes		
d) Member of bank		
e) Member of Post Savings Bank		
f) Membership in club/village social clubs		
g) Membership in NGOs/CBO groups		
h) Participation in community festivals		
i) NASSA Card/ Old age pension membership		
j) Membership to religious groups		
k) Other associations (labour, etc,		
l) Member of different govt. organizations		
m) Others (Specify)		

10. MARKETING CHANNELS OF HH

TYPE	MARKET CHANNEL ¹						RESPONSIBLE ²
	(a)		(b)		(c)		
a) Maize							
b) Groundnuts							
c) Cotton							
d) Fruit							
e) Livestock & Products (Egg, milk, poultry, meats)							
f) Fish							
g) Crafts							
h) Vegetables							
i) Fuel Wood							
j) Other (specify)							

NB tobacco is not cultivated in Mudzi district

¹MARKET CHANNEL: 01=Exchange within village, 02=Local Market, 03=Urban Market, 04=Middlemen, 05=Repaying loan, 06=Govt. procurement center, 07=NGO, 08=At home, 09=Didn't sale, 10=Others (Specify), 88=Not applicable

²RESPONSIBLE: 1=Men, 2=Women, 3=Both men and women, 8=N/A

(SECTION – B)

11. SOURCES OF HH GROSS ANNUAL INCOME

11. MAJOR SOURCES OF INCOME

1=Yes,
2=No

1. What are the sources of your household gross income?

Once you have identified the income sources, ask the HH to rank 4 top contributing sources and write them in the extreme right column.

a) Field crop (Own)		1 st	
b) Share crop		2 nd	
c) Homestead crop		3 rd	
d) Agriculture labour		4 th	
e) Non agri. wage labour			
f) RTI services			
g) Fishing			
h) Fish culture			
i) House helper/maid			
j) Classified Profession (cobler, barber, etc.)			
k) Salary from work as labour			
l) Petty business			
m) Business			
n) Handicraft			
o) Livestock rearing			
p) Poultry rearing			
q) Begging			
r) Urban remittance			
s) International remittance			
t) Fish seed			
u) Vegetable seed/seedlings			
v) Fruits production			
w) Service			
x) Others (specify)			

12. HOUSEHOLD ANNUAL EXPENDITURE ON MAJOR ITEMS

How much money you have spent in last 12 months on the following areas:

a) Education

b) Health

c) Loan repayment

d) Clothes

e) Livestock

f) Agricultural equipment

g) Social/religious occasions

h) Lobola

i) Shelter

13. SAVINGS

a) Did you or do you have savings

Code: 1=Yes, 2=No

(If no go 13a)

b) Have you used the money in last 2 years that you have saved

Code: 1=Yes, 2=No

(If no go 13a)

c) What have you used the money for so far?

a) Education
b) Health
c) Loan repayment

1=Yes,
2=No

<input type="text"/>	1 st	<input type="text"/>
<input type="text"/>	2 nd	<input type="text"/>
<input type="text"/>	3 rd	<input type="text"/>

Once you have identified different heads of expenditure, ask the HH to rank 4 top expenditure heads according to amount spend and write them in the extreme right column.

d) Agriculture input/equipment purchase
e) Housing
f) Clothes
g) Paying dowry
h) Festivals/social obligations
i) Buying luxury items,
j) Livestock/poultry
k) Land purchase
l) Lease in land/pond,
m) Mortgage in land/pond
n) Consumption
o) Others (Specify).....

4th

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14. DETAILS OF LOAN

☐

a). Do you have any loans or have you borrowed money in last 12 months?

Code: 1=Yes, 2=No

(If no skip to question number 135).

b). If yes:

1=Yes, 2=No

I. Sources

a) Money lender(specify)	
b) NGOs	
c) Friends/relatives	
d) Bank	
e) Post Savings Bank	
f) Govt. (Rural Dvpt, Youth Ministry, etc.)	
g) Clubs/CBOs	
h) Others (Specify)	

1=Yes, 2=No

II. How have you used the loan?

a) Farming	
b) Off farm activities	
c) Health	
d) Marriage	
e) Housing	
f) Paying dowry	

g) Emergency	
h) Consumption	
i) Others (Specify)	

III. What was the duration of the loans? (In weeks)
and what was the annual interest rate?

	Duration			Interest rate		
1 st loan						
2 nd loan						
3 rd loan						
4 th loan						

15) CRISIS DURING PAST 12 MONTHS

1=Yes,

2=No

I. What kind of crisis you have experienced in the last 12 months?

a) Inadequate food reserves	
b) Drought	
c) Cyclone	
d) River bank erosion	
e) Excess rain	
f) Wind damage	
g) Poor production	
h) Shortage of food	
i) Illness	
j) Death of household member	
k) Arrest of household member	
l) Divorce	
m) Separation	
n) Loss of job	
o) Thifting	
p) Eviction	
q) Powerful takes asset	
r) Abandonment	

s) Market fluctuation	
t) Boarder conflict	
u) Conflict inter/intra community	
v) Loss of land	
w) Loss of livestock/poultry	
x) Dowry/wedding	
y) Funeral	
z) Accident of HH members	
aa) Irregular remittance	
bb) Others (Specify	

(If all responses no go to Q-17)

16. COPING STRATEGIES AT CRISIS

1=Yes, 2=No

I. What were your coping strategies?

a) Loan from neighbors/relatives	
b) Loan from Money Lender	

c) Loan from NGO	
d) Grain loan from kin	
e) Adjustment to Meals	
f) Cash/cereal loan from merchants	
g) Loan from bank	
h) Loan from Post Savings bank	
i) Farmland mortgage out	
j) Farmland leased out	
k) Sold household productive assets	
l) Sold small animals	
m) Sold trees	
n) Sold jewelry	
o) Sold cows/bullock	
p) Sold tin sheets	
q) Sold standing crop	
r) Sold agricultural products at a low price	
s) Sold farmland	
t) Sold men labor	
u) Sold women labor	
v) Sold household utensils	
w) Sold poultry birds	
x) Occupation change	
y) Sold fruits in advance	
z) Sold child labor	

aa)	Migrated to sale labor
bb)	Pledging labor
cc)	Taken famine foods
dd)	Taken relief / Refundable help
ee)	Collected leftover grain from paddy field
ff)	Begging
gg)	Permanently migrated
hh)	Others (Specify

17. FOOD SECURITY

I. Number of months HH has adequate food to feed all of its members

II. Number of months HH can feed themselves from own production

1=Yes,

2=No

III. Months most difficult to provide adequate food for HH

a) January
b) February
c) March
d) April
e) May

f) June
g) July
h) August
i) September
j) October
k) November
l) December

IV. Number of meals consumed per day during the lean period

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V. Daily maize meal/cereal intake of the household (In Kg.)

	.	
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The question should be 'how many months the household feed themselves adequately either from their own production, or purchasing from the market, or from other sources'.

18. FOOD CONSUMPTION

	Peak	Lean
Starch		
a) Rice		
b) Flour		
c) Potato/ Sweet potato		
d) Maize meal		
Protein		
e) Fish		
f) Meat		
g) Egg		

Code: 1=Never,
2=Daily,
3=1-3 days/week,

h) Milk		
i)Dried fish		
Vegetables		
j) Leafy vegetables		
k) Vegetables		
Others		

II. What are the items that you can decide to buy for household?

a) Food items in small quantity
b) Food items in large quantity
c) Toiletries (hair oil, less, hair clip, etc)
d) Gold & silver jewelry
e) Clothes for kids
f) Household utensils
g) Groceries (Kerosene, oil, spices, etc.)
h) furniture
i) Others (Specify

1=Alone, 2=Accompanied, 3=Never

III. What are the places that you have visited?

a) Market
b) Medical facility
c) Relatives house outside the village
d) Relatives house within the village
e) Parents home
f) Father in laws house

g) Places outside the village to receive training	
h) NGO meetings within the village	
i) NGO office outside the village,	
j) Community Hall for political meetings	
k) Places outside village to enjoy song	
l) Children's school	
m) Government offices for asking support	
n) Farmers Union Offices	
o) Shops	
p) Others (Specify)	

1= Inherited, 2= owner by purchase, 3=Others, No ownership

IV. What are the assets do you own?

a) Land	
b) Pond	
c) Tree garden	
d) Homestead	
e) Others land	
f) Cattle/Donkey	
g) Goat/sheep	
h) Jewellery	
i) Poultry bird	
j) Shallow pump	
k) Power tiller	
l) Small agriculture equipment	

m) Savings	
n) Others (Specify)	

19.COPING STRATEGY EFFICIENCY

What is the efficiency of the strategy in allowing survival of the household

i i)	Loan from neighbors/relatives	
j j)	Loan from Money Lender	
k k)	Loan from NGO	
l l)	Grain loan from kin	
m m)	Adjustment to Meals	
n n)	Cash/cereal loan from merchants	
o o)	Loan from bank	
p p)	Loan from Post Office bank	
q q)	Farmland mortgage out	
r r)	Farmland leased out	
s s)	Sold household productive assets	
t t)	Sold small animals	
u u)	Sold trees	
v v)	Sold jewelry	
w w)	Sold cows/bullock	
x x)	Sold tin sheets	
y y)	Sold standing crop	
z z)	Sold agricultural products at a low price	
a a a)	Sold farmland	
b b b)	Sold men labor	

ccc) Sold women labor	
ddd) Sold household utensils	
eee) Sold poultry birds	
fff) Occupation change	
ggg) Sold fruits in advance	
hhh) Sold child labor	
iii) Migrated to sale labor	
jjj) Pledging labor	
kkk) Taken famine foods	
lll) Taken relief / Refundable help	
mmm) Collected leftover grain from paddy field	
nnn) Begging	
ooo) Permanently migrated	
ppp) Others (Specify	

1= highly , 2= high, 3= average, 4= low, 5= very low