Land reform as a strategy for sustainable livelihoods in Zimbabwe: Breaking the household poverty in selected resettlement farms in Matabeleland.

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DECLARATION

I, Douglas Nyathi (215078036) declare that,

This thesis entitled *"Land reform as a strategy for sustainable livelihoods in Zimbabwe: Breaking the household poverty in selected resettlement farms in Matabeleland"* is my original work and has never been submitted in any University for a degree or examination. All the secondary information used in this study has been acknowledged and all pictures were taken with the consent and approval of the participants. Specifically, direct texts from other scholars have been referenced within quotation marks. Sources of a few conceptual frameworks adopted from other scholars have also been acknowledged. In terms of publications emanating from this thesis as an author/co-author, I have divulged through a disclaim indicating that the publications in question emanate from my thesis.

Signed: .....

DEDICATION

I Dedicate this thesis to my late young brother Titos Roe Nyathi and my lovely parents Morris and Pauline Nyathi.

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PUBLICATIONS

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ABSTRACT

Zimbabwe's agricultural production has remained low in spite of the presence of various agrarian policies including the recently implemented land reform programme. The agrarian policies focus extensively on crop and animal rearing development neglecting vast rural development prospects from non-farming livelihood options. This study focuses on livelihoods diversification in three selected newly resettled farms ie Springrange, Fox and Rocksdale in Matabeleland. Specifically, focus is on livelihood vulnerability, drivers and constraints of livelihood diversification as well as its implications on household well-being. It also interrogates the nature of post land support programmes from a diversification lens. This study is premised on the Sustainable livelihood's framework, the Capabilities Approach and the De-agrarianisation hypothesis. Methodologically, the study adopts a qualitative case study that uses in-depth interviews, focus group discussions, key informants, visual sociology and observations for data collection purposes. This study shows that livelihood diversification in newly resettled areas is an alternative to overcome household poverty and in some instances for accumulation of income and assets. It emanates from the study that determinants to livelihood diversification are classified under push and pull factors, and that varying socio-economic and context specific factors influence the nature and patterns of diversification. It emerges that insecure land tenure, collapsing rain-fed agriculture, lack of markets, growing rural unemployment and HIV/AIDS are some of the factors pushing households to diversify. Discussions also uncover that households are motivated to diversify their livelihood portfolios by factors such as the availability of mineral endowments, proximity to the urban area, and the desire to accumulation income and assets. It emanates from the engagements that regardless of livelihood diversification, farming remains at the heart of the rural economy. It emanates that apart from smallholder agriculture, households are involved in small scale mining, eco-tourism, vending, wage labour, gardening, natural resource poaching and receive remittances and social grants for survival. The study also indicates that diversification of livelihoods into non-farm activities does not necessarily imply the death of peasantry but households compliment land-based livelihoods using off-farm and non-farm activities. It springs out that livelihood diversification increases household income, food security, asset accumulation and child welfare especially amongst the better-off households with capacity and assets. Government and other development agents should play a facilitator's role in terms of promoting investment in rural infrastructure development, improving technology and skills as well as expanding rural credit schemes. There is also a need by government to consider issuing title deeds to the newly resettled farmers so as to address the land tenure insecurity challenge. Furthermore, there is need for scholars to consider studies focusing on the intricate link of smallholder agriculture and a number of non-farm and off-farm activities such as artisan small-scale mining.

Keywords: *Land Reform, Livelihood diversification, newly resettled farmers, household poverty, vulnerability.*

LIST OF ABREVIATIONS

AGRIBANK	Agricultural Bank of Zimbabwe
AGRITEX	Agricultural Extension Services
BASC	British South Africa Company
CSO	Central Statistical Office
DANIDA	Danish International Development Agency
DDF	District development fund
ESAP	Economic Structural Adjustment Program
FAO	Food and Agricultural Organisation
FC	Forestry Commission
FTLRP	Fast Track Land Reform Program
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GoZ	Government of Zimbabwe
IMF	International Monetary Fund
MDC	Movement for Democratic Change
MLAR	Market Led Agrarian Reform
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organisations
ODA	Official Development Aid
RDC	Rural District Council
SIDA	Swedish International Development Agencies SLA Sustainable Livelihood Approach
SSA	Sub-Saharan Africa
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
WCED	World Commission on Environment and Development Sustainable
WFP	World Food Programme
ZANU PF	Zimbabwe National Union Patriotic Front
ZAPU	Zimbabwe African Peoples Union ZIPRA Zimbabwean People's Revolutionary Army

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Chapter One: Locating the problem and its setting

1.1 Introduction

This chapter seeks to motivate the need for the study and to indicate the historical development of the land question in Zimbabwe. Specifically, background to the study, especially the colonial legacy of the land alienation in Zimbabwe and the three phases of the land reform programmes are discussed. The aim is to lay the foundation on which the study would be based and explore the statement of the problem. The chapter also uncovers the research questions as well as the study objectives. The research questions and objectives are a fundamental core of any given study as the two determine the methodology, and guide all the stages of inquiry, analysis and reporting. The rationale or justification of the study is also discussed indicating the policy worthiness of the study. The chapter also explores the study settings and ethnographic characteristics of the three case study farms (Fox, Springrange, and Rocksdale farms). The limitations as well as the demarcations of the study are highlighted.

1.2 Overview of the study

The problem of poverty and how to reduce it remains the most pressing dilemma in the international development debate. More specifically, two questions are at the heart of much of academic research and public policy for rural development, namely: what is it that makes Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA), which is predominantly rural, the poorest region in the world and what can be done to deliver the sustainable and broad-based economic growth required to address this? (Handley, 2009). Such questions have posed a challenge to various governments and development actors that aim at reducing poverty through strengthening rural livelihoods. According to Anaafo (2014), poverty is a vexed policy challenge in developing countries that almost lacks a solution. For Anaafo (2014), land reforms are one of the tools used in different countries to improve the access and use rights of the poor and hence improve their livelihood base. Land underpins the economic, social and political lives of the majority of people in Zimbabwe who depend on agriculture and natural resources for their social reproduction (Moyo, 1995; GOZ, 2001; Zikhali, 2008). It was over land that the armed war of liberation was fought from 1966 culminating with political majority rule in 1980.

At independence, the new black government inherited a racially skewed agricultural land ownership where the white large-scale commercial farmers consisting of less than 1% of the total

population occupied 45% of agricultural land. 75% of this land was in the high rainfall areas of the country where the potential for agricultural production was high (GOZ, 2001).

As part of its attempt to address historically entrenched poverty and inequality, Government of Zimbabwe embarked on land reforms of varying scope and magnitude since 1980. However, this study focused on Fast Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP) which was incepted in 2000. The FTLRP was implemented in an accelerated manner and radically transformed the country's land ownership and agrarian structure (Njaya, 2014). The causes and consequences of the FTLRP have been intensely debated and there is now a significant body of literature on the programme generated by various scholars (see Deininger et al., 2000; Moyo, 2000; 2004; Richardson, 2004; Sachikonye, 2003; Scoones et al., 2010). The purpose of this study was to explore the intricate link of access to land, livelihood diversification and its implications on household poverty in newly resettled areas in Matabeleland. Specifically, the study aimed at gaining an understanding of various livelihood options pursued by newly resettled areas in semi-arid regions characterized by unreliable rainfall patterns (Rukuni et al., 2006).

The study also aimed to explore the socio-economic determinants of livelihoods diversification and its implications on household poverty. It was also the study's intention to explore various post settlement support schemes needed to support livelihood options pursued by various households while taking poverty reduction strategies on board. Research was done in three purposefully selected farms in Umguza, Matobo and Bubi Districts of Zimbabwe. The study analysis was underpinned by the methodological assumption that newly resettled farmers are competent social agents who contribute to societal processes (Akerstom and Brunnberg, 2012). Hence, a qualitative trajectory guided the chosen methodological procedure. The observation approach, focus group discussions and in-depth interviews were used in data collection.

1.3 Background to the study

Land reform underpins the economic, social and political lives of the majority of people in Africa and other developing countries, whose economies are still agricultural driven (ECA, 2004; Lahiff, 2003). Scholars such as Moyo (2003), Ntsebeza (2003, 2010) and Scoones (2010) agree that land is central to the livelihood sustainability of most rural households as agriculture and food production continue to be the most important rural economy activities. Ntsebeza (*undated*) alludes that land reforms are necessitated by the desire to address racial land inequalities inherent from the colonial rule and apartheid. The land question has always been and remains at the centre of

Zimbabwe's political, economic and social development. According to Moyana (1984), Ranger (1967) and Palmer (1977) King Lobengula of the Ndebele State in 1888, was manipulated in a scheme by his own aids and the colonisers to sign a document that came to be known as the Rudd Concession. For historians, it is this document that paved way for the British South Africa Company (BSAC) to occupy the country.

The Concession, fraudulently obtained from the King, became the vehicle through which colonists obtained mineral rights in Mashonaland. Moyana (1984), argues that the Rudd Concession enabled Cecil Rhodes, under the Royal Charter granted by the British government, to occupy the country. For Tshuma (1997), the Charter gave authority to the BSAC to administer and govern the region that encompassed the present-day Zimbabwe. Rukuni et al., (2006) argue that in 1890, the BSAC established rule over Southern Rhodesia and launched a period of company rule which lasted for about 25 years. Within the first decade of colonisation, appropriation of land by white settlers triggered the first *Chimurenga/Umvukela* of 1896.According to Ranger (1967), in 1898 the British government evoked an order in Council which required the company to create native reserves for the native Zimbabweans. This order led to the creation of a dual agrarian structure that continued for more than a century. For Herbst (1990), this fundamental policy decision "guaranteed white economic dominance and black poverty during the colonial period. Since 1889, whites basically had "their pick of land"; huge investments were made to assist the new farmers, infrastructure was developed to open markets, international markets were established and employment created (Palmer, 1977;58). All of this was accompanied by state subsidies, loans and various tax incentives to assist white farmers to develop their land (Moyo and Chambati, 2009).

In 1898 the BSAC abandoned an Order which ensured that native Zimbabweans had access to land for cultivation, grazing and watering. Instead, under pressure from white settlers, the company allocated the better parts of the native reserves to white settlers on the recommendations of the Native Reserves Commission of 1914.The passing of the Land Apportionment Act in 1930 formalised the dual agrarian structure. Palmer (1977) argues that under the 1930 Act, some 51 per cent of land was reserved for white settlers (who numbered about 50 000), 30 per cent for African reserve areas (numbering about 1 million blacks) and the remainder for commercial companies and the colonial government. Land was therefore racially segregated and this enforced the structure

which started in 1890 (Rukuni, 2006). Although the racially motivated land policy succeeded in obtaining more land for white settlers, it took a long time to remove blacks from white areas (Rukuni, 2006).

Part of the reason was the already high population densities in native reserves. When the Danzinger Committee reviewed the situation in 1948, it estimated that 300 000 blacks still lived in white areas (Rukuni et al., 2006). After setting up special native areas, the government stepped up its efforts to evict blacks (Nelson 1975). Meanwhile, the Land Settlement Board of 1944 intensified efforts by reserving land for white ex-servicemen returning from the Second World War (Rukuni et al.; 2006).The systematic dispossession realised largely through violence, war and legislative enactments, by successive colonial Governments, buttressed the racially skewed land distribution and ownership pattern that, until recently, were characteristic of Zimbabwe (Moyo 1995, 2000, 2004). For Sachikonye (2010), the land allocations under the colonial rule were thus defined in terms of conquest.

Land policy was undoubtedly one of the most difficult issues facing the ZANU PF government at independence (Ranger; 1985). Rukuni et al. (2006) and Moyo (2002) argue that at independence, however, there was considerable political pressure to redistribute white owned land. The government, pursuing a policy of national reconciliation and reconstruction and facing a restrictive Lancaster House independence constitution, opted for a land resettlement programme which was based on a willing seller willing buyer basis (Moyo, 2002). The market driven land reform process limited the potential poverty reduction gains in Zimbabwe. According to Masiiwa (2005), the government set its self a targeted to acquire 8.3 million hectares of land from white commercial farmers to resettle black families during the 1983-1985. The desired target was not fulfilled because only 2.1 million hectares were acquired where landless families were resettled (ibid). Moyo (2005) and Sachikonye (2010) agree that the mechanisms of land transfers, including land acquisition, land prices and the quality of land redistributed, limited the scale of access to land by new beneficiaries, while land concentrations persisted.

In addition, in the early 1990s the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) had a strong impact in reinforcing a more direct free market strategy on the land reform through

limiting the role of the state and this culminated in deepening gulf between the rich and the poor (ibid). Entrenched in ESAP was the stabilisation and liberalisation of the economy which resultantly influenced land markets deregulation in the form of land taxation, land subdivision, variants of land tilling among others (World Bank, 1991; Rukuni Commission, 1991) and export expansion within existing land ownership and economic structures. ESAP therefore reduced the tempo of the land reform in Zimbabwe (Sachikonye, 2010; Hove and Gwiza, 2012; Moyo and Yeros, 2013). The agricultural support system under ESAP policy framework limited the benefits of resettlement and of communal farming in general, raising the urban demand for unavailable land. Even those with land realised limited productivity and income gains (Moyo, 2005).

ESAP led to unintended results such as an increase in the demand for land in communal areas, among the urban retrenches and poor, and the land seeking indigenous elites (Moyo, 2000; Yeros, 2003).Hove and Gwiza (2012) posit that the economic challenges experienced by Zimbabweans during the period influenced the affected people to demand for land from the government. This is also supported by Sachikonye (2005) who alludes that it was against the background of ESAP in the 1990s, and the economic hardships associated with it, that the pressure to broaden the ambit of the land question (and the means of its resolution) intensified. In response the government was forced to take urgent actions to redress the colonial land imbalances for the benefit of the majority land hungry Zimbabweans without compensating the former white occupiers (Moyo, 2000).

The FTLR as it is known in literature was characterised by land invasions, which started in the late 1990s and intensified after the 2000 benchmark, received widespread condemnation (Hammar et al., 2003; Masiiwa, 2004). Hammar et al., (2003) postulate that the highly political nature of the land occupations and a diplomatic row between Zimbabwe and the United Kingdom overshadowed attempts for an informed analysis of its outcomes. Other scholars argue that the FTLRP was necessitated by the formation of a vibrant and widely supported opposition party, the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) in 1999 (Mkodzongi, 2011). Hove and Gwiza (2012) argue that the formation of the MDC, in September 1999 and its fearsome challenge to the previously uncontested ZANU PF supremacy produced a feeling of alarm within the ruling party and culminated into pitiless attempts to bulldoze the opposition, plus extensive use of brutality.

Certain that the MDC was a disguise for white driven motives, ZANU PF responded with the Fast Track Land Reform dubbed the third *Chimurenga*- economic war. Government of Zimbabwe

(2001) claimed that the FTLRP aimed at improving the lives of the historically marginalised through accesses to land. Specifically, Government alluded that the programme aimed at increasing food security at both the national and household level. Improving food security was seen as key to development and poverty reduction (Moyo, 2003; Tevera, 2004). However, the FTLRP was hurriedly kick-started ahead of a well-organized plan (Phase 11 of the land reform programme). The Land Audit Report by Utete (2003) reveals that the major shortcomings were a result of inadequate institutional capacity to implement the FTLRP. These manifested themselves in lack of; land use planning, land use demarcation, development of basic infrastructure, settler selection and placement, provision of inputs and other forms of assistance to enable settlers to make a meaningful contribution on their new plots. In reality, Utete (2003) argues that the FTLRP resulted in manifold-farm possession by leaders who had limited knowledge of farming.

The challenge was further worsened by the obliteration or vandalism of infrastructure during the forcible removal of white farmers such as irrigation equipment and building structures among others. More-so, erratic power supply especially in small- and large-scale commercial farming areas were a daunting factor that continued to disrupt irrigation schedules. Shortage of electricity affected winter cropping over the previous decade culminating in reduced wheat production. In 2000, maize output was over 2 million tons but thereafter, production drastically plummeted far below the country's requirements. A rainfall deficit also contributed to grain production deficit and was noticeable through a substantially reduced commercial output fluctuating at less than 100 000 tons for several years (Theron, 2011). Consequently, the country seized to be self-reliant in food production. In 2001, a large maize crop of 314 000 tons was produced but in 2009 only 18 000 tons were produced (Mid-Year Fiscal Policy Review, 2011). The soya beans, 2001 production level was 175 000 tons, at the same time in 2010, the output dropped beyond 75% to around 40 000 tons. The same applies to milk production which fell to 50 million litres in 2010 from 187 million litres in 2000. Despite a steady rise since 2009, Maize, wheat and other basic food stuffs production by 2012 remained far below the pre-2000 production levels thereby derailing all efforts towards food security in the country.

The FTLRP was implemented in an accelerated manner and radically transformed the countries land ownership and agrarian structure. For Moyo and Chambati (2013), Zimbabwe's post 2000 land reform represents the only instance of radical redistributive since the cold war. It reversed the racially-skewed agrarian structure and discriminatory land tenures inherited

from the colonial rule, whereby over 6000 large scale commercial farmers and a few foreign and nationally owned agro-industrial estates controlled most of the prime land, water resources and bio-reserves while relegating the majority of the population to marginal lands and cheap labour services. A total of 6.4 million hectares (or 16.2 percent) swapped ownership from white commercial farmers to black indigenous Zimbabweans while 2.2 million hectares (or 5.6 percent) remained unallocated (Njaya, 2014). According to GOZ (2003), two models of settlements were adopted under the FTLR, namely the A1 model and the A2 model. Model A1 was for the generality of landless people with a villagised and self-contained variant while model A2 was a commercial settlement scheme comprising small, medium and large-scale commercial settlements. Under the A1 villagised model, homesteads are in villages with a common grazing area akin to communal areas while self-contained plots are used for both crop cultivation and livestock.

According to GOZ (2003), a total of 127, 192 households were resettled under the A1 model, while 7,260 households were allocated land under the A2 model. In general, the progress and nature of the FTLRP has been extensively varied (Njaya, 2014). The causes and consequences of the FTLRP have been intensely debated and there is now a considerable body of literature on the programme (see Scoones et al., 2010; Deininger et al., 2002; Moyo, 2000, 2004; Zikhali, 2008). According to Moyo (2004), the FTLRP addressed, to some extent, the countries worrisome legacy of historic injustice and social and racial inequalities and broadened the base of economic participation. Despite being credited with overhauling the racial distribution of land in Zimbabwe, the programme however, was implemented in a violent manner and was associated with significant losses in agricultural production, productivity and overall economic collapse (Richardson, 2004). Although images of chaos, destruction and violence dominated the coverage (though indeed they were part of the reality), there were some successes which went largely unrecorded (Scoones et al., 2010). For Njaya (2014), the negative impacts, often overly highlighted, created a picture of pessimism about the FTLRP. While land reform is understood to be about wealth creation and improved livelihoods (Ntsebeza, 2010; Marongwe, u.d) there is contradictory evidence coming from some of the

FTLRP (Jayne2001; Chimhowu 2006; Matunhu 2011). More specifically, Chimhowu's (2006) study concluded that the land reform programme of 2000 contributed to the deepening of rural poverty in Zimbabwe. In the same vein, Alwary and Ersado's (1999) study observed that poverty incidences were at 65% among land reform beneficiaries. Given the contested nature of the land

reform-poverty reduction debate, there is an urgent need to explore how newly resettled household in semi-arid areas of Zimbabwe have diversified their livelihoods in an attempt to deal with household poverty. Livelihood diversification has long been one of the dominant features of African rural poverty (Ellis, 2000).However there is limited anecdotal evidence on livelihood diversification amongst newly resettled farmers in Matabeleland; a region characterised by perennial droughts, increasing poverty and collapsing livelihoods (Parliament of Zimbabwe;2011, 2012).A significant number of studies that focus on land reform and poverty reduction (see Thebe, 2011;Deininger et al., 2000; Ntsebeza, 2010; Chitonge and Ntsebeza, 2013) are silent about livelihoods diversification and how it impacts on household welfare or poverty. The focus has been on non-productivity of new farmers (Clover, 2004), the politics of land reform (Sachikonye, 2005), land tenure, gendered access to land and livestock production as well as on the impact of land reform on poverty in general. This study was done in Springrange farm (Umguza District of Matabeleland North), Rocksdale farm (Bubi District of Matabeleland North) and Fox farm (Matobo District of Matabeland South).

1.4 Problem statement

The overwhelming rural dimension of poverty in Sub-Saharan Africa (of which Zimbabwe is a part) is not unique. Rukuni et al., (2004) argue that poverty in Zimbabwe is predominately a rural phenomenon. The scholars argue that what is unique about the rural poverty trap (see Chambers, 1986) in Zimbabwe is that it emanates from an unjust colonial history. For scholars such as Scoones (2010) and Moyo and Yeros (2013), poverty alleviation should thus become an important focus of land reform programmes for social justice and economic reasons. While it is understood that land reforms generally seek to address poverty alleviation through strengthening of rural livelihoods, there is a need to understand post land reform livelihood patterns of the newly resettled households. Specifically, not much cutting-edge scholarship has been invested in unpacking the post land reform livelihoods in semi-arid areas of Matabeleland region in Zimbabwe. The only major study on post land reform livelihoods was done by Scoones et al., (2010). However, their study focused on Masvingo province; a region whose characteristic is different from that of Matabeleland in terms of agro-ecological characteristics, history, ethnography and household livelihoods. Extrapolating findings from such studies in trying to understand household livelihoods diversification and its implication on household poverty and wellbeing may lead to the formulation of unsustainable, irrelevant and unsupported rural poverty alleviation initiatives. This study therefore sought to uncover various livelihood options pursued by newly resettled farmers, their determinants and implications on household

poverty. The study also endeavored to explore various post land reform support mechanisms needed to support livelihood options pursued by newly resettled farmers while taking poverty reduction strategies on board.

1.5 Objectives of the study

- To explore the experiences of newly resettled farmers on household poverty and livelihood vulnerabilities in the semi-arid resettlement areas.
- To identify and analyse predominant livelihood diversification options pursued by the newly resettled farmers in the three study sites.
- To analyse the determinants and constraints to household livelihoods diversification in the three newly resettled farms.
- To assess the contribution of livelihoods diversification in addressing household poverty and well-being
- To explore various post land reform support mechanisms needed to support livelihood diversification pursued by newly resettled farmers while taking on board the poverty reduction agenda.

1.6 Research questions

- What are the experiences of newly resettled farmers on household poverty and livelihood vulnerabilities in the semi-arid resettlement areas?
- What are the predominant livelihood diversification options pursued by newly resettled farmers in the three study sites?
- What are the determinants or constrains to livelihoods diversification in the three study sites?
- What is the contribution of livelihoods diversification in addressing household poverty and well-being?
- What are the specific policies and strategies in place meant to address household poverty in the context of diversified livelihood in newly resettled areas?
- What are the intended and unintended outcomes of the measures and how can they be made pro-rural households? Is there specific post land reform support needed to strengthen the diversified livelihoods portfolio of newly resettled farmers in semi-arid areas?

1.7 Justification of the study

Poverty reduction remains one of the greatest challenges facing developing countries throughout the world (UNDP, 2014; Ellis, 2000). Rural areas in SSA are the most

underdeveloped regions in the world (Kates and Dasguta, 2007). Seventy per cent of the total population depends on mixed crop-livestock systems (Mortimore, 1991) for livelihoods; a feature that makes access to land critical in sustaining household livelihoods. According to Reardon (2002) in Zimbabwe, the traditional image of farm household has been focusing exclusively on farming and undertaking insignificant non-farm activities. Ellis (2000) concurs stating that conventionally, both official statistics and social scientific analyses prefer to identify people's places in the economy according to their main occupation and then develop a body of theory and policy around that activity. Hence in developing countries such as Zimbabwe, a huge amount of attention over many years has been paid to the small farm household and its efficiency as an agricultural enterprise as well as its responsiveness to new technology aimed at increasing farm output.

Given that the majority of the A1 newly resettled farmers in semi-arid areas of Zimbabwe have remained in poverty (see Chimhowu, 2006; Matunhu, 2012) and food insecure (Sachikonye 2005; Thebe, 2011), it is now apparent that access to land or precisely agricultural activities alone are inadequate in sustaining household livelihoods. There is therefore a need to understand why and how newly resettled farmers construct an increasingly diverse portfolio of activities in order to survive and improve their standard of well-being. This household level diversification has implications for rural poverty reduction policies since it means the conventional approaches aimed at increasing employment, incomes and productivity in single occupations, like farming, may be missing their targets (Ellis, 2000). A greater understanding of livelihoods diversification in newly resettled areas will provide a good foundation for development planners including government as well as non-state actors in coming up with relevant and effective poverty reduction strategies in such areas. If appropriate interventions are to be effective in reducing rural poverty, and vulnerability to rural poverty, it is significant to have an understanding of household's preferred livelihood diversification strategies and the extent to which these strategies are feasibly (Galab et al., 2006).

Although studies on livelihood diversification have been done by other scholars (see Nyathi e tal 2018; Scoones et al., 2010; Njaya 2014; Mkodzongi, 2013), there is need to undertake the study in an area characterised by poverty, chronic food insecurity (Parliament of Zimbabwe Constituency Profiling, 2011) and unfavourable agro-ecological characteristics of high temperatures and less than 450mm of annual precipitation (Rukuni et al., 2004). There is no doubt that this will enable context specific livelihood diversification activities pursued by newly resettled farmers in the study

sites to be uncovered, the nature of their operation and the prospects and challenges faced in the process. This will enable development planners, policy makers and various rural development stakeholders to mainstream livelihood diversification in their programming.

Specifically, the study findings will contribute to increased understanding and appreciation of livelihoods diversification as a crucial rural development and poverty reduction agenda. In the context of newly resettled areas the study will also enhance understanding of the post land reform livelihoods that need to be strengthened as part of the post land reform support mechanisms. Furthermore, the information generated may be useful in informing global rural social protection policies and actions especially those that seek to enhance the capacity of the poor and the vulnerable to escape poverty and better manage risks and shocks (Sabates-Wheeler and Haddad, 2005). The study will also contribute to the growing body of knowledge on the land reform-poverty reduction debate for the benefit of those countries such as South Africa, whose land reform programmes are still at their infancy.

1.8 Research settings and Ethnography

This study was done in Springrange farm located in Umguza District, Rocksdale farm located in Bubi District (Matabeleland North province) and Fox farm located in Matobo District (Matabeleland South province). Matobo district is part of Matabeleland South Province on the southern part of the City of Bulawayo. The district shares borders with Mangwe district to the west, Gwanda to the south- eastern part, Botswana to the south. On the other hand, Umguza district and Bubi district are part of Matabeleland North Province. Umguza district borders Bulawayo, Tsholotsho to the west and Lupane to the east. Rocksdale farm is in ward 22 (600 people) in Bubi district and has 44 household units (Registrar's Office; 2012). Both provinces have low crop growing potential due to poor soil fertility, erratic rainfall regimes and related water unavailability challenges (Worby 2001; Umguza District Profile 2004; Bird et al., 2000). According to Bird et al., (2000) Matobo district receives an average of less than 450mm of rainfall annually. Umguza and Bubi's annual rainfall is pegged at between 450600mm.Farmers in the three respective farms have mixed livelihood paths. Thebe (2011) posits that most farmers in Umguza district like in Bubi grow maize and small grains although at a small scale. Cattle, sheep and goats also form part of the livelihoods. This is also the case in Matobo where small grains and cattle keeping are preferred.

Community irrigation schemes, petty trading, wild berries as well as Mopane worms play a central role in sustaining the livelihoods of communities in Matobo district. Studies have also confirmed the significance of remittances from South Africa, Botswana, United Kingdom and other European countries (Maphosa, 2009). Scoones (2010) contends that 28% of the total arable land in Umguza was put under resettlement. This was taken over by 32 000 households on A1 sites (making up to 1.2million hectares) and about 1200 households in A2 areas (making up to 37 000 hectares), alongside perhaps a further 8 500 households in informal resettlement sites, as yet unregistered by the government. Umguza and Bubi districts are predominantly an area dominated by Ndebele speaking people (Thebe, 2011) although a significant number of Shona and Malawian speaking people are found. On the other hand, Matobo district constitute of Ndebele, Sotho and Kalanga speaking people.

1.9 Operationalisation of concepts

1.9.1 Land reform

There are different meanings or definition of land reform. However, according to Doner (1972) most of them appear to share two common elements. The elements are:

- Land reform is invariably a more or less direct, publicly controlled change in the existing patterns of land ownerships;
- It normally attempts a diffusion of wealth, income or productive capacity throughout the society.

According to King (1974), on broader view there are three motives of land reform which are political, social and economic. The political motive is often considered as the last resort but the most decisive. It is the balance of political power in a country which ultimately determines the extent of a reform, and the political factors help to explain the frequency wide discrepancy between the provisions of a reform law and their eventual practical effects. Many governments use land reform, or the promise of it, to gain or retain power.

The social motive is basically concerted on social equality or social justice, while the economic motive is based on the issue of efficiency. The last two motives are never separated and sometimes regarded as the fulfilment of one objective may retard another. Recent literature on land reform (Ntsebeza, 2007; Moyo and Yeros 2007), however, stress that economic and social goals need not to conflict. Indeed, they must be seen to be welded together in the land reform approach to development in general. Dorner (l977) explains that the conflict between distributive justice and economic efficiency is not the real issues.

Conflicts only arise if the present ownerships structure of land and capital is assumed fixed (Moyo and Yeros, 2007). Land reform in a narrow sense refers to measures to redistribute land in favour of peasants and small farmers (Walker, 2002; Adams et al., 2000).

Land reform in its traditional sense is the demand for greater equality or social justice. It is important as a developmental implication and to its possible contribution to improve agricultural productivity and expended employment (Scoones, 2010; Cousins, 2009 cited by Moyo 2009). The concept in this study refers to Government of Zimbabwe's accelerated and radically implemented land ownership and agrarian change that was incepted in 2000 as a supposedly for de-racialising land ownership so as to broaden the economic participation of the black majority. For the purposes of study scoping, focus is on A1 farmers who constitute the bulk of the resettled under the programme.

1.9.2 Livelihood diversification

The term "livelihood" is used rather than "job" or even "source of income" (Perret et al., 2005). According to Scoones (1998) livelihoods comprise of capabilities, assets and activities required for a means of living. Chamber and Conway (1998) argue that livelihoods are sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stress and shocks maintain or enhance its capacities and assets, while not undermining the natural resource base. In SSA, rural people tend to move away from natural resource-based occupations in livelihood diversification (Ellis, 1998; Bryceson, 2000). Although 70% of rural households in Africa carry out some form of farming activity, the number of such households keeps on going down in the context of shocks such as drought and climate change.

According to Ellis (1992) livelihood diversification is more than activity and income diversification. It includes property rights, social and kinship networks, and access to institutional support. Livelihood diversification therefore is the process by which rural families construct a diverse portfolio of activities and social support capabilities in order to survive and improve standards of living (Stack and Sukume in Rukuni et al., 2006; Perret et al.,2005). Livelihood diversification is a pervasive and enduring characteristic of rural survival, reflecting the continuation. In the context of this study livelihoods diversification will entail agricultural, non-farm and off farm activities done by newly resettled farmers in attempt to make a living (specifically raise income, buy assets and stabilize household food security).

1.9.3 Household poverty

For many decades, the concept of poverty has been mostly identified with economic deprivation. People are considered as poor when they lack sufficient purchasing power. Economic well-being relates to the ability of individuals to acquire a basic level of consumption or human welfare (Wagle, 2002). In supporting this concept, Sarlo (1996) and Ross et al., (1994) define poverty as deprivation of economic resources that are required to meet the food, shelter and clothing needs necessary for physical well-being. Similarly, the World Bank (1992) states that people are considered as poor if their standard of living falls below the poverty line, that is, the amount of income (or consumption) associated with a minimum acceptable level of nutrition and other necessities of everyday life. These definitions are primarily concerned with income and consumption and generally, presume that poor people only suffer from limited incomes to meet their daily needs. However, evidence abounds that poverty has dimensions that transcend these simplistic and prescriptive definitions.

If well-being and quality of life are to be considered, then vulnerability, physical and social isolation, insecurity, lack of self-respect, lack of access to information, distrust of state institutions and powerlessness can be as important to the poor as low income (Robb, 2000). Therefore, economic deprivation cannot be the only kind of poverty that impoverishes human lives as Sen (1999) maintains. In fact, income only represents a means to a more basic end, which Sen interprets as the expansion of human capabilities. What this implies is that focusing on income alone in poverty reduction will not overcome all the problems associated with poverty. Rather, it will continue to divert attention away from these important problems with serious implications for poverty reduction. The Human Development Report (1997), for example, suggests that economic growth can be a powerful means of reducing poverty, but its benefits are not automatic.

Essentially, people must be educated and enjoy relatively good health to contribute and benefit from growth. In this context, individuals need the capabilities to access gainful employment and participate fully in the society to which they belong. The report cites many countries, such as Argentina, Honduras, the United Kingdom and the United States as having experienced average growth over a period, yet the proportion in poverty increased. The increase in poverty, as experienced by these countries, relates to a failure to incorporate a concomitant level of social development in the apparent exclusive economic growth policies that have been pursued. Arguably, other forms of deprivation, such as lack of access to safe water, sanitation,

health care and education, which have the potential to undermine longevity, knowledge and basic income for decent living standard, need to be accorded equal attention as low income.

1.10 Research Approach

The research approach is discussed in detail in chapter five (5). However, this part of chapter one seeks to give a glimpse of the study methodological issues. This study used an interpretivism research philosophy whose epistemological stance is anchored on the belief that knowledge of reality is gained through social construction such as language and shared meaning (Welshman, 1993). In an interpretive research there are no predefined dependent and independent variables, but a focus on the complexities of human sense making as the situation emerges (Kamplan and Maxwell, 1994). The study adopted a case study research design given that it helps the researcher to present a thorough description of the inquiry. Participants of the study were A1farmers purposively recruited with the assistance of the key informants.

The sampling approach ensured that the researcher got suitable and resourceful participants. The study had a sample size of 42 in-depth interviews, 15 key informant interviews and 4 focus group discussions. In-terms of data collection, the study used in-depth interviews, focus group discussions as well as observations. Data analysis encompassed the transcription of recorded interviews into written words or format. Specifically, the researcher analysed the content of the discussions and interviews to identify the trends that appear and re-appear in collected information. A combination of both the content and themes approach was adopted in analyzing the data. The themes and content approach enable the researcher to use the direct quotes of participants, a move that enhances the trustworthiness of the study findings (Denzin et al., 2005; Denzin and Lincolyn, 2011).

1.11 Limitations of the study

The limitations of the study are those characteristics of design or methodology that impact or influence the interpretation of findings from one's research (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994). In this study the researcher faced a number of limitations. One of the greatest pitfalls in conducting research successfully is the inability to obtain access to the research field (Gummesson, 2000). Obtaining access to the research field varies to a considerable extent, depending on the kind of cases investigated. Accessing the participants of the study was a challenge especially after 2018 elections as these areas remained politically polarised. The researcher also faced huddles even in accessing the study participants for the pilot study. This was further complicated by the

sensitive nature of the study that was done during the time when the government was also embarking on its land audit. Some viewed the researcher as either a political agent or a land audit spy. However, the use of access letters from the office of the Provincial Affairs minister, Local Authorities and Government department played a cardinal role in ensuring my acceptability in the three research sites. The access letters were also essential in ensuring that the researcher gained the much-needed trust from the three respective communities.

Another challenge faced by the researcher was cultural diversity in newly resettled areas. Individuals of diverse backgrounds, cultures and languages were resettled under the Fast Track Land Reform Programme. The researcher ensured that local cultures were respected so as to address the challenge of ethnocentrism. Specifically, the researcher translated the data collection instruments from English to main spoken local languages (Ndebele and Shona) so that participants would easily explore their experiences. Recognising the communities' cultural references including their languages enabled the researcher to gain their willingness to participate in the study.

Another challenge of the study was "data fatigue". Data fatigue denotes repeated imposition of questions by different organisations including government on the same communities yielding no tangible results for the communities (Fieldman et al., 2003). Many organisations including Government through it land audits and individuals have come to such communities asking questions about poverty and livelihoods. As a result, participants become reluctant to share their experiences on such topics. In an endeavour to address such a challenge, the researcher used the access letters which highlighted the purpose of the study and distinguished him from action researches done by development agents and government. The researcher also did a community conscientisation exercise about the study and its purpose through gate keepers such as the village heads.

Community conscientisation created a conducive research environment for increased community buy-in into the study. One of the major limitations of the study emanates from the adopted research approach. The challenge with qualitative research is that the views of the participants are bound by specific context, time and place. Therefore, what is present in this thesis, for instance, the views of the participants from focus group discussion meeting is true for participants at that time of the discussions in their particular context. These factors may put some limitations on the generalisability of the results and recommendations.

1.12 Chapter sequence

This thesis is organized into eight chapters. Chapter one introduced the study indicating its background information. Specifically, the chapter explored the historical aspects of the land question in developing countries with a deliberate focus on Zimbabwe. The chapter indicated the statement of the problem, research questions, objectives and justification of the study as well as the study setting and ethnography. A synopsis of the research approach and limitations of the study were briefly discussed.

Chapter two: focuses on the land reform and poverty reduction debate. The chapter starts with the conceptualisation of poverty and land reform. It also uncovers various approaches to the land reform programmes. The chapter also dwells on the land reform and poverty reduction nexus. Arguments for land reform and arguments against the programme are discussed. The last part of the chapter interrogates the post land reform support mechanisms as well as the gender dimension of the land question.

Chapter Three: discusses rural livelihoods diversification in developing countries. Specifically, the chapter looks the determinants of livelihoods diversification and its implications at household level. The chapter also uncovers the constraints to households' livelihood as well as the policy challenges of diversification in the context of growing poverty and inequalities in rural areas.

Chapter four: focus on the study theoretical frameworks. This chapter starts by looking at the significant of theory in livelihoods studies and then discusses the theories that guide the study. Specifically, the chapter looks at the Sustainable Livelihoods framework, the Capabilities Approach and the De-agrarianisation hypothesis. The chapter not only discusses the basic tenants of the theories, but also indicates the links and relevance of the theories to the current study.

Chapter five: focuses on methodological issues and gives detailed information on the selection of the study settlements, the selection process, the research design, methodology, analysis, interpretation and presentation of the results. The chapter also indicates how the study areas were accessed.

Chapter Six: describes and analyses empirical case study investigations detailing the experiences of newly resettled farmers on poverty and livelihoods vulnerability. The chapter also draws attention to the livelihood options pursued by newly resettled farmers in the three study sites. This chapter also dwells on the determinants and constraints to livelihoods diversification in these newly resettled areas.

Chapter seven: is also an empirical chapter that analyses the last two objectives of the study. Specifically, the chapter looks at the implications of livelihoods diversification on household well-being and the extent at which post land reform support mechanism promote or discourage household livelihoods diversification.

Chapter eight: provides the conclusion of the study. It brings various elements developed in the thesis. It summaries the study's main findings and presents conclusions and recommendations linking them with the overall research purpose and research questions. This chapter also reflects on the theoretical frameworks and describes the extent to which these frameworks have effectively helped to explain livelihoods diversification dynamics in land reform areas. Future research gaps that need attention are highlighted as well.

Chapter two: Land reform and the poverty reduction agenda

2.1 Introduction

The problem of poverty and how to reduce it remains the most pressing dilemma in the international development debate (Handley et al., 2009). Africa has the highest poverty rate of any continent in the world and after Asia, the second largest number of people living in poverty (Kraybill, 2013). In 2016, when the Sustainable Development Goals era started, Africa accounted for just over 60% of Global poverty and today it is over 70% (Kharas et al., 2018). By 2030 it could be close to 90% and will remain the last frontier of the world's effort to end extreme poverty by 2030 (Kharas et al., 2018). Within the African continent, poverty rates are far higher in the 49 countries that comprise Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) than in the six countries of North Africa. The purpose of this chapter is to interrogate the interface of land reform and poverty reduction. Specifically, the chapter starts by conceptualization of rural poverty and the land reforms, indicating how the operationalisation of the concepts is influenced by different disciplinary approaches and ideologies. This is followed by an interrogation of various approaches to land reforms indicating their strengths and weaknesses. The last part of the chapter looks at the land reform outcomes. Special attention is put on the livelihoods implications of land reforms, the gender question and post-land reform support systems.

2.2 Understanding rural poverty: The politics of definition reconceptualised

Perceptions on rural poverty identification, its causes and solutions as perceived by the poor themselves, politicians, planners, practitioners, academics and outsiders vary considerably (Chinake, 1997). It is generally agreed that there is no universally agreed definition of poverty (Boon, 2005; Handley et al., 2009; Botchway, 2013). Hence, Dinito and Dyne in Osei-Hwedie (1995) contend that the problem of defining and figurehting against rural poverty is more of a political and technical problem than a rational activity. A range of definitions of poverty exist, influenced by different disciplinary approaches and ideologies. According to Handley et al. (2009), the most dominant Western definition since World War 11 has defined the concept in monetary terms, using levels of income or consumption to measure poverty (Grusky and Kanbur, 2006; World Bank, 2015).

According to Word Bank (2015), more than one-third of people in low income and middle-income countries are poor, defined as living on less than $2.00 a day. One in six is extremely poor, living on less than $1.25 a day and about 780 million people are suffering from chronic hunger (FAO, IFAD and WFP, 2015). Extreme poverty is disproportionately in rural areas. The World Bank estimates that, by 2010, 78% of the extremely poor were living in rural areas

(World Bank, 2015). However, there is too much emphasis upon the quantification of basic needs into monetary terms, and as a result, poverty has often been treated as a purely economic issue (Chineke, 1997).

The economic definition of poverty has been complimented in recent years by other approaches that define the concept in a more multidimensional way (Barrientos, 2011; Subramanian, 1997). Makhanya and Ngidi (1999) allude that the multidimensional concept of poverty emanates from the notion that poverty is conceptualised different by different communities and that it has many facets and that the poor are diverse. These approaches include the Basic Needs Approach (Streeton et al., 1981), the Capabilities approach (Sen, 1999) and the Human development approach (UNDP, 1990). For Chikane (1999), the majority who are desperately poor in Africa, and in Zimbabwe for that matter, their poverty is due to deprivation of welfare, social power and very profound lack of capabilities. In other words, being poor often means being voiceless, powerless (Chambers, 1981) and generally having less likelihood of breaking through the 'culture of poverty' unless one is empowered to do so through effective interventions.

Alston (2008) posit that rural poverty reduction is therefore dependent not on handouts but on empowerment of the poor through resources allocation. Yet, the failure of governments to ensure equitable distribution of and access to state resources such as services, employment and income opportunities is a major cause of rural poverty. Rural poverty has also been conceptualised from a deprivation perspective (Sen, 1999; Lukhele-Olorunju, 2012). According to Handley (2009) people trapped in poverty tend to experience multiple 'capabilities deprivations' concurrently. That is, they are illiterate, have inadequate nutrition, poor human rights and insufficient income and livelihood opportunities, which taken together drive and maintain their poverty and ensure it passes across generations (CPRC, 2004). For Narrayan (2000) rural poverty therefore entails a condition of being deprived of well-being, being vulnerable to the events outside their control, being isolated and living below the accepted socio-economic norms or prescriptions of society and psychologically and politically indisposed.

Another way of understanding rural poverty is through the systems approach (Makhanya and Ngidi, 1999). According to Wilkinson (1973), the concept of cultural system in an equilibrium situation is used to provide a theoretical limiting case for the study of the process of adjustment of the human population to their environment. If all other variables are held constant, the equilibrium of natural ecosystem can be disturbed by either an increase in population size, or a decrease in the resource base (Makahanya and Ngidi, 1999). The central

thesis of the approach is that the Third World countries are poor because of the disturbances in the equilibrium that emanated from their contact with the Europeans (Illife, 1987).

Specifically, colonisation introduced foreign economic systems and ways of living which caused a major disturbance in the ways of life of indigenous societies. The colonial agricultural and land policies had significant impact on the present patterns of land distribution, marginalisation of the rural population and the disparities between commercial and subsistence systems of agriculture in countries such as South Africa and Zimbabwe (Moyo, 2000; Makhanya and Ngidi, 1999).The result was a disruption of the socio-economic structure of the indigenous people and the creation of chronic poverty (Wilkinson, 1973; Bundy, 1979; Illife, 1989).

2.3 The land reform: Conceptual and contextual issues

Borras Jr et al. (2007) posit that the land reform is back on the policy agenda of international development institutions as well as many nation states. Globally, poverty still has primarily a rural face, with two thirds of the world's poor constituted by the rural poor (World Bank, 2015; FAO et al., 2015; Borras and Franco,2010; Rukuni et al., 2006; Central Statistical Office, 2000).Its persistence has defied policy makers for decades despite sustained efforts by national governments, international institutions and civil society. Effective control over productive resources, land, by the rural poor is crucial to their capacity to construct a livelihood and overcome poverty. Srinivasuku (2002) cited in Javadev and Ha (2015) argues that in any agrarian society, there is a strong link between land and societ al., status.

Land is the most valuable, imperishable possession from which people derive their economic independence, social status and a modest and permanent means of livelihood (Javadev and Ha, 20015). According to Borras Jr et al. (2007) the term 'land reform' and 'agrarian reform' are commonly used interchanged to mean the same thing. However, some scholars find it useful to distinguish these terms. For Thiesenhusen (1989), land reform entails the reform of the distribution of landed property rights, while agrarian reform refers to land reform and complimentary socio-economic and political reforms (Borras Jr et al., 2007). According to Moyo (2004), whilst the land reform is a fundamental dimension of the agrarian question, it is not a sufficient condition for the overall agrarian reform and national development. Land reform deals with changes in the agrarian structure. Sikor and Muller (2009) posit that the land reform has become more diverse over the last few decades.

The scholars argue that it is no longer confined to distributive reform, that is, the transfer of land rights from large landowners to landless people, tenants, an smallholders by way of direct state action (Liptop,1974; Griffin et al., 2002).Today, the term "land reform" is commonly used to refer to colonization programmes on publicly owned land, land registration, consolidation of fragmented holdings, tenancy improvement, and land taxation in addition to redistribution (El-Ghonemy, 2003; Lipton, 1993). Land reform is therefore concerned with changing the institutional structure governing human relation with land by intervening in prevailing land ownership, control and usage (World Bank, 1977; Macmillan, 2000). For Sam Moyo, one of the prominent researchers on Zimbabwe's land reform, equitable land distribution relates to the distribution of land, denoting the deconcentration of prime land, the increased absolutely number of landholders (Moyo,1999). Thus, land reform can be viewed as the transfer of land ownership rights from the minority to the majority who were previously marginalized due to various reasons.

The bequest of settler colonialism in many countries contributed to the unequal distribution of land, which can be argued to have necessitated and justified calls for land reform (Moyo, 2003; Kudzayi, 2014). Land reform in the broad but populist sense implies a redistributive policy instrument of government, targeted at property rights in agricultural land, usually undertaken and driven for political reasons (Bernstein in Ntsebea and Hall, 2007; Callison, 1989). It emanates from a survey of literature that land reform means different things for diverse people and in different circumstances and it has got different practical definitions depending on the objectives and the context (Barraclough, 1999). Based on the definitions given by various scholars, land reform is understood as a process of changing or reforming laws and policies governing the land tenure which include the access, ownership and use of land by the owners for multiple purpose (ICARRD, 2006; Adams, 1995).

2.4 Approaches to land reform: a synopsis

There is a surfeit of literature on land reforms in various developing countries. Whilst most the existing literature has principally concentrated on the analysis of examples of land reforms in recent years (Moyo, 2006; Hall, 2011; Walker, 2002), there is a paucity of literature that explores various approaches to land reforms (Kudzanayi, 2014). There are three major approaches to land reform in developing countries i.e. the ones that are state-led, market propelled and the community driven ones (Borras jr, 2003; Deininger and Binswanger, 1999; Moyo, 2004). In the state-led approach, the state takes a deliberate policy to redistribute land

(Moyo, 2003). It can be argued that it is a land reform from above, as the state introduces and guides the whole process of the land reform (Kudzayi, 2014).

For Kudzayi (2014), the execution takes place within a top down methodology and bureaucratic modalities. According to Tilley (2007), the state-led approach is characterised by the centric, dominant role or involvement of the state in the formulation of agrarian and land reforms. This approach is mainly supply driven, and can involve expropriation without compensation of land by the state (as was the case in Zimbabwe), for distribution to peasant farmers (Borras, 2003; Moyo, 2000; 2005; UNDP, 2002) or compensation to landlords who have been dispossessed of their land (Ciamara, 2003).These state-led land reform programmes were instigated after the independence from colonization of various countries in the 1950s to 1980s around the globe. The state's role in heading the programme depends on the fact that primarily and of necessity land reform is a political process (Sikor and Muller, 2009). In addition, public interest sees land as the main resources particularly to achieve sustainable development.

This implies that the state should play a crucial role in the process of land reform, which should be of high priority to the state. De Villers (2003) argues that a state-led approach has an advantage in that government can decide where and when it wants to appropriate land, but if abused, as in Zimbabwe, it has obvious implications for democratic standards and economic development and stability. This is also supported by Sachikonye (2003) who alludes that the state-led land reform in Zimbabwe ostensibly aimed at wider distribution of an important economic resource was both opaque and chaotic. Extensive patronage was rampant leading to the ruling elite getting more favourable access to land, and in some instances resulting in ownership of multiple farms by individuals. He further argues that if it had been properly carried out, land reform would have provided a positive opportunity for a central developmental mission rather than a predatory role to the state.

Another dominant approach to the land reform is the market assisted one knows the Market Led and Agrarian Reform (MLAR) (Wolford, 2007). In this approach, land ownership rights are transferred through the buying and selling of land on the market (Moyo, 2003; Palmer, 2011). The world Bank and International Monetary Fund have advocated land tenure reform through Market-led Agrarian Reform with its "willing buyer-seller "approach. Borras (2003) alludes that a number of countries, including Brazil and Bolivia in Latin America, India in Asia, and South Africa, took this approach. Government of Zimbabwe used the Market-led Approach from 1980 to 1997 (Moyo, 1999). The ideology governing the Market-led Approach

is based on the premise that the security of land tenure leads to the promotion of property markets, economic growth and democracy (Deininger and Binswanger, 1999). For scholars such as Wolford (2007), if the Market-led Approach is implemented, it leads to security of land rights which allows people to invest productively and in the long term.

Furthermore, it also ensures that people give their labour and profit to the Bank as collateral and obtain loans. Borras (2003) and Wolford (2007) agree that the approach also makes it easier to transfer land from unproductive people to productive ones. However, the Market led Approach has had its limitations. Kuzdayi (2014) posit that this is the least followed approach because of financial constraints on the governments of developing countries to finance any meaningful large-scale transfer of land to the poor landless people. Khan (2015) and Moyo (2003) agree that the Market-led approach in South Africa and Zimbabwe yielded insignificant results in terms of ensuring that the poor get their birth right resource.

Large scale farmers many a times are not willing to sell and thus curtail any meaningful reform. Land reform in South Africa has faced strong criticism due to its slow progress (Mantashe, 2012; Reuters, 2016; Hall, 2004; Cousins and Walker, 2015). This has pushed government to consider land appropriation without compensation (Kloppers and Pienaar, 2015; Cousins and Walker, 2015). Another popular approach to land reform is the community-based approach. This approach can be argued to be the antonym of state-led land reform, in that it is initiated from below. For Kudzanayi (2014), the community-based approach of land reform is emerging as an alternative approach to state-led approach. This approach is supposed to be reactive to political demands originating 'from below' and more responsive to local interests, institutions and practices. However, this approach is usually hijacked by the state as it seeks to align itself with the aggrieved landless people who would have taken matters into their hands and many times illegally.

2.5 The land reform and poverty reduction nexus: a survey of evidence

The poverty issue in Africa has attracted the attention of economists, politicians, governmental and non-governmental organisations interested in finding a lasting solution to the problem (Woolard and Leibbrandt, 1999). Several potential poverty reduction alleviating tools and policies have been adopted by majority of African countries. The most controversial poverty alleviation tool that has been in use within Southern Africa for more than three decades is the land reform (Nene et al., 2014). Land reforms have commonly combined a number of goals: social justice in the face of oppression, enhanced livelihoods and security for those employed

in farming and aspirations to a more productive agriculture (Werner and Kruger, 2007; Moyo, 2013; Akinola, 2018). These goals, and their tensions, are evident in both major land reforms that have emerged from social revolution in (mostly) agrarian societies and the (intermittent) advocacy by development agencies of land reform – properly designed, packaged and managed as policy intervention- over the last 60 years or so, including by the World Bank (Downes, undated). Lipton (2009) alludes that the primary goal of land reforms is reducing poverty and gross inequality.

2.6 Have the land reforms reduced poverty and gross inequalities?

The debate on whether land reforms reduce poverty and gross inequalities has remained topical in the twenty-first century (Lipton, 2009; Deininger et al., 2009; Moyo and Chambati,2009; Rigg, 2006; Ntsebeza, 2009). Various scholars agree that land is a major economic, political, social and cultural asset in most developing countries (Chitonge, 2013; Lipton, 2009; Moyo, 2013; Scoones et al., 2011). Controlling land resources, nationally and/or locally is also a means to accumulate political, economic and social power (Ouedraogo et al., 2006). Land plays a central role in people's livelihoods (Spichiger and Stacey, 2014). Ntsebeza (2009) alludes that three theoretical perspectives have been use by a number of scholars in discussing the potential role of the Land reforms in improving the livelihoods of the poor and subsequently reducing poverty. These are the minimalist, distributionist and instrumentalist views.

The central thesis of the minimalist perspective is that land reform has a limited contribution towards improving the living conditions of the poor. In an empirical study based on survey data from six Latin American countries, Valdes & Lopez (1999) and Lopez & Valdes (2000) argue that contrary to the widely held view that land reform can make a significant contribution towards poverty reduction, the impact of land reform on poverty is very limited. One of the key factors cited to explain the limited capacity was that the beneficiaries of land reform often fail to convert the land asset into income which can be used to improve their welfare or change the social and political relations particularly with reference to inequality based on gender, group membership and age. These factors have been cited by a number of scholars looking at land reform in Zimbabwe and South Africa. (Bandeira and Sumpsi, 2011; Clover, 2003; Ntsebeza, 2009; Moyo, 2006; Dekker and Kinsely, 2011). Ruhiiga (2011) posit that resettled farmers for instance in South Africa fail to make it because of constrained access to agricultural credit and high input costs for agriculture leading to unfavourable conditions.

STATS (2007, 2009) argues that the out-migration of the economically active in resettled areas in search for better opportunities undermines the retention of surplus labour that is needed to sustain agricultural production. This has led to "agricultural poverty trap" (Bandeira and Sumpsi, 2011). As far as the minimalist perspective, "land redistribution from large to small farmers, may contribute to increase total farm output, but may have only limited impact on household income….and welfare" (Valdes & Lopez, 1999: 8). Bryceson (1999) and Rigg (2006) also express a similar perspective arguing that the significance of land and farm-related activities as sources of income for the poor rural dwellers is vanishing in view of non-farm activities. The reason given for this diminishing role of land as a poverty reducing instrument is that the livelihood of the poor is becoming more de-linked from land and farming (Riggs, 2006). Kay (1998) also questions the potential of land redistribution in reducing rural poverty, arguing that while public debates are always enthusiastic about land redistribution as a poverty reducing strategy, evidence so far point to a very disappointing result.

According to Kay (1998) most land reform programmes have failed to live up to expectations and there is no ground to believe that they can deliver. The ability of land reform programs to improve livelihoods of the poor has remained questionable. Hall (2007) states that a positive impact on livelihoods is not guaranteed, but contingent on the manner of implementation, both prior to and following the transfer of land rights. Land reform is a highly politicised process that can be seen as a threat to the interests of certain actors (Moyo, 2009; Ouedraogo et al., 2006). A number of scholars have questioned the poverty reduction aim of the Fast Track Land Reform Programme in Zimbabwe (Sachikonye, 2005). For Sachikonye (2005), the purpose of the 2000 land reform programme was political; it aimed at garnering support for ZANU PF against the Movement for Democratic Change under the leadership of the late Morgan Tsvangirai. He argues that the poverty reduction agenda played a secondary role in informing the programme. Werner and Kruger (2007) argue that the exact role and potential of land reform in a comprehensive national rural development and poverty reduction programme remains unclear.

Arguments against the feasibility of land reform to improve livelihoods have been rooted in the evidence of worsening poverty levels among land reform beneficiaries, decrease in agricultural production and where positive impacts were realised, they were short-lived (Moyo, 2009; Deininger, 2011). Poverty reduction on a national scale requires more than land redistribution (Chimhowu, 2006). In Namibia`s land reform programme, it has emanated that the poorest community members had a limited chance of benefiting from it. Werner and Kruger (2007) cite a

Ministry of Land and Resettlement 1998/1999 Annual report revealing that the paradigm shift for an integrated and sustainable resettlement programme was away from beneficiaries with few assets and little experience in agriculture but favouring those who brought sufficient assets and experience into the process to farm productively. In this case and context, land reform would not bring any positive improvements on the poor people`s livelihoods but rather increase poverty. A close look at this minimalist perspective shows that a key assumption made is that the land redistributed is used for 'market production' as opposed to non-market production. But in most low income countries, this assumption is unrealistic; the poor often use land as an asset that provides a base for multiple livelihoods which do not necessarily include 'for market production' (Ravallion and Sen, 1994; Cox et al., 2003; Finan et al., 2005; Yaro, 2006; van den Brink, 2006). However, it is important as highlighted by Ntsebeza (2009) to note that the minimalist perspective on land reform and poverty reduction has its limitations. It assumes that access to land should result in improvement of the poor's livelihood, disregarding or underplaying the importance of support services which make land productive (Stigliz, 1998; DFID, 2002; Lopez and Valdes, 2000, FAO, 2002).

The second and important perspective that has been used by a number of scholars in interrogating the land reform and poverty reduction nexus is the distributive perspective (Ntsebeza, 2009). The central thesis of the distributive perspective is that the land reform plays a cardinal role in reducing rural poverty in low income countries where the majority of the people have land-based livelihoods. This perspective alludes that access to land provides the answer to the problem of rural poverty by unlocking the potential of the poor (Lipton, 2003; Griffin et al., 2001; Kinsely, 1998; FAO, 2010). The core strategy of this approach is the creation of small-scale farmers as opposed to large scale commercial farming. This is supported by the argument that the small-scale farms are more efficient than commercial farmers, and therefore are more productive, supporting the famous inverse farm size productivity argument (Deininger, 2003; van den Brink et al., 2006). On the basis of this, it is further argued that the creation of small-scale farms achieves the dual objective of equity and efficiency, thereby reducing rural poverty and promoting economic growth (Griffin et al., 2001; de Janvry and Sadoulet, 2002). This is also supported by Hall (2007) who argues that giving the poor adequate land for grazing and maize production is really a good step towards their emancipation and thus a plus to the benefits of land reform to the rural poor.

Although this distributive view does acknowledge that the state should play an important role in the process of redistribution, the emphasis is on a market-driven process which can create

efficient allocation and use of land (de janvry and Sadoulet, 2002; Griffin et al., 2001). Factors that are considered crucial for the success of land reform as a poverty intervention in this approach include secure tenure rights, and a functional land market (i.e., removing all market distortions such as high transaction costs, unequal access to credit, and agricultural subsidies). A strong case for this approach is made in de Soto (2000) and more directly by Deininger, who argues that "secure property rights will increase the incentives of households and individuals to invest, and often will also provide them with better credit access, something that will not only help them make such investments, but will also provide an insurance substitute in the event of shocks" (2003;29). Although government has a critical role to play in this approach, its role is confined to creating an atmosphere that promotes efficient functioning of markets.

For Ntsebeza (2009) there are two major weaknesses with this position. Firstly, mere access to land is seen as the key to ending poverty among the poor rural dwellers. Yet, as has been shown, for land reform to have a noticeable impact on poverty, a piece of land should be accompanied with enabling or complementary services, which help the poor to convert land into a sustainable livelihood source. The second weakness is that reducing the role of government to creating a market friendly environment overlooks the complexity of rural poverty and therefore is unlikely to be an effective land reform approach in developing countries where market failures are rampant. For countries such as South Africa, where ownership of land has been a result of a calculated policy which resulted in a systematic exclusion of majority of the population for a long time, government needs to play a more proactive role beyond the consolidation of land markets and securing of tenure rights. In fact, it is unlikely that a 'market-driven or –assisted' approach would result in significant reduction of poverty (van den Brink, 2006).

The last perspective is the instrumentalist view. This perspective sees access to land as a first step towards improving the livelihoods of the poor. The success of a land reform programme as a poverty alleviating tool is conditioned upon the provision of accompanying enablers such as on-and off-farm support services: infrastructure, input support, access to credit, human and skills development, access to water and viable technology (Stiglitz, 1998; DFID, 2002 Cox et al., 2003). In the case of South Africa, Zimmerman (2000) makes a convincing case pointing out that the success of land reform as a poverty reducing tool does not only depend on access to a piece of land, but also to what he calls 'ancillary support' that can be provided. Evidence from successful land reforms, since the early 1950s, suggest that positive outcomes were recorded in cases where the reforms were accompanied with post reform support mechanisms

such as creation of roads, irrigations schemes, schools, primary health care and skills development that created sufficient conditions for reducing poverty. For land reform to play an important role in reducing poverty, access to land should be complemented by other services which enable the poor to convert land into viable livelihoods through farm or non-farm activities. For this reason, land reform is not seen as a once-off intervention, whereby, once a piece of land is provided to an individual, the process ends there. Instead, land reform is conceptualized as "a long-term process that requires sustained support" (DfID, 2002).

Land reform has been noted, though debatable and contextual, to positively contribute to improving the livelihoods of the rural poor especially if accompanied by other rural development programs. May and Roberts (2000), as cited in Hall (2007) report that in South Africa, the most common land uses by the beneficiaries of land reform were the extension of existing livestock herds and maize production for household consumption; two important inputs into the livelihoods of poor and vulnerable households. According to Musahara (2003), there is a close link between land scarcity and poverty; the landless especially in India are disproportionately represented amongst the poor.

Werner and Kruger (2007) give a case of Namibia where the National Resettlement Policy, complementing the National Land Policy, directs considerable attention to assisting the poor to rise out of poverty by improving their productive capacity through the acquisition and allocation of land to enable them to make a living. For the Namibian case, surveys have established that livestock farming is the main agricultural activity practiced by land reform beneficiaries. A survey carried out in 2004 found that only 27 per cent of households produced crops, 'mostly in little garden patches for their own consumption' and according to one survey, the 87 per cent of resettlement beneficiaries were predominantly livestock farmers (Kruger et al., 2005). Livestock keeping is a traditional livelihood of most African communities and that can be one of the major reasons why most resettled farmers opt for livestock keeping (Kingsely et al., 1998).

Greenberg (2006) posit that a study of the Maluti-a-Phofung Local Municipality found that redistribution of land had allowed the growth of herds of cattle amongst the beneficiaries in the area, a development that supported accumulation by some black households (cited in Hall, 2007).The significance of livestock amongst the land reform beneficiaries was also noted by Scoones et al. (2011) in their study in Masvingo, Zimbabwe. In the case of Msvingo province in Zimbabwe, Scoones et al. (2011) argue that "the Fast track Land Reform has led to an increase in

the number of livestock, outputs in terms of agricultural crops, incomes and food security. In-terms of edible dry bean production has expanded even more, up 282%, cotton production has increased slightly, up 13% on average" (Scoones et al., 2011).

In addition, household land can be used as collateral, thereby enabling the poor to have access to credits particularly if the land is registered and verifiable through responsible authorities. In Malawi`s 2004 land reform pilot project which yielded sound results, over 90 percent of the beneficiary groups also received title deeds for the land they acquired; hence their land tenure security was enhanced (Simtowe et al., 2011). This shows the potential for land reform as a poverty reduction strategy. Byamugisha (2014) observes that with availability of credit facilities, landownership can enable poor people's access to collateral-based credit, which they can use as a substitute for insurance to sustain consumption across seasons and longer business cycles; the credit enabled by landownership can also be used by the poor to finance indivisible, lumpy, and longer gestation investments such as schooling, farm equipment and planting of perennial crops.

Deep rural poverty and extremely unequal distribution of agricultural resources also make a compelling case for agrarian reform in modern times. The redistribution of assets (particularly land) opens possibilities for human capital accumulation. This is considered to be helpful in breaking the intergenerational transmission of poverty, as farm-based households are able to invest in the education of their children but this is conditioned on how well other rural asset markets are developed and their efficient functioning (Deininger and Squire, 1998; Deininger and Olinto 2001; Akram-Lohdi, 2007).

Other studies produced similar positive results. Weiner, et al. (1985), for example discovered that the peasant farmers responded to resettlement by increasing production and, under similar conditions, were capable of producing yields comparable to large scale commercial farmers using significantly less inputs. Also, in an assessment done by the Overseas Development Agency (ODA), the predecessor to DFID, Cusworth and Walker (1988) described the outcomes of the resettlement programme as "impressive", and calculated a 21 percent internal rate of return.

Kinsely (1999) in a study in Zimbabwe found that household income increased between 1983 and 1995, and income was both higher and more equitably distributed in resettlement areas than in communal areas. He further argued that resettled households cultivated twice as much land and three times the unit revenues of communal household. However this "success" was not

carried forward into 2000s, in large part due to macro-economic conditions in Zimbabwe (Moyo, 2009).Dekker and Kinsely (2011) assert that severe shortages of agricultural inputs resulted in a reduction in the area cultivated, especially cash crops, and an increase in food crop diversity to enhance food security. Sam Moyo alludes that there was also an increase in migration and non-farm income-earning activities during this time, to supplement income from farming, but these strategies were not as rewarding as before (because of high inflation and increased cost of living).

The popular perception full of "myths" (Scoones et al., 2011) about Zimbabwe's Land reform of 2000 has taken hold for nearly 15 years, is one of abject failure. In academic circles, critics have focused on "Jambanja" land occupations, looting and state orchestrated violence – and the distortion of the state. Others have argued that the Fast Track Land Reform undermined the rule of law and private property rights leading to the collapse of the once robust agricultural economy, industrial decline and widespread food insecurity (Richarson, 2004; 2007). These scholars cannot be completely dismissed, but they tend to be exaggerated, lack empirical evidence and are typically underpinned by preconceived ideological positions. Interestingly is that there is a growing body of empirically based literature which challenges widespread misperceptions about the Fast Track Land Programme (Moyo et al., 2009, Scoones et al. 2011; Mutopo, 2011; Chambati, 2011; Mkodzongi, 2013). The studies of these scholars in varying degrees, indicate the successes as well as the failures of the programme, often presenting an objective appraisal of the situation on the ground.

2.7 Land reform, gender and poverty

Gender issues have taken centre stage in development planning and programme development (FAO, 2009; Hargreaves, 1999). The developing world has embraced the ideas and calls of mainstreaming gender in development programs or projects to ensure that the initiatives benefit both males and females. Women's access to and control over land and the benefits derived therein is a determining factor in their overall living conditions, particularly in the rural areas (Guijt, 1992; Ajala, 2017). Odeny (2013) argues that there is an increasing body of literature which has produced tangible evidence highlighting the insecure position of women's land rights. The scholar further argues that the existing gender inequalities in access to and control over land and natural resources is an obstacle to sustainable management of natural resources.

Gender has become a critical issue in women's land rights due to the fact that there is a direct relationship between accessing land resources, having secure land rights, achieving food

security and overcoming poverty. (SOFA, 2011, Hargreaves, 1999; Ajala, 2017; Agarwal, 1995; FAO, 1999). For Ajala (2017) equitable ownership of land will ensure women's economic empowerment and ultimately women's capacity to overcome poverty. According to World Bank (2015) "some 70 % of the rural poor, 80% of whom are women, rely on agriculture for survival". Agarwal (1994) argues that the risk of poverty and the physical well-being of a woman and her children depends significantly on whether or not she has direct access to income and productive assets, such as land.

Mushunje (2001) notes that land is essential to women's everyday survival, economic security, and physical safety; some would even argue that it is the most critical factor in women's struggle for equality in gender relations and empowerment. Women's reliance on land for economic security and survival in Zimbabwe and other Third World countries is only deepening as the number of de facto and de jure women headed households expands. Despite the importance of land to women, the overriding feature in women's relationship to land is their lack of security of tenure (FAO, 2002; Agarwal, 1995; 2009). This is largely as a result of economic and social discrimination against women, more particularly gender biased laws, policies and traditions that prevent women from owning and inheriting land in their own right (Hargreaves, 1999; FAO, 2008; Davison, 1998). This is especially the case in the communal areas where incidentally a large proportion of the population of women is to be found. This skewed access to land has meant that women are dependent on a male link in order to benefit from land. Moyo (2003) asserts that women were marginalised during the Fast track land reform program, as individuals, in land allocations because of the predominant criteria that assumed households centred on a married couple or that women would seek land within the family context. He postulates that 10 to 16 percent of beneficiaries of the land reform programme were women. What emerges from this 'gender blindness' in land policy is the perpetuation of the marginal rights of women in land allocation and their insecurity of tenure.

The socioeconomic pattern of land allocation in post-2000 Zimbabwe is embedded within wider sociocultural relationships, and the succession and inheritance laws of Zimbabwe. Women's lack of access to and control over productive resources such as land is directly related to their poverty in both the rural and urban areas. Women's access to and control of land needs to be defined in such a way that women's rights are guaranteed with or without the assistance of the patriarchal lineage. Cross (1999) argues that women's insecure status in land transactions leads to exploitation by men and affects all kinds of land related activity.

For women, land serves as security against poverty – a means to basic needs (Ngubane 1999). Rights in, access to, and control over land and property have direct and indirect bearings on poverty. The direct advantages stem from production possibilities and the indirect advantages include the possibility of facilitating access to credit from institutional and private sources. For women, ownership of land and property can increase women's status within their communities and increase their bargaining power within their households. Hayson (1999) contends that social relationships and women's status within the household emerge as determining factors of women's ability to command resources, especially land and shelter. Without guaranteed rights to land, women's economic status is left at the mercy of the patriarchal system, which usually dictates that women have no rights to land. With the current situation where the Zimbabwean economy is shrinking, the prospects of wage employment are almost naught, especially for women (many of whom have little training and/or education).

Land reform programmes in most parts of the world (especially Sub-Saharan Africa) have been implemented in a manner that is not gender sensitive. It can also be noted that even in those countries with gender equity policies (Namibia, Kenya and Uganda), gender inequalities in land distribution have manifested themselves (Jacobs, 2002, Ahikire, 2011). Walker (2011) claims that with regard to women's rights, it is hardly surprising that South Africa's post-apartheid land reform programme has not been an effective instrument for the delivery, at scale, of either secure land rights or improved livelihoods to the women who need it most. Jacobs (2002) argues that even though there might be few cases where certain adjustments have been made in a form of gender equity policies to empower women, gender disparities seem to have followed common trends in many parts of the world where gender imbalances in land ownership have persisted under the land reform process despite policy arrangements.

There is a need for land tenure policy frameworks that explicitly address gender inclusive access to land. Without specific attention to gender inclusiveness, important segments of society may be excluded from the benefits of land administration, management, and development schemes (FAO, 2002). Women, the elderly, minorities and other sometimes marginalized groups can be at risk in land reform and land administration projects. Very often, when land values increase as a result of external investments, women get marginalized in the process, and risk losing former benefits and accommodating situations (FAO, 2002). Land rights are governed by different nested, and often contradictory or ambiguous laws and legal provisions. Policy makers need to recognize that legal pluralism creates complexities in land

reforms and administrations as well as discrepancies between constitutional, statutory and customary law. These need to be addressed if women's rights to land are to be protected and access improved (FAO, 2010).

While in some African countries women's land rights are enshrined in the constitution or land law, in reality this does not bring feasible outcomes with respect to equitable access and control over land due to poor implementation and enforcement of the laws (Ahikire, 2011). Women still lack decision-making power. Effective land administration requires women's participation at policy formulation and at level of implementation on an equal footing with men in order to ensure gender-equitable land tenure system. Participation of women in local land management and administration committees including in land dispute resolution/management committees is basic for women's empowerment as it enables them to take part in community level decision making processes (Davison, 1988; Agarwal, 1985). Meaningful representation is an important step towards helping women gain access to established rights. It is not just a matter of placing women in positions to add to numbers, but to ensure that their voices are heard (Agarwal, 1999). Women must be an integral part of the implementation of land reform programmes. Women's organizations can be effective tools in promoting local participation, building consensus and raising consciousness at all levels, especially as women are generally not well represented in decision-making bodies, and they are often instrumental in pressuring for government programmes to include women as equal participants (FOA, 1999).

2.8 Post land reform support mechanisms: Do they matter?

Secure access to land and its productive resources is widely seen as one of the ways in which the rural poor can improve their livelihoods and alleviate poverty (Lipton, 2009; FAO, 2010; Moyo, 2009; Ntsebeza, 2009). The success of land reform in impacting positively on the livelihoods of the poor is dependent on effective and productive use of the land concerned (Manezhe, 2007). There is a greater need for support from different development actors after land distribution activities. Challenges faced by land reform beneficiaries in Third World countries include drops in production (Moyo, 2004), lack of skills, constrained rural financial markets (Llanto and Ballestreros, undated), conflicts within the beneficiary institutions (Manezhe, 2007) and an absence of complimentary services. In order to realise the benefits of land reform, it is important for the state and other development agencies to support new land owners who were previously disposed of their land (Lipton, 2009; Chitonge, 2013; Llanto and Ballestreros, undated; Deininger, 2003; Lopez and Valdes, 2000; Aliber, 2003; Hall, 2009;

Lahiff, 2001). Zimmerman (2000) and Stiglitz (1998) do concur to that as they argue that successful land reforms around the world suggests that positive results in terms of socio-economic development of beneficiaries will be realised if the reforms were to be complimented with pre- and post-settlement support, such as infrastructure development (roads, irrigation scheme), financial support, skills development and extension services.

Werner and Kruger (2007) posit that in Namibia government has played a central role in assisting the resettled households. The scholars argue that some were assisted with the procurement of farm implements, provision of drinking water, irrigation equipment, materials and supplies, seeds, fertiliser and pesticides. The policy was for government to support 'the poorest section of beneficiaries for the first five-year period, thereafter they are expected to be trained and properly equipped to become self-reliant'. In Zimbabwe, the land reform beneficiaries have also received support in terms of inputs like seeds, though this has not been the same across all the beneficiaries in the country. Mujeyi (2010) reveals that a limited number of households sourced their inputs through support schemes run by the government, private sector and donor/NGOs. In addition, for some inputs in Zimbabwe, the beneficiaries accessed them through own purchase. Mujeyi (2010) further uncovers that a larger proportion of households accessed fertilizers from the open market through private purchase. This is because subsidised fertilizer inputs from the government schemes were in short supply and rampant corruption in their distribution rendered distribution very uneven (Moyo, 2009).

Lipton (2003) has observed that only four per cent of arable land in Sub-Saharan Africa is under irrigation (compared to 44 per cent in Asia). He therefore argues that land alone without water rights may not assist households who largely depend on rain-fed agricultural activities in making a sustainable living. This has led some to argue that reforming land ownership without looking at the distribution of water rights, or developing new water infrastructure, is but a barren ritual unlikely to lead to significant poverty reduction (Lipton, 2003; Woodhouse, 2002; IFAD, 2001; Hall, 2009). Further, the extent to which households can make use of land depends to a very large extent on the interplay of this resource with social, human, physical and financial capital (Zimmerman, 2001; DfID, 2001).

Moene (1992) observes that growth induced by land reform is only possible if it is followed by improved efficiency under conditions of capital scarcity and labour surplus. In combination with complementary assets, land reforms can improve general household welfare. This is in addition to the welfare gains that emerge from poor households being able to produce their own food. It also has been shown that targeted reforms that empower women usually result in better household nutrition, education and health (Jacobs, 1987; Quisumbing and Maluccio, 2000). In this way, land reforms can help transform household vulnerability scenarios through insurance against food and labour market shocks. However, some evidence suggests that for households that are deficient in other complementary assets, land may not be the best pathway out of poverty, as they are unable to produce food or utilise any available family labour (McMillan, 1994; Chimhowu, 2003). In Colombia, beneficiaries of land reform were given technical skills trainings to enhance their productivity capacity and thereby making land reform as beneficiary as possible to the nation. Deininger (1999) notes that to increase the scope for land reform to lead to productivity-enhancing outcomes, an in-depth training program for pre-selected aspirants was developed. This program, which is financed from INCORA's administrative budget, aims to cover not only abstract principles but to enable beneficiaries to formulate a viable farm plan but also issues to do with group dynamics, negotiation, economic analysis, farm management, and budgeting.

2.9 Chapter summary

This chapter has explored the land reform and poverty reduction nexus; a relationship that cannot be seen in isolation from broader agricultural and economic policy. It started by operationalising poverty as well as the land reform. It surfaces from the discussion that various scholars define poverty and land reform from various perspectives that are influenced by a number of philosophical fundamentals. The chapter also looked at the debate on whether land reforms have lived to their expectations. It emanates from the literature engagement that land reforms have the capacity to reduce poverty, improve livelihoods, incomes as well as food security of beneficiaries. However, scholars do agree that access to land is not enough to improve the well-being of households without post settlement schemes. These post settlement schemes should aim at capacitating the beneficiaries in-terms of agro-inputs, skills, markets and product value addition. Post land reform support schemes also enhances the capacity of households to diversify their livelihood portfolios. The chapter also looked at the land question from a gender lens. A significant number of scholars allude that gender roles are manifested in social rights and entitlements in a form which denies women equal economic and political empowerment and, in particular, women's right to land (Ajaya, 2017, Agarwal, 2009). Specifically, the

discussion reveals that there is an intricate link between women's right to land, economic empowerment, food security and poverty reduction. The chapter uncovers that equitable ownership of land will ensure women's economic empowerment and ultimately women's capacity to migrate out of poverty.

Chapter three: Rural livelihoods diversification in developing countries: Survival or accumulation?

3.1 Introduction

Rural livelihoods in developing countries are becoming divorced from agriculture and, therefore, from the land (Riggs, 2006). Vulnerability to poverty and wealth accumulation have become more diffused and diverse as households respond to shocks by broadening their livelihood portfolios as a way of protecting themselves from poverty and its impacts. The purpose of this chapter is to interrogate rural livelihoods diversification in developing countries. Specifically, the chapter starts by operationalisation of the concept of 'livelihoods diversification'. This is followed by a discussion that dwells on the impoverishment of livelihoods in developing countries. Key factors responsible for the impoverishment of livelihoods including climate change variability and neoliberal policies are discussed. Determinants and constraints to livelihoods diversification are interrogated as well. The last part of the chapter looks at the implications of diversification on household well-being, the gender question as well as the rural development policy challenges emanating from livelihoods diversification.

"Diversification is the norm", (Barrett et al., 2001;315). This assertion is less disputable in assessing rural livelihoods in the developing world as very few rural people are restricting their income generation to one source, (Barret and Reardon, 2000; Ellis, 2000). As rural incomes have become under pressure due to population increases, climate change variability and market volatility (Perret and Mathebula, 2005, Barret et al., 2001), livelihood diversification has become an alternative to overcome poor living conditions in rural areas, (Ellis, 2000). In light of the notion that resources available in rural areas are aligned to issues of geographical positioning and climatic conditions, (Padilha and Hoff, 2011), it is plausible to engage the perception that rural livelihoods have stretched beyond farming due to varying resource endowments and/ or constraints. For Fabusoro et al., (2010), farmers have since diversified their productive activities and embraced a range of other productive livelihood activities. His assertion is concurred by Reardon in Ellis (2000), who alludes that between 30 and 50 percent of household income in sub-Saharan Africa is earned from non-farm sources while in some countries in southern Africa the non-farm sector can reach 80-90 per cent, (Bay, 1996; Baber, 1996, cited in Ellis, 2000). Livelihood diversification is not only restricted to various activities engaged on the farm or off-farm; it also encompasses the sociological dimension of gaining a living.

The extended kinship networks are part of livelihood strategies employed by rural households (Berry in Ellis, 2000) and in countries such as Pakistan, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka, remittances from family members working in the Persian Gulf accounts for 15 percent of household income.

Taking advantage of the readily available capitals in most rural communities, that is, land and labour, farmers have not remained confined to crop production, livestock rearing, fishing and forest management, (Khatun and Roy, 2012; Ellis, 1998; Barrett and Reardon, 2000). Rather, a combination of various livelihood strategies in the quest to generate income and sustain lives has become an easy pathway out of poverty for most rural dwellers. In Africa, non-farm income contributes about 42 percent of total income, 40 percent in Latin America and 32 percent in Asia (Reardon et al., 1998). About 34.4 percent of rural households in India are employed in the non-farm sector, (Lajouw and Shariff, 2004).

In the Eastern Himalayan region of India as Micevska and Rahut in Rahut et al. (undated) point out, 60 percent of rural household income is derived from the non-farm sector. In the Mexican Tejido sector, more than half of a farm household's income come from the non-farm sector, (Janvry and Sadoulet, 2001). All these empirical findings across the developing world indicate the reliance of rural people on non-farm livelihood strategies and the extent to which such strategies are salient in reducing poverty and sustaining rural lives. Prompting the rural populace to diversify are multifarious factors which are aggregated by Barrett et al., (2001) within the 'push and pull factor perspectives. As Ellis (1998) elucidates, motivational factors to livelihood diversification follows a sequence of causes and motivations that vary across households at a specified point in time and for similar families at different points in time.

3.2 Conceptualisation of Livelihood diversification: Contexts and debates

Ellis (1998;41) sees "livelihood diversification as a process by which households construct a diverse portfolio of activities and social support capabilities in their struggle for survival and as a way of improving standards of living". For Start (2001), livelihood diversification refers to a key strategy taking place at different levels of the economy, which are usually, but not always directly linked (Start, 2001). It may be considered as a strategy for coping or risk management for farm households (Dercon, 2002; Ellis, 1998; Reardon, Delgado and Matlon, 1992; Start and Johnson, 2004). Some also define farm household diversification as income strategies of rural individuals or households in which they expand their number of activities, regardless of the location or sector (Loison and Loison, 2016; Saha and Bahal, 2012). It is mentioned that rural people

construct their livelihoods via three main strategies: agricultural intensification, livelihood diversification, and migration (Barrett, Reardon and Webb, 2001). Barrett et al., (2001) posit that livelihood diversification requires diversifying the assets and activities to which those assets are allocated.

Accordingly, livelihood diversification implies to the strategies employed by a household as measures to cope with life trends, reduce their vulnerability and respond to shocks and seasonal changes (Perret and Mathebula, 2005; Brysecon, 2000; Chambers and Conway, 1992). The diversification process comprises of a wide array of activities ranging from on farm (agricultural) to off-farm (non-agricultural) activities (Stack and Sukume in Rukuni et al., 2006). As espoused by Ellis (1998), livelihood diversification is neither a rural nor a developing countries phenomenon, it is also a strategy employed urban households and rural people in developed countries.

Livelihood diversification is classified in various ways by several scholars. Barrett, Bezuneh and Aboud (2001) identified four distinct rural livelihood strategies contributing noticeably different returns and distributions. Some rural households depend exclusively on their own agricultural production for income, what they define the "full-time farmer" strategy. Others combine own production on-farm with wage labour on others' farm, which they refer to as the "farmer and farm worker" strategy. The third strategy combine farm and non-farm returns. The fourth "mixed" strategy combines all three basic elements discussed so far: on farm agricultural production, unskilled on-farm or off-farm wage employment, and non-farm returns from trades, commerce and skilled (often salaried) employment (Barrett, Bezuneh et al., 2001). Some scholars also group the components of rural livelihood diversification by sector (farm or non-farm), by function (wage employment or self-employment) or by location (on-farm or off-farm) (Loison and Loison, 2016; Saha and Bahal, 2012).

In situations of high-risk agriculture and poverty, poorer small-holders without the necessary assets may be pushed to seek alternative incomes by engaging in low-return and sometimes risky nonfarm activities (Barrett et al., 2001). On the other hand, it is mainly among richer households or in regions with favourable agricultural conditions that livelihood diversification driven by motives to raise incomes or accumulate wealth prevails (Haggblade, Hazell and Reardon, 2007; Loison and Loison, 2016; Makita, 2016). Diversification is therefore associated with both livelihood survival and distress under deteriorating conditions, as well as with livelihood enhancement under improving economic conditions (Niehof, 2004). Farm

households can diversify their return into on-farm, off-farm, and non-farm income components (Ellis, 1998).

On-farm income is income gained from either through farming own-land or land acquired or accessed by cash or share tenancy, and income from livestock production. Off-farm income is income gained from labour wage working from other farms with-in agriculture sector. Nonfarm income refers to income from non-agricultural sources like non-farm employment, urban-to-rural remittances, rental income, non-farm rural-wage, and international remittances to a farm household (Ellis, 2000). For the purposes of this study, the concept of livelihood diversification takes a bias towards rural communities in developing countries of which Zimbabwe is part of.

3.3 Impoverished rural livelihoods in developing countries

The developing world particularly the African continent is seriously plagued with development challenges ranging from poor economic performances, food insecurity, HIV/AIDS pandemic, climate change, environmental degradation, population explosions, massive unemployment and political instability (Clover, 2003; Ringler et al., 2010; Handley et al., 2009). These pervasive factors have resulted in extreme levels of poverty and the hardest hit being the rural populace (Dercon, 2009). This has not spared the efforts of rural agrodefined livelihoods which have so far deteriorated in terms of income earning and rural lives sustenance (Sinha and Lipton, 1999). This part of the chapter unravels the main factors inducing poverty and the collapsing rural livelihoods in developing countries. Though the causes of poverty are diverse, this discussion will focus on a selected few. Central to the poverty-livelihood argument are the findings by the World Bank (2007) that 70% of the poor live in rural areas and approximately 86% of rural people are dependent on agriculture as a major livelihood and source of revenue. This, however, implies that any tempering with agricultural operations cripple diverse activities aligned to agriculture resulting in livelihoods failure.

HIV/AIDS pandemic has a highly pervasive impact on household structures particularly in sub-Saharan countries (Van de Waal and Whiteside, 2003). The pandemic wipes off the productive age group, i.e., 15-49 years and household structures are defragmented as parents and elder members succumb to death, (Clover, 2003; Ladzani, 2009). This destruction of a household morphology negatively affects livelihoods pursued by remaining household members as income, skills and labour vanishes with the death of otherwise a breadwinner (Clover, 2003). Not only death becomes an issue, but as disease matures and intensifies, so does the demand for care, (Ashfold, 2006) and this is usually accompanied by diversion of

productive assets towards the care economy. In rural economies, ready assets for disposal are mainly livestock and farm produce. As aforementioned that 86% of the rural populace depend on agriculture (World Bank, 2007), disposal of livestock and other productive farm assets reduces farm-based production, a situation that has plunged rural people into a vicious cycle of poverty (Sakuhuni et al., 2011). Subsequently, major on-farm and non-farm livelihoods have been compromised which in turn exacerbates households' income and food deficits and exposure to poverty.

Policy reforms have not benefited the majority rural populations of the developing world and policy uncertainties further worsened their predicament (Handley, 2009). To begin with are the 1980s and 1990s economic structural reform measures prescribed by macro-financial lending institutions such as the International Monetary Fund and World Bank to developing countries. As outlined by Stott (1994), these policy measures entail cutbacks in government expenditure, trade liberalisation, privatisation and financial liberalisation among others. The net effect of these policies was heavily felt by the poor. As Jones (2011;67) contextualise,

> *"Structural Adjustment Programmes are usually accompanied by social problems, especially to the vulnerable segments of society such as the poor and unemployed. With market forces determining price levels, in the short-term prices are bound to increase beyond the reach of the poor..."*

The social challenges imposed by these policies range from poor health and education services provision, massive unemployment to declines in food production as a result of removal of agriculture subsidies (Cavanagh et al., 2001). The aftermaths of such social constrains are food crises, outbreaks of preventable diseases and overexploitation of the natural resource base. These and other factors marked a collapse in rural livelihoods such as farming and barter exchange (Kinsey, 2010). Population explosions have been attributable to contributing to rising poverty in developing countries (McNicoll, 2003). Burgeoning populations exert pressure on limited resources leading to depletion of the resource base and environmental degradation, (Knudsen, 2006).

The famous writings of Garrett Hardin of 1968 (in Bajpai et al., 2012), gives a stylised picture of population induced impoverishment through overexploitation of common-property resources and this, Hardin termed 'The Tragedy of the Commons'. The scholar hypothesised

that overuse of common-property resources results in decline of their productivity posing immediate and disproportionate impacts on the poor. Environmental degradation as noted by Knudsen will be the end result of overuse of natural resource. In the UNESCO Courier of November 1991, Jacques Cousiteau writes, "The damage people cause on the planet is a function of demographics- it is equal to the degree of development." Such an assertion authenticates the notion that unprecedented population growth has far reaching detrimental effects on common resources. Livelihoods based on natural resources, i.e land, water and forests, are the hardest hit by such environmental aftermaths emanating from population increases (Couiteau, 1991; 45).

3.4 Climate Change, household agriculture and livelihoods

FAO report that over 214 million people in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) suffer from chronic hunger (FAO, IFAD and WFP, 2014). The share of people living on less than $1.25 a day in this region started to decrease only from 2008, though it still remains the highest in the world (48.2% in 2010) (World Bank, 2010). In the last four decades the goal of poverty reduction and of attaining food security in most developing countries has been on top of the development policy agenda. The pathway to food security in many of these countries depends heavily on the expansion and sustainability of the agricultural sector, which is the dominant sector in their economies (World Bank, 2008). Agriculture, in these third world countries is very much dependent on weather patterns and given the very high number of people dependent on rain-fed agriculture in Sub Saharan Africa, the implications of climate change variability for poverty and vulnerability are easy to imagine. For FAO (2012) and Shikuku et al. (2017), climate change is challenging and threatening the future of humanity. The agricultural sector is most sensitive to changing climatic conditions (Menike and Arachchi, 2016) which affect agricultural production and farming communities. Smallholder farmers are one of the most vulnerable social groups to climate change (Lindoso et al., 2012) Climate change is expected to alter pest and disease outbreaks, increase the frequency and severity of droughts and floods, and increase the likelihood of poor yields, crop failure and livestock mortality (Harvey et al., 2014; Morton, 2007). Considering the close relationship between agricultural production and household income of smallholder farmers, the negative impact of climate change on crop yield increases the vulnerability of farmers. Therefore, climate change not only has an impact on agriculture production of farmers but it also puts their household well-being and food security at risk (Alam et al., 2017). As a result, it is expected that all aspects of food security may be potentially

affected by climate change, including food availability, access, utilization, and stability (e.g., Challinor et al., 2010; IPCC, 2014).

Households exposed to the risks of weather and other shocks thus have significant incentives to devise strategies to adapt or cope with the effects of climate variability (e.g., Morton, 2007; Howden et al., 2007). Sinha and Lipton (1999) assert that harvest failure that emanates from climate change is a key risk for rural households in SSA (Sinha and Lipton, 1999). Harvest failure not only affects crop dependent households, but the wider rural economy (including households dependent on non-farm income sources) as well as national well-being and stability. It also can have long-term effects as people sell assets as a coping strategy (Handley et al., 2009). Livelihood diversification strategies, including crop, labour and income diversification, are important in these contexts, although the motivations and outcomes may vary significant.

For the poorest, who have the least capacity to effectively manage risk, diversification may be a response to constraints imposed upon them by increasing climate risk. In this sense they are pushed into diversification by lack of alternatives for risk coping (Ellis, 1998). In contrast, wealthier households may be pulled into diversification by the existence of welfare increasing diversification options, as well as their own capacity to access them. Rising temperature, prolonged period of droughts, flood and shifting climatic zones are endangering the cropping system. Declining production and diminishing resources also impact marketable surplus and access to market. Extreme weather events have caught attention of agrarian experts and scientists and practitioners alike and they are intensively focusing on natural farming, effective adaptation and coping strategies to arrest the impacts of climate change (FAO, 2010; Riggs, 2006; Nyathi et al., 2018).

3.5 Determinants of rural livelihoods diversification

As noted, prior to that livelihood diversification has become an alternative for rural people, (Ellis, 2000) and rural incomes have become under pressure due to exploding populations, (Barrett et al., 2001), it is highly essential to examine the multifarious factors inspiring farmers to diversify. Of importance is to note that diversification is not only driven by constraints or unfavourable conditions for survival encountered by the poor, it can be influenced by incentives offered by other on-farm and non-farm activities, (Barret et al., 2005; Adi, 2007). As Ellis (1998) postulates, livelihood diversification can be a deliberate move by a household (diversification as a matter of choice and opportunity) or it can be an involuntary strategy in response to intra-household crises. Causes of diversification can be location-specific, that is, in relation to agro-ecological zones or disaster-specific, that is, exposure of households to natural disasters and risks, (Ellis,1998). This review work does not claim to be exhaustive or conclusive in outlaying the factors inspiring household livelihood diversification. The presumably major determinants shall be explored and these entail household's asset base, market imperfections, seasonality, age, size of household, gender of household head and education.

3.6 Involuntary diversification

Household livelihood diversification can be involuntary in instances where members of the household are forced to engage in alternative livelihood activities other than farming by adverse trends and sudden shocks. Stack and Sukume in Rukuni et al. (2006) argue that in Zimbabwe, rural households pursue a diverse portfolio of farm and non-farm activities and the intensity of involvement in these activities varies in response to push factors such as drought and other economic shocks. The scholars further argue that the tendency of rural households to engage in livelihood diversification is an important feature of rural survival, (Ellis, 1998; Barrett et al., 2001; Ellis, 2000). For Ellis (2000), this form of diversification is meant for survival and generally emanates from desperation which entails poverty, lack of assets, vulnerability and being prone to disasters. Literature engagement concurs that households are forced to diversify their livelihoods by various push factors (Barrett et al., 2001; Ellis; 2001). These studies reveal that livelihood diversification results from diminishing returns to labour or land, market failures, seasonality and adverse impacts of risks and shocks. This section

examines the notion of livelihood diversification as being driven by unrelenting living conditions encountered by rural households.

Household assets are a critical element in determining a livelihood and these ranges from natural, physical, social, financial to human resources of value to the household, (Rahut et al., undated; Asmah, 2011). Lack thereof in the ability to harness these assets to pursue a major livelihood, in this case farming, prompts rural households to alternatively embrace non-farm and on-farm activities to sustain lives. In instances where there are variances in productive assets among household members and among households, livelihood diversification is likely to occur, (Barrett et al., 2001; Barrett and Reardon, 2000; Rahut et al., undated). Of interest are the findings by Scoones et al. (2011) in a study carried out in Masvingo Province in Zimbabwe that farmers without start-up assets fail to accumulate and continue being stuck in poverty. Resultantly, these households step out of farming to respond to unrelenting conditions, but activities they engage in are of little income returns. In a study conducted by Fabusoro et al. (2010) in Nigeria, farmers diversify due to lack of modernised production inputs. This limits farm production and often leads to scarcity in disposable farm output and thus prompt farmers to engage in supplementary livelihood activities.

The level of wealth determines asset endowment and income levels in a household. Barrett and Reardon (2000) posit that the type of assets owned by a household and the amount of income determines which livelihood activities to be pursued and to what extent. In countries such as Kenya and Cote d'Ivoire, a correlation between greater income diversification and higher wealth and income is highly manifest, (Barrett et al., 2000). This substantiates the argument that the wealthy have a greater probability to engage in non-farm livelihood activities that are more lucrative for they have the freedoms to do so. The poor, due to stagnation in an asset poverty trap, (Barrett et al., 2001) remain confined to low on-farm income earning activities and they find it difficult to move out of these low-return activities. A study conducted by Adi (2007) in Eastern Nigeria reveals that cases of involuntary household livelihood diversification are highly concentrated in rural Africa than any other parts of the world due to high levels of poverty. In Asia, actual landlessness is highly manifest to an extent that households rely on off-farm and non-farm activities for survival whereas in Africa, land is basically not a scarce resource, but causes of diversification are location-specific, lack of access to services and opportunities, (Ellis, 1998).

Market imperfections as Ellis (1998) terms it or market failures (Barrett et al., 2001) also drive rural people in developing countries to veer off farming as the major livelihood activity. The most debilitating market imperfection is the credit market failures which entail low credit availability in most rural economies in developing countries particularly in Africa, (Ellis, 1998; Ellis, 2000). Most of the farmers in developing countries lack collateral to present in order to access loans and as Barrett et al. (2001) posit, the readily available asset to present as collateral is land, but in most instances, it is not acceptable.

In rural Africa, low rural credit availability remains a challenge, (Ellis, 2000). Farmers are restricted from presenting land as collateral in accessing lines of credit basically due to land tenure insecurity where these farmers are denied title deeds by their respective governments. A good case are newly resettled farmers in Zimbabwe. Almost two decades after the Fast Track Land Reform, government is still reluctant to give them title deeds (Clover, 2003; Moyo, 2009; Kassie and Zikhali, 2009). Tenure security a basic human right and essential if people are to be able to manage their land resources, invest in the land and sustain their land usage, (Adams, 2001).

Income instability and consumption smoothing resulting from seasonality (Ellis, 1998) often drive farmers to seek alternative livelihood strategies to complement farming. Ellis further gives clarity on the aspect of seasonality noting that if marginal return to labour time in farming for individuals falls below the wage return to self-employment offered off the farm, households consider it necessary to engage off-farm and non-farm activities. In sub-Saharan Africa as Ellis (2000;6) outlines, "...labour markets are poorly developed in rural areas so that migration is a more common response to cyclical changes in farm labour needs than wage work secured locally." Thus, as a result of difficulties in consumption smoothing, households diversify their income sources. A study by Fabusoro et al. (2010) in Ogun State, Nigeria found that households diversify in order to overcome income instabilities caused by seasonality hence concurring with the argument by Ellis (2000). Moreover, in order to minimise risks, income variations and food shocks induced by seasonality, rural households view it a prudent measure to engage a diverse portfolio of income earning activities.

3.7 Voluntary diversification

Ellis (1998) asserts that livelihood diversification is not only a response to household crises and shocks, rather it is also a matter of choice or opportunity resulting from a household's demographic advantages and incentives from non-farm activities. In a study conducted by Khatun and Roy (2012) in West Bengal, a bunch of hypothesized determinants of livelihood diversification are outlined. Among these determinants, the presumably major ones to be deliberated are age, education and household size. Gender of household head as a contributing factor towards livelihood diversification shall also be explored. Having these determinants in mind, it is imperative to note that livelihoods of rural households are derived from diverse sources and are not confined to agriculture as previously assumed (Scoones et al., 2011). The rationale behind livelihood diversification as a matter of choice and opportunity, (Ellis, 1998) is reduced vulnerability, the likelihood of sustainability over time and the ability to cope and adapt with changes compared to an undiversified livelihood, (Adepoju and Obayelu, 2013).

A study conducted by Khatun and Roy (2012) reveals that age of the household head is a demographic feature which influences livelihood diversification. Younger household-heads are more interested and have access to non-farm livelihood activities compared to elderly headed households. Age determines a household's degree of diversification. Gordon and Craig, (2001) argue that age in some instances is a determinant entry criterion for some livelihood activities. Age as a factor can be split into two where the first dimension looks at the age of the household head and the other at age of household members. Households with a head of 49 years or below are presumed to be more likely not to stick to farming alone as a source of livelihood, (Fabusoro et al., 2010).

In China, rural young people aged between 16 and 30 have a greater probability of participating in non-farm activities than the elders, (Rahut et al., *undated*). A study conducted by Akaakohol and Aye (2014) in Makurdi, Benue State, Nigeria also buttress the argument that age is a determinant entry factor into non-farm activities. Literature presented by Ellis (1998) highlights that as the household head advances in age, the range of activities pursued are reduced. Age of household members becomes a demographic issue in that a household with members aged 5 or older have a greater probability to engage in non-farm livelihood activities and enhance household income (Asmah, 2011). However, for gains to be noted from such a household, access to productive assets is a crucial factor to be considered.

The size and structure of a household also plays a critical role in freeing a household to alternative livelihood activities (Reardon, 1997; Micevska and Rahut, 2008). Larger

households with a greater proportion of young male members are more likely to engage in diversified activities and increase household income provided all its members are working and contributing to household welfare, (Reardon cited in Fabusoro et al., 2010; Rahut et al., *undated*).In their research on rural livelihoods diversification in West Bengal, Khatun and Roy (2012) found a positive relationship between household size and livelihood diversification.

From this study, other members of a larger household could remain engaged in traditional farming while others embrace optional non-farm livelihood activities. This is a vindication that larger households have a broad base of labour supply and this increase the potential diversification opportunities with net benefits to improve household economy. The welfare effect of the relationship between a huge household and diversification opportunities is dependent on whether the household is practicing diversification as a risk aversion or asset accumulation strategy and as Ellis (1998) notes, family size determines the degree of engagement in both on-farm and off-farm activities.

The level of education of a household head and of other household members is an influential factor towards household livelihood diversification. Education is a significant factor in the uptake of non-farm livelihoods as it increases skills possessed and trainings which are crucial for creating and strengthening networks in production, (Gordon and Craig, 2001, Janvry and Sadoulet, 2001; Micevska and Rahut, 2008). Households with higher levels of education have the capacity to diversify into lucrative and highly remunerative livelihood activities, whereas households with low levels of education are restricted to low income return livelihood activities, (Rahut et al., undated).A study conducted by Khatun and Roy (2012) in India, West Bengal reveals that education determines a household's level of diversification. In reinforcing this argument, Adi (2007) asserts that educated people have skills relevant for activities outside farming. Studies by Fafchamps and Quisumbing (1999, 2003) reveal that educated males in rural Pakistan earn higher non-farm incomes and shift labour away from farm activities towards non-farm household activities. As a human capital factor, education therefore frees household members to alternative opportunities to supplement agriculture. A combination of skills, trainings and knowledge becomes a leeway for the construction of nonfarm and off-farm livelihood activities.

3.8 Livelihoods diversification strategies

Livelihood strategies comprise of various household activities or behavior patterns undertaken in order to meet the livelihoods objectives (Scoones, 1989; Doss, 2006; Chambers,1995). The livelihoods assets which are owned and available for use by individuals, households or communities represent a foundation upon which livelihoods strategies are anchored. Meikle et al., (2001) concur that livelihood strategies are shaped by a combination of the assets available, the rural contextual factors which determine the availability of these assets, and men's and women's objectives. The scholars further assert that individuals and households build up various patterns of activities which together constitutes their livelihoods strategies (Chambers, 1997). Chambers (1997) stresses the importance of the poor people diversifying their income as a broad survival strategy, distinguishing between full-time employees with one main source of livelihoods, and poor people with a wide portfolio of activities. While the sustainable livelihoods approach emphasizes the need to accentuate positive aspects of livelihoods systems, highlighting the strengths and capabilities of poor men and women, nevertheless it should be noted, however that there is a distinction between short term strategies and long-term strategies (Scooones, 1989).

Literature engagement reveals that there are three different ways which can be pursued by members of the household in order to meet their livelihood goals, which are farming activities, non-farming activities and migration with the given available resources (Heltberg and Tarp, 2002). Scoones (1998) alludes that rural livelihoods can be put into three categories namely agricultural intensification methods and whether temporary or permanent movement to another place. A significant number of households depend on home gardening, hawking, casual labour, selling assets, migration for seasonal work, small scale mining, loans from friends and relatives (Moser, 1998).

3.9 Contributions of livelihoods diversification to household well-being

Literature on livelihood diversification reveals that rural households adopt diversification strategies or engage in a diverse portfolio of activities, in an attempt to create sustainable livelihoods and enterprises (Ellis, 1998). The aim is to constitute livelihoods which can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks as well as maintaining and improving their capabilities and assets base (Barret et al., 2001;322) Ellis et al., 2003). Diversification has been perceived as an engine for quick and equitable growth of rural economies and an effective strategy for the transformation of persistent rural household deprivation. Livelihood diversification influence a household's capacity and ability to secure food and feed its members consistently (Assan, 2014) and it also increase access to and availability of food

products and augment food storage and consumption, (Block and Webb, 2001). A study conducted by Asmah (2011) in Ghana reveals that households that managed to engage in non-farm activities had positive dividends on welfare. On average, 50 percent of total household income in rural Nigeria is generated from farming, and the rest comes from non-farm activities, (Adepoju and Obayelu, 2013).

Ellis et al. (2003) argue that alternative livelihood strategies open avenues for growth through provision of extra incomes and resources that would have become difficult for a rural household to accumulate. Thus, livelihood diversification is an accumulation strategy that leads to improved incomes and assets and provide a pathway out of poverty, (Bryceson, 2000). Such hypothetical view by Bryceson converge with findings from a study by Fabusoro et al. (2010) that non-farm livelihoods activities accounted for about 69% of the total income of Nigeria's rural households. A study carried out by Israr et al. (2014) in Shangla district of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan shows that household assets accumulation increases as households diversify from crop farming to non-farm and on-farm activities due to improved incomes. On average, the total income contribution from non-farm sources in Shangla district was 69.4% and the average income was Rs 300,811 per household per annum after diversification, (Israh et al., 2014).

Ellis (1999) posit that diversification has both positive and negative impacts on household's way of life. Diversification contributes to the reduction of adverse impacts of seasonality through the utilisation of labour and creating alternative sources of income in off-peak periods. An analysis carried out by Ellis (1998) reveals that seasonality leads to household income instability and consumption smoothing due to a mismatch between household consumption and uneven income flows. Livelihood diversification therefore ensures that households cope with seasonal variations in income and food supply through overcoming consumption smoothing problems.

For households with a mismatch in land and household size where endowed land is small especially for Zimbabwe's A1 farmers (Moyo, 2004) and in the absence of well-functioning land markets (Barrett et al., 2001), utilisation of the much-endowed labour through waged labour becomes an alternative. This improves the household's well-being through increased returns from waged labour as a form of diversification. In instances where credit markets are thin or missing, returns accrued from non-farm activities become an essential means to overcoming working capital constraints to procure necessary farming inputs and other household assets (Barret et al., 2001; Nyathi et al., 2018) and this improves a household's property endowment. Household's accessibility to farm inputs will also improve on-farm investment which will improve household's food stores. Diversification in view of working capital constraints also improves off-farm earnings crucial for raising household income to meet cash requirements for taxes, consumption goods purchases, school fees and other necessities, (Barrett et al., 2001).

Diversification also enables households to spread risks across different activities thus becoming crucial for risk reduction. As a household economy is highly reliant on income, diversifying will promote an effective utilisation of available resources and skills and grab spatially dispersed income earning opportunities, (Ellis, 2000). Embracing other livelihood activities apart from crop farming generates extra cash resources, (Ellis et al., 2003) which can be used to invest and improve the quality of household assets. In setups where livelihood activities highly favour the participation of women, diversification will enhance autonomous income-generating capabilities and abilities of women thereby reducing the burdens in the care economy (Block and Webb, 2001). However, livelihood diversification has perceived negative implications on household economy. Studies have shown that diversification is highly associated with widening income gaps between the rural poor and better-off, (Barret et al., 2001). This will affect a poor household's ability to procure productive assets and food locally. As Block and Webb (2001) contend, in setups where male labour is predominantly able to take advantage of diversification alternatives, women will be segregated from income generating activities and this will affect the household's care economy and food security. In other words, participation in the rural nonfarm economy provided a pathway for upward mobility. This suggests that even if opportunity-led diversification in SSA is biased in favour of the wealthier households, survival-led diversification has more potential than just being an important safety net for poorer households.

3.10 Constraints to livelihoods diversification

A myriad of factors may constraints livelihoods diversification. Seppala (1996) in his study of constraints to diversification in rural Tanzania observed that success or failure in undertaking diversification strategies is dependent upon such factors like household different management approaches, difference in timing of activities, location of activities and capacity to estimate risk. Dercon (1996) similarly concludes that discrepancies in the success rate of household and individuals at their diversification strategies are best explained by differences in ability, location and access to credit. Therefore, it follows that rural groups that are most vulnerable due to lack of access to education, distance from markets. Low wealth status of small household size may have the fewest chances to diversify. In fact, the extreme vulnerability of peasants in rural Zimbabwe may in itself be a constraint to livelihoods diversification (Rukuni et al., 2006)

With a similar view is Evans and Ngau (1991) who identified macro-economic and policy context as specific constraint to diversification. They agree that low population in rural communities reduces the chances of diversification. Limited access to markets, non-availability of urban centres, restrictions on internal and or cross-border movement and trade, government economic policies that extract surplus from people trying to diversify or that impede their preferred diversification strategies, market regulation and unavailability of infrastructure all adversely affect the capacity of rural poor to diversify. Thus, the unavailability of most services that are supposed to be provided by government or local authorities are a constraint to livelihood diversification. Furthermore, Reardon (1992) adds that degradation or insufficient natural resources such as land and water also limit livelihoods diversification in semi-arid areas. With a similar view is Berry (1996) who points out that limited availability of education and skills and training is a further constraint. This analysis provides an overview of livelihoods diversification context of semi-arid areas and how rural people diversify in these areas.

However, none of this literature shows specific areas of activity diversification that the most vulnerable groups with the most limitations tend towards. This study therefore focuses on specific evidence of diversification by the most vulnerable groups in marginalised and semi-arid areas of Zimbabwe. Neither do the studies clarify whether there are also systemic constraints on diversification by the most vulnerable. However, Berry (1989) observes that a community level lack of credit is more likely to affect the poorest groups and as a result may

fail to diversify. He also points out to the powerlessness of these groups to influence decisions about allocation of land or common property resources at village level. This leads to the conclusion that barriers affecting the rural poor in livelihoods diversification exist in a variety of dements (Ellis, 1989).

3.11 Gender, livelihoods diversification and poverty

Jones et al. (2008) posit that experiences of poverty differ according to sex, age, ethnicity and location. The scholars further argue that up to 443 million people the Sub Saharan Africa live in chronic poverty, women constitute the majority of this Figure. Livelihoods are influenced by household and intra-household capabilities and resources that, in turn, influence household responses to external opportunities or threats (Moser, 1989). In many parts of the Africa, women account for a large and growing proportion of agricultural workers. In most countries, women are also responsible for household food production and consumption. An important correlation exists between gender of household head and main economic activities a household pursues, (Assan, 2014). Women are potentially able to execute similar livelihood activities as their male counterparts, but studies have shown that men are able to allocate themselves alternative activities that women are socially and culturally constrained, (Hussein and Nelson, 1998; Lanjouw and Lanjouw, 2001). Gender relationships presumably constrain and/ or promote access, control and ownership of productive assets crucial for diversifying and in African societies, women are mostly disadvantaged as a result of patriarchy, (Moser, 1993). This, however, translates to the perception that female-headed households are less likely to diversify compared to male-headed and if they are to diversify, they will be confined to low income earning activities, (Beyene, 2008; Akaakohol and Aye, 2014).

A study carried out by Akaakohol and Aye (2014) in Makurdi, Benue State of Nigeria reveals that male-headed households are 9.7% more likely to diversify into non-farm livelihood activities compared to female-headed households. Participation in diversification activities and the unequal distribution of benefits vary between men and women (Ellis, 2000) and these variations will trickle to household's ability and capacity to cope with and recover from shocks and stress with the most affected being female-headed households. Culture has been the most ascribed factor influencing gender-differentiated household livelihood diversification, (Lanjouw and Lanjouw, 2001).

In India and Nepal as Rahut et al. (undated) argue, lower castes work as blacksmiths, tailors and cobblers, while Brahmin work as priests. Gender relations particularly in an African

context constrain women's ability to engage in income generation activities as a result of their confinement to time-consuming activities in the care economy, (Ellis, 2000; Moser, 1993). Jones et al., (2008) allude that in a changing development context, including globalisation and climate change, the links between women's empowerment, natural resource management and food security are vital, yet often overlooked. Serious consideration of gender issues on various development areas therefore is a panacea to the development woes of many African countries.

3.12 Livelihood diversification and rural development policy challenge

The literature examined in this chapter explicitly reveals that the rural economy which many policy makers and development agencies define as farm-based and 86% percent of rural populace being dependent on agriculture (World Bank, 2007), has proven to have veered off this perspective. Pragmatically, rural livelihoods have gone beyond farming to engage nonfarm and on-farm livelihood activities, (Barrett et al., 2001) as people respond to various livelihood shocks and also to improve their incomes. It is, however, paramount to note that any policy initiative aimed at poverty reduction and raising incomes of rural people that lacks acceptance and inclusion of the diversification strategies is akin to shooting in the dark. Ellis (1998) contends that poverty reduction and income distribution are affected by policies that intentionally promote or downgrade the diversification of rural income-bringing activities. The plausible way forward given such a scenario is to design policies that cater for activities engaged by rural people in their quest for survival. Hypothetically, this is expected to offer an easy path for rural people to raise incomes for re-investment in agriculture as a major livelihood.

As highlighted in the discussion, household livelihood diversification can be prompted by prevailing financial market imperfections where farmers find it difficult to access lines of credit to invest in agriculture and also to engage high income-return activities. Ellis (1998) alludes that lack of micro-credit constrains diversification in rural areas. What policy interventions must focus on is ensuring security in land tenure so as to extend lines of credit to the rural poor. However, ensuring land tenure security in regions or countries where land is regarded as a political tool or bait to manipulate an election, can be a contested ideology as it risks power erosion.

Another policy challenge lies in making the opportunities for livelihood diversification, especially in the nonfarm economy, accessible to the bulk of the poor in rural areas, (Barrett et

al, 2001). The majority of the rural poor lack education, skills, financial and social capital much needed to engage lucrative livelihood activities which can see a quick uplift from poverty. Given such a scenario, it is imperative for nation governments to ensure availability and accessibility of financial lending institutions in rural communities and also ensure skills development in these setups. As Barrett et al. (2001) contend, it is unimaginable for poverty reduction strategies and policies to side-line the nonfarm sector thus, policies supporting the nonfarm economy are relevant in addressing the poverty question in many developing countries.

Existing theoretical and empirical evidence points to the idea that agriculture plays an important role not only in the economic terms, but also has social and political implications in the predominantly agrarian societies of developing countries particularly in sub-Saharan Africa, (Moreda et al., 2012). Policies on land and land utilisation in these countries have been designed from an agrarian perspective for example the Zimbabwe land reform policy (Scoones et al., 2011). One might ask how then does advocating for policies encompassing livelihood diversification become a challenge? Firstly, policies that contradict the national development goals face rejection from the political side. As Moyo (2011) asserts land reform is key in responding to the agrarian question and the agrarian question is a fundamental dimension of the national question. Therefore, bringing policies emphatic on livelihoods diversification might pose threats to such national questions. Secondly, agriculture in most countries especially in sub-Saharan Africa generates a living for smallholders, constitutes 34% of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and creates 65% of the employment, (Quan cited in Moreda et al., 2012).

Therefore, encouraging diversification might see a shrink in national GDP and triggering massive unemployment making livelihood diversification a policy implication. However, there should be comprehensive rural development policy that could empower farm households. Off-farm and non-farm rural livelihood diversification strategies need to be formulated under the rural development policies. This off-farm and non-farm livelihood diversification strategy can complement the small-scale on-farm productivity improvement strategy of the country. The off-farm and non-farm rural development strategy will allow farm households to efficiently employ their labour hours throughout the year. This integrated rural livelihood—sustainable land management driving that can help maximize both the rural livelihood and the land

management conditions of farm-households need to be formulated. Women-headed farm households participated in livelihood diversification activities less than male-headed farm households. It is recommended that the off-farm and non-farm rural development strategy need to mainstream gender equity so as to empower women-farmers to increase opportunity for their participation. Institutions like cooperatives, land rights and agricultural extension packages need to be incorporated in rural development strategies so as to improve the capacity of farm households to participate in livelihood diversification and sustainable land management practices.

3.13 Chapter summary

This chapter has interrogated various literature around diversification of rural livelihoods. It started by conceptualisation of rural livelihoods diversification. Literature engagement reveals that rural livelihoods diversification increases household resilience against shocks and stresses that expose individuals to poverty. It also emanates that diversification increases household income, food security, asset accumulation and child welfare. However, evidence also uncovers that to a lesser extent the diversification of rural livelihoods increases social differentiation. Specifically, it widens income disparities and gendered inequality in developing countries. Existing literature, both examined and omitted, reveal that rural people depend on agriculture, but complementary livelihood activities have arisen to sustain rural lives. Farmers have not remained confined specifically to crop and livestock farming. A diverse portfolio of livelihood activities (Ellis, 1998), has been embraced by the majority of the rural population in their struggle for a living and as a way of improving lives.

In view of rising poverty levels in developing countries which expose the poor rural people to a bunch of socio-economic ills, construction of non-farm activities can be a pathway out of poverty. The chapter has also explored the determinants and constraints to livelihoods diversification. A significant number of scholars agree that household assets, capital, skills and the age of the household head do influence livelihoods diversification at household level. It emanates from the chapter that livelihood diversification enables households to spread risks, accrue productive assets and improve their incomes. These are tremendous achievements towards poverty reduction in rural areas of developing countries. The next chapter focuses on the study theoretical frameworks. Specifically, focus is on the key constructs and relevance of the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework, the Capabilities Approach and the De-agrarianisation hypothesis to the current study.

Chapter four: Study theoretical and conceptual frameworks

4.1. Introduction

The theoretical and conceptual framework explains the path of a research and grounds it firmly in theoretical constructs. The overall aim of the frameworks is to make research findings more meaningful, acceptable to the theoretical constructs in the research field and ensures generalizability. For some scholars, theoretical frameworks assist in stimulating research while ensuring the extension of knowledge by providing both direction and impetus to the research inquiry. This study is guided by the Sustainable Livelihood Approach, Capabilities approach and the Deagrarianization hypothesis. The chapter gives a detailed background, the main tenets, strengths and limitations of the three main theories that underpinned the study. It also indicates the appropriateness of each theory to the current study.

4.2. The Sustainable Livelihoods Approach.

The Sustainable Livelihoods Approach (SLA) is one of the theories that underpins the study. This approach is holistic in that it attempts to encapsulate and present a way of understanding the livelihoods of poor people without narrowing the attention to a few factors (Chambers, 1989; Scoones, 1998). Morse and McNamara (2013) argue that the central thesis of the approach is premised on that interventions of which they must be based upon an appreciation of what underpins livelihoods.

4.2.1. Origins of the Sustainable Livelihood Approach

The concept of 'sustainable livelihoods' was first used in the report panel to the World Commission on Environment and Development Sustainable (WCED) in 1987.It was used to focus on the distribution and allocation of resources to the poor as key factors in the challenge to improving food security and reducing poverty (WCED, 1987) and describe how people can create a living in ways that build on their assets and reduce their vulnerability to external perturbations (Scoones, 2009). The concept was later inspired by the work of Robert Chambers in the 1980s, and has been further developed by Chambers, Conway and others in the 1990s (DFID, 2000). Scoones (1989) argues that the origin of sustainable livelihood as a concept relate to a wide set of issues which encompass much of the broader debate about the relationship between poverty and environment (Scoones, 1998). The thinking dates back to the work of Robert Chambers in the mid-1980s. Chambers developed the idea of "Sustainable

Livelihoods" with the intention to enhance the efficiency of development cooperation (Kollmar and Gamper, 2002). His concepts constitute the basics for the sustainable livelihoods approach and were further developed by the British Department for International Development (DFID). Since 1997, the DFID integrated the approach in its programme for development cooperation (Kollmar and Gamper, 2002). The concept was later adopted by the Brutland Commission on Environment and Development. The 1992 UN Conference on Environment and Development expanded the notion, advocating for the attainment of sustainable livelihoods as a broad goal for poverty alleviation (Balgis et. Al., 2005). In 1997, the United Kingdom government white paper on International Development committed the Department for International Development (DFID) to support policies and actions that would use Sustainable Livelihoods Approach to ensure better education, health and opportunities for poor people and better management of the natural and physical environment. The Sustainable Livelihoods Approach has since been adopted by many other international organisations, such as Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO), United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), Oxfam and CARE (Singh and Gilman, 1999).

For Haidar (2009) the term "sustainable livelihood" however came to prominence as a development concept in the early 1990s, drawing advances in understanding of famine and food insecurity during the 1980s. The concept of Sustainable livelihoods is an attempt to go beyond the conventional definitions and approaches to poverty alleviation (Krantz, 2001). It is an analytical framework that provides a way of understanding the factors that influence people's ability to achieve sustainable livelihoods in a chosen circumstance and offers both a conceptual and programming framework for poverty reduction (Carney, 2002; Hussein, 2002).

4.2.2 Principles of the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach

Like any other poverty-focused development approaches, the sustainable livelihoods approach is guided by some principles. The approach is anchored on that development initiatives should be *people-centred*. People rather than the resources they use are the priority concern in the livelihoods approach, since problems associated to development often root in adverse institutional structures impossible to be overcome through simple asset creation (DFID, 2000). Communities are different and so are people (Goldman, 2001). The approach recognises that communities are not homogeneous. The external support should differentiate between various groups of people (Goldman, 2001). The framework also emphasizes *participation* (Kollmair et

al., 2002). Poor people should not be treated like passive objects when dealing with their poverty (Goldman, 2001). For any strategy to alleviate poverty, the poor need to be active and need to participate fully. They need to be involved at all levels in managing their development because they understand their situation better than outsiders. Poor people themselves must be key actors in identifying and addressing livelihood priorities (Krantz, 2001).

The framework is also underpinned by the need to *build on local strengths*. Goldman (2001) argues that every person or society has strengths. As a result, poverty-focused development should recognize and build on people's strengths (Goldman, 2001). This can start by finding out what resources are present at a particular place. Support should result in increased voice, opportunities and well-being for people, including the poor (Krantz, 2001). For initiatives to be successful there has to be a synergy between the works of different departments (Goldman, 2001). People also need to weigh up the implications for different strategies. Krantz (2001) postulates that we need to understand people's livelihoods and how these can be enhanced in a holistic way, which recognises the interrelationships between the different aspects of their lives, although actions arising from that understanding may be focused.

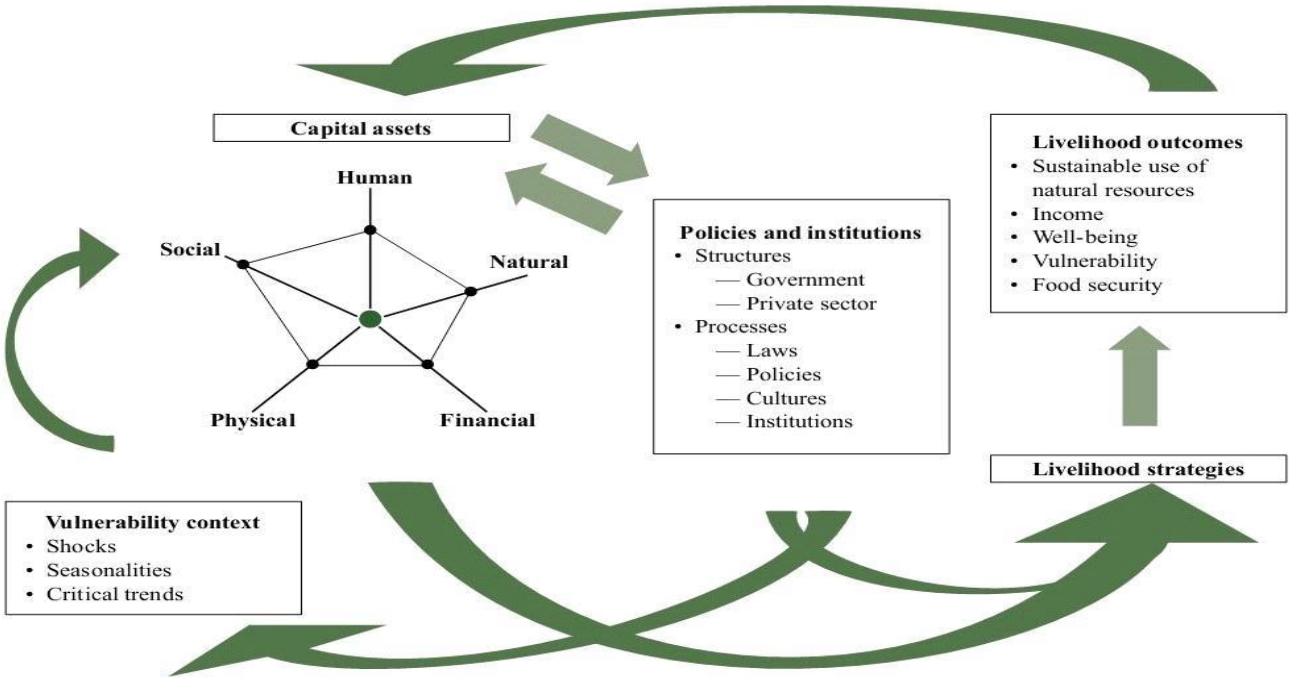
While people may act locally, their access to resources and services is affected by policies and institutions at local, regional and central levels (Goldman, 2001). The approach links the micro level with the macro level and emphasises that policy and institutional analysis should take place at all levels (Kranzt, 2001). Specifically, the framework emphasizes that there has to be a strong link between *macro and micro* politics, since these are interdependent. The macro politics are responsible for the main structures and processes in an area (Petersen and Pedersen, 2010). Local services should be accessible and effective and responsive. Regional levels must provide coordination, supervision and support. The government or the public sector needs to *create partnership* with the private sector (Krantz, 2001; Goldman, 2001). Implementation of development requires using the strengths of different organisations, public and private, in the most effective way. Partnerships should include people and their organisations, including those for poor people. Partnerships should be transparent agreements based upon shared objectives. The approach also emphasises on *sustainability*; the ability of the beneficiaries to continue benefiting from an initiative after the departure of the implementing partner and donor. There are four dimensions to sustainability and these are; economic, institutional, social and environment sustainability (Krantz, 2001). All the changes

achieved by development agents need to be sustainable. In other words, development agents need to move away on bringing ephemeral change in the lives of the poor.

4.2.3 Components of the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework

The central theme of the study resonates around the land reform, livelihoods diversification and household poverty. An understanding of the aforementioned research theme requires an in-depth examination of access to assets, vulnerabilities and livelihoods strategies in the study areas. Chambers and Conway (1992) posit that: A livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (including both material and social resources) and activities required for the means of living. For the two scholars, a livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks and maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets both now and in the future, while not undermining the natural resource base. A brief summary of the Sustainable livelihood's framework is provided in Figure 4.1. The framework is underpinned by the understanding that livelihoods results from complex interaction of a dynamic set of factors that influence people's livelihood choices (Scoones, 1998; Ellis, 1998; Krantz,2000). The major elements of the theoretical framework are assets, vulnerability context, transforming structures and livelihood outcomes

Figure 1 The Sustainable Livelihood Approach



Adopted from Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (DFID, UK (2001)

(a) Livelihood Assets

Livelihoods assets are critical in the analysis of rural livelihoods and poverty. DIFD (2000) posit that livelihood strategies comprise of capabilities, assets and activities required for a means of livelihoods. Central to the framework and prudent for survival in both rural and urban areas, are livelihoods assets which are seen by various scholars as building blocks of development (Chambers and Conway, 1991; Scoones, 1998; Davies et al., 2008). As indicated in the framework above, the important assets are the human, social, natural, physical and financial assets (capitals). By building on them, individuals and households develop their capacity to cope with the challenges they encounter and meet their needs on a sustained basis. Davies et al. (2008;65) allude that "different mixes of and degrees of substitution among the different types of capital assets provide inputs to people's lives". Chambers (1995) and Ellis (2000) agree that a resilient livelihood requires flexibility and substitutability between assets so that adverse events can be withstood without compromising future survival. Vasta (2004) and Bauman (2002) argue that the single most important factor in understand rural livelihood strategies is to determine the ability of the poor to access assets especially land. This is

concurred by Agarwal (1989) who notes that access to land, credit and the markets plays a cardinal role in determining household livelihood sustainability in Asia. Assets are therefore not simply resources, they are also the basis of agent power to act, and to reproduce challenge or changes the rules that govern the control, use and transformation of resources (Kleih et al., 2003; Larson et al., 2007; Bebbinton, 1999).

(b) Vulnerability context

Petersen and Pedersen (2010) argue that the vulnerability context describes the external environment that the poor people live in. Vulnerability begins with a notion of risk which is characterised by a known or unknown probability distribution of events where the events are themselves characterised by their magnitude (including size and spread), their frequency and distribution, and their history (Alwang et al., 2001; DFID; 2000; Wisner, 2006). Once the assets have been identified and assessed for the contribution they make (or could make) it is important to explore the vulnerability in which they exist; what are the trends (over time and space), shocks and stress? (Morse and McNamara, 2013). Allison and Horemans (2006) argue that livelihoods are complex and changing and hence confront different risks: referred to as the vulnerability context in this framework. Kassa (2015) posit that the vulnerability context frames the external environment in which people make a living.

The scholar further argues that shocks (economic, health, natural hazards, conflicts) may destroy assets directly. Shocks may emanate from seasonal shifts in prices, unavailability of employment opportunities and harvest failure. Chambers and Conway (1992) note that shocks are typically sudden, unpredictable and traumatic in nature. Climate change as a long-term trend is increasingly seen being as an important factor that can affect vulnerability for some population and the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach provides a framework of understanding how people might adapt (Elisha et al., 2005). Morse and McNamara (2013) argue that vulnerability to shock vary from one community to another. The scholars further allude that even the assets will vary in their resilience to different type of shocks and their intensities. The ability to avoid or reduce vulnerability depends not only on the initial assets available but also on the capacity to manage them, and to transform them, for example into income, food or other basic necessities (Meikle et al., 2001).

(c) Livelihood Outcomes

The other important element of the framework is the livelihood outcomes. Petersen and Pedersen (2010) note that livelihood outcome are the achievements of people's livelihood strategies. DFID (2000) cited in GLOPP (2008;4) defines livelihood outcomes "as the achievement or outputs from livelihood strategies as livelihood strategies are intended to provide a range of outcomes that will improve well-being and reduce poverty in its broad sense". These livelihood outcomes are to be described by local people themselves, since these include much more than income (Petersen and Pedersen, 2010). For outsiders it might be a challenge to comprehend what locals are seeking and why because this is often embedded in culture, local norms and values (DFID, 2001). Livelihood outcomes can be aggregated and seen in relation to their position on a continuum between vulnerability and security (Moser, 1998).

According to DFID (2000) livelihood outcomes include conventional indicators such as income, food security and the sustainable use of natural resources but can also include a strengthened asset based, reduced vulnerability and improvements in non-material aspects of well-being. Meikle et al. (2001) argue that households are not homogenous units, as some members have more power and influence, outside and within the household, than others. Livelihood outcomes therefore may not affect all members in the same way (Bennett, 2010; Walton, 2012). For example, where only male household heads have legal standing (e.g. in regard to credit agreements or property deeds) a household's security will depend on both the man's commitment to the household and his continued health (Meikle et al., 2001). The argument raised is that some members maybe more secure and others more vulnerable in regard to livelihood outcomes. (Moser, 1996; Carney, 1998). Above all, Chambers and Conway (1992), Farrington et al., (1999) and Shankland (2000) agree that the sustainable livelihoods framework delineates set of livelihood outcomes by looking beyond income generating activities. In a synthesis of livelihood outcomes, Scoones (1998) posit that sustainable livelihoods tend to create the following results: increased numbers of working days, reduced poverty, improved well-being and enhanced human capabilities.

(d) Policies, institution and processes

Another key component of the framework incorporates the Policies, institutions and processes. Livelihoods are shaped by policies, institutions and processes at all levels — from the household to the international (DFID, 2000). These determine not only access to the various types of capital (natural, physical, human, social and financial), but also the substitutability of capitals (Baumann, 2000). Policies and institutions also determine options for livelihood strategies, as well as access to decision-making bodies and external sources of influence. Morse and McNamara (2013), argue that institutions influence the natural access to many of the capitals as well as peoples' opportunities and choices. Scoones and Wolmer (2003) on the one hand postulate that organisations, in both the public and private sectors, decide and implement policies, legislation and regulations, and undertake activities, that affect livelihoods. Processes determine the way in which institutions, and individuals, operate and interact (DFID, 2002). Bingen (2000) notes that policies, institutions and processes operate at all levels and in all spheres, both public and private, and they influence significantly the conditions that promote the achievement of multiple livelihood strategies and sustainable livelihoods. The scholar further posits that policies and institutions determine the degree to which an enabling or facilitating environment for livelihoods is in place, compared to an inhibiting or restrictive one (Bingen, 2000; Hobley, 2001).

4.2.4 The strengths of the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach

The Sustainable Livelihood Approach (SLA) has emerged from the growing realization of the need to put the poor and all aspects of their lives and means of living at the centre of development and humanitarian work, while maintaining the sustainability of natural resources for present and future generations (Sporton and Thomas, 2002).Central to the SLA is the recognition that the poor themselves often know their situation and needs best and must therefore be involved in the designing of projects intended for their betterment (Chambers and Conway, 1992). The livelihoods approach to rural development not only takes into consideration issues of entitlements and capabilities but also provide a valuable insight tool for understanding rural households' poverty and their subsequent processes and actions in pursuit of development (Chambers and Conway 1992; Ellis, 1998; Ellis and Biggs, 2001; Carney, 2002; Scoones, 1998; Bryceson, 2001).

The livelihoods approach has also become a model of development policy for international development agencies such as DFID, Overseas Development Institute, the United Nations,

CARE International and many others. Ellis and Biggs (2001) state that a livelihood approach takes an open-ended view of the combinations of assets and activities that produce a feasible strategy to the rural areas. Rakodi and Loyd-Jones (2002) maintain that; Such an approach is critical to the examination of what the poor themselves do to survive in various environments, provide a conceptual guide to think about objectives, scope and priorities of rural development, a framework for designing policies and practical interventions and their subsequent evaluation in poverty alleviation. Furthermore, the approach facilitates a comprehension of the underlying causes of poverty by focusing on the variety of different sectors at different levels that directly or indirectly determine or constrain poor people's access to resources or assets of different kinds and thus their livelihoods (Solesbury, 2003). The approach also provides a more realistic framework for assessing the direct and indirect effects on people's living conditions than for example one dimensional productivity or income criteria.

4.2.5 Critique of the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach

A number of scholars have critiqued the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach. McLeod (2001) has questioned the utility of the approach. She does acknowledge the efficacy of the approach to practitioners, development agencies and scholars seeking to understand poverty and rural livelihoods, but argues that the theory's definitional process and its determination of definitional legitimacy requires further recognition and exploration if its conceptual framework is to be useful to organisations. Morse et al. (2009) argue that the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework Approach does not show the issue of how to identify the poor that one is trying to assist. The scholars allude that people are invisible in the SLA framework and the framework pays more attention on assets, vulnerability, activities and capabilities. For Krantz (2001) the approach has some difficult methodological and practical issues, including how to determine who the poor are and what constitutes poverty.

The way resources and other livelihood opportunities are distributed locally are often influenced by informal structures of social dominance and power within the community (Ludi and Slater, 2008). Baumann (2000) posit that the SLA does not incorporate political capital as an endogenous asset. The scholar further asserts that incorporating political capital encourages scholars and researchers to consciously explore access and right to assets and intra-household or community power structures. Baumann (2000) alludes that incorporating political analysis changes the Sustainable Livelihood Framework from being descriptive to being an operational

framework and decreases the likelihood that analysts and practitioners will fall into the trap of viewing their analysis as objectively.

4.2.6 Appropriateness to this study

The Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (Chambers and Conway, 1992; Scoones, 1998) is used as a conceptual method in this study that looks at livelihood's diversification in newly resettled areas. The framework is useful as it facilitates finding out what precisely it is that prevents or constraints the poor from improving their well-being in a giving a situation (Krantz, 2000). The approach is also used in this study given that it acknowledges that the poor pursue livelihood strategies that comprise of a range of activities as a way to reducing their vulnerability to poverty. Furthermore, the framework facilitates an understanding of the underlying drivers of poverty by focusing on a variety of factors and levels that directly or indirectly shape people's access to resources of different kinds (Scoones, 1998; Carney, 1998).

Generally, sustainable livelihoods approach provides a framework for addressing poverty and vulnerability in both development and humanitarian contexts. Thus, the approach has been used to identify the livelihoods that people use in order to survive or earn a living. Sustainable livelihood approach draws attention to the multiplicity of assets that people make use of, when constructing their livelihoods. The approach produces a holistic view on what resources or combination of resources are important to the poor, including not only physical and natural resources, but also their social and human capital (Solesbury, 2003). The livelihood perspective has also greatly influenced the land reform and poverty reduction debate (Scones, 2009).

4.3 The Capabilities Approach

The second theory that informs this study is the Capabilities Approach (Sen, 1992). The Capability Approach, developed and pioneered by the economist Amartya Sen, provides a conceptual framework for analysing well-being and a strong critique of existing traditions in welfare economics (Wiebke, 2005). The capability approach is one of the most predominant paradigms for policy debate and conceptualising development. The notions of development and human wellbeing have been extensively emphasised by Amartya Sen in his writings (Stewart and Deneulin, 2002; Sen, 1992; Robeyns, 2005)

4.3.1 Historical and Philosophical development of the approach

Clark (2002) posit that the ideas of Amartya Sen mainly consist of a critique of conventional notions of development and the establishment of an alternative framework for conceptualising wellbeing, with particular emphasis on the human capabilities and the freedoms that people have reason to value. Anaafo (2014) cites Schokkaert (2008) arguing that Sen sought to find answer to the questions 'equality of what' and in so doing came to the conclusion that well-being can be measured in terms of functioning's of a person (what a person is able to achieve, to do or to be-being well nourished, well clothed, mobile, taking part in community life; and more importantly the real opportunities available to a person which he termed capabilities (Anaaf, 2014). Thus, Amartya Sen challenged the supremacy in the income definition of poverty and advocated instead a definition of poverty grounded on the capacity of the poor people to improve their condition (Gwatkin, 2003; Anaafo, 2014; Clark, 2002).

Clark (2005) argues that Professor Sen developed, refined and defended a framework that is directly concerned with human capability and freedom. The scholar further postulates that from the beginning Sen acknowledged strong connections with Adam Smiths (1776) analysis of necessities and living conditions and Karl Marx's (1844) concern with human freedom and emancipation. Later Sen (1993) recognized that the most powerful conceptual connections relate to Aristotle's theory of political distribution and his analysis of human flourishing. Robeyns (2004) agrees with this view and asserts that some aspects of the capability approach can be traced back to, among others, Aristotle, Adam Smith, John Stuart Mill and Karl Marx although the approach in its present form has been pioneered by the economist and philosopher Amartya Sen and more recently also been significantly developed by the philosopher Martha Nussbaum.

4.3.2 The key constructs of the Capabilities Approach

Robeyns (2005) notes that one of the key constructs of the Capabilities approach is its focus on what people are effectively able to do and to be, on their capabilities. Robeyns further posit that focus on people's capabilities in the choice of development policies makes a profound theoretical difference, and leads to quite different policies compared to neoliberalism and utilitarian policy prescriptions. The major elements of the capability approach are *capabilities, functioning, agency* and *conversion* (Robeyns, 2003; Sen, 1999; Clark, 2005).

(a) Capabilities

Chiappero-Marinetti and Venkatapuram (2014) argue that the first concept is of capability itself. This concept of capability is discussed by Sen (1999) as an approach which is not limited to concepts such as increase in Gross National Product (GNP), and/or consumption. Annafo (2014) notes that it encompasses health and education measures, and is largely concerned with expansion of individual capability. For Nussbaum (2011) this concept seeks to answer the question: what is this person able to do and to be? Capabilities represent the practically possible opportunities that the person has to realise valuable doings and beings in her daily life (Chiappero-Marinetti and Venkatapuram, 2014). The two scholars argue that a person's capability is made up by the combined interaction of internal and external factors and these include a person's internal endowments such as biology, knowledge and skills as well as external environment including social, material and environmental factors. Nussbaum (2000) alludes that a capability set is the 'basket' of capabilities among which the individual can choose to realise outcomes. Some frequently used example includes being able to live a long and healthy life, being able to become educated or well-nourished; being able to participate in valuable productive activities and being able to express one's political preferences (Nussbaum, 2011). For Chiappero-Marinetti and Venkatapuram (2014) all these capabilities are seen to be valuable dimensions of a good life. Robeyns (2005) concurs that as he posits that capabilities denote the real opportunities available for an individual to escape poverty.

(b) Functionings

The second important element of the approach is the notion of functioning (Sen, 1985; Saith, 2001; Robeyns, 2005). According to Sen (1985) a functioning is an achievement of a person: what she or he manage to do or be. A good example is being adequately nourished. A person's functioning's and her capability are closely related but distinct (Clark, 2005; Robeyns, 2005).

Hick (2009) clarifies this well and posits that functioning's can be viewed as the various outcomes a person may achieve (being healthy, participating in social activities, and so forth), while capabilities refer to the real, as opposed to formal, opportunities to achieve these outcomes (the *ability* to be healthy, the *ability* to participate in society, and so on). Furthermore, Hick (2009) asserts that the distinction between functioning's and capability is thus between achievements on the one hand, and freedoms or valuable options from which one can choose on the other. Sen views the process of development as a process of expanding the real freedoms that people enjoy or their capabilities. This is also supported by Alkire (2005)

who argues that a person's achieved functioning's at any given time are the particular functioning's he/she has successfully pursued and realised.

(c)Agency

The third key element of the Capabilities approach is agency (Chiappero-Marinetti and Venkatapuram, 2014). According to Sen (1999; 73) agency denotes the ability to pursue goals that one values and has reason to value. He further posits that an agent is "someone who acts and brings about change, and whose achievement can be judged in terms of her values and objectives, whether or not we assess them in terms of some external criteria as well". Sen also argues that agency enables people to expand their freedoms and 'freedom' is also a principal determinant of individual initiative and social effectiveness (Sen, 1999; 73). Chiappero-Marinetti and Venkatapuram (2014) postulate that freedom and agency are mutually enhancing components of development: greater freedom enhances the ability of people to be agents, while agency also enables people to demand and achieve further freedoms allowing them to contribute both to their own development and that of their community. Agency Freedom is affected by the three conversion factors (personal, social and environmental characteristics) that have a bearing on the processes that affect people's freedom to realise valued choices. Thus, structural and personal conditions affecting an individual's ability to choose need to be taken into cognisance when looking at well-being, livelihoods and poverty. Fediani (2010) cites Sen (1992) arguing that agency also includes states of affairs that do not necessarily contributes to one's well-being.

(d) Conversion factors

The last element of the Capabilities Approach is the notion of conversion. Mediating the capability set and the diverse functioning's are conversions factors, which are what allows one to convert a capability into a functioning (Sen, 1999; Chiappero-Martinetti and Venkatapuram, 2014). Robeyns (2005) notes that there are three types of conversion factors: personal, social and environmental. These conversion factors reflect people's different personal, social and environmental characteristics which affect either in a positive or negative sense- their ability to effectively access and convert their endowments and external conditions into effective capabilities (Sen, 1999; Clark, 2005; Nussbaum, 2011). Personal conversion factors are those that are internal to the individual, such as intelligence or physical characteristics (Anaafo, 2014). Social conversion factors are those that are related to social norms, public policies and institutions that have power over one's life (Sen, 1999; Anaafo, 2014).

An example of these would be gender and how it is socially embedded in cultural norms and values. Lastly, environmental conversion factors relate to climate, location, accessibility and other factors related to where one lives. For Anaafo (2014), these include the natural and man-made environmental conditions that inhibit the ability of individuals to convert beings into functions. However, the conversion factors play a crucial role in the capabilities approach, as they account for human diversity and contextual specificity. They justify the expression "substantive freedoms" in Sen's formulation of the capabilities, since conversion factors call attention to the fact that different people may need different amounts or types of resources in order to achieve the same functioning. Here Sen states a critique about wellbeing theories supporting equality of resources, since the latter will not necessarily lead to equal outcomes. In other words, a conversion factor shapes how much use one can get out of a given resource (Clark, 2005; Sen, 1999; Robeyns, 2005).

4.3.3 Strengths of Capabilities Approach

Clark (2005) notes that one of the major strengths of Sen's framework is that it is flexible and exhibits a considerable degree of internal pluralism, which allows researchers to develop and apply it in many different ways. Furthermore, Clark (2005) contends that the approach has also been praised for broadening the informational base of evaluation, refocusing on people as ends in themselves, recognising human heterogeneity and diversity, drawing attention to group disparities as well as embracing human agency and participation. Chiappero-Martinetti and Venkatapuram (2014) argue that the approach offers a new perspective for understanding and measuring human well-being and poverty, and for designing public policies and development programmes. The two further argue that the core principles of the approach outline how human centred development should focus on people's daily life and well-being; that policies should be responsive to and enable a plurality of human activities and values, and promote and protect people's agency.

Another value of the Capabilities Approach lies on its acknowledgement that poverty and inequity result from deprivation or failure to achieve certain functioning's (Alkire, 2005). This failure to achieve certain functioning's maybe be a determined by personal, social or environmental factors. This perception will go a long way in assisting the researcher interrogates how post land reform livelihoods are constituted and with what implications at household level. Furthermore, the capability approach has increasingly become relevant in academia and policy making; the core reason being the fact that the approach assesses

wellbeing and judgements about equality, or development of a community not primarily focusing on resources but on the opportunities that people have to lead the lives they have reason to value (Alkire 2002). The approach has also been credited for its multidimensional focus on well-being, livelihoods and poverty issues. Chiappero-Martinetti and Venkatapuram (2014) argue that its multidimensional focus on valuable dimensions of human well-being and the ultimate aim of enhancing opportunity and process of freedom allows us to derive a more comprehensive picture of situations and thus structure more appropriate, effectively responsive and empowering policies.

4.3.4 Limitations of the Capabilities Approach

Sen's Capabilities Approach has been critiqued by a number of scholars from several different angles (Sugden, 1993; Gore, 1997; Deneulin and Stewart, 2002; Ibrahim, 2006). The most popular critique relate to the issue of how far Sen's framework is operational. (Sugden, 1993). Scholars have raised concern over the identification of valuable capabilities. Williams (1987) alludes that Sen failed to support his framework with a coherent list of important capabilities given the extent of disagreement among reasonable people about the nature of a good life. Frediani (2010) argues that a number of the Capabilities Approach concepts are confusing. He alludes that the process elements affecting people's freedoms are not clearly articulated. The failure by Sen and his associates to unpack the concept of capability leads to unresolved debates on collective vs individual capabilities.

The approach has remained at the level of abstraction from policies and projects that makes it difficult for practitioners to apply and assess the value it adds to the design and evaluation of projects (Frediani, 2006; 2010; Biggeri et al., 2006). Another scholar who has questioned the usefulness of the approach is Beitz (1986). Beitz (1986) asserts that it is difficult to use the Capabilities Approach for making inter-personal comparisons of well-being in the presence of potential disagreements about the valuation of capabilities including the relative weights to be assigned to these capabilities. Sen, however, is remarkably optimistic about achieving agreement about evaluations: he suggests that the intersections of different people's rankings are typically quite large. (Sen, 1985). The Capabilities Approach has also been seen as too individualist in nature (Gore, 1997; Robeyns, 2000; Stewart, 2004). Stewart (2004) notes that the approach does not consider individuals as part of their social environment, as socially embedded and connected to others. Instead, the approach works with a notion of atomised

individuals and in the process ignores the importance of groups and social structures in influences these individuals.

4.3.5 Appropriateness to this study

Amartya Sen's Capabilities Approach has been adopted or used in this study because of its relevance to the central issues around the study. This approach cannot be ignored by anyone interrogating household livelihoods and well-being in rural communities (Alkire, 2000; Clark, 2002; Sen, 1999). Some scholars (Anaafo, 2014) have gone to the extent of looking at the applicability of the approach in looking at livelihoods and poverty in land reform environments. Anaafo (2014) asserts that it is only within the capability space that the environmental (climate, geographical location and changes in quality of the land resource base) and social (public policies, social norms or power structures and relations) conversation factors that influence the ability of the poor to live meaningful lives in land reform environments can be adequately ascertained.

The argument raised is that the approach will go a long way in enabling the researcher to understand the dynamics, determinants and constraints to livelihoods diversification in the study areas (Springrange, Rocksdale and Fox farms). Furthermore, unlike the Sustainable livelihoods, the approach recognises the centrality of power structures in influencing livelihoods options pursued by the poor. The power structures have a bearing on who accesses what, when and how. The approach has also been used because of its central thesis that acknowledges the multidimensional nature of poverty (Stewart and Deneulin, 2002; Anaafo, 2014). The approach is not just a counter philosophical work to welfarism and utilitarianism but a valid alternative for the analysis of varying degrees of socio-economic problems, ranging from access to land, inequality, standard of living, livelihoods collapse to poverty (Rebeyns, 2005, Anaafo, 2014; Schokkaert, 2008).

4.4 The Deagrarianisation hypothesis

The third approach that informs this study is the Deagrarianisation hypothesis. This hypothesis was developed by Deborah Fahy Bryceson (1996) and broadened by scholars such as Ellis (2000) and Rigg (2006). The central thesis of the hypothesis is that agriculture has traditionally been one of the main livelihood strategies of most rural Sub-Saharan societies. However, there has been a shift from concentrating on agricultural activities to other livelihoods strategies in Sub-Sahara (Ellis, 2000; Rigg, 2006; Bryceson, 1999).

4.4.1 Unpacking Deagrarianisation

De-agrarianisation is a global, regional and communal recurring challenge affecting many livelihoods especially in the developing nations which bear the brunt of western colonialism (Ncube et al., 2014). Bryceson (1996), views it as a process of economic activity reorientation, occupational adjustment and spatial re-alignment of human settlement away from strictly agrarian patterns. Also closely related to de-agrarianisation is the process of depeasantisation. According to Bryceson (2000:1), depeasantisation refers "to a specific form of deagrarianisation in which peasantries lose their economic capacity and social coherence and demographically shrink in size". They literally unravel as communities (Bryceson, 1999).Deagrarianisation encapsulates both 'entrepreneurial' and 'survival' drives to livelihood diversification: it includes moves out of farming by those able to respond positively to economic change, as well as the (probably more numerous) moves out of farming by those squeezed by land pressures and economic uncertainty (Daley, 2005).For Amin (1976), deagrarianisation entails the shedding of agricultural population to the nonfarm sector.

4.4.2 Drivers of deagrarianisation

Colonisation and proletarianisation of the Africans marked the genesis of deagrarianisation. Ncube *et al.* (2014) provide a classic outline for this argument pointing out that prior to the colonization process the African people, especially in the Sub-Saharan region relied heavily on agriculture and farm activities for survival. However, the colonization process disrupted this status quo through restrictions on access to land and the displacement of the local peoples to reserves. For example, in South Africa 90% of the land was taken from the indigenous peoples reducing the bulk of these people to permanent and migrant workers (Baiphethi and Jacobs, 2009). Moreover, the colonisation processes did not only trigger access to land challenges for the indigenes, but offset drastic change in the ideological outlook on the rationale for agriculture, as peasant agriculture was discouraged in favour of agro-industrial production (commercial farming) riding on the auspices of the then dominant modernisation outlook to development (Baiphethi and Jacobs 2009). This marked the metamorphosis of the previously agrarian based indigenes to servile proletariat dependent on the European capitalist system (Pickles and Wood 1992).

Rapid industrialisation that started expanding after colonialisation in some Sub-Saharan Africa fueled other economic activities that reduced the need for continued subsistence farming. A study by Manona (1999) in Eastern Cape in South Africa discovers that the gradual expansion

of civil service into the rural areas, the availability of new jobs resulted from the creation of industrial centres which located close to the rural areas in line with industrial decentralisation policy which had been adopted. It has been noted that this enabled many people to retain their rural homes while having access to jobs in small industrial centres close by. Thus, such occupation clearly led rural folks drifting away from agriculture as livelihood (Lipton and Ravallion, 1995). A study by Ncube *et al.* (2014) in South Africa reveals that de-agrarianisation is attributable to government support grants. Their study found that people now rely on the governmental grant for survival and the youths see no need to be involved in agricultural practices. Most of those governmental grants come in the form of child support grants, disability grant and old age pension which are viewed as a source of income and lead to the development of reluctance to work on the land (Tanga and Gutura 2013). Chitonge (2013) buttresses this argument pointing out that social grants provide poor households with alternative income which in turn reduces the pressure to embark on subsistence agriculture.

The Globalisation process has also been fingered as one of the indirect drivers of deagrarianisation. A number of scholars argue that globalisation has increased interaction of the peoples, including the rural-urban dwellers. As a result of the rural-urban interface, the rural folk, especially the youth, become more are aware of the rural urban development discrepancies which mostly favour the later (Neilson and Arifin 2011). The rural youth end up cherishing the standards of the urban folk which are mostly not associated with agriculture. This coupled with socio-economic changes in ways like improved education, employment opportunities and labour mobility further devalues agro-based livelihoods, hence fueling deagrarianisation. Urbanization and people's perception that agriculture is for the aged and the uneducated have contributed earnestly to the decline in agriculture (Ncube et al., 2014).

A study by Ncube et al., (2014) on the impact of de-agrarianisation on the socio-economic wellbeing of rural inhabitants in South Africa revealed that the cash economy has made people believe that the only way to earn a decent living is to find employment in urban areas or on commercial farms and not to be involved in subsistence agriculture. Migration and Remittances have also been seen to have an implication on smallholder agriculture. Berkvens (1997) notes that remittances in kind constituted 42 percent of non-agricultural earnings of Zimbabwean rural household, hence the importance that rural dweller placed on frequency of visits from their urban–based relatives. Ellis and Harris (2004) support that as they argue that the growing importance of both internal and external migration changes some past

assumptions about the important role of land in livelihoods and in driving change for the rural poor. Remittances are becoming more important to cash incomes than agriculture in India and Bangladesh (Asfar, 2003; Deshingkar and Grimm, 2004). This is also the case in Nepal and Tanzania where young people now show less interest in farming, but farming and hence land remain central to livelihoods in old age (Jambiya, 1998; Wily, 1988).

The neo-liberal economic policies adopted in the post-independence Sub-Saharan African had a bearing on smallholder agriculture (Bryceson, 1999; Madulu, 1998; Gibbon, 2000). Bryceson (1999) asserts that the Structural Adjustment Programmes largely dismantled African marketing boards and parastatals that had serviced peasants' input requirements, enforced commodity standards, and provided single-channel marketing facilities and controlled prices. In Sudan between the 1968- 1978 period poverty increased only marginally being pegged at 69% in 1978 (rural population below the poverty datum line), but had rose rapidly to 83,1 % in 1986 after Sudan had implemented the structural adjustment policies (Perry, 2009). Bryceson (2000) notes that from 1980–95, the widespread enforcement of SAPs opened the door to deagrarianisation, implicit in the market's search for optimised returns on investment.

Peasant agriculture, with its subsistence orientation and relatively low yielding, unstandardised agriculture and high transport costs, was the antithesis of the growing dominance of agro-industrial production in the world's agricultural commodity trade circuits. The period of SAPs according to Bryceson (2000), marked the convergence of global deagrarianisation and African depeasantisation, reflected in the steady relative decline of African agricultural exports. The scholar further alludes that Nigeria, Tanzania, Malawi and Zimbabwe had significant levels of peasant commodity production which were adversely affected by agricultural subsidy cutbacks. In a study by Manyani (2011) in Gwanda, Zimbabwe, it emanated that the removal of subsidies for peasant farmers was one of the drivers of deagrarianisation. It drastically increased the input costs for farmers and compromised the viability of their smallholder agricultural activities.

Climate change and variability has also contributed to deagrarianisation in Sub-Saharan Africa (Nyathi et al., 2014; Ellis, 1997). For Misselhorn et al. (2012), climate threatens food security as it has a bearing on human activities that determine food production, supply and management. Ncube et al. (2014) `s study in Msobomvu community in South Africa found that unfavourable weather conditions contribute to deagrarianisation. Participants in their study revealed that the unpredictable rainfall in the area has led to consistent crop failure and

subsequently caused people lose faith in the agricultural activities. According to Chitonge (2013) the continuous droughts in the Sahelian region have had far-reaching implications on the economy and the society as they have endangered rural livelihoods, leading to farmers adopting retrogressive coping strategies and livelihood re-orientation. In-fact famines in the Darfur region have contributed to the de-agrarianisation challenge.

Berkvens' (1997) study in Zimbabwe views drought proneness as an important contextual factor, stressing that attempts to modernise agricultural production have led to some crop yield increase, but continued exposure to harvest failure due to climatic risk. He further asserts that mounting population pressure and the general low value that the population places on agriculture work predisposes the population to seek non-agricultural income. In sub-Saharan Africa, despite the unwarranted assumption that the continent's destiny is necessarily rooted in peasant agriculture, the population is becoming less agrarian in nature year by year (Bryceson and Jamal, 1997; Rigg, 2006). Environmental degradation, which is pronounced in the Sahel and the Horn regions but also equally widespread in Southern and Eastern Africa, has also been noted to contribute to deagrarianisation (Bryceson, 1999).

Smallholder farmers have also shifted from agrarian livelihoods to off-farm livelihood options as a result of increases in the costs of inputs amid the declining farm profitability (Manona, 1999). This defeats the economic logic of investing in a venture whereby there will be deficits in terms of outputs in comparison to the inputs. As a result, the rural farmers end up investing in other livelihood options favourably not linked to agrarian activities. Mabhena (2011) alludes that poor government development policies are to blame for the deagrarianisation of the rural livelihoods arguing that such policies seldom pay attention to the rurality of the rural dwellers. Using the rural Cape case in South African, he posits that the obliteration of the agricultural extension services and the disempowerment of the tribal authorities as development agencies leading to the urbanisation of the rural areas. One notices that lack of or improper government support to the rural areas works against their livelihood options in which agriculture is central.

Bryceson (1999) asserts that studies in Malawi and Ethiopia have uncovered that there is a positive correlation between non-agricultural earnings and educational level. She asserts that educational opportunities in the rural areas of both these countries are poor. Lack of basic numeracy and literacy, and awareness of the commercial world beyond the village undoubtedly pose obstacle in the pursuit of non-agricultural activities. Evidence from various studies indicate that households engaged in farming and waged labour have lower educational

levels that those who venture into non-agricultural earnings (Bryceson, 1999; Bezu and Barrett, 2010; Block and Webb, 2001; Demeke and Regassa, 1996; Lemi, 2006). Tellegen (1997) argues that education is a key factor of success both at individual and household level. The argument raised is that education and skills development has increased livelihood opportunities outside agriculture.

4.4.3 The socio-economic implications of deagrarianisation on rural livelihoods

Deagrarianisation is bound to increase poverty levels. Bryceson and Van Der Laan (1994) postulate that when people in rural areas are less involved in agricultural activities, they are likely to succumb to poverty and chronic food insecurity. Ncube et al. (2014) cite Manona (1999), arguing that when people distance themselves from tilling the land, social and economic needs increase whereas supply will be limited. One can refer to the Sudanese case where the real income of the rural poor was increasing at an annual rate of 2, 7% prior to increased de-agrarianisation however, declined at an alarming rate of about 3, 8% due to acceleration in the reliance on off-farm activities after the adoption of structural adjustment policies (Perry, 2009). Deagrarianisation also compromises household nutrition and food security. Ncube *et al.* (2014) point out that out that as the potential of land in terms of agriculture becomes under-utilised, rural people end up relying extensively on purchased food rather than what they produce. Reliance on purchased food stuffs can further have other implications like the changes in the food cultures of the Sub-Saharan Africans, loss of certain crop species and indigenous knowledge is eroded in the processes. Ncube et al., (2014) concur that poor nutrition increases due to the unavailability of healthy food and also causing a threat to health.

Manona (1999) alludes that deagrarianisation exerts pressure on the national economy, thereby increasing government responsibility as more people become dependent on the government support systems. This can be explained from the stand point that when people move away from the farm-related livelihood activities, social and economic needs increase whereas supply will be limited; this results in many people relocating from the rural areas to seek employment in the urban areas to meet their needs, pressurizing the national economy (Manona 1999). This inevitably leads to civil strife and social unrest, especially taking into consideration that most of the people that leave the rural set-up are the working class comprised mostly of the youths. Unemployment and rural-urban migration are the correlates which are strongly linked with the phenomenon of de-agrarianisation. This becomes more apparent when taking into

consideration that the conceptualisation of the phenomena of deagrarianisation emphasizes on the shedding of the labour by the agriculture sector to other non-farm activities. Taking into cognisance that most of the farm activities is in the rural areas, the shed labour force in turn treks to the urban areas in search of employment. Ncube et al, (2014) assert that unemployment becomes rampant as a result of the reduction in agricultural activities.

Plaatje (2002) points out that decline in agricultural activities leads to the loss of human capital like entrepreneurial skills associated with agriculture. Inevitably, loss of human capital affects the national economy in a wider sense and it affects the individuals at household level as they must start acquiring new skills for survival and income generation. Furthermore, loss of skills translates into decreases in income at household levels which can have further negative implications like the use of gender in prioritization of sending children to school, which normally impacts negatively on the girl child in the African societies. It is important to point out that the livelihoods strategies pursued by both men and women who have drifted away from farming and really have a bearing on gender roles. According to Seppala (1996), the alternatives for women have been noted to be not favourable as compared to men`s coping strategies. In Tanzania, rural women heading their households, and widows living alone, are often socially marginalized, and may be forced to find employment in unprofitable occupations (such as harvesting of natural resources) or even in prostitution, while patronage is in many cases a crucial element of access to activities such as intra-regional trade.

It has been understood that subsistence production and/or smallholder production can increase food supplies and thus cushion households from food price shocks, thereby improving household food security (Seppala, 1996). However, the opposite is true as pointed out by Ncube et al. (2014) that de-agrarianisation accentuates the vulnerability of the rural areas through robbing the rural sector of its economic pillars. They further pinpoint that the loss of livestock as an example where the sale of assets like livestock makes the rural communities more susceptible in cases of shocks like famines, droughts and illness within the household or the extended family as animals are sold to absorb pressures resulting from the mentioned shocks. The vulnerability of the rural sector can have further impacts on other socio-economic like gender and child safety. For example, juvenile girls can be married off to wealthier families to avert the challenges which come with the mentioned shocks.

Moreover, changes in household demographic profiles have been noted to be one of the implications of de-agrarianisation in Sub-Saharan Africa. A study by Manyani (2011) in Gwanda, Zimbabwe found that due to de-agrarianisation, rural people have become mobile in search for income. It is revealed that migration and constant movements by the villagers in search of income generating activities has resulted in a change in the household demographic profiles in the village of Ntalale. Manyani (2011) unveils that 85% of the households interviewed were mostly composed of the age groups 0-16 years and 45 and above age groups. The 17-44 years were revealed by the key informant in the study to have migrated temporarily and in some instances permanently to boarder countries of South Africa, Botswana, beyond African borders as well as in local cities of the country.

4.4.4 Strengths of the deagrarianisation hypothesis

The deagrainisation hypothesis has broadened the debate on rural poverty, land and livelihoods. Daley and Hobley (2005) argue that land has long been and still is considered to be one of the central factors in development. Land is seen an essential prerequisite for diverse land-based livelihoods, for economic growth and poverty alleviation (Deininger, 2003; World Bank, 2018). Typically, land is analysed with sectoral focus on land for agriculture production in rural areas or land for shelter or high value commercial use in urban areas. However, the deagrarianisation hypothesis has questioned this long-standing thinking that associate's peasants with farming. The hypothesis has been credited for uncovering how and why rural households are diversifying their livelihood portfolios away from agriculture. Specifically, the approach interrogates how the relationship between land, livelihoods and poverty is changing in the current context of rapid rural-urban change and collapsing smallholder agriculture (Daley and Hobley, 2005). Unlike the Capabilities Approach, the hypothesis indicates the intricate link of globalization, urbanisation, weather variabilities and other micro factors in influences rural livelihood dynamics. Furthermore, the approach has been credited for its historical approach to livelihoods engagement. Deagrarianisation process is seen as a historical process that dates back from colonialism (Ncube et al., 2014). There is no doubt that livelihoods in the third world countries (Sub-Saharan Africa) cannot be understood without looking at their historical development especially colonization and the proletarianisation process.

4.4.5 Limitations of the deagrarianisation hypothesis

The deagrarianisation hypothesis has been a subject of scrutiny in the rural livelihoods debate. Like the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach and the Capabilities Approach, the hypothesis has been critiqued by a number of some scholars (Yaro, 2016). Yaro (2016) argues against the bias

that encapsulates the thinking in the deagrarianisation that there is an invariable move from agricultural to non-agricultural activities. For him, that is an unfounded neo-classical bias that development proceeds from agrarian to non-agrarian modes of production. He asserts that a fairly objective assessment would be to adopt a livelihood approach (Scoones, 1998), teasing out the tendencies in diversification and the forces responsible for adaptation and the complex mixes of activities, bearing in mind the reversibility of peasant action. The argument raised is that deagrarianisation should be seen as a process embedded in social change, bearing in mind that the reversibility between farm and non-farm livelihood strategies (Yaro, 2016).

4.4.6 Appropriateness to the study

The purpose of this study is to explore the dynamics of rural livelihoods in Zimbabwe's newly resettled areas. Attention is put on livelihoods diversification and its implications at household level. The Deagrarianisation hypothesis was used in this study because of its central thesis: that rural dwellers have restructured their livelihood portfolios away from the land into off-farm and non-farm activities. Specifically, the hypothesis argues that there is occupational adjustment, income-earning reorientation, social identification and spatial relocation of rural dwellers away strictly from peasant modes of livelihood (Yaro, 2006; Rigg,2006; Bryceson, 1996). The hypothesis goes a long way in unravelling how livelihoods are being transformed by rural dwellers and what determines these changes. There is also no doubt that the hypothesis complements the Capabilities Approach and the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach in exploring livelihood dynamics amongst the poor. Unlike the Capabilities approach that is individualist and ahistorical (Gore, 1997), the Deagrarianisation hypothesis looks at how the globalization factors such as neo-colonialism, Structural Adjustment Programmes, migration and remittances as well as rapid urbanisation influence rural livelihoods in the South.

The hypothesis is also used in the study as it questions the importance of agriculture in sustaining rural livelihoods. Until recently, rural development debates rarely paid attention to the emerging features such as livelihoods diversification or deagrarianisation (Ellis, 2000). Rural livelihoods were assumed to operate purely as smallholder, and focus was on how to stimulate growth through agriculture (Ellis and Biggs, 2001). Questioning the contribution of smallholder agriculture in sustain the needs of the newly resettled households as espoused in the deagrarianisation hypothesis reconFigures the focus of rural poverty analysis. Specifically, it changes rural poverty analysis from 'an agriculture-centred, sectoral-level, viewpoint, to a household or individual-level viewpoint' (Ellis, 2000). The hypothesis is also relevant to this

study because of its historical appreciation of the livelihood's development. The colonial context in Zimbabwe is important in understanding the historical developments of livelihoods.

4.5 Chapter summary

The chapter has discussed the three major theoretical frameworks underpinning the study. Specifically, the key constructs as well the tenants of each theory have been uncovered. It emanates from the discussion that the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach stresses the importance assets (land, water, common property) in determining household well-being. The approach facilitates an understanding of heterogeneous livelihood strategies pursued by rural populace in the developing world (Zimbabwe included). The chapter also explored the Capabilities approach. It began with a thumbnail sketch of its core concepts and constructs. The central thesis of the approach is that the objective of poverty reduction should be to expand the freedom that deprived people have to enjoy valuable beings and doings. It emanates from the discussion that the poor people should have access to positive resources (land) so that they are able to make choices that matter to them. The last part of the chapter discussed the Deagrarianisation hypothesis. Central to the hypothesis is that peasants lose their economic capacity and social cohesion and demographically shrink in size. As this happens, rural livelihoods are becoming divorced from farming and therefore, from the land: a development that increases poverty, food insecurity and distress migration.

Chapter Five: Research methodology and methods

5.1 Introduction

Every type of study has implicit, if not explicit, research design. In the most elementary sense, the design is a framework that connects empirical data to a study's initial research questions and ultimately, to its conclusion. The purpose of the chapter is to explore the research philosophy in relation to other philosophies, expound the research strategy, including the methodologies adopted as well as instruments used. This chapter therefore discusses the philosophical assumptions particularly of interpretivism and also the design strategies underpinning this research study. Specifically, the chapter defines the scope and limitations of the research design and locates the research amongst existing research traditions in information systems. In addition, the chapter discusses the research methodologies and strategies used in the study including population sampling, instruments, data collection and analysis methods, while explaining the stages and processes involved in the study. The chapter also details the conditions under which the various stages of the investigations were carried out, development of initial contacts and piloting the instruments which were used to collect primary data. It further indicates how issues of data validity and reliability were addressed through triangulation.

5.2 Research philosophy: Interpretivism

Although philosophical ideas remain hidden in research, Crotty (1998) observes that they influence the practice of research and need to be identified. Based on the philosophical assumptions adopted, research can be classified as positivism, critical or interpretivism (Myer et al., 1998). This study used an interpretive research philosophy given the sociological nature of the research. The epistemological stance of the interpretive approaches is that knowledge of reality is gained through social construction such as language and shared meanings (Walshman; 1993). In an interpretive research there are no predefined depended and independent variables, but a focus on the complexity of human sense-making as the situation emerges (Kamplan and Maxwell, 1994). In other words, the understanding of social action must include the meaning that social actors give to their deeds (Crotty, 1998).

Interpretive researchers believe that reality is constructed by people's subjective experiences of the external world; thus, they may adopt an inter-subjective epistemology and the ontological belief that reality is socially constructed. According to Willis (1995) interpretivists believe there is no single correct route or particular method to knowledge.

Walsham (1993) posit that in the interpretive tradition there are no 'correct' or 'incorrect' theories. Instead, they should be judged according to how 'interesting' they are to the researcher as well as those involved in the same areas. The same applies to people's experiences and their livelihoods that are a subject of this study. Interpretive approaches attempt to derive their constructs from the field by an in-depth examination of the phenomenon of interest. Gephart (1999) alludes that interpretivists assume that knowledge and meaning are acts of interpretation, hence there is no objective knowledge which is independent of thinking or reasoning humans. Interpretive paradigm is underpinned by observation and interpretation, thus to observe is to collect information about events, while to interpret is to make meaning of that information by drawing inferences or by judging the match between the information and some abstract pattern (Aikenhead, 1997).

The major words pertaining to this methodology are participation, collaboration and engagement (Henning, van Rensburg and Smit, 2004). In the interpretive approach the researcher does not stand above or outside, but is a participant observer (Carr and Kemmis, 1986) who engages in the activities and discerns the meanings of actions as they are expressed within specific social contexts. It is because of the discussed strengths of the interpretive approach that this study adopted such a method to understand the post land reform livelihood livelihoods. Specifically, the interpretive research enabled the researcher to explore the determinants of livelihoods diversification in the three study sites and how diversification has transformed household well-being.

5.3 Research design

Huysamen (1994) defines a research design as a plan or blueprint that guides data collection to investigate the research hypothesis or question in the most economical manner. For Welman et al., (2005) it is a framework that informs the recruitment of research participants and how information is collected from them. In the research design, the researcher describes what she or he is going to do with participants in order to be able to reach a conclusion about the research problem (Welman. et al., 2005). A research design in other words illustrates a plan on how one intends to conduct the research from the formulation of the research problem to the writing of the final narrative. The chief purpose the final narrative. The chief purpose of the research design is to allow the investigation to anticipate what appropriate research decisions should be made so as to increase the validity and reliability of the results (Leedy, 1997). This

study adopted a case study research design so as to understand the livelihoods diversification in the study sites in-depth (Yin, 2003)

5.3.1 Making a case for Case study as a Design

Kothari (2004) argues that the case study method is a technique by which individual factor whether it is an institution or just an episode in the life of an individual or a group is analysed in its relationship to any other in the group. Stake (1995) defines case study as intensive analysis of an individual unit such as a person, group or event, stressing developmental factors in relation to context. In many cases, case study method only selects a small geographical area or a very limited number of individuals as the subjects of the study. Bromley (1990) defines the case study design as an attempt to systematically investigate an event or set of related events with the specific aim of describing and explaining a phenomenon. Hagan (2006) views the case study as in-depth, qualitative studies of one or a few illustrative cases.

For Creswell (2004), a case study design is a research strategy which explores an in-depth analysis of a programme, an event or an activity. This is concurred by Yin (2003) who views it as an 'inquiry that uses multiple sources of evidence to investigate contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, in which the boundaries between the phenomenon and its context are not clearly evident'. Yin (2003) further argues that a case study also aids our understanding of what is being investigated, and offers new interpretations, new perspectives, new meaning and deeper insights into the topic under investigation. Furthermore, it helps the researcher to present a thorough description of the inquiry (Hagan, 2006; Creswell, 2004; Bromley, 1990).

This study explored livelihood diversification and its implications on household poverty in newly resettled areas in Springrange, Rocksdale and Fox farms. The case study approach was used so as to yield detailed qualitative information on the phenomenon under investigation. Given the interpretivist research philosophy adapted in this study and the nature of the research questions, the case study methodology was considered the most appropriate approach to employ because it provides a systematic way of collecting data, analysing information and reporting the results, thus understanding the problem or situation in great depth. More specifically, the case study approach was adopted as it provides a variety of participant perspectives and uses multiple data collection techniques (Creswell; 2009). The key issues in case study is that the researcher explores a single entity or phenomenon ('the case') bounded by time and activity (e.g., a program, event, institution, or social group) and collects detailed

information through a variety of data. In this study the researcher used observations, in-depth interviews and focus group discussions for data collection purposes.

Although the case study approach has remained popular amongst a number of scholars, one cannot ignore its weaknesses. Flyvbjerg (2006) identified five statements regarding the limitations of case study as a research:

- General, theoretical knowledge is more valuable than concrete, practical knowledge.
- One cannot generalize on the basis of an individual case and, therefore, the case study cannot contribute to scientific development.
- The case study is most useful for generating hypotheses, whereas other methods are more suitable for hypotheses testing and theory building.
- The case study contains a bias toward verification, i.e., a tendency to confirm the researcher's preconceived notions.
- It is often difficult to summarize and develop general propositions and theories on the basis of specific case studies.

In this study the triangulation of data collection methods was used to cover up for the weaknesses of the case study method. Observations, focus group discussions and in-depth interviews were used for triangulation purposes. Yin (2003) notes that the case study approach allows the investigators to retain the holistic and meaningful characteristic of real-life events. According to him the need to use a case study approach arises whenever an empirical inquiry must examine a contemporary phenomenon in its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between the phenomenon and its context are not clearly evident. Chetty (1996) explains that the case study method of research is a rigorous methodology that allows decision making processes and causality to be studied. It is suitable when, why and how questions are asked about a set of events. McCutcheon and Meredith (1993) argue that when properly conducted a case study is truly scientific despite being criticized as a weak form of research which lacks rigor and objectivity.

5.4 Strategies for gaining access to the study sites and informants

There is growing literature on the importance of gaining access to study sites and the study informants (Douglas, 1976; Burgess, 1984; Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Patton, 1990). Shenton and Hayter (2004) posit that for many qualitative investigators, one of the most pressing research concerns lies in "gaining access". The researcher's success in this regard will have a

bearing on the nature and quality of the data collected, on the insight into the community and its members that the investigator is able to gain, and, ultimately, on the trustworthiness of the findings (Burgess, 1984; Shenton and Hayter, 2004). Shenton and Hayter (2004) argue that there are essentially two problems of access that must be tackled. The first is that of securing entry into the community in which it is hoped the fieldwork will be conducted. This is one of the most fundamental tasks of all since any gatekeepers who deny the researcher access to their communities also effectively prevent him or her from approaching all the potential informants within them, unless, of course, there are alternative routes available to the investigator. Burgess (1984) notes that access is a prerequisite; a precondition for the research to be conducted. The second problem lies in persuading individual informants associated with the community to contribute data, usually via focus groups or one-to-one interviews.

In the three study sites, the researcher used a number of strategies to gain access to the sites as well as the participants. An application to conduct research was submitted to the Ministers of Provincial Affairs responsible for Matabeleland North and South in March 2018. As part of the application letters, the researcher submitted the proposal as well as the copies of data collection instruments (interview schedules). Included in the application letters were also the participant consent forms and the letters of introduction indicating that the study was meant to fulfil the requirements for Doctor of Philosophy in Public Policy at the University of KwaZulu Natal. The two Provincial Affairs Ministers gave the researcher permission to do the study in the respective selected farms under their jurisdiction. The next stage involved the operationalisation of the letters of authorisation amongst the District Administrators of Umguza, Bubi and Matopo where study sites were drawn. This also included visiting the local authority representatives as well as traditional leaders in the three respective areas. There is no doubt that the letters of authorisation from the gatekeepers played a central role in legitimising the researcher in the study areas. Being introduced by a gatekeeper follows a more 'natural' way of meeting new participants, and although one needs to go through the process of obtaining "informed consent', this helps to establish first contact (Kielmann et al., 2012). Although one needs to go through the process of obtaining "informed consent', this helps to establish first contact (Kielmann et al., 2012).

The ongoing communication and relationship-building process, which included phone calls and numerous site visits over many months before the interviews were conducted, demonstrates the importance of staying focused and persevering in order to succeed in gaining entry to the geographical area and the required number of participants. The researcher kept in

touch with community leaders in the three study sites as well as visiting these areas so as to establish some rapport. A flexible approach and the application of negotiation skills helped the researcher to identify the best location for the interviews and to make changes to interview dates and times to accommodate busy participants whose activities were ever changing. Furthermore, the researcher also used a local language (IsiNdebele) in conducting the in-depth and focus group interviews. The use of IsiNdebele in conduction the data collection ensured that participants express themselves freely and clearly.

The researcher had planned to complete all the data collection by a particular date, but had to understand that he could not impose his programme on the research participants. It became imperative to check the participant's availability right up to the start of the interview, as it could change even on the day of the interview. It emanated from the researchers' experience in the three newly resettled study sites (Fox, Springrange, and Rocksdale farms) that gaining entry to a research site, then recruiting and selecting research participants and gaining their cooperation requires not only a plan, flexibility and perseverance but also energy and commitment. The researcher's experience also indicated that it is a combination of knowledge, skills, attitudes and hard work that brings success. A key lesson for the researcher was that a researcher cannot predict how a research project will unfold.

5.5 Study population

The study population has been defined by Parahoo (1997) as "the total number of units from which data can be collected", such as individuals, artefacts, events or organisations. For Babbie (2007), study population can also be seen as the theoretically specified aggregation of study elements. Burns and Grove (2003) views population as all the elements that meet the criteria for inclusion in a study. The unit of analysis in this study was a household which has been defined by World food Programme (2000) as a socio-economic unit consisting of individuals living together. Operationalising the concept of household in the context of livelihoods diversification and poverty, requires making assumptions about household structure and organization in order to identify the activities, relationships and processes essential to improving income, accumulation, food security and well-being in general (FAO 2000). A household is not a homogenous decision-making unit. In most households, members have individual, productive, and entrepreneurial roles that are often gender-based, competing, unequal and conflicting claims on household resources and output for the satisfaction of basic needs.

Households vary greatly in structure and membership from one culture and society to another. Chant (2008) sees a household as a social unit consisting of one or more persons, genealogically related or not, living together, eating together and/or making common provisions for food and other living arrangements. For the purpose of this study, the population were A1 households that were allocated land under the FTLRP by Government of Zimbabwe in the three respective study sites. These households were meant to be in possession of an offer letter or certificate of occupancy in one of its members in order to qualify to be part of the study. The researcher ensured that the sampled included both male and female headed household (dejure/defacto). Female headed households were drawn to be part of the sample to enable the researcher to fully explore the gendered nature of livelihoods diversification in newly resettled areas. It also enabled the researcher to explore how the diversification of livelihoods in newly resettled areas impact on both men and women. Data collection started on the 2nd of April 2019 and ended on the 13th of September 2019. The researcher started by engaging key informants so as to have an administrative appreciation of issues around the subject. This was followed by in-depth interviews, observations and later focus group discussions. The purpose of doing a focus group discussion at a later stage was to enable the researcher not only to triangulate information from other sources but also to take advantage of group dynamism on the subject. The population also included government departments such as the ministry land and resettlement, the department agriculture, social welfare, and non-state actors that included Lutheran Development Trust and Old Mutual. The researcher also engaged Councilors, Crawl Heads and Farm development committee Chairpersons.

5.5.1 Sampling criteria and technique

Sampling refers to the selection of a subset of persons or things from a larger population, also known as a sampling frame (Scott and Morrison, 2007), with the intention of representing the particular population (Gall et al., 2007; Neuman, 2011). In this study the researcher used a non-probability sampling technique. Non-probability refers to the selection of a sample that is not based on known probabilities (Scott and Morrison, 2007). It is distinguished from probability sampling in that subjective judgment play a role in selecting the sampling elements (Fisher et al., 2002). Non-probability sampling techniques include convenience, volunteer, purposeful and snowball sampling. Specifically, the researcher used purposive sampling in selecting the target population. For this study, purposeful sampling was employed, as appropriate to research where the investigator wants to discover, understand and gain insight, and therefore must select a sample from which the most can be learned (Merriam, 2009).

Patton (2002), cited in Merriam (2009), argues that the logic and power of purposeful sampling lies in selecting information rich cases for study in-depth. Information-rich cases are those from which one can learn a great deal about issues of central importance to the purpose of the inquiry, thus the term 'purposeful inquiry'. Purposive was used in this study with the intention of getting suitable and resourceful participants and also in order to address issues of location, population diversity, gender and unique experiences (Fisher et al., 2003; McMillan, 2004). To begin purposeful sampling, it is necessary to first determine what selection criteria are essential in choosing the people or sites to be studied. For this study, when choosing the participants for the in-depth interviews and focus group discussion the following selection criteria was applied. Participants had to be A1 households that were allocated land under the FTLRP by Government of Zimbabwe in the three respective study sites.

These households were meant to be in possession of an offer letter or certificate of occupancy in one of its members in order to qualify to be part of the study. Specifically, the researcher conducted 42 in-depth interviews from the three study sites (Fox farm (12), Rocksdale Farm (12) and Springrange farm (18)). The 42 in-depth interviews gave the researcher detailed information enough to understand the phenomenon under analysis. The researcher also conducted four focus group discussions (2 in Springrange, 1 in Fox and 1 in Rocksdale farm) and 15 key informant interviews (5 for each farm). These were purposively drawn from government departments, non-state actors and local leadership. These farms were purposively selected by the researcher in the three respective districts whose livelihoods have traditionally been crop and livestock production but also engage in some form of diversification. Furthermore, these farms have benefited from various government and Non-Governmental Organisations interventions focusing on livelihoods diversification and agricultural development.

In terms of selection of participants, the researcher worked closely with the traditional leaders and Farm Development Committee members to identify households that had the predetermined characteristics. Traditional leaders furnished the researcher with farm registers, maps, and also played a cardinal role in conscientizing the community about the study. The number of participants was sufficient. It was based on the saturation principle of diminishing returns – the notion that each additional unit of information would supply less new information than the preceding one: until new information dwindles to nothing (Thiétart, 2007). In this study the saturation principle holds true and it can be confirmed that the number of participants

were sufficient and enough information was provided to enable the researcher to compile a questionnaire for this study that was reliable and valid. However, it is imperative to note that purposive sampling has a disadvantage in that samples are not easily defensible as being representative of populations due to potential subjectivity of researcher (Black, 1999).

5.5.2 Sampling for Focus group discussions

As already indicated, participants in qualitative studies are usually recruited to a study because of their exposure to or their experience of the phenomenon in question (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). The focus group discussion participants were also recruited using the purposive sampling approach. This type of sample tends to ensure richness in the data gathered (Fossey et al., 2002; Ryan et al., 2007). Rennekamp and Nall (undated) allude that members of a focus group should have some characteristic that they share in common. Furthermore, Rennekamp and Nall argue that participants in a focus group must homogeneous in terms of one or two desired characteristics like race, gender, residence, and socioeconomic status to provide an accurate portrayal of the group's collective opinion. Participants in the FGDs of this study were from the same residential area which is the resettlement area. The four focus group discussions were made of between 8 and 12 participants plus the researcher (moderator) who helped guide the discussion. The goal was to build in enough variation for contrasting ideas but not so much that participants are inhibited and defer to those perceive to be more experienced or knowledgeable on an issue.

According to Rennekamp and Nall (undated) in most cases members of the target audience are the best source of information regarding the recruitment or sampling of focus group team. However, in this study community leaders assisted the researcher in identifying the cases with more knowledge and understanding of the subject. For the purposes of this study participants in the focus group were selected with strict adherence to the above principles. Only resettled farmers residing in the three resettlement study sites were selected through the purposive method.

5.5.3 The pilot study

Denzin (1982,63) pinpoints that "a pilot study is a small-scale preliminary study conducted before the main study in order to check the feasibility or improve the design of the research". Other scholars such as Berg et al. (2003) argue that the pre-test is usually carried out on members of the relevant population, but not those who will form part of the final sample. Haralambos and Holborn (2008) concur with this as they view a pilot study as a small-scale

preliminary study conducted before the main research. The purpose of a pilot study is to check the feasibility or improve design of the research (Best and Kahn, 2006). The advantages of pilot studying include the fact that questions can be tested to make sure they make sense to respondents. Furthermore, pilot studies can also be used to help researchers develop ways of getting cooperation of subjects in a study and to develop the research skills of those doing the study (Polit and Hungler, 1993).

In this study, the researcher conducted a pilot study in August 2018 at Dunsdal farm located 25km away from the City of Bulawayo along Solusi road. Dunsdal farm was chosen as a pilot study area because it has newly resettled households, traits of livelihood diversification and its agro-ecological characteristics resembles the ones for three study farms. Newly resettled farm households were purposively drawn to respond to given tasks and questions. Specifically, one focus group discussion made of eight individuals and six in-depth interviews were piloted amongst the newly resettled A1 farmers that replicated the characteristics of the sample. The main purpose of the pilot study was to ensure that the prospective participants in the three study sites are able to understand the questions and answer them fully. The pilot study demonstrated that the in-depth and focus group discussion schedules did not contain any confusing items and the participants found it easy to respond to the questions on livelihoods diversification in the area and its implications on household well-being.

5.6 Data collection instruments

5.6.1 In-depth interviews

In an in-depth interview, a researcher contacts the participants personally to answer research questions. In this study which explores the extent of livelihood diversification and its implications on household poverty amongst the newly resettled farmers, the researcher conducted the in-depth interviews in the three respective study sites. Specifically, the researcher conducted 42 in-depth interviews (Fox farm-12, Rocksdale farm 12 and 18 at Springrange farm). Springrange farm had the highest number of interviewees given that it has the highest number of the newly resettled farmers in the district (Umguza District Profile, Undated) and also demographically bigger than the other two research sites. In-depth interviews were conducted by the researcher because of their distinct advantages. Guy et al. (1987) argue that in in-depth interviews, the interviewer can clarify questions that seem confusing or that are misunderstood by the participants.

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In addition, to asking questions, the interviewer also observed the behavior of those researched. Ritchie and Louis (2000) allude that in-depth interviews allow the researcher to probe interviewees which allows one to get more information on the subject under study. The 42 in-depth interviews were conducted in private locations with no outsiders present and where participant felt their confidentiality was completely protected. Specifically, the researcher encouraged the participants to use pseudonyms and not their real addresses. Although finding such locations was a challenge in some instances, every effort was made to protect the participants' privacy to the greatest extent possible. As part of the interviews, the researcher also interviewed key informants. Specifically, the researcher interviewed the parliament representatives of the three research sites, Local Government representatives, Local Authority representatives, Officials from the Ministry of lands and resettlement, Agritex Officers and traditional leaders. The key informants were interviewed so as to enhance the researchers understanding of the post land reform livelihood dynamics in newly resettled areas as well as to gain insight of the socio-economic contextual factors that determine a household's vulnerability to poverty, livelihood failure or diversification.

5.6.2 Focus group discussions

Parker and Tritter (2006) argue that focus group discussion is sometimes seen as synonymous with interviews, especially semi-structured 'one to one' and 'group interviews'. Despite the existence of many definitions of a focus group in the literature, but features such as organized discussion (Kitzernger, 1994), collective activity (Powel et al., 1996), social events (Goss and Leinbach, 1996) and interaction confirm the contribution that focus groups make to social science research. Powell et al. (1996), view a focus group as a group of individuals selected and assembled by researchers to discuss and comment on, from personal experience, the topic that is the subject of the research. According to Gibbs (1997), focus groups are meant to generate qualitative information through an organized discussion with a selected group on a particular topic.

The researcher used focus group discussion in this study because the method is relatively flexible, low cost and provide quick results. Gorman and Clayton (2005) allude that rich data can be collected with reasonable speed since focus group sessions require only moderate time commitment from both participants and moderator. In fact, the actual time and cost for planning, conducting and analysing data is relatively small when compared to alternatives such as survey and individual interviews (Gibbs, 1997; Morgan, 1997). Focus group discussions were also adopted by the researcher because the tool produces data and insights that would otherwise been inaccessible without the interaction found in a group setting listening to others' verbalized experiences stimulates memories, ideas and experiences in participants (Lindlof and Taylor; 2002). However, it is important to note that due to small numbers involved, focus group are limited in their ability to generalise findings to the whole population (Gibbs, 1997). In this study, the researcher carried out four focus group discussions in the three selected farms.

The purpose of conducting the group discussions was to triangulate data from other sources. Each focus group discussion had between 8 and 12 participants who were women and men. The researcher, with the assistance of two trained assistants (skilled on how to interview, record data and facilitate discussions) used about 10 guiding questions to moderate the discussions with participants purposively selected taking into account gender and socio-economic category. These focus group discussions were conducted at accessible community centers in the three respective study sites. The discussions were tape recorded with the consent of the participants. The focus group discussions were aimed at exploring the perceptions of the

participants on the determinants, constraints and impact of livelihood diversification on household well-being in these newly resettled areas. There is no doubt that the tool provided further insights into participants' experiences and perspectives on livelihoods diversification in line with the study objectives.

5.6.3 Observations

The observation strategy is another data collection tool that was used by the researcher to compliment information gathered from other instruments. Marshall and Rossman (1998) define observation as the systematic description of events, behaviors and artefacts in the social setting chosen for the study. It provides the context for development of sampling guidelines and interview guides (Dewalts, 2002; Erlandson et al., 1993). For scholars such as Denzin and Lincolyn (2008), the observation method is a practical and relevant strategy used for data collection. The scholars further argue that the tool enables researchers to take note of respondent behavior in their natural setting. Observations have led to some of the most important scientific discoveries in human history.

Urquhart (2015) points out that the observation strategy is useful, feasible for practitioners and can be combined with other types of data collection methods such as in-depth interviews and focus group discussions. The scholar further posits that observation research can obtain uniquely reliable and valid answers to some livelihoods and poverty issues. Mansell (2011) notes that Observational methods have been widely used in qualitative research, including research in poverty and livelihoods issues. He also contends that in qualitative approaches observation can provide rich, detailed description, unconstrained by predetermined concepts and categories. Mjaya (2014) used observations in his study that explored post land reform livelihoods in a rural district in Zimbabwe. For Mjaya (2014), the tool is useful in situations where people cannot respond to interviews or questionnaires and where the responses of potential proxies are not likely to be sufficiently accurate.

In this study the participants and the respective communities of the three study sites were made aware that they were being observed by the researcher and his assistants. However, the researcher was aware that this strategy has a disadvantage in that the observed may change their behavior or way of doing things when they know that they are observed. Another potential difficulty with observation methods—particularly participant observation—arises as those under observation become increasingly comfortable with the researcher's presence

By virtue of the observer's role, the participants may forget that they are being studied (Denzil;1982; Mansell, 2011). The following observational list assisted the researcher to observe livelihoods in the three study sites:

- Developments that households have done on land after accessing it from government (cleared fields for crop production, borehole drilling, houses constructed)
- Livelihood assets e.g. land, dams, cattle, goats, sheep
- Availability of food at household level, granaries
- Off farm and non-farm activities e.g. small-scale mines will be visited, gardens
- Bank statements, savings records or evidence of remittances
- Available institutional support services e.g. markets and its activities
- Travel documents for cross border traders
- Livelihood centred developments done by NGOs and Government in newly resettled areas
- Women's roles in diversified livelihoods

The purpose of the observation list was to provide a brief account of the context of the source of the data, in order to facilitate an understanding of the setting in which the respondents work and to provide information about the climate in which the interviews and focus group discussions took place (Huberman and Miles, 2002; Creswell, 2009; Scott and Usher, 2011). There is no doubt that this approach enabled the researcher to comprehend the livelihood patterns of newly resettled farmers, property accrued, well-being of household members as well as livelihood centred development done by government and NGOs in support of livelihoods in newly resettled area.

5.6.4 Visual Sociology

This study also used photography or what Phiri (2018) refers to as visual sociology. According to Zuev (2017) visual sociology studies images and social reality emanating from those images. These images aim to normalize the use of visual as a valid and relevant type of data for sociological data (Nathansohn and Zuev, 2013). Tools used in visual sociology include photo

documentation, photo elicitation, photography as well as videos. In this study the researcher adopted the visual sociology approach through the use of cameras to capture key livelihood options pursued by the newly resettled areas. The researcher used this sociological tool as to triangulate information from other study sources. The tool also played a critical role in the analysis of social realities around livelihood vulnerability and livelihood diversification in the three study farms.

5.6.5 Secondary Sources

Secondary data has been defined by various scholars as data that have already been collected by and readily available from other sources (Blumberg et al. 2011; Andrews, 2012; Smith, 2008). For Schutt (2006) it refers to data that has already been collected through primary sources and made readily available for researchers to use for their own research. McCaston and Katherine (1998) argue that common sources of secondary data for social science include censuses information collected by government departments, organizational records and data that was originally collected for other research purposes. Primary data by contrast, are collected by the investigator conducting the research using tools such as in-depth interviews, observations, focus group discussion and participatory methodologies (Denzin, 1982). Secondary data analysis can save time that would otherwise be spent collecting data and, particularly in the case of quantitative data provide larger and higher-quality data bases that would be unfeasible for any individual researcher to collect on their own.

By compiling a review of research findings that have been published on a particular topic, researchers may become aware of inconsistences and gaps that may justify further research (Welman et al., 2005). Such a review enables researchers to indicate exactly what their proposed research fits in the topic that they are researching (Collins and Hussey, 2003). In addition, analysts of social and economic change consider secondary data essential, since it is impossible to conduct a new survey that can adequately capture past change and/or developments. However, secondary data analysis can be less useful in marketing research, as data may be outdated or inaccurate. In this study, the researcher engaged various information sources and documentation on the land question, poverty and rural livelihoods.

The researcher explored the Utete Land Audit Report of 2003, District Development monthly reports (January 2016 to October 2019), Reports from World Vision (Annual reports of 2016-18) and Organisation of Rural Associations for Progress (ORAP) Annual report (2016, 2017 and 2018) and the Zimbabwe Vulnerability Assessment Committee survey reports of 2004,

2009, 2014 and 2019). Government reports on rural poverty and news items were also considered by the researcher. The purpose of reviewing the secondary information was to enable the researcher to understand critical issues around post land reform livelihoods and poverty dynamics, thus assist him in shaping the research approach as well as identifying gaps that need to be filled in by the research. Significant secondary information was obtained through internet, especially from websites of various development organisations.

5.7 Note taking and data recording during the interviews

Research participants should be made aware of the data that will be captured, how it will be managed, and how it will be used during the study lifetime and following its completion (Knight, 2018). For researchers, one needs to know the kind of information they need to record through a tape recorder or note taking to avoid unnecessary detail. Good note taking broaden the researcher's understanding of the study findings and also saves time and frustrations during data analysis. Holloway and Wheeler (2002), argue that note taking and data recording are an important activity during data collection although these might disturb the participants. To limit this, the researcher informed the participants that notes would be taken during the interview with the help of trained assistants. The researcher also sought permission from the participants to record the interviews (including the focus group discussions).

A smartphone was used for audio capture due to their security features (lock screens, encryption, and biometric features) which can be conFigured to prevent others accessing data held on the device, and internet connectivity which allows data transfer to a secure server when working in the field. A disadvantage of many devices, however are the inclusion of low-quality microphones that only capture near-by sound (Knight, 2018). Use of recordings enabled the researcher to maintain eye contact with the participants as well as preservation of participants' words during data collection

5.7.1 Data collection challenges and opportunities

A number of challenges were encountered during the fieldwork for this research. Most importantly the remote location of the three study sites made it physically difficult for the researcher to access them. Because of the remote location, the study became increasingly time consuming and expensive. Through triangulation and proper time and resources budget all these challenges were minimized. The study approach required the researcher to stay at the three study sites for long periods. This was a problem because the researcher did not get any funding for fieldwork expenses. The researcher had to make personal arrangements to fund the

fieldwork. Another challenge was in relation to the village registers kept by the Village heads (*oSobhuku*) of the case study areas. The registers were incomplete, and hence unreliable as sampling frameworks. This was overcome through the participatory census conducted in each village. Another problem was the lack of large-scale maps to show topographic details of the study sites. The only maps available were small-scale and did not show the location of farms, homesteads or village boundaries. In addition, the state of roads and footpaths at all the three sites were very poor. Long distances had to be travelled on bicycle and on foot to reach distant households.

Another notable drawback was the misperception on that I could be a government agent doing some land audit. Such suspicious was addressed through the use of local leadership in explaining that the purpose of the study was exploring post land reform livelihoods diversification and its implications on household well-being and poverty. Another challenge faced by the researcher was that data was collected during a nationwide land audit and towards the 2019 to 2020 farming season. A significant number of participants had already started their crop season preparation. The researcher had to reschedule a number of interviews to ensure the availability of participants.

5.8 Data analysis and presentation

Data analysis goes beyond description because data is transformed and extended (Burns and Grove, 2003). In this process there is identification of essential features and description of interpretation of interrelations among them. Doucet (2003) argues that data analysis denotes a range of techniques for sorting, organizing and indexing qualitative data. It also implies organizing, provide structure and eliciting meaning out of the collected data (Mason, 1996). According to Polit et al. (2001), analysis of qualitative data is an active and interactive process. Mason (1996) posit that data analysis has to commence after conducting the first interview.

In this study, the content analyses approach was used to analyse the qualitative data. For Hsieh and Shannon (2005) content analyses is a widely used qualitative research technique. Rather than being a single method, current application of content analyses shows three distinct approaches: conventional, directed, or summative. All three approaches are used to interpret meaning from the content of text data. Budd et al. (1967) argue that content analysis focuses on the characteristics of language as communication with attention to the content or contextual meaning of the text. The Researcher used the content analysis approach because it goes

beyond merely counting words to examining language intensely for the purpose of classifying large amounts of text into an efficient number of categories that represent similar meanings (Weber, 1990). In data analysis, the first step entailed transcribing recorded interviews into written words or format. This step was a challenge as the data analysis was performed in English and the interviews were done in native languages. The next step entailed analysing the content of the discussions and interviews to identify trends that appear and reappear in collected information.

5.9 Interviewer bias and reflexivity

Qualitative research in social sciences has been considered poor in establishing the validity of research finding (Patnaik, 2013). Roller (2013) alludes that research design of any sort has to grapple in the pesky issue of bias or potential distortion of the research out comes due to unintended influences from the researcher as well as research. The scholar further argues that this is a particularly critical issue in qualitative research where interviewers (and moderators) take extraordinary efforts to establish strong relationships with the interviewees (and group participants) in order to delve deep into the subject matter. In qualitative research the researcher is both the researcher and the participant and can therefore not be divorced from the phenomenon under study. According to Parahoo (1997), reflexivity is a continuous process whereby researchers reflect on their preconceived values and those of the participants, such as reflecting on how data collected will be influenced by how the participants perceive the researcher.

Holloway and Wheeler (2002) posit that researchers should reflect on their own actions, feelings and conflicts experienced during research. To achieve credibility of the study, the researcher adopted a self-critical stance to the study, the participants, their role, relationships and assumptions. Reflexivity is not easy to carry out, as it is not always easy to stand back and examine the effects of one's preconceptions. The researcher also validated the data by going back to the participants in the three study sites (Springrange, Fox and Rocksdale farms) to confirm whether the interpretation was correct. Validation of data the approach provided an opportunity for clarification and for researcher to recognize his prejudices.

5.9.1 Data reliability and validity

Reliability and validity are problematic in the social science because human behavior is never static. Reliability in a research design is based on the assumption that there is a single reality and that studying it repeatedly will produce same results (Rolfe, 2006; Long and Johnson,

2000; Slevin, 2002; Smith and Noble, 2014). Polit and Hungler (1993) define reliability as the degree of consistence with which an instrument measures the attribute it is designed to measure. For Silverman (2004), the concept implies the degree to which findings of the research are independent of accidental circumstances and are an accurate representation of the total population. On the other hand, validity is seen as the degree to which the interpretations and concepts have mutual meanings between the participants and the research (MacMillian and Schumacher, 2001). Polit and Hungler (1993) allude that validity denotes the degree to which an instrument measures what it is intended to measure. Smith and Noble (2015) argue that assessing the reliability and validity of study findings requires researchers to make judgements about the 'soundness' of the research in relation to the application and appropriateness of the methods undertaken and the integrity of the final conclusions.

Although the tests and measures used to establish the validity and reliability of quantitative research cannot be applied to qualitative research, there are ongoing debates about whether terms such as validity, reliability and generalisability are appropriate to evaluate qualitative research (Rolfe, 2006; Long and Johnson, 2000; Winter, 2000). In the broadest context these terms are applicable, with validity referring to the integrity and application of the methods undertaken and the precision in which the findings accurately reflect the data, while reliability describes consistency within the employed analytical procedures (Long and Johnson, 2000; Lincoln and Guba, 1985). In this study the researcher used a number of strategies to ensure trustworthiness of the research findings. Specifically, the researcher pilot tested the data collection instruments (Focus group and interview schedules) so as to identify flaws.

The researcher also tape recorded all interviews so as to capture the actual words of the participants. Recording data increased the accuracy of collected data. The triangulation of data collection process through the use of multiple data collection methods also played a cardinal role in improving the quality of data. The researcher also included rich and thick verbatim descriptions of participants' accounts to support findings. The last strategy used in this study was inviting participants from the three study sites to comment on the interview transcript and whether the final themes and concepts created adequately reflect the phenomena being investigated.

5.9.2 Ethical considerations of the study

Conducting research requires not only expertise and diligence, but also honesty and integrity (Burns and Grove, 1993). The purpose of honesty and integrity is to recognize and protect the

rights of the participants. To ensure that the study is ethical, the right to self-determination, anonymity, confidentiality and informed consent were observed. As expected by the Ethics Committee, all participants from the three study sites (Springrange, Fox and Rocksdale farms) reported their written acceptance regarding their participation in the research, through a signed Consent and Briefing Letter. At the same time, sampled newly resettled farmers were asked to sign a Debriefing and Withdraw Letter.

These letters were written in local language (IsiNdebele) for easy comprehension by the participants. The purpose of the two letters was to reassure the participants that their participation in the research is voluntary and that they were free to withdraw from it at any point and for any reason. The consent of participants should be sought and voluntary participation is key (Babbie and Mouton, 2007). It is vital to ensure that the participants are well-acquainted in advance with every aspect of the study. Full explanations of what the study involved and how the results would be used was given to the participants. After the explanation, they were accorded the opportunity to ask pertinent questions and decide whether to participate or not. The aim was to ensure that the principle of self-determination is maintained: treating them as autonomous agents with capacity to make informed decisions to participate volitionally.

It has been realized that it is the researcher's responsibility to respect the rights of the individuals who may participated in the study, hence the principle of doing no harm; honest, trust, transparency and respect informed the day to day implementation of the research (Denzin and Lincolyn; 1987; Berg;2010). Although it may not be always easy to measure the dangers of certain context to a given population, let al.one individuals, confidentiality was assured to all participants. Participants were assured that their identity will be protected at all times and collected information shall not be left lying in notebooks or unprotected computer file. Specifically, the researcher gave the participants of the study pseudonyms for privacy and confidentiality purposes. During the conduction of interviews (including focus group discussions), participants were also free to express their perceptions even on topics that were a bit distant from the focus of the study such as political violence and tribal intolerance. Dealing with land reform and livelihood issues in a politically polarised society like Zimbabwe is a very sensitive issue and demands serious ethical considerations. Such sensitivity of land issues poses a challenge for researchers. However, the researcher used the letters of authorisation

from gate keepers such as the Resident Ministers responsible for the Matabeleland North and Matabeleland South to gain entry to the study sites. Legitimisation of the study was also done through the engagement of government departments such as the ones responsible for local governance and land and rural development. The involvement of traditional leaders and council chamber representatives also increased the acceptance of the researcher in the three study sites. As already indicated, the respect of the cultures of the communities involved also created a conducive environment for the community buy-into the study.

5.10 Chapter Summary

This chapter explored the methodology and design of the study. The chapter began by unravelling the philosophical underpinnings of the qualitative research and a description of the research design. The Study took the form of a qualitative case study, which was interpretive in nature. One defining characteristic of case study research is the ability to use a variety of data collection methods. As such, the researcher used key informant interviews, in-depth interviews, focus group discussions as well as observations. The elaboration and explanation of issues related to the research methodology has been highlighted that includes the choices of research methodology and data collection. The chapter also uncovered the researcher's experiences throughout the data gathering process as well as the ethical considerations that guided the study. The chapter further presented a synopsis of how the data was presented and analysed. Issues of reliability and validity as they relate to the data collection procedures were examined as well. The next chapter focuses on data analysis and presentation.

Chapter Six: Household Livelihoods vulnerability, poverty and diversification in newly resettled areas.

6.1 Introduction

Returns from smallholder agriculture seem to be failing to provide adequate basis for a means of living in the Global South. Agriculture is extensively done on a subsistence basis with farmers operating within the margins of their local social, economic and physical environment. Small holder agriculture has survived colonial and post-colonial regimes with no signs of having capacity to meet the needs of households. Rodney (1972) posit that the world is yet to understand why despite years of colonialism, African hoes have survived and are still an indispensable tool in Sub-Saharan agriculture. This chapter looks at smallholder agriculture amongst the A1 newly resettled farmers at the Fox, Springrange and Rocksdale Farms. Specifically, the chapter looks at various ways by which land was accessed by the newly resettled farmers, what motivated them to get allocated land under government's land reform programme as well as the challenges they faced in the process.

The chapter also interrogates livelihood vulnerability and poverty dynamics in the three farms under study. The last part of the chapter profiles predominant livelihood options pursued by various households in the study sites. This chapter also looks at the extent of deagrarianisation and re-agrarianisation through livelihoods diversifications. The role of cultural traditions in the sustainability of rural households is questioned as well. Specifically, the chapter is premised on the following first two major research questions:

- What are the experiences of newly resettled farmers on household poverty and livelihood vulnerabilities in the semi-arid resettlement areas?
- What are the predominant livelihood diversification options pursued by newly resettled farmers in the three study sites?

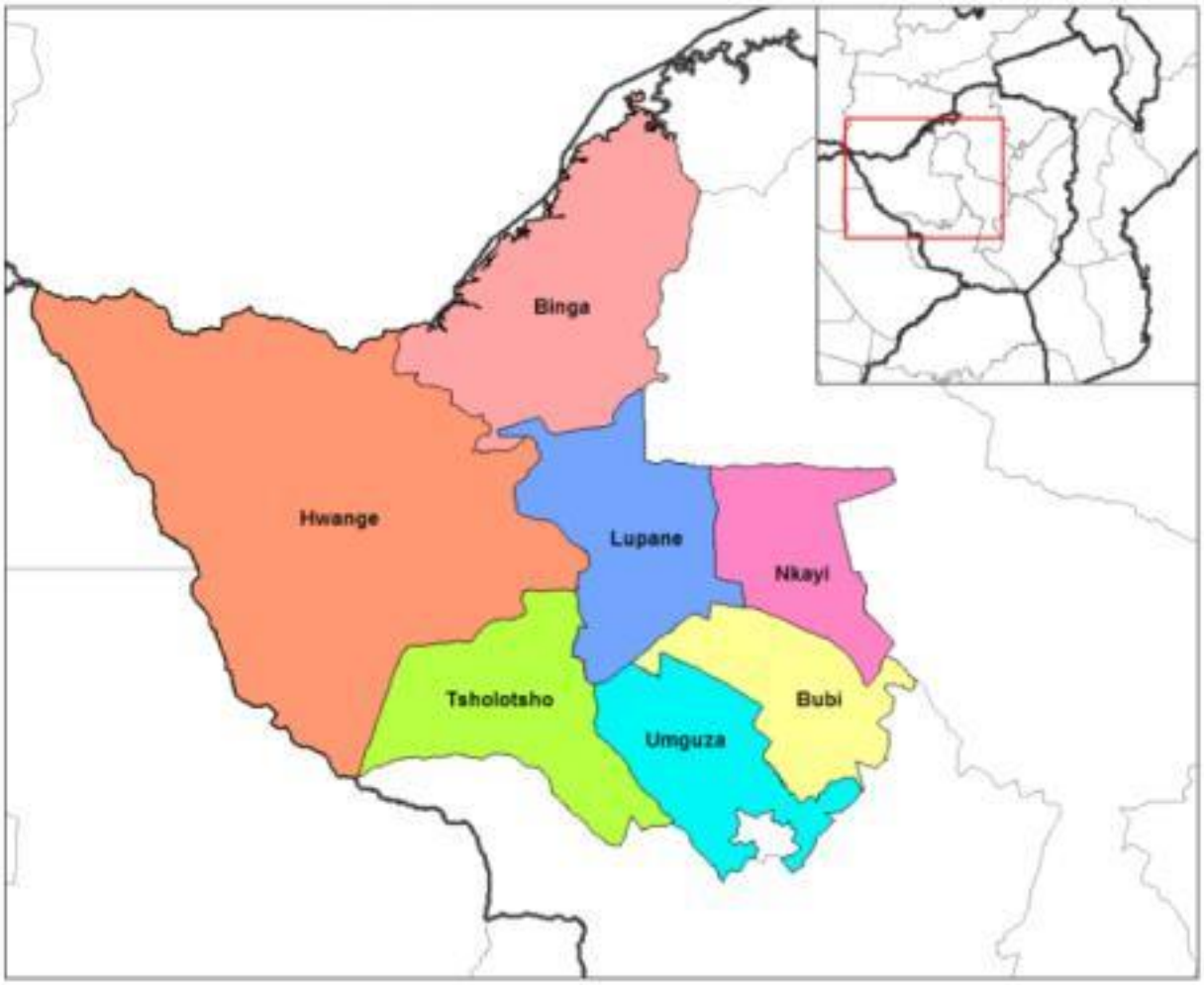
6.2 Locating the study areas in brief

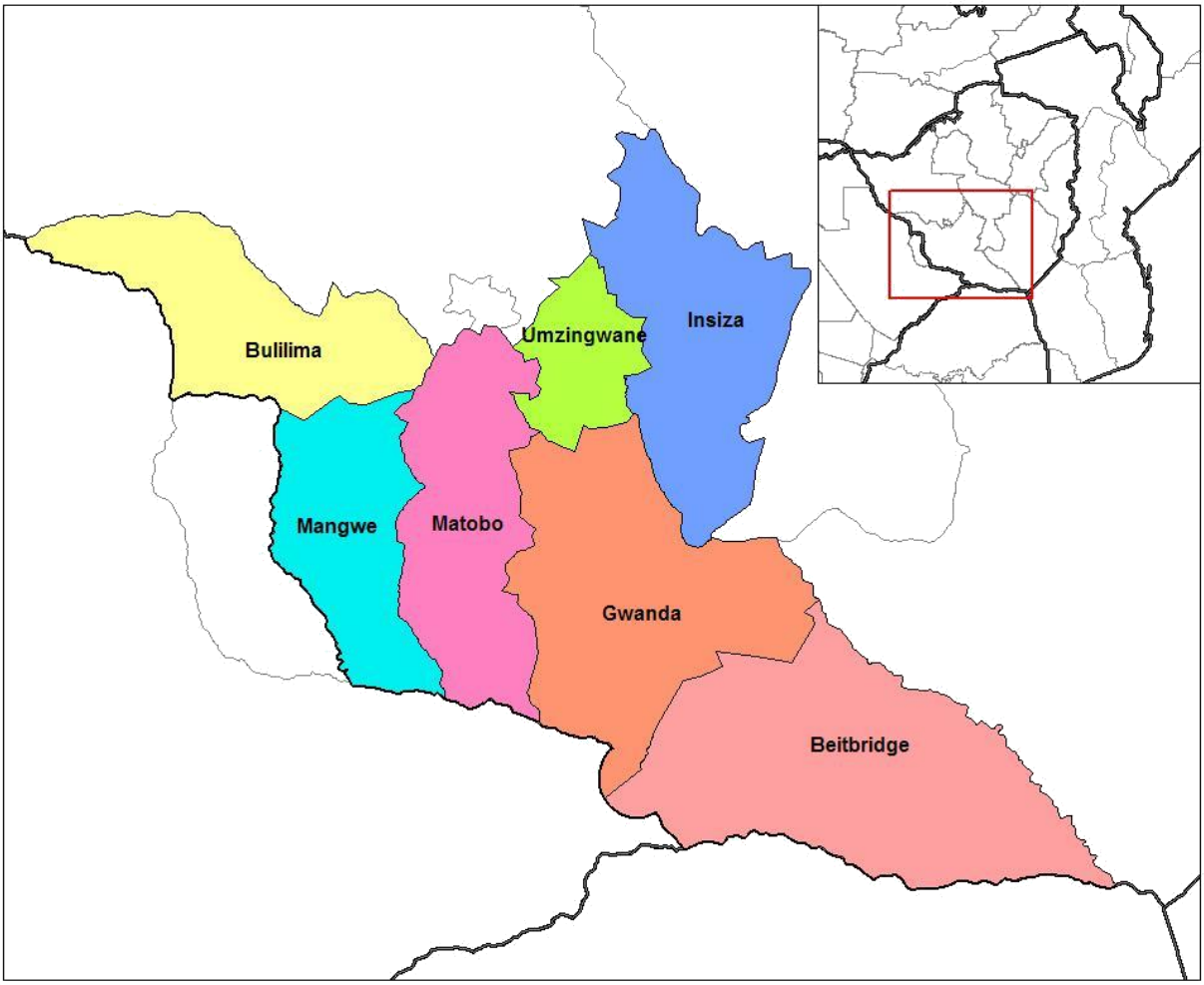
The study, as already highlighted in the background chapter was done at the Fox, Springrange and Rocksdale farms. Fox farm is in Matobo district which is part of Matabeleland South province while Springrange and Rocksdale are located in Umguza and Bubi Districts which are part of Matabeleland North province. Matabeleland South covers the greater South Eastern Zimbabwe while Matabeleland North covers the North Western part of the country *(see maps below).* In terms of population, Census (2012) established that Bubi district has 61 883 people of which 31 680 are males and 30 203 are females. The demographic imbalance in this district

emanates from a significant number of unaccompanied males who come for small scale mining in most parts of the district. Rocksdale farm is located in ward 14 of Bubi District. Umguza district is one of the districts in Matabeleland North. Census (2012) established that it has a population of 89 687 (47 091 males and 42 596 females). Springrange farm is located in ward 9 of the Umguza district.

Like most parts of the greater Matabeland region, the three districts are susceptible to droughts (Thebe, 2017), heat waves, water shortages, food insecurity (Ndiweni, 2015), low incomes and chronic poverty (Chimhowu, 2006). Bubi and Umguza Districts are classified as falling under Agroecological region 4 while Matobo district falls under agro-ecology region 5. Agro-ecology region 4 receives between 450-600 mm of rainfall per year while region 5 gets very erratic rains of less than 400mm per years *(see table 9 below indicating agroecological zones of Zimbabwe).*

Figure 2 Maps Showing Umguza, Bubi and Matobo districts





Source: Wikipedia (2019)

Table 1 Agricultural natural regions in Zimbabwe

Region	Characteristics of the Agro-zones and farming activities
I	Specialized and diversified farming region
Ii	Reliable climate, suitable for intensive farming
iii	Rainfall 650-800mm, semi-intensive farming region
iv	Rainfall 450-600mm, semi-intensive farming region
v	Rainfall low and erratic, extensive farming region

Adopted from: Rukuni et al. (2006)

6.3 Motivations and Access to land in the study farms

Participants of the study were asked questions around motivation for resettlement and how they accessed their pieces of land. Responses to the question varied from household to household in the three study farms (Springrange, Fox and Rockdale farms). It emanated from focus group discussions and in-depth interviews that participants secured land because of various motivations. Discussions in the three farms also revealed various ways in which participants accessed land. The challenge of unemployment and closure of industries in major towns of Zimbabwe pushed a significant number of participants of the study to secure land so as to sustain their livelihoods. The Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) implemented by the Government of Zimbabwe in the 1990s collapsed a significant number of industries and astronomically leaped the number of the unemployed (Mlambo :1994, Sachikonye: 1994)

Participants also revealed that the challenge of poverty and the window of hope emanating from empowerment through the land reform programme motivated them to secure land through the Fast Track Land Reform Programme, spearheaded by War Veterans and Government of Zimbabwe. As for former farm workers discussions revealed that a number of them were motivated to secure land because of the agricultural institutional productivity memory they accrued as they worked the land under former commercial white farmers. Interesting discussions about what prompted participants to secure land emanated from war veterans in the three study areas. Some argued that taking back land was correcting historical injustices emanating from colonialism. Some participants saw the land reform as the only viable source of empowerment from the Government of Zimbabwe.

This was amply captured by one participant who is a war veteran who briefly served in the Zimbabwe National Army immediately after independence

Mr Magwaza who posited that:

> *"I am Mr Magwaza (that is my armed struggle name). I fought for this country after joining ZIPRA, a ZAPU military wing in 1974. I got trained in Russia alongside big names in the current government. You need to understand that we did not fight for what you are currently seeing in this country. We fought for equality given the then social architecture that denigrated blacks and gave them a secondary citizen position in their country. This inequality manifested itself a lot on access to and control of resources, especially land ownership. I was one of the first people to arrive at the Springrange farm for resettlement in 2000. I came here before the departure of Joubert, the white man who used to own this piece of land, organized a few comrades and we invaded the farm. The delineation and pegging of the farm were done whilst we were already inside. At one point he went to court and we got arrested but because of our determination we managed to make it and government quickly gazetted the farm. It was not easy but we managed to uproot him. To me the land reform programme acts as the final nail to colonialism and is the only way of addressing historical injustices caused by colonialism"*

Participants of the study were also asked a question on how they accessed land under the Fast Track Land Reform Programme. The intention was to have an appreciation on how they got the pieces of Land. It emanated from focus group discussions, in depth interviews and key informant engagements that newly resettled farmers in the three study farms accessed land through various means. A significant number of in-depth interviews revealed that beneficiaries accessed land through invasions, also known as 'Jambanja' (Disorderly). With the help of War Veterans, a significant number of farmers secured land before it was delineated and pegged for resettlement by Government of Zimbabwe. Springrange and Rocksdale farms were gazetted after invasions by the Government of Zimbabwe. Only a handful of participants alluded that they were allocated land through the office of the District Administrators and respective Land committees.

Interestingly is that some highlighted that they got Land through ZANU PF affiliation and links with state security agents that were instrumental in the land redistribution process. They argued that it was easy to access land as long as you were loyal to the party and the government of the day. It emanated that some access it through inheritance, renting it and in some instances sharecropping. Some accessed land through uncouth ways. This is cemented by one of the beneficiaries who lamented that;

"You won't believe how I accessed this piece of land my friend after being kept on the waiting list for more than three years. And I hope you are not a police officer or an anti-corruption agent. Some of us had to entice the Land Officers to get land. I am not the only one who got it through that way. A number of diaspora guys paid a fortune for their pieces of land. I am not saying this because I want people to be investigated or I am bitter about it."

The findings of this study are substantiated by Amundsen (1999) and Mutondoro et al. (2016) who argue that access to land in Zimbabwe was disfigured by corruption and characterised by the manipulation of political institutions in order to facilitate resource allocation that sustains the power and wealth of political decision makers. These scholars highlight that some got land through bribery of land administration officials and in some instances through fraud and production of false land claim documentation. Nawazi (2009) sees land corruption as having a profound gender implication on women's access to land.

6.4 Livelihoods vulnerability and household poverty

Robert Chambers defines vulnerability as a multi-faceted socio economic and political condition that compromises the ability of individuals and households to sustain their needs. For Chambers, vulnerability is characterised by defenselessness, insecurity and exposure to risks, shocks and stresses and difficulty in coping with them. Chambers' conceptualization of vulnerability is concurred by Scoones (1998) who argues that vulnerability has two sides; an external side of risks, shocks and stresses to which an individual or household is subjected and an internal side which is defenselessness, meaning a lack of capacity to cope with damaging losses.

Scholars such as Ellis (1998) and Nyathi et al. (2018) argue that people's livelihoods and the wider availability of assets are affected by trends, shocks and seasonality. Assessing the local vulnerability context in these three research farms was seen as critical in understanding poverty dynamics and diversification of livelihoods. Specifically, the researcher sought to understand what drives livelihood vulnerability and subsequent poverty in the three farms.

6.5 Drivers of poverty and livelihoods vulnerability in the study farms

Participants of the study were asked questions on the causes of poverty and livelihood vulnerability. Leading scholars such as Ellis (1998), Birds and Shephard (2002), Chambers and Conway (1992) agree that rural poverty and livelihood vulnerability in the semi-arid regions of which Zimbabwe is a part, result from a combination of interacting socio-economic and environmental factors and processes operating at a range of scales. Discussions of drivers

of poverty and livelihood vulnerability brought very interesting responses indicating the multi-faceted nature of the two variables (poverty and vulnerability) *(See table 2 below).* It emanated from the three farms that Land tenure insecurity has a bearing on poverty and livelihood vulnerability. Ellis ((2000) and Moyo (2004) argue that land tenure denotes determinants of access to land, ownership structures at a particular moment, whether this ownership is defined by private freehold title or customary rights, the existence or not of a marketing land. In summary, land tenure is about how land is accessed, owned, controlled and possibly disposed. Discussions with participants revealed that insecure land tenure is discouraging newly resettled farmers in the three study areas from investing in their pieces of land.

Table 2 Drivers of vulnerability and poverty.

Various Capitals	**Indicators of Vulnerability**
Human Capital	Lack of education and Skills development
	Health (HIV and AIDS)
Social Capital	Lack of farming and land support
	Lack of membership, family and community Support
Physical Capital	Lack of sustained supply of crop and domestic Water
	Lack of roads, market and communication Infrastructure
	Distant and unaffordable health care services
Financial Capital	Lack of access to credit
	Lack of access to banks
	Lack of collateral

Natural Capital	Access to land
	Size of land
	Dependence of trees for fuel
	River and water

Source: Fieldwork Data (2019)

Participants at Fox and Springrange farms revealed that in the last two years they have been served with eviction letter from the High Court of Zimbabwe and the Ministry of Lands and Rural Resettlement. Although participants at the Rocksdale farm indicated that they have never been served with eviction letters, they also felt insecure as some have been evicted in the District. The implications of insecure land tenure on poverty and livelihood vulnerability are clearly captured by the anecdotes from one participant at the Fox farm (Dlamini) who indicated that;

> *"We have a challenge at Fox farm in that some of us still do not have offer letters legitimising our stay here and those with offer letters still do not have title deeds to their pieces of land, 18 years after the land reform programme. Honestly speaking how do you develop your land-based livelihoods under such insecurity of tenure. One of our neighbours with capacity wanted to drill a borehole and start a small irrigation but ended up being discouraged by the dynamics of insecurity of tenure in this area."*

Another interesting sentiment on land tenure insecurity and its implications on livelihoods were highlighted by Mrs. Moyo who noted that:

> *"My husband is in South Africa; we can develop this place more than what you are seeing. We currently have 56 head of cattle, 30 goats, 4 donkeys, 50 sheep. We also managed to drill a borehole and put necessary infrastructure for some gardening and trophies for animal water. You won't believe that we only have this tin hut because we cannot develop beyond what you are seeing. Insecure land tenure in this place is what is demotivating us from putting a lot of money here."*

Conversations with participants of the study also indicated that HIV and AIDS was worsening poverty and livelihood vulnerability in these newly resettled areas. In depth interviews in the three study areas revealed that the epidemic resulted in the loss of bread winners, labour scarcities and loss of time in the carrying economy. It also emanated that the centrality of women in sustaining household livelihood needs and pathways out of poverty was been compromised by the epidemic as women spent most of their time carrying for the terminal ill or accompanying them to secure treatment at distant health institutions instead of focusing on productive remunerative livelihoods activities.

Newly resettled participants also felt that they were neglected by government as indicated by lack of infrastructure that includes roads, telecommunication, market development as well as electrification of these respective areas. It also emanated from the engagements especially with young newly resettled farmers that lack of employment opportunities as well as skills development was deterring their upward mobility. A 26-year-old newly resettled farmer (at Rocksdale farm) who inherited the land after the passing away of his parents alluded that:

> *"Life is very difficult in this community and that is why most of us are poor without assets or even capacity to grow crops in a good season. We lack incomes because of limited livelihood and employment opportunities in this area"*

Participants also highlighted that lack of collateral to access credit at banks was also impacting on their livelihood opportunities and prospects. It emanated that without access to credit it is difficult to have start-up capital for a prospective business or even to improve on seed varieties (inputs) and livestock breeding in new resettled areas.

Rainfall unreliability, harvest failure, and compromised soil fertility were also highlighted as having a bearing on livelihood prospects and household poverty. At Rocksdale Farm, emphasis was on the nature of the agro-ecological characteristics of the area as impacting negatively on their farming prospects. One key informant highlighted that Rocksdale is rocky and the soils cannot support plant life because of low fertility levels and low moisture retention capacities. Although Fox Farm and Springrange Farm have fertile black soils, participants revealed that livelihood vulnerability and poverty resulted from failure of rain-fed agriculture coupled by the challenge of pests and problem animals.

The discussions on vulnerability and poverty in the three study farms are authenticated by scholars such Gallopin, (2006), Adger, (2006), IPCC, (2007) and Smit and Wandel, (2006). These scholars agree that natural, social, physical and financial capital determine livelihood vulnerability of people and their resilience to poverty. These scholars argue that climate change variability and the collapse of rainfed agriculture reduces the adaptive capacity of rural dwellers to deal with seasonality and poverty in general. Nkondze et al. (2013) in Swaziland and Zhan (2016) in China mentioned lack of education, unavailability of critical infrastructure and poor resource governance as some of the factors explaining poverty in rural areas.

6.6 Agricultural activities in the study sites

Samberg et al., (2016) and Blair et al. (2018) argue that in most Sub Saharan countries the food production sector is dominated by smallholder farmers, who occupy thirty percent of the

agricultural land. For Blair et al. (2018) these smallholder farmers practice low input/ low yield subsistence agriculture because of limited assets including one or more finances, labour and land. Shiferaw (2006) and World Bank (2008) posit that most of these smallholders directly depend on utilization of natural resources. Smallholder agriculture in Zimbabwe provides livelihoods for approximately 70% of the population, 15% – 20% of the country's Gross Domestic Product (Brewin et al., 2014). In order to comprehend the nature and patterns of livelihood in the three study farms, the researcher had to engage participants on the roles of smallholder crop production and livestock rearing. Specifically, participants were asked questions centred on crop production, crop diversification and livestock rearing.

6.7 Smallholder crop production and crop diversification

The newly resettled farmers at Springrange, Rocksdale and Fox farm indicated the centrality of crop production in sustaining their livelihood amid shocks, stresses and subsequent vulnerability in their respective areas. Discussions with participants including agricultural extension offices revealed that farmers in the three farms grow various types of crops that include maize, sorghum, millet, round nuts, sweet potatoes and ground nuts. Interestingly is that the three respective farms prioritised different crops because of socio-cultural and agroecological factors. Table 3 indicates the various prioritised and grown crops by households in the three different farms.

Table 3 Crops grown in three study farms as prioritized by participants in focus group discussions

Springrange Farm	**Fox Farm**	**Rocksdale Farm**
Maize	Sorghum	Maize
Sorghum	Maize	Watermelon
Millet	Millet	Cotton
Pumpkins	Sweet Potatoes	Tobacco
Sugar Beans	Sugar Beans	
	Ground Nuts	
	Round nuts	

Source: Fieldwork Data (2019)

Springrange Farm

It emanated from the engagements with farmers through focus group discussions and in-depth interviews at Springrange that maize is the main crop grown by the majority of households in the farm. Participants at Springrange alluded that maize was their main crop as it gives them higher yields in normal rain seasons. One traditional leader in the area posited that maize crop was doing well in black fertile soils endowed within the farm. He also argued that government input support schemes seem to be promoting maize production ahead of other crops. He argued that:

> *"You need to understand that Springrange has fertile black soils that are good for maize production. In a normal season a significant number of farmers under my jurisdiction supply the Grain Marketing Board with large quantities of maize. There are more than ten farmers in this community with grain selling vendor numbers at the Grain Marketing Board. You also need to understand that unlike Millet and Sorghum, you do not need much labour to mind birds and other problematic pests."*

Further interrogations uncovered that a handful of households at Springrange grew Sorghum and Millet. The need for drought tolerant small grains is being promoted through extension services and other non-state actors. It emanated that some farmers growing these small grains were involved in traditional beer brewing. One participant lamented that:

> *"If we abandon sorghum and Millet, how will brew our own local beer for a number of cultural practices which include rain making ceremonies, procedures during funerals and payment of bride prize (lobola)"*

It emanates from the study that societal expectations and other cultural traditions inspire some households to continue practicing crop production.

Fox Farm

Participants at the Fox farm were also engaged in crop production. As at Springrange farm, the intention was to ascertain the importance of crop production for livelihood sustenance. Participants highlighted that they grew crops that include sorghum, maize, millet, ground nuts, round nuts, water melons, cow pees and sweet potatoes. Farmers portrayed a highly diversified crop production portfolio. It emanated from the discussions that sorghum was one of the most popular crops amongst the farmers followed by maize and a variety of other crops. Farmers argued that securing sorghum seeds is not a challenge, given its dominance in most communal areas in Matabeleland South. Farmers also highlighted that high seed sorghum varieties are cheaper at the market compared to maize seed varieties.

The cultural dimensions that necessitate the popularity of sorghum were also uncovered in focus group discussions, with some traditionalists arguing that sorghum is not only a crop but

also part of the way of life of black communities. One participant in an in-depth interview highlighted that the challenge of minding birds seems to be an issue with these young farmers who got land from urban areas and lack appreciation of the historical importance of sorghum and other small grains. He also lamented that these youngsters cry foul of the labor-intensive nature of growing small grains.

To concur his assertion one informant from the Agritex office noted that farmers should take advantage of the marketable nature of small grains especially in Bulawayo's Ingwebu traditional brewing company. He argued that there is a ready market for small grains from beer brewers and stock feed producers in Bulawayo. Further engagements also revealed a highly diversified crop production portfolio as farmers indicated the growing of an array of crops. It emanated from focus group discussions and in-depth interviews that the farm is very much close Bulawayo and borders with Tshabalala Game Park that has a substantial number of employees and households. Mr Ndlovu, in one focus group discussion noted that

> *Growing a variety of crops has an advantage in this farm in terms of proximity to the market. We might have failed to harvest during the 2018/19 rainy season, but what we have seen as farmers is that those who diversify their crop production seem to make more money than those less diversified. For your own information, sweet potatoes and sugar beans sell like hot chips in Bulawayo urban. A significant number of households no longer afford bread on a daily basis and opt for sweet potatoes. What I am saying here is that crop diversification at Fox farm has proved to increase income as well as improving dietary diversification at household level".*

Rocksdale Farm

Rocksdale farm was gazetted for resettlement in 2000 by government of Zimbabwe. Purposively selected farmers were asked questions around the significance of crop production in the study area. Like in the other two farms, the researcher got diverse responses. However, various interviews and direct observations revealed that smallholder farmers grew maize, water melon, drought tolerant sugar beans and a few tried to diversify into cotton and tobacco.

Discussions uncovered that Rocksdale farm's agroecological characteristics have a bearing on crop production and crop diversification as it were. As at Springrange farm, probes indicated that accessibility of maize seeds through the local market, imports from South Africa as well as from government support schemes was having an impact in promoting maize production ahead of other crops. Participants of the study and one local government official indicated that Rocksdale farm never produced crops as the white commercial farmer specialised in ranching and game rearing. This is because of the agroecological characteristics of the area that could

not support crop production. This was precisely captured by one female participant who postulated that;

> *"What we have realised in this farm is that crop production is a waste time and resources. You won't believe that even in good seasons only a handful of farmers manage to get meaningful harvests. You will realise that its mainly those who use tractors, who have capacity to hire labour for planting, weeding, harvesting as well as putting manure who get something substantial. These soils are not good for crop production, but because we were given land for agricultural purposes, we will continue trying crop production. The other thing is that we fear land audits as farmers, so you just have to be seen doing something agrarian on these pieces of land".*

The growing of commercial crops has also been marred by challenges. A handful of farmers tried tobacco and cotton but did not succeed because of factors related to the agricultural ecological characteristics of the farm as well as marketing challenges. Gardening also proved to be one of the most popular on-farm livelihood option pursued by household with their own private sources of water. Vegetables grown include carrots, cabbages, potatoes, spinach, chomolia, covo, green paper and tomatoes. Participants postulated that gardening (*see figure 1 attached*) is important as it improves household food security and plays a role in generating some income. One 76 years old woman at fox farm had this to say:

> *"I do garden although l don not have my own borehole. I use my neighbour's borehole who felt for me after realising that I am of age and could not do labour intensive activities. He is a man of God. I grow a variety of vegetables for sell and post some to Bulawayo for the upkeep of my three grandchildren. l have been doing that in the last 5 to 6 years."*

6.8 Constraints to crop production and crop diversification.

Study participants were asked questions around constraints to crop production and crop diversification. It emanated from the discussions that depending on rainfed agriculture without irrigation development is the major challenge. Participants highlighted that climate change and variability has compromised their capacity to produce crops as smallholder farmers. Newly resettled farmers in the three study farms revealed that climate change and aridity has led to crop failures as well as reduction in underground water with some boreholes going dry. Lack of draught power emanating from lack of livestock as well as unaffordability of hiring tractors was also mentioned in the focus group discussions and in-depth interviews. To triangulate information emanating from the two data collection instruments, observations were also use The researcher observed that most households without kraals had small fields of less than half of the officially pegged four acres per household indicating the centrality of lack of draught power in determining cropping capacity. Discussions also uncovered that labour constraints also had a bearing on crop production amongst smallholder farmers as youngsters in the three

farms preferred migration and engaging in off-farm and non-farm activities to agriculture. An agricultural extension official in one of the farms summarized the constraints faced by newly resettled farmers as follows:

> *"I have been an agricultural extension official for the past 15 years. Of interest is that at one point I worked at Rocksdale farm and I am currently at Springrange, having been here for the past four years. Crop production and diversification is a challenge in these newly resettled areas. I think one thing we cannot ignore is that some farmers were resettled in farms that cannot sustain plant life. Just look at Rocksdale, the farm is infertile and rocky. There are also issues around resistance by some farmers to adopt other crop varieties and some agricultural technologies. Those without draught power, are resisting conservation agriculture. The same applies to the adoption of small grains such as millet and sorghum. Farmers are adamant in adopting these semi-arid crops. But of course, we cannot ignore challenges emanating from pests and unaffordability of some farm inputs."*

Scoones et al., (2011) support the above as they assert that in terms of agricultural prospects, most of the land allocated to smallholders under the Government's Fast Track Land Reform Programme in Zimbabwe lies in the marginal agro-ecological areas. Thus, a significant number of newly resettled farmers are allocated in climate risky environments, which are also characterized by poor soil fertility (Mashiringwani, 1983) and where agriculture accounts for the most land use. For Makuvaro et al. (2017), the effect of HIV and AIDS on agricultural activities, poor access to credit, lack of inputs as well as the plummeting economy cannot be undermined as some of the constraints handicapping smallholder farmers.

6.9 Livestock ownership patterns and its significance to households

Livestock is a major agricultural activity in Sub-Sahara, and is generally considered a cardinal asset for most rural livelihoods and food security (Dahl, 1987; Bravo-Baumann, 2000; Assan, 2014). Livestock husbandry in Zimbabwe is an important part of mixed farming. Participants of the study were asked questions on the importance of livestock-based livelihoods. The intention was to unravel the contributions of livestock on household livelihoods. It stemmed out of the discussions in the three study farms that animals kept include cattle, goat, sheep, donkeys, ducks, indigenous chickens, and Guinea fowls as shown in *Table 4*. The table below indicates the reared animals as prioritised by the participants in the three respective farms. It appears cattle, goats, and sheep are of value to the new resettled farmers, followed by donkeys and chickens (*see figure 2 attached*)

Table 4 Types of livestock kept in the three study farms

Springrange Farm	**Fox Farm**	**Rocksdale Farm**
Cattle	Cattle	Cattle
Goats	Goats	Goats
Sheep	Sheep	Sheep
Donkeys	Donkeys	Donkeys
Chickens	Chickens	Chickens
Ducks		
Guinea fowls		
Piggery		

Source: Fieldwork Data (2019)

It came out of the engagements with participants that livestock rearing is not only a livelihood activity but also a cultural symbol of wealth. It emanated from the three study sites that livestock is still seen as a sign of one's achievements, a source of prestige and an economic asset with great cultural significance. Focus group and in-depth conversations revealed that livestock, especially cattle and goats are a substantial source of household milk, meat and hides. The newly resettled farmers mentioned that cattle and donkeys were their main sources of draught power in the context of unaffordability of tractor tillage expenses. The purposes of livestock keeping were revealed by Rozina who opined that:

> *"Animals especially cattle are very important to our livelihoods in these newly resettled farms as these are our source of capital. Animals play an important role when we want to raise money to pay school fees, hire labour to work in the field, buy agricultural inputs, food needs of the households, milk for children as well as in social gatherings that include weddings, funerals and paying bride prize (lobola)."*

The above anecdotes highlight the importance of livestock rearing amongst newly resettled farmers. It stems out that livestock rearing improves not only household income and social prestige but also the health status of the farming households as it ensures dietary diversification *(see table 4).* This is also supported by Ellis and Freeman (2005), who theorize

that livestock keeping enables smallholder farmers to invest on their land or in some instances to start small businesses. The two scholars allude that livestock also acts as a social safety net in times of stress and shocks. Rufino et al. (2009) argue that in Western Kenya smallholder farmers keep livestock for milk production to meet household nutritional needs and contributing to economic well-being. However, through observations and discussions with participants, it emanated that only a handful of newly resettled farmers considered producing milk for income generation. Emphasis was on the nutritional values of milk to children. It emerged from the study that participants had limited information on the use of cow dang to produce bio-gas.

6.10 Constraints to livestock rearing

Livestock rearing like any other source of livelihood is affected by shocks and stresses. Participants of the study in the three study sites indicated that droughts have impacted on their livestock. It came out that severe droughts that have been experienced in the greater Matabeleland region of which Fox, Springrange and Rocksdale farms are a part, has increased mortality cases of animals from starvation, reduced the herd in the region as well as compromised livestock-based livelihoods. Acute water shortages and diminished pastures has complicated livestock rearing in the three study farms. This is amply captured by *Figure 3 (see attachment)* highlighting malnourished animals scrambling for water.

One participant at Rocksdale farm insinuated that:

> *"This place is good for animal rearing because it has got sweet grass and a number of different shrubs eaten by goats and other small livestock. Our main challenges emanate from drought, overgrazing, stock theft and animals hit by trucks almost every day on the main road. The problem is that when we got here most of the infrastructure which includes fencing, cattle handling facilities and dip tanks were either looted or vandalized."*

Another newly resettled farmer Mr Dube indicated that:

> *"Livestock rearing is a now a challenge nowadays. We face problems from the middle men who come to buy our animals. Some buy using Ecocash instead of giving us cash even in the form of bond notes. These middlemen ripe us especially after the suspension of local auctions by the Veterinary services as a result of the recent foot and mouth disease outbreak in one of the neighbouring farms. Some shops do not accept Ecocash as a form of payment. Most Vet shops want foreign currency. Some of us now depend on Omalayitsha (Cross border transporters) to get vaccines from South Africa and Botswana. Those who depend on the vet department are in trouble. The department is incapacitated as it always fails to provide us with dipping chemicals. It's a very sad development."*

Although livestock production has proved to offer advantages over crop activities, its contribution to household wellbeing has been inconsequential due to inequality between men and women over ownership and control (Assan 2014). It arose from the study that men own and control cattle while women have some autonomy on whether to buy or sell small livestock like chickens, goats and sheep. The study results are supported by Fekede et al. (2013) who argue that livestock among rural dwellers in Ethiopia plays a major role as an income source. The scholars further argue that apart from hides, draught power and milk, livestock act as a source of wealth and prestige. This is also supported by agrarian scholars such as Cousins (1996) and Ellis and Freeman (2005) who posit that livestock is a critical resource that can be disposed in order to invest in small businesses and land.

Table 5 The Different Functions of Cattle in the three study farms.

Relating to crop production
• Draft power (ploughing)
• provides manure
• transporting inputs, crops, water and wood
Consumption
• milk for home consumption
• meat and related by products hide and horns
Household finance
• investment of crop income (capital growth through herd growth)
• savings (acts as a bank, source of fees, bride price payment) ***Social***
• ritual purposes (e.g. bride price, slaughtered during installation of ancestral spirits)
• source of prestige and status
Source: Fieldwork Data (2019)

6.11 Predominant livelihood options pursued by newly resettled farmers apart from smallholder agriculture

Rural areas of most less developed countries are under developed although they contribute to economic growth through creating jobs, labour supply, food and raw materials for industrial inputs. Despite the vital contributions made by these rural areas to economic growth, they remain on the margins of development characterised by poverty, deep social differentiation and environmental degradation. The central question to any rural development policy resonates around what constitutes dominant livelihood options pursued by rural dwellers in their attempt to migrate out of poverty or accumulate assets and income. This question aimed at allowing the researcher to profile in-depth the nature and patterns of diversification. The other question was premised on who decides on what type of livelihood options to pursue and how these decisions are made. There is burgeoning literature emanating from analyses from scholars such as Ellis (1998), Burrett et al. (2001), Bryceson and Jamal (1997) and Nyathi et al. (2018), on various livelihood options adopted by the poor for survival and in some instances for accumulation purposes.

Participants of the study in the three farms through focus group discussions and in-depth interviews were asked about livelihood options pursued outside livestock and crop farming. The intention was to uncover various non-farm and off farm activities pursued by newly resettled farmers as part of their household livelihood portfolios. It emanated for the study that different household in different farms pursue varying livelihood options that are informed by natural, social, financial, physical and human capitals.

Table 6 Livelihood options as ranked by participants

Fox Farm	**Springrange**	**Rocksdale**
Small Scale mining	Small Scale mining	Small Scale mining
Remittance	Wage labour/Piece jobs	Remittances
Ecotourism and Curio shop	Remittances	Wage labour/ Piece jobs
Wage labour/ Piece job	Pensions and Social welfare grants	Pensions and Social welfare grants
Harvesting Mopane worms		Leasing out land for cropping and grazing
Leasing out land for cropping and grazing		
Transactional sex work		

Source: Fieldwork Data (2019)

6.11.1 Small-scale mining

In Sub Saharan Africa, the rural poor adopt multiple income earning livelihoods. Complimentary research done on livelihood diversification in the 1970's yielded similar conclusions indicating the importance of livelihood diversification in sustaining household needs. Small scale mining is one of the activities adopted by households in areas with mineral endowments in the Global South (Hilson, 2008). Dalu et al. (2017) posit that amidst the socio-economic meltdown in Zimbabwe, increased illegal mining activities on recently discovered diamond and gold deposits have given people a source of livelihood. Aryee et al. (2003) sees small scale mining as an excavation activity driven by poverty and typically practiced in the poorest and most remote areas by poorly educated and unemployment populations in the Global South.

Participants of the study revealed that a significant number of households in the three study farms are involved in small scale mining directly or indirectly. Through probes, it emanated that small-scale mining is one activity that is easy to venture into *(see attached figure 4*

showing small-scale miners mining). Interesting discussions and detailed information emanated from focus group discussions. Participants were very much open and debated diversely over small-scale mining and its importance as a livelihood option. It came out of the discussions that a significant number of household's venture into small scale mining because of the availability of gold resource endowment in their respective areas. Some were of the opinion that small scale mining unlike farming does not depend on rainfall or weather patterns in general. The argument raised by the participants was that small-scale mining provides employment prospects for a significant number of youngsters including those without formal educational qualifications.

It also came out that household-s venture into this livelihood option as it allows them to generate income and cater for their needs. Discussions also highlighted that there is a ready market for gold sold through Fidelity Printers (a government parastatal) and other private players who normally offer competitive prices. Some of the private players were alluded to have links in selling gold in South Africa and Botswana. A comprehensive discussion on small scale mining came out from one of the participants, a Mr Sibanda who mentioned that;

> "*Small scale mining (isikorokoza) is very important in this area given that it has more prospects than farming. You need to understand that Rocksdale farm is not suitable for crop production, maybe it's because of the rich gold deposits underground. Locals have taken advantage of the availability of gold and ventured into small scale mining. Some have done extremely well as they have managed to build very nice habitual structures, drilled boreholes, started other small businesses including small irrigations. You won't believe that some involved in small scale mining normally do well during normal rainy seasons as they have capacity to hire labour to work their fields in their absence, buy good seed varieties as far as South Africa., hire tractors, buy household food needs and take their children to better schools. There is a woman in this community (name disclosed) whose kids are in top universities in South Africa".*

Further engagements also revealed that some participants had different views on small scale mining as a livelihood option. A key informant (agricultural extension representative) asserted that;

> *"Although there are a few exceptional cases doing well out of small-scale mining, what l have discovered as an extension worker is that most households involved in small scale mining have reduced labour effort allocated to crop production as they are always in the mines. There are cases of newly resettled farmers who have reduced their cultivated land and in extreme cases some have abandoned farming altogether. We also need to look at how small-scale mining has damaged the environment especially grazing land. A number of conflicts have arisen between small scale miners and*

farmers whose livestock would have fallen into these deep pits that are not even fenced or covered. These are very typical case here at Rocksdale farm".

Hilson (2011) argues that small-scale mining is a source of employment for more than five million people in Sub-Sahara. The scholar further argues that unlike smallholder agriculture, small-scale mining has a significant multiplier effect. This is amply captured by Kumar and Amaratunga (1994) who posit that the sector "has a positive impact in terms of development, creation of small-scale local industries, enterprise development and employment". However, scholars such as Barret et al. (2001) and Ellis (1998) saw this livelihood option as critical in explaining de-agrarianisation in Sub-Saharan Africa. For Hilton their analysis had shortcomings in that it ignored the role played by small-scale mining in re-agrarianising livelihoods. This is cemented by Cartier and Burge (2011) who also argue that gold mining has a far-reaching capacity in generating economic prospects and reducing rural poverty.

6.11.2 Remittances and Transnational Parenting

World Bank (2019) defines remittances as the money or goods sent back to households and companions in their respective countries. For IMF (2009) these remittances (although private) far exceed Official Development Aid (ODA). Global estimates of remittances by migrants remains contested as a result of various data collection methodological challenges. Levitt (1998) argues that a significant number of what is remitted is done informally and, in some instances, socially in nature such as ideas, behavior, identities and knowledge accrued by migrants. Such remittances have proved problematic to quantify as focus is mainly on formally transferred goods and services. It emanated from the participants in the three study farms that remittances are important in sustaining their livelihoods.

Through focus group discussions, in-depth interviews as well as observations, it came out that remittances are received mainly from South Africa, Botswana, United Kingdom, United States of America and Namibia. Participants revealed that they receive remittances through various formal and in-formal channels. A significant number of participants posited that *Omalayitsha* (Cross Border Transporters) are the conduit through which they receive their remittances, be it cash or goods. Some participants especially those with children or relatives abroad mentioned that they received mainly cash through money transfer agents such as Western Union, World Remit, MoneyGram, Mukuru, Cassava and other informal money transfer agents operated outside the main banking stream *(see table 15)*.

Table 7 Sources and types of remittances

Sources of remittances	**Types of remittances**
Omalayitsha (Cross Boarder Transporters)	Groceries e.g. Rice, cooking oil, mealie meal, flour, sanitary pads and pampers
Money transfer agents e.g. Western Union, World Remit, Money Gram, Mukuru, Cassava and other informal money transfer agents.	Cash e.g. Rand, Pula, United states dollars and British pounds
	Paid for services (e.g. medical expenses, borehole drilling
	Farm machinery, inputs, solar panels, building materials e.g. cement and fencing materials, barbed wire, animal tags and Vaccines

Source: Fieldwork Data (2019)

Participants were also asked about the types of remittances they receive from those in the diaspora. Discussions revealed various types of remittances ranging from cash, groceries, paid for services to farm machinery and inputs. One of the participants of the study MaNcube had this to say:

> *"I was one of the first people to be resettled at Fox farm and by then my children were still at high schools. I was struggling even to clear my piece of land after the allocation by the District Land Committee (DLC). I also struggled when my first born went for university education where he did Engineering at the National University of Science and Technology. Things started moving when he graduated and moved to South Africa where he started his own construction company and started sending me money to develop this farm and also manage some of his projects in town. Through remittances I managed to send his young siblings to schools, drill my own borehole that you are you saw, buy cattle and other small livestock as well as constructing these habitual infrastructures."*

Another interesting dimension of the subject uncovered the intricate link of remittances and transnational parenting. Transnational parenting denotes those families whose members live some or most of the time separated from each other, yet hold the family together and create

something that can be seen as a feeling of collective welfare and unity, namely familyhood, even across national borders (Bryceson and Vuorela, 2002). This phenomenon involves transnational mothering and fathering as well as the use of caregivers to look after the left behind children and siblings. This is was amply captured by a 66-year-old grandmother MaKhumalo who lamented that:

> *"I get your question my son, my challenge is that I am looking after six grandchildren and one of them is living positive. The two boys that you saw are Orphans after having lost their parents in an accident. I have two daughters who are in South Africa and they both have children in this household (the other one has 2 and the other 1). I do not get much from them as they do casual jobs in South Africa, since they do not have permits and are not properly documented. Sometimes they stay for three months without sending me anything, exposing us to severe suffering as we go for days without food and basic necessities. They are always telling me about the high rentals in South Africa and the low remunerative jobs they are doing. We really need assistance if you can link us up with Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs). I would really appreciate that especially those that distribute food and pay fees for vulnerable children. It's a challenge not only affecting me but also some of my neighbours as well. These youngsters go to South Africa and Botswana, only to come back bed ridden or dead."*

The above anecdotes reveal that different households benefit differently from remittances. It also uncovers that poor households get erratic remittances that contribute insignificantly to livelihood diversification as most what is received is used to address pressing household needs. The statement by the 66-year-old MaKhumalo also indicates the challenges faced by undocumented Zimbabweans in South Africa.

6.11.3 Social security and Social Assistance grants.

Social security and social assistance grants have a bearing on household livelihoods not only in the first world but also in the Global South, although the benefits of these two is determined by a number of factors of macro-economic nature. Kaseke (1988) in his paper entitled *'Social Security in Zimbabwe'* argues that social security on a formal basis is a relatively new phenomenon in Africa, that many governments have begun to realise its importance to their citizens. The scholar argues that social security (including pensions) is premised on the assumption that individuals develop needs and wants they may not be able to meet using their own resources, without external support from Government. The International Labour Organization (1942) argues that social security and social assistance grants aim at providing income maintenance in circumstances where an individual's capacity to earn income is compromised permanently or temporarily.

It emanated from the discussions that some participants depend on pensions and social grants from Government of Zimbabwe. One Social welfare key informant highlighted that

Government has a number of social security programmes targeting vulnerable children, poor households and the aged. The discussions revealed that there is a special programme targeting vulnerable and orphaned children who are at school known as the Basic Education Assistance Module (BEAM). It emanated that this programme focuses much on paying fees and ensuring educational inputs of the vulnerable children are met. Children targeted include those orphaned by HIV and AIDS and other chronic diseases, those with parents living with disabilities and those from poor families without sustained livelihoods.

Some participants in one focus group discussion indicated that they receive pensions from the National Social Security Authority (NSSA) after having served in private and public institutions. War Veterans in these three study farms constituted the bulk of those dependent on pensions. Further interrogation of the participants also insinuated the significance of social grant programmes at Fox, Rocksdale, and Springrange farms. This was emphasized by one participant at Springrange farm who alluded that:

> *"This farm has got a significant number of people who get pensions and social grants. The biggest challenge is that the Zimbabwean local currency continues to succumb to inflation, reducing the purchasing power parity of what we get as assistance. You will not believe that we have shops that do not accept the local Bond notes, instead they now ask for foreign currency such as the Rand, Pula and United States dollars. Apart from that, these social grants and pensions are transferred into our bank accounts necessitating someone to find their way to Bulawayo where there are banks. Banks do not have cash in the last five years in this country and transport to town has skyrocketed in response to the current fuel crisis. Some of the social grants programmes such as the maize distribution one, are unreliable as some go for three months without getting anything. What I am just highlighting to you my son is that pensions and social grants have been reduced to nothing by the current economic meltdown. As farmers you cannot even dream of buying inputs or cattle vaccines using such assistance."*

Ncube et al., (2014)'s study in Eastern Cape Province of South Africa also revealed the importance of social grants and pensions in contributing to household livelihoods. Contrary to the current findings of the study that social grants had been reduced to nothing by inflation, it came out of their study in Msobomvu community that a significant number of households were relying on the government grants for survival and in most instances making these households hesitant to toil on the land. In another study by Slater (2002) in Qwaqwa, South Africa, it came out that "in spite of challenges around social grants and pensions the two provided a crucial safety net for people who would otherwise have lived in chronic poverty. Pensions allowed households to diversify their livelihood options and also push for a secure land tenure in the area".

6.11.4 Ecotourism and Wild life conservation

Randall (1987) operationalises ecotourism as a special form of tourism that involves visiting fragile, primeval and usually protected areas intended as low impact and often small-scale alternatives to mass tourism. Buckney (2010) asserts that ecotourism and wildlife management are overlapping sectors of the economy. Demand for ecotourism products continues to rocket in the less developed countries (LDC). Scholars such as Bello (2017), Lovelock and Carr (2017) note that income earned from ecotourism might be used to fund both wildlife conservation and local socio-economic development. Governments in Southern Africa including Zimbabwe, have been put under pressure to harmonise wildlife conservation and community local development benefits (Muphree, 2009; Decaro and Strokes, 2008). For Koki (2017) ecotourism has traditionally been viewed as a panacea concept for developing countries to stimulate the economy and in the process address inequality and poverty. Through probes participants of the study from the three farms were asked questions around bio-diversity and wild life conservation. It however only emanated from participants at Fox farm that a significance number of them were benefiting from Tshabalala Game Park Ecotourism and wildlife conservation project.

It emanated from the in-depth interviews, focus group discussions and key informant narratives that the project was established through the efforts of the National Parks and Wildlife Management aimed at empowering local communities through improved bio-diversity conservation. Participants revealed that the project was necessitated by increased wildlife poaching as well as the challenge of problem animals. This project is housed at the Tshabalala Game Park as shown by Figure 5 *(attached)* indicating the curio shop. Participants of the study who are mainly women expressed enthusiasm about the eco-tourism project as amply captured by Musa Ndlovu who asserted that:

> *"The Eco-tourism project that we do with Tshabalala Game Park has brought some relief to some of us in terms of challenges we have been facing as households. This project, through selling curios, bags (see figure 6 attached) and other traditional ornaments has enabled us to earn a substantial income in foreign currency. You will not believe that on a busy day we get more than USD$100 especially during the tourism peak months (April – October). A significant number of tourists are very fascinated by the newly established Lion Sanctuary in the Game Park. Most of the money that comes out of the project assists us in buying household needs that include food, fees, agricultural inputs and livestock. The National Parks has promised us a couple of boreholes that will go a long way in improving the water situation in the community."*

However, there are some participants who were pessimistic about the ecotourism project at the Tshabalala Game Park. This was captured through a conversation with Mr Moyo, who had this to say:

> *"Animal conservation is important, but it should not be done at the expense of farmers. Tshabalala Game Park seems to be having challenges in maintaining its fences. As we speak animals are all over and giving us sleepless nights as farmer. You will realise that most farmers have been discouraged from keeping small livestock such as goats and sheep, as they are wiped by wild cats especially hyenas, jackals and leopards. The other sad development around the project is that it's mainly affluent households that are politically linked to the ruling party who are benefitting from the project."*

Barkley (2010) and Funnel (2014) argue that Ecotourism enables communities not only to generate revenue but also to value and protect the wildlife heritage. Once the local people value wildlife coupled with the rightful proprietorship they tend to protect and conserve it (Muphree: 2009, Simpson: 2008, Lawrence and Wickins: 1997). The scholars concur with what emanated from some conversations that Ecotourism has had positive implications on household wellbeing. Specifically, these scholars argue that Ecotourism has the capacity to increase household incomes, food security, and inequality through community development initiatives.

Furthermore, Bins (1998) alludes to the fact that ecotourism gives rise to support industries and contributes towards developments of critical amenities such as clean water, bridges, roads, health facilities and electricity. However, Cnyman (2012) contends that most communities with ecotourism projects live on less than a dollar a day. In reference to Chiredzi and Chipinge districts, Zanamwe et al. (2018) argue that communities are still reeling in abject poverty and inequality several years after the implementation of the ecotourism projects.

6.11.5 Sand and Firewood poaching

Poverty in Sub-Saharan Africa is characterised by a high degree of vulnerability. Institutions, policy and practice for natural resource governance are not structured to address the poverty-environmental links effectively (World Bank, 2003). Participants of the study in the three farms revealed the significance of natural resources in sustaining their livelihoods. It emanated from the discussions that sand and wood poaching has been adopted by some poor households to generate income that is used to cover household needs. Construction in Bulawayo is creating a demand for sand (pit sand and rivers sand) especially in places such as Emganwini, Mbudane and Cowdry Park. Poor households with youthful heads have embarked on sand poaching for upkeep purposes. It also emanated that some youngsters now depend on firewood

selling. The demand for firewood in Bulawayo has been necessitated by a combination of unaffordability of electricity and load shedding. The importance of sand and firewood poaching for livelihood sustenance was captured in a conversation with Dumisani who heads a household after the death of his mother. He alluded that:

> *"Selling sand and firewood has become a current way of making money in this community. The problem that we have is lack of employment prospects in this area as well as in the greater city of Bulawayo. We are suffering in this community as we do not get support from government and other non-state actors on livelihood development. We are aware that sand and firewood poaching is a crime, as one needs to have a license from the Rural District Council (RDC) and Forestry Commission (FC) to tap such resources. The two offices responsible for these two natural resources are in Bulawayo, which is a distant from this place. Apart from that you need to pay large sums of money to get the authority to benefit from these resources. Such authority takes time to be issued because of corruption and bureaucracy. Hunger and other pressing family demands push us to indulge into such activities."*

Dumisani's conversation revealed a lot of challenges emanating from poverty and rural natural resource governance. This is also substantiated by Barret et al. (2001) who posit that as rural incomes become under pressure from collapsing rainfed agriculture and subsequent food insecurity, poor households resort to environmentally damaging livelihood options such as firewood selling. Such options increase environmental degradation and leave the ecosystem in disarray (Boserup; 1965).

6.11.6 Leasing out land for cropping and grazing

The demand for land continues to rise in Zimbabwe as the economy plummets. Leasing out land for grazing and cropping purposes has become a common phenomenon in newly resettled areas. A number of people who failed to secure the land under the Fast track land reform programme with some interest in agriculture and capital have opted to rent land and do their agricultural activities. Diminishing grazing lands especially in communal areas in Zimbabwe has created demand to rent out land for pastoral purposes. Participants of the study in the three farms had varying feelings on leasing out land for grazing and cropping. Some felt that such an activity was tantamount to the purposes of land reform programme especially the desire to empower the poor and historically disadvantae. It emanated from the discussions at Rocksdale and Fox Farms that a significant number of households leased out land to get income through rentals. Some of the income raised through these rentals is used to meet household demands including food. It also came out from the engagements that most leased out land is owned by absentee land lords who are in urban areas and some in the diaspora as well as poor households who are incapacitated to utilize the land. Some of these poor households lack

draught power, field fencing materials, inputs as well as capacity to buy livestock. One key informant noted that:

> *"The problem of leasing out land is currently a source of conflict in most newly resettled farms. This behavior is necessitated by tenure insecurity in these places as farmers are always told that if you don't utilize your land it will be repossessed by government. Poor households without capacity to utilize their land end up leasing it out as a way of securing it from repossession by government on land underutilization grounds. You will also need to understand that leasing out land emanates from a high demand for grazing area from nearby communal areas. These communal areas have been overgrazed and have succumbed to environmental degradation. Again, these poor households and absentee landlords end up leasing out land to get an extra income. The biggest challenge that has caused conflict is that some animals are moved into the newly resettled areas without proper cattle movement permits increasing vulnerability of local animals to diseases such as foot and mouth. These areas end up overgrazed as well as the number of animals brought in ends up far superseding the carrying capacity of these farms".*

A study in Ethiopia by Regasa (2016) supports what emanated in the three study farms. Regasa argues that land renting is a means of accessing land and it is common among the better of households. The scholar further alludes that households whose land has been fully expropriated rent-in land as a coping mechanism.

6.11.7 Wage labour and livelihoods

Wage labour in less developed countries is often associated with large commercial farms trivializing it within peasant agriculture. In fact, wage labour is rarely investigated especially in newly resettled areas and remains largely undocumented. Growing evidence indicates that a vast majority of the newly resettled farmers not only work in their farms but also engage in non-farm activities and earn income from wage labour. This is evident in the extremely poor communities. Most newly resettled farmers venture into low paid manual labour especially in agriculture and small-scale mining as a way of economic survival and a way out of poverty. Globally it has been revealed that 40% of the agricultural work force is employed as wage workers (Valdes et al. 2009).

Discussions in the three farms revealed that casual and manual labour is adopted as a survival strategy by mainly youngsters who lack educational skills and have limited social networks that might assist them pursue better livelihood options. In-depth interviews also uncovered that those who pursue piece jobs/manual labour are from households that lack assets that are needed to support higher return livelihood options. Most youths without formal qualifications or skills (Leavy 2012) venture into activities that include herding cattle, fencing fields, weeding, clearing fields, grass thatching, brick moulding and laying, gardening and fetching

water for well of household. Katera (undated) posit that "agriculture is regarded as a poor men's activity going beyond living standards to people's sense of pride and self-respect. Those who do see a future for themselves in farming believe it needs to be "smarter", more productive and more reliable". One participant had this to say;

> *"It is very difficult to get meaningful employment in new resettled areas thus why most of us do piece jobs for survival purposes. Some are employed in irrigations just close to Springrange farm (see figure. 7 attached) on a seasonal basis whilst some have migrated to Bulawayo, Hwange and Victoria falls to secure employment. We also have some who work at gold mine stamp mills, but a significant number of young stars are into cattle minding, field clearing and gardening just to name but a few. What complicates our situation and pushes us to take these kinds of jobs is that we are from poor households with absolutely nothing. For your information some work and get paid in the form of food and one thing that we have realised is that those who work for newly resettled farmers in the diaspora earn better than some of us who work for these local guys…… sometimes you work and struggle to get paid".*

The importance of wage labour as a rural livelihood source is also highlighted by Ardington and Lund (1996) in their paper entitled *'Questioning rural livelihood'.* The scholars argue that wage labour remains the most significant measurable income source amongst rural households. Slater (2002) also found that wage labour was important in sustaining the livelihoods of households in Qwaqwa National Parks. The scholar highlights that the most important source of wage income in the area was water works projects funded by Rand Waters, while others were employed by the National Park.

6.11.8 Mopane worms and livelihoods

Mopane worms also known as mopane capitals *(amacimbi*) are none timber forest products that feed from leaves from mopane trees (Hrabar et al. 2009 and Ditlhogo et al. 1996). Gondo et al. (2010) argue that there has been growing interest in the role of mopane harvesting in the livelihoods of the rural vulnerable, and in the potential for increasing returns. Current initiatives to increase these returns have mostly remained biased towards seeking institutional and technical innovations in the utilization and management of these forestry resources. A number of nutritional studies reveal that mopane worms contain high levels of protein, minerals and vitamins (Yen; 2009, Jreyling and Potgiter: 2004). Mopane worms are mainly found in Matebeland South, especially in Matobo district (of which Fox farm is a part). These worms are also in abundance in Beitbridge, Mangwe, Bulilima, Insiza, and Gwanda districts (Gondo et al.: 2010). Given the geographic availability of Mopane worms, only participants at Fox farm highlighted its importance in sustaining their livelihoods. It stemmed out of focus group discussions that Mopane worms are sold to get income for these rural communities, and

some use mopane for batter trade to secure groceries, clothes, ploughs and other field tools. Some participants revealed that Mopane worms have enabled them to secure small livestock such as goats and sheep. One participant, Mrs. Ncube noted that:

> *"I am Mrs. Ncube (56 years old) and a mother of 5 children. I stated staying in this farm (Fox) 18 years back after getting married to Mr Ncube. My husband used to work for Mr Fox the White commercial farmer who used to own this farm before it was gazetted for resettlement by government. However, currently my husband works as a security guard for a black owned company. In most instances I am the one at the farm doing almost everything from cropping, deciding which crops to grow or even decide what options to take in order to sustain the needs of the household. Mr Ncube doesn't earn enough to pull us through. Prices of commodities are unfordable in town. Apart from getting a few cents from my husband, I am engaged much in collecting mopane worms. This area doesn't have much of these worms because of over harvesting, so am forced to migrate together with other women to West Nicholson, Tshatshani and Shashe areas where they are plenty. The advantage of mopane worms is that we collect them at no cost and that they are available twice a year especially during the months of April and December. In a good season some harvest more than a tonne. These worms have a ready market in urban areas. One of my friends sells them in South Africa. Mopane worms play a role in improving our diet as well as in income generation. The only challenge we have been facing in the last five years is the influx of people coming as far as Mashonaland to harvest the mopane worms. Some destroy the environment and, in some instances, cause veld fires in the process of drying the worms. They don't even care about the environment."*

Bird and Shepherd (2003) concur with the anecdotes from the participant as they posit that the harvesting of mopane worms (mostly for sale) has led to their scarcity, which as a result has negatively affected households that depend on them as an income and food source.

6.12 Cultural traditions and rural livelihood

Daskon and Binns (2009) argue that there is now a considerable scholarly attention on the role of cultural traditions in sustainable rural livelihoods. The scholars argue that communities and individuals have their own traditions and knowledge systems that play a cardinal role in affirming identity and diversity of livelihoods. Genkins (2000) opine that Eurocentric development analysis has often seen cultural traditions as a constraint to sustainable livelihoods. Such 'Eurocentric' thinking has failed to acknowledge the legitimacy of values outside the materialistic rationale paradigm (Huntington, 2000; Tucker, 1999). For Rao and Walton (2004) culture is a key resource and a significant variable that informs the way of life for people. For post-modern theorists, cultural tradition is a valuable renewable resource as UNESCO has asserted:

> *"…. unless economic development has a cultural basis, it can never lead to lasting development. Culture is not something to be taken into consideration. it is fundamental…." (UNESCO, 2005;12).*

It came out of focus group discussions that livelihoods adopted by rural communities are also informed and guided by their cultural capital (Bebbington, 1999). Participants of the study noted that although agricultural activities face quite a number of challenges, it was unheard-of that they can abandon it on that basis. It came out that animal rearing and crop production is part of their identity and is a societ al., expectation that cannot be ignored. One participant noted;

> *"We are aware of challenges facing farming in general but crop and animal rearing is not only a livelihood but a tradition. I am just worried about these youngsters who no longer see the value of farming".*

Further discussions also revealed that communities have their own indigenous understanding and interpretation of weather patterns that threaten the foundation of farming. It emanated from focus group discussions that rainfall has become erratic in the three farms because of lack of appeasement of ancestral spirits. One Traditionalist noted that;

> *"You may talk of climate change as the reason behind the collapse of rain-fed agriculture in this community but what we cannot ignore is that the current generation is too busy to appease the ancestral spirits to intervene in their livelihood affairs. Our forefathers, through rainmakers used to go to Njelele (traditional shrine) in Matobo District to ask for rains and interventions in their lives and livelihoods. This is because agricultural practices in our communities are deeply engrained in cultural values that link the ancestors to the structure and governance of society. You will also need to appreciate that these ancestral spirits when appeased control disasters, fertility of the fields, wealth and health of humans and animals, plagues, epidemics and safety from attacks from wild animals. The current wide spread poverty experienced in these communities needs spiritual intervention. Christians should also consider engaging God to assist us deal with vulnerabilities especially drought."*

A number of scholars have concurred the findings of this study as they agree that cultural traditions play a central role in building livelihood diversification and resilience (Bebbington, 1999; Tucker, 1999; Huntington, 2000). Tucker (1999) argues that cultural resilience is vital in achieving rural sustainability and this analysis allows consideration of the extent to which cultural traditions are useful in assuring livelihood resilience. Huntington (2000) argues that cultural traditions and beliefs enable communities to adopt livelihood options that increase their resilience to deal with seasonality and other livelihood threats.

6.13 Chapter summary

This chapter discussed the experiences of newly resettled farmers on the fast track land reform programme in the three study farms. The chapter revealed that different households accessed land through different means that include invasions, applications through the land's committees, share cropping, renting it and some through inheritance. Land corruption was also identified as one way in which some farmers managed to secure land. The chapter also looked at agricultural activities and the extent of crop and animal diversification within the sector. Maize appeared to be the most favoured crop amongst households with some diversifying into crops such as sorghum, millet, sweet potatoes, round nut, cowpeas and ground nuts. Although a significant number of farmers have been trained on conservation agriculture and growing of small grains, the chapter reveals that these are not popular in the study areas because they are labour intensive. The chapter also profiled other livelihood options pursued outside agriculture. It came out that some households are into small scale mining, mopane harvesting, receiving remittances and social welfare grants, wage labour and ecotourism. Households pursue these different livelihood options taking advantage of natural, social, physical and financial capital.

Chapter Seven: Determinants of livelihoods diversification and its implications at household level

7.1 Introduction

Chapter six of this thesis focused on livelihood vulnerabilities and poverty. It also profiled various livelihood options adopted by households in Fox, Springrange and Rocksdale farms. The purpose of looking at the broader vulnerability context was to enable the researcher to understand dynamics and context specific factors that determine adoption of various livelihood options. Chapter seven focuses on drivers of livelihood diversification in the three study farms. The intention is to uncover what prompts households to adopt livelihoods they pursue to earn a living. The chapter also explores the implications of livelihood diversification on household wellbeing in the three study areas. Constraints to diversification are also unraveled in this chapter. The last part of the chapter interrogates the nature of post land reform support schemes implemented in new resettled areas and the extent at which these programmes if any promote livelihood sustainability.

7.2 Drivers of livelihoods diversification in the study areas

The concept of livelihood has been operationalised by various scholars (Dehaan, 2012 Scoones, 2009; Chambers and Conway, 1991). As already been highlighted in various literature reviewed in this thesis, livelihood comprises the capitals and activities required for a means of living (Chambers and Conway, 1991 Carney 1998; Bebbington, 1999). Participants of the study were asked the following research questions;

- *What are the drivers of household livelihood diversification?*
- *What role is played by social, economic, political and agro ecological factors in influencing livelihood diversification?*
- *What influence does migration have on livelihood activities?*
- *What are the perceived impacts of livelihood diversification on household wellbeing?*
- *What is the most effective way to assist and support the livelihood of the rural poor in newly resettled areas?*

Discussions in the three farms revealed that different households adopt different livelihood options as a result of a number of determinant factors. It also emanated that although household livelihood portfolios are diverse, agriculture remains a critical livelihood option. Loison (2015) cites Elli (2000) and Reardon et al. (2006) arguing that "households and individuals diversify their

assets, incomes and activities in response to incentives that maybe classified as push and pull factors". For Haggblade et al. (2007) cited in Loison (2015) argue that "pull factors are positive and these may attract farm households to pursue additional livelihood activities to improve their living standard. These factors provide incentives for people to expand their range of income outside farming by increasing the returns from non-farm activities. Such factors tend to dominate the less risky, more dynamic agricultural environment." Push factors are negative factors that force households to seek alternative livelihoods beyond farming (Ellis, 2000; Haggablade, 2007; Loison, 2015). The processes and outcomes of push and pull factors are different in dynamic and in marginalised or stagnant regions. *Table 8* summarises the identified push and pull factors influencing livelihood diversification. This part of the thesis discusses the identified factors that push or motivate households to diversify.

Table 8 Push and pull factors influencing livelihood diversification

Push Factors	**Pull Factors**
Agro-ecological factors (poor soils, poor grazing)	Rural-Urban Linkages
Seasonality and the need to absorb shocks	Migration and remittance receiving
Climate change and the collapse of rain-fed	Household Assets
Overpopulation, village leadership	Human capital availability
Household Assets	Gender and Age
Human capital availability	The desire to increase household income and For accumulation
Gender and Age	Natural resources endowment

Source: Fieldwork Data (2019)

7.2.1 Village leadership

Traditional leadership has been the basis of local governance in Sub Saharan Africa throughout history (Rugege, Undated). In Zimbabwe, traditional leaders save as political, cultural and spiritual leaders. They are the custodians of the values of societies as they look after the welfare of their people through allocating them land for agricultural purposes (Schapera, 1955; Ashton, 1967; Ntsebeza, 1999). They also play a cardinal role in community mobilization to support social economic development projects. Ranger (1984) alludes that

apart from determining who accesses what, when and how, traditional leaders play a role in ensuing community harmony and advising through local government structures on the needs of their communities. Government of Zimbabwe is currently involved in exploring possible ways of involving traditional authorities in various functional areas such as health, environment and tourism. Attempts are also being made to use these structures to deal with impoverishment and gender-based violence.

It emanated from the discussions that the characteristics of the village heads in the three Farms had a bearing on livelihood diversification. Village heads who were inclined to Zanu Pf and had some liberation movement background stifled diversification of livelihoods in their areas. Such traditional leaders appeared to be conservative and less appreciative to new livelihood portfolios than younger and better schooled village heads. One conservative traditional leader had this to say;

> *"l fought for this country so that we get back the land that has historically been in the wrong white hands. You will need to understand my son that it is now the responsibility of black farmers to fill in the gap left by white farmers through effective utilization of land to sustain both household and national food security. That is the primary responsibility of these new farmers. What l am saying is that we were resettled for agricultural purposes not small-scale mining and what we are seeing in these newly resettled farms. If we start doing things that are divorced from agriculture, who then will feed Zimbabwe? This country used to be a bread basket of Africa but new farmers have made it a basket case. How do you explain that government of Zimbabwe* imports *literally everything including maize? These are some of the things that make me sad about the community under my jurisdiction. If things were done in my way l would have pushed for government to evict people who do not want to do farming in newly resettled areas".*

An interesting observation came out of the discussions with young traditional leaders with some educational background. These young traditional leaders revealed that given the economic challenges the country is facing and opportunities outside farming, there was need for households to consider diversifying their livelihood portfolios. It came out of the discussions that rain-fed agriculture was no longer sustaining the livelihood needs of households. This was captured in a key informant interview with one young traditional leader who alluded that;

> *"Things are bad in areas of our jurisdiction as households are failing to meet their income and food needs through farming. We encourage households to think outside the box and diversify their livelihood portfolios into those that do not depend on rainfall. In 2018, l organized a workshop for my community on starting a small business, growing it and marketing but only a few attended. The*

purpose was to capacitate these households to take opportunities in this community and outside of it to start businesses. l have also encouraged the youngsters in this community to get organized and start business cooperatives instead of being cry-babies."

A study by Demurger et al. (2007) found similar findings in rural China about the influence of traditional leaders in determining livelihood diversification in areas under their jurisdiction. The scholars noted that a key determinant of dynamizing of villages in the diversification process was related with the characteristics of the village head. In their survey it emanated that younger village heads tended to be less risky averse and were usually personally involved in the new livelihood activities adopted by their villages.

7.2.2 Agro-ecological characteristics

Agroecological characteristics of an area focuses on land utilization, soil types and fertilities, crop water requirements, vegetation as well as rainfall patterns (Espie et al. 2006; Mugandani et al. 2012; Low, 2005). It also encompasses temperatures as well as agrarian dynamics at a particular place and time. It emanated from the discussions that agro-ecological characteristics of the three farms influence livelihood diversification. It came out of the probes that poor soils, poor grazing and climate change variability pushed a significant number of households to diversify their livelihoods.

7.2.2.1 Poor soils and poor grazing

Clover (2003) argues that agricultural activities in Sub Saharan Africa are vulnerable to a number of agro-ecological factors. The scholar alludes that there are increasing reports of land degradation, deforestation, water logging and salinization contributing to the declining ability of Africa to feed itself. In countries such as Lesotho and Zimbabwe, agriculture faces a catastrophic future, with average farm yields having declined by more than two thirds since the 1970's (Moyo, 2004; Clover 2003;). For Clover (2003;8) "soil erosion is spreading fast and soil fertility is deteriorating even further".

Participants of the study indicated that diversification of their livelihood has been necessitated by poor soils and poor grazing in their farms. Discussions revealed that Rocksdale farm was characterized by poor soils, that struggle to support plant life without manure and fertilizers. It also emanated from the engagements that leaching and water logging were also a challenge to farmers as it proved to be catastrophic to their agricultural activities. A Focus group discussion at the farm also revealed the problem of soil erosion and siltation of major rivers in the area. Agro-ecological characteristics were largely pronounced as drivers of livelihood diversification at the Rocksdale farm. One participant pinpointed that:

> "*Farming faces a number of challenges in this community. Our soils are not fertile compared to other regions in Zimbabwe. You will realise that most places are rocky and not suitable for any meaningful agricultural practices. Some parts of this farm are sandy and undulating. We have also seen a drastic increase in the number of animals in this area with some negative implications on grazing in the last five years as some households are leasing out land. You will also note that overgrazing and deforestation have reduced ground cover in this farm. Given such a situation, households are forced to pursue other livelihood options for survival purposes. A household needs income, food, clothes, and even agricultural inputs for continuity purposes".*

The findings of this study are supported by Barret et al. (2000) who argue that non-farm income sources are most extensively used by those in agro-ecologies of lowest in potential. Thus, in Baringo, Kenya, almost 30% of average household income comes from non-farm sources and more than 85% of the population there earn some form of non-farm income (ibid).

7.2.2.2 Climate change and variability

Dube et al. (2016) cites Duff (2011) who argues that climate change encompasses serious disruptions to the world's entire weather and climate patterns, including impacts on rainfall, extreme weather events and sea level rise, as well as moderate to extreme global temperature rises. According to IPCC (2007) Climate change manifests itself through incidences such as frequent droughts, floods, erratic weather patterns and heat waves. By 2020, between 75 million and 250 million people are projected to be exposed to increased water stress due to climate change (Patt and Schroter, 2008; Pricope, 2013). According to Bryceson (2019) much of Sub-Sahara's land is arid and not suitable for agriculture, with climate change bound to decrease agricultural land in the future. Mutasa (2008) argues that "Zimbabwe lies in a semi-arid region with limited and unreliable rainfall and temperature variations". The scholar argues that extreme weather events namely tropical cyclones and drought have also increased in frequency and intensity.

Participants of the study indicated that climate change and variability is one of the factors that has exposed smallholder farming, livestock rearing and forestry-based livelihoods. It emanated from focus group discussions and in-depth interviews that rainfall unreliability coupled with heat waves has compromised agro-based livelihoods, pushing farmers to diversify their livelihood activities. The unreliability of rainfall in the three study farms led to crop failures and subsequent household food insecurity as well as diminishing grazing lands. It came out of the discussions that in the last five years a significant number of farmers have lost livestock

due to drought in the three study farms. Small livestock have also succumbed to drought as shown by Figure. 8 *(see attachment).*

It emanated from the discussions that some farmers have failed to harvest in the last four years, complicating household well-being especially the nutrition of children. One focus group participant alluded that;

> *"Everyone likes farming in this community and I think that is the reason why we are all here. But it is currently proving impossible to depend on farming as the only livelihood option. I cannot remember when I last had a meaningful harvest in this farm. It has been droughts and heat waves, year in and year out. To me, that is what is pushing young men to migrate to other places to seek employment and other ways of making a living. It is also the same factor that has pushed a significant number of women to go for mopane worms as far as Shashe and Shashane. It is however unfortunate that climate change is also impacting on mopane worms as they die during heat waves. Lastly this climate change is impoverishing households forcing them to even diversify into dangerous livelihood options such as prostitution."*

7.2.3 Overpopulation

The implications of population growth on agricultural development and natural resource base have been a topical issue since the time of Malthus and Boserup (Ehrliceh and Ehrliceh, 1990). Pender (1999;87) argues that "although the dismissal of Malthus regarding the inability of agricultural production to keep pace with population growth have not come to pass in the Global North, agricultural production per capita has fallen and poverty has increased in many developing countries in recent decades (especially in Africa)". Rotenburg et al. (1980) have stressed the responses of households to pressures induced by population growth including reduction in cultivated fields, intensified use of labour and diversifying livelihoods (on-farm and off-farm).

Participants of the study especially at the Fox and Rocksdale farm indicated that overpopulation in their respective areas was having a bearing on their lives and livelihoods. It emanated that population growth as a result of an increase in the number of illegal settlers increased resource degradation, including overgrazing, deforestation, soil nutrients depletion, soil erosion and other problems related to land pressure including putting up settlements in arable and grazing areas. One participant revealed that population growth was also increasing social decay and fueling problems such as HIV and AIDS and stock theft.

It emanated in a focus group discussion that population increase was also compromising tenure security in the area, as some illegal settlers appeared to have some certificate of occupants. A

concerned legally settled farmer with an offer letter from the Rural District Council (RDC) noted that it was now a risk to invest on his piece of land, given what was unfolding at the farm. He lamented that;

> *"There are only 50 households in this farm with genuine offer letters from government. The rest of the households that you saw are illegal settlers who are making our lives unbearable in this farm. The number of households in this community far surpasses the carrying capacity of this farm. Some are illegally settling themselves in our grazing lands and some are settling in arable lands. Honestly, how do you expect us to put most of our monies in these pieces of land. The office responsible for resettlement and the local House of Assemble Representative have failed to solve this problem. This has led to environmental degradation, land pollution, and serious stream bank cultivations. These challenges have pushed us to invest in other livelihood options outside farming. You will realize that people doing small-scale mining, and those that have their investments in the money market or in property in Bulawayo, have no such a headache".*

Boserup (1965) and Bilsborow and Carr (1998) substantiate the study findings as they argue that population growth impact on natural resource governance as it has a bearing on household choices about land use, labour allocation, migration as well as venturing into off-farm employment. This is also concurred by Baland and Platteau (1996) who argue that population growth affects societ al., and community decisions regarding the management of common property resources, land tenure relations and service delivery needs. For Pender (1996) as the population grows the poor may be forced to adopt livelihood strategies that increase resource degradation such as firewood selling.

7.2.4 Migration

Migration as a field of enquiry has received overwhelming focus in Sub Saharan Africa (Thonj and Ncube 2014). Migration is defined 'as the movement of people from one place to another temporarily, seasonally or permanently, for a host of voluntary and involuntary reasons. Girdler-Brown posit that in southern Africa (of which Zimbabwe is a part) migration flows are mainly related to large scale forced migration as a result of civil strife, to economic migration towards South Africa and to rural-urban migration in all countries. Migration studies have focused and continue to focus on its implications on livelihoods. Specifically, attention has been on the impact of remittances on household well-being as well as its role on livelihood diversification. International funding institutions such as the world bank (2019) reveal that remittances denote the money or goods sent back by migrants to households in their respective

countries. World bank and IMF argue that these monies and goods sent as remittances have a value that is more than Official Development Aid.

It emanated from focus group discussions and in-depth interviews that remittances have a bearing on household livelihood diversification. Discussions revealed that household remittances come in the form of cash and goods. It came out that well-off households receive more remittances in the form of cash and working capital goods such as tractors, compressors, and vehicles. On the other hand, poor households appeared to be receiving insignificant cash with specific purposes for example to pay school fees, debts or buy groceries. Well-off households use some of the received cash as capital to diversify their livelihood portfolios. Some of the received working capital machines are hired to raise extra cash. This was amply captured through an in-depth interview with Mr Mpofu who lamented that;

> *"I am a 69-year-old man who used to work for the National Railways of Zimbabwe as a locomotive driver. l have three children, one is in South Africa and the other two are in America. l would not lie to you on how they have assisted me to be where l am. I am sure you are aware that in the last 20 years pensions were eroded by inflation and am one of those who got absolutely nothing after working for more than 25years for the rail company. But because l was fortunate to have sent my kids to schools and currently abroad thus what has helped me to diversify into a number of activities including small scale mining, transportation as well as gardening. All the trucks that you saw were sent by my boys from America. Even this borehole that am using for domestic water, animal drinking and gardening was drilled using the money sent by the youngest boy based in South Africa. If you do not mind, we can visit my small scale mine and also have an appreciation of the machinery sent from abroad."*

Poor households also appeared to receive remittances mainly from South Africa and Botswana through *Omalayitsha* (Cross Border Transporters). Remittances were reported to constitute mainly groceries, agricultural inputs and insignificant cash with specified purposes. It emanated from the discussions that poor households use remittances to address pressing household needs with limited capacity to diversify. This was captured through an in-depth discussion with a youthful Sihle Zhou.

> *"I am an independent mother of three looking after my aunt's property. She got allocated this piece of land before migrating to South Africa in 2008. My aunt usually sends us groceries and money to pay the herd minder. In some seasons she sends us seeds and other farming inputs. On average she sends us R1000 which used to be a lot of money before the introduction of bond notes by government of Zimbabwe. And l think by then she used to work for a good paying restaurant. But in the last three years remittances have been erratic including cash to pay the herd boy because of the documentation challenges she is facing*

in South Africa. Maybe to be specific in answering your question, what we get as remittances addresses household demands and there is no surplus to start other businesses or pursue off farm activities"

Zanamwe and Devillard (2009) substantiate the findings of the study as they argue that migration catalyses livelihood diversification. The two allude that 'the large emigration population from Zimbabwe present an opportunity to harness remittances sent in the form of foreign currency. These remittances contribute towards development both at micro, meso, and micro levels. For Maphosa (2007) remittances that are realised through migration contribute significantly not only to rural incomes and purchasing power parity but also in acquiring productive tools that contribute to livelihood diversification.

7.2.5 Natural Resource Endowment

Baumann (2002) posit that access to natural resources has become a central theme in debates on rural poverty alleviation and livelihood diversification. In the last two decades, there has been a growth in theoretical and practical advances on the poverty-environment nexus in mainstream development policy. Rural development scholars such as Warren (2002) and Karl (2002) agree that environment-poverty linkages are critical in determining development outcomes. Furthermore, Warren (2002) postulates that poor people in the Global South are particularly dependent on natural resource endowment and ecosystem services for their lives. Much of the extensive debate on poverty in the last few decades has in fact turned around the question of how poverty, vulnerability, livelihoods and access to resources are linked. According to Clearly (2002) vulnerability is closely linked to access to natural resources (capital assets) as these area key means by which people decrease their vulnerability. Cotula (2002) cited in Baumann (2002;34) notes that "it is the access to resources, assets and entitlements that together give people the capabilities to pursue livelihood strategies that may have direct material as well as more individually subjective objectives".

It came out of the study that local availability of natural resource determined livelihood diversification in the three study farms (Fox, Springrange and Rocksdale farms). Availability of black soils at Springrange farm influenced the adoption of mainly agro-based livelihoods in that farm. Availability of gold deposits in three study farms played an important role in influencing those with capital and unemployed youngsters to venture into small-scale mining. Probes indicated that small-scale mining enables miners to access foreign currency as they are paid in United States Dollars by the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe (RBZ). The centrality of

natural resource endowment in determining livelihood diversification is visible at the Fox farm and is clearly captured through an in-depth interview with one traditional leader who noted that:

> *"What we have realised in this community is that vulnerability of smallholder agriculture to drought has encouraged some households to consider small scale mining for self-sustenance. This area has gold deposits stretching up to Mthwakazi, along Matopos road and I think people are taking advantage of that to try and address some of their household needs. Remember most of our youngsters are not employed, because of the collapse of this economy. The same applies with the ecotourism project that this community is doing with the National Park. We have a significant number of wild animals in this place that I think the project seeks to thrive on. Again, I think households are also venturing into Mopane harvesting given their availability and importance to household food security, nutrition, as well as income."*

Focus group discussions also concurred what emanated from in-depth interviews on natural resource base livelihood linkages. It came out that the poorest of the poor households with no capacity to diversify opted for firewood and sand poaching to generate income and meet household needs. With regards to gender aspects, the result of the study indicated that both women and men were tangled in generating income based on local resource endowment. This confirms the centrality of women's importance in securing livelihoods in times shocks and stresses. Barrett et al., (2001) and Ellis (2000) corroborate the outcomes of this study as they argue that natural resource endowments play a pivotal role in determining a household's capacity to diversify its livelihood options. These scholars argue that the natural resources not only determine the prospect to diversify, but also influence whether the impacts of diversification are negative or positive.

7.2.6 Household Assets

According to Asmah (2011), household assets influence its capacity and ability to diversify its livelihood portfolio. The level of wealth determines asset endowment and income levels in a household. Barrett and Reardon (2000) posit that the type of assets owned by a household and the amount of income determines which livelihood activities to be pursued and to what extent. In countries such as Kenya and Cote d'Ivoire, a correlation between greater income diversification and higher wealth is highly manifest (Barrett et al., 2000). This substantiates the argument that the wealthy have a greater probability to engage in non-farm livelihood activities that are more lucrative for they have the freedoms to do so. The poor, due to stagnation in an asset poverty trap (Barrett et al., 2001) remain confined to low on-farm income earning activities and they find it difficult to move out of these low-return activities.

It emanated from the discussions and observations that household assets play a significant role in determining diversification of livelihoods. Critical assets mentioned by participants included land, cattle (draught power), farm tools, financial capital (start-up capital), own reliable water source and own-household transport for mobility purposes. Participants were of the opinion that availability of financial capital was the major asset the household could use to venture into any livelihood option. It was also mentioned that without land, on-farm diversification was impossible. It emanated that land is very critical not only for on-farm activities but even for off-farm activities as it plays an important role as a resource and a place to put up habitual structures and other developments that might enhance the diversification process. Discussions also revealed that household assets can be used as collateral in the process of seeking credit. One participant of the study postulated that;

> *"If you have assets you are a king. I remember in 2010, I was the only person whomanaged to secure an Agribank loan in this farm because l had collateral in the form of cars and houses in Bulawayo. After availing title deeds of one my houses it did not take a week for me to secure the USD $15000 loan that was meant for farm development. I drilled a borehole, purchased Boer goats from South Africa and also used some to establish my grocery shops and bottle store along the main road".*

Discussions also revealed that households without assets reeled in poverty and had compromised capacity to adapt and diversify their livelihood options. Through probes, it emanated that these poor households were characterised by dilapidated habitual infrastructures as shown in figure. 9 *(see attachment),* lack of income, food insecurity and compromised nutrition, lack of draught power, lack of farming tools and lacked collateral as well. Further engagements revealed that due to lack of assets these households remained trapped in smallholder agriculture and languished in poverty. They could only diversify into environmentally detrimental activities such as firewood selling as well as doing piece jobs that could not take them anywhere out of poverty. One participant from a vulnerable household pinpointed that;

> *"We wish to pursue other livelihood options like what other progressive households are doing in this farm but we cannot make it given the situation we are facing. I am sure you have seen as you moved around that other people have constructed nice houses with solar panels and some have drilled their own boreholes and are doing gardening while others have started brick moulding activities because they have their own water sources. For some of us, priority is securing food almost every day and you will not believe that because of the drought we experienced during the 2018/19 farming season we only eat in the*

morning and in the evening. Sometimes we prioritise children and go the whole day without eating anything".

Of interest are the findings by Scoones et al. (2011) in a study carried out in Masvingo Province in Zimbabwe that revealed that farmers without start-up assets fail to accumulate and continue being stuck in poverty. Resultantly, these households step out of farming to respond to unrelenting conditions, but activities they engage in offer little income returns. In a study conducted by Fabusoro et al. (2010) in Nigeria, farmers diversify due to lack of modernised production inputs. This limits farm production and often leads to scarcity in disposable farm output and this prompt farmers to engage supplementary livelihood activities. In instances where there are variances in productive assets among household members and among households, livelihood diversification is likely to occur (Barrett et al., 2001; Barrett and Reardon, 2000; Rahut et al., undated). In Asia, lack of land pushes households to rely on off-farm and non-farm activities for survival, whereas in Africa, land is basically not a scarce resource, but causes of diversification are location-specific and related to access to services and opportunities (Ellis, 1998). Griep (2001) posit that 'access to resources or assets allows an understanding of why people survive in the way they do and each individual or household decides on a choice of livelihood strategies on the basis of access to one or a combination of the "stock of assets" available. This is because the existence of assets alone is not sufficient to promote livelihoods but what is important is their accessibility'.

7.2.7 Resilience, Seasonality, and Accumulation

Rural poverty in Sub-Sahara is related to a number of problems wide spread over the region. Djurfendt et al. (2006) notes that social, economic and physical infrastructure is under developed. Included here are roads, irrigation systems, health facilities, availability of credits, as well as markets for the sale of agricultural produce and for purchasing of inputs. Resilience of households against shocks is compromised by the socio-economic and political contexts characterised by instability and policy inconsistences. Davis (1996;152) argues that "livelihood resilience embodies the ability to cope, adapt and improve well-being. In other words, resilience is the ability to mobilize assets to exploit opportunities and resist or recover from the negative effects of the changing environment. Inability to cope and recover is mainly caused by a lack of resources, alternatives and buffer capacity associated with poverty."

It emanated from the study that households diversify their livelihoods as a risk reduction measure. Diversification is done to reduce risk related to seasonal trends and shocks which may come in the form of seasonal drought, water shortages, seasonal food insecurity, seasonal

poverty as well as seasonal deterioration of farm production. It came out of the discussions that seasonality has implications on the lives and livelihoods of newly resettled farmers. Interrogations with participants also revealed that livestock also suffer from seasonality as pastures diminish and livestock have to walk for kilometres to secure drinking water. One participant of the study revealed that:

> *"This community usually faces water shortages during the dry spell outs. You will also realise that three months after harvesting most households begin to succumb to food insecurity and other seasonality challenges including poverty. To me diversification is a form of risk reduction against seasonal shocks and trends. It's a form of insurance or protection measure against loses and challenges of seasonality."*

Further discussions also revealed that some households diversify with the intention of accumulating income and assets. Such households see livelihood diversification as a window of hope and opportunity to amass wealth. It however came out that it is mainly the well-off households that pursue diversification for accumulation purposes. Most poor households in the three farms diversified their livelihoods for survival against trends, shocks and stresses. This is amply captured from an in-depth discussion with a well to do household member who posited that:

> *"People need to understand that there is a lot of money in newly resettled areas especially when you pursue various activities on-farm and off-farm. I have made a lot of money through Agro-based mini projects such as poultry and l have also done well through hiring my trucks to ferry livestock and other agricultural products. I have also started buying gold after securing a license to do that. To me diversification is about making more money and buying more assets".*

This is substantiated by Barrett et al. (2001) who hypothesizes that diversification is a form of self-insurance that seeks to spread risks associated with poverty for survival purposes. On the other hand, Ellis (1998) concurs what emanated from other discussions of this study that diversification is done for accumulation purposes. He pinpointed that it may be associated with success at achieving livelihood security under improving economic conditions as well as with livelihood distress in deteriorating livelihood conditions.

7.2.8 Rural- Urban Linkage

A number of livelihood development scholars argue that proximity to urban areas influences the lives and livelihoods of rural dwellers (Niehof, 2004; Ellis, 2000; Singh et al., 1996). Specifically, the rural and urban livelihood linkages have been seen as having an influence on diversification in the former. Rural-urban linkages can be defined as the social, cultural, political and economic relations sustained between individuals and groups in urban

environments and those in rural areas (Lesetedi, 2003). Rural-urban linkages also encompass spatial and sectoral flows that transpire between rural and urban areas. These spatial flows include flows of goods, money, technology, information, waste and people. The rural-urban linkages manifest in the nature and forms of production, consumption, financial, migration and some investment linkages that occur within the two areas (Tacoli, 1998). Scholars such Niehof, (2004) and Singh et al., (1996) argue that although a greater number of rural dwellers migrate to cities on a circular basis, they maintain strong ties with rural places of their origins as long as urban economies offer economic opportunity.

Drawing from the focus group discussions and in-depth interviews, it emanated that the rural and urban links forms the backbone of household livelihood diversification. Participants in the three study farms revealed that their proximity to the city of Bulawayo was advantageous to them as the city acted as a broad-based market for anything they intend to sell. It emanated that during good rainy seasons, agricultural products are taken to the city of Bulawayo for sell. One participant of the study highlighted that Bulawayo was his ready market for small livestock especially goats, sheep and indigenous chickens. The participant also revealed that Bulawayo was also his main source of chicken feed and vaccines. In one focus group discussion, participants portrayed Bulawayo as the hub of financial services. It emanated from the discussions that one had a chance in Bulawayo to access facilities and infrastructure such as markets, credit facilities and even health facilities that strengthen rural livelihood development. The links with urban Bulawayo were also seen as a vehicle of accessing non-farm activities that include wage employment as well as skills that benefited households.
One participant of the study posited that:

> *"Staying close to the city of Bulawayo is an advantage in that you can go there in the morning, do your business, access banking and credit facilities and come back in the evening. But what I have realised is that Bulawayo is a market for literally everything available in rural areas ranging from agricultural products to harvested forestry products. You will also realise that some of our youngsters are employed in Bulawayo and they commute every day to work. That is very important as it assists us in buying agricultural inputs and even information on market prices and available livelihood opportunities. The opportunities that emanate because of proximity to the city and established rural-urban linkages are not there for households far away from the city."*

Niehof, (2004) concurs what emanates from this study that the rural-urban interface is a stimulant for rural livelihood diversification. The scholar argues that this interface advantages rural households in terms of markets, access to credits, better health facilities and employment

opportunities in urban areas. However, Lesetedi (2003) argues that 'in most rural areas the migration of the able-bodied leaves only the older, women, and terminally ill to constitute the labour force for the rural economy. On the other hand, this interface places increasing pressure on local authorities' ability to respond to social service needs of urban population'.

7.2.9 Social Capital and livelihoods diversification

Social capital is defined by McGee (2007) as "networks together with shared norms, values and understandings that facilitate co-operation within or among groups". According to Coleman (1990) social capital is not a single entity, but a combination of diverse entities having two characteristics in common which are an aspect of a social structure and the facilitation of certain actions of individuals in a structure. The entities include information flows, trust, obligations and expectations. Social capital is seen as a productive resource that enhances production and makes it possible to achieve certain ends (Winters et al. 2001). Regasa (2016) cites Winters et al. (2001) arguing that social capital encompasses pulling resources, risk sharing and technology diffusion as major contributions of social networks in the farming communities.

It emanated from this study that social capital is one of the key determinants of household livelihood diversification in the three study farms. Some participants revealed that through the cultural practice of *ukusisela inkomo* they have managed to secure cattle and, in the process, improved their livelihoods. *Ukusisela* is the arrangement of farming out cattle to those without or fewer cattle. This practice was common in the three study farms and is a Ndebele cultural norm premised on the desire to share wealth and reduce vulnerability of poor households to poverty. It emanated from focus group discussions that poor households benefit from draught power from the animals as well as milk and manure for their fields. However, because of the evolution of the cultural norms and values, it became apparent that some newly resettled farmers in addition to those stated benefits now require a heifer (*Ithokazi)* per every 25 animals farmed out to them. It also emanated that newly resettled farmers in the three study farms still practice. *Amalima* which is a social contract by which families help each other in productive activities such as cultivating land, tending livestock, building community assets such as dams, village gardens and revitalised pastures.

One focus group participant noted that;

> *"We have gone back to our roots and revoked our cultural norms and values. Almost every household in this community has cattle through* ***ukusisela*** *and we always assist each other through* ***amalima*** *to do quite a number of activities.*

*Through **amalima**, some of us with household labour challenges have managed to do well in good rainy seasons."*

Another key observation was the use of social media in taking advantage of social capital. It stemmed out of discussions that farmers have created WhatsApp chat groups that have had a bearing on their livelihoods and information sharing. Participants insinuated that WhatsApp groups are a vehicle of information sharing on crop varieties, prices of inputs, job and credit opportunities. It also emanated that through the WhatsApp groups, farmers have managed to share critical information on weather reports and other meteorological predictions. Such information has influenced a number of farmers on which choices of crops to grow or decisions on whether or not to destock. This social media platform has also acted as a market for the newly resettled farmers. One key informant revealed that:

"WhatsApp has given farmers an opportunity not only to get information around what is unfolding in Zimbabwe and Globally, but also a window to market their products. Some get to know about job opportunities elsewhere."

Chu, Benzing and McGee (2007) in their study of Ghanaian and Kenyan traders, realised that participants who had challenges in accessing start-up capital owed the achievement of their enterprise to their family and friends who accorded them an invaluable source of support during difficult times. These scholars concluded that social capital had the capacity to offset lack of start-up capital. Scholars such as Lyons and Snoxell, (2005) as well as Akoten and Otsuka (2007) also echo the importance of social capital in reducing transactional costs, catalyzing information flow and impacting positively on income.

7.2.10 Human capital availability

According to Goode (1959) human capital entails 'knowledge, skills, attitudes, aptitudes, and other acquired traits contributing to production'. This operationalisation of the concept goes beyond educational attainment, as it incorporates any productive skills or capabilities of individuals (Sen 1997), not just those that are formally taught. For Benette (2010) human capital creates the capability of people through which they realise their potential in pursuit of multiple livelihoods they choose to operate. In other words, human capital covers all forms of investments made to improve human skills, including schooling, informal education, vocational training, and learning by doing. It also includes other fundamental factors that enable the productive use of human skills, such as health (Ellis, 2000). A number of scholars linking human capital to livelihood development have been restricted to studying the impact of formal education. Knowledge accumulation and recombination brings new ideas and improves

both productivity and the quality of the products. In a wider macroeconomic sense, human capital encourages innovation and entrepreneurship which lead to higher growth rates (Dakhli and Clercq 2004).

It emanated from the discussions in the three study farms that human capital development that includes possessed skills and trainings as well as the health status of household members determines a household's capacity to diversify its livelihood. It came out that human capital has a bearing on household labour availability, quality and capacity. Participants of the study indicated that shortage of labour, especially to work the field impacted much on their agricultural production as well as animal rearing. One participant indicated that he had some interest in small grains, given their resilience in semi-arid areas but could not grow them because of labour shortage in his household. The farmer also indicated that his household was also interested in pursuing lucrative on-farm activities such as piggery and chicken rearing, but could not pursue these livelihood options given their labour demands. It came out of the engagements that the human capital factor handicaps mainly poor households without capacity to hire labour to work on their on-farm diversified activities. This was amply captured by MaNcube from an affluent household who noted that;

> *"I have done well in terms of pursuing a number of on-farm activities. Some normally call me a jack of all trades because I am literally in everything in farming. But the secret is hiring the right people with the right knowledge and experience. One of my senior farm employees here is a former farm worker with rich experience in poultry, piggery and cattle rearing. I depend much on his institutional productivity memory. But without capacity to hire this kind of crop of workers with diverse skills endowment, you cannot run a diversified agricultural project".*

It also came out of the discussions that education and skills training also exposed individuals to new dimensions that include reading and writing. The ability to read and write was mentioned as advantageous as it enables one to comprehend information that may be encompassing on market dynamics, job opportunities elsewhere or a demand of a particular service or good somewhere. Participants acknowledged the centrality of education as an investment for human capital. One pensioner who worked for a cement company in Bulawayo revealed that her educational background had assisted her take rural employment opportunities. She highlighted that she was the current home-based care coordinator working with the District AIDS coordinator and other non-state actors, in the figureht against HIV and AIDS. She also highlighted that she is part of the District Child Protection committee.

Discussions with participants also indicated the importance of the health status of household members in influencing the choice of livelihoods to pursue. It came out that households with members suffering from chronic illnesses struggled to diversify their livelihood options both on-farm and off-farm. Illnesses such as HIV and AIDS and Tuberculosis were mentioned to be a challenge to the household economy. Focus group discussions revealed that illnesses handicap a household's capacity to diversify its livelihood portfolio as income is diverted into caring for the terminally ill. It also emanated that time allocated to productive activities of the household is reduced due to illnesses.

The findings of this study are substantiated by Ellis (1996) who argues that human capital is a critical asset in diversification of rural livelihoods because the more the skills endowment possessed by a household, the easier it is to diversify. For Alinovi (2008) and Cole (2013) because of low human capital, poor households diversify into less lucrative livelihood options than their affluent counterparts. Ellis (1996) postulates that because of limited training and skills, poor households remain stuck in farming or get involved in piece jobs that do not require expertise.

7.3 Implications of livelihoods diversification on household well-being

There is an ongoing debate on the impact of livelihood diversification on household wellbeing. Most studies that have been done around the subject have taken a quantitative and economics strand (Rahut and Scharf, 2012; Perret et al., 2005) with limited in-depth understanding of the subject from the views of the participants. Participants of the study were asked the following questions in order to try and understand the implications of livelihoods diversification on their households;

- *What are the contributions of livelihood diversification in reducing household poverty?*
- *What role has been played by livelihood diversification in asset accumulation?*
- *What contribution has it made in addressing rural unemployment?*
- *What impact has diversification had on rural women?*

Participants of the study in both focus group discussions and in-depth interviews gave diverse responses on the implications of livelihood diversification on their households. In their attempt to answer the questions their focus was on income and asset accumulation, food security, child welfare, enterprise development and some spoke on gender implications of diversification as well as social differentiation.

7.3.1 Household income and Asset accumulation

Scholars such as Ellis (2000) and Barret et al. (2005) agree that households diversify for survival and in some cases for accumulation purposes. Participants of the study revealed an interesting picture on the implications of diversification on household income and assets. It came out of the discussions that those households that lacked capital and diversified for survival purposes or meeting household needs did not get much in terms of income and assets from diversification. These household, as a result of poverty and the immediate pressing needs, could not save money to buy assets or even agricultural inputs for the coming season.

This was captured through an in-depth discussion with MaNdlovu who noted that;

> *"I am involved in a lot of things my son especial during dry spell outs. l do piece jobs, weaving and in some instances, I travel to Bulawayo to buy tomatoes and resell them in this community. I do not get much that can be saved for future investments or asset accumulation. Remember l told you that we have four orphans and we live on a hand to mouth kind of life. So whatever that l get from these various activities, I prioritise food needs and other demands of the household".*

It emanated from the other discussions that some households had managed to increase their incomes and assets through livelihood diversification. It emanated that diversification enabled some households to drill boreholes, buy livestock, ploughs and other agricultural inputs, tractors, install solar panels and satellite dishes. Some indicated that because of some increase in their purchasing power they managed to send their children to affluent schools in Bulawayo and the surrounding boarding schools. Discussions also revealed that a few managed to send their children to universities in South Africa and Botswana. One participant MaNkomo insinuated that:

> *"Diversifying into various livelihood options has done wonders for me and my household. When l came here in 2000 immediately after losing my husband, we had absolutely nothing and my children were still at primary schools. The only thing that l had was a house in a high-density suburb and this piece of land. As expected by government priority was on growing of crops and attempting to build a herd. Things were very difficult for me and l ended up doing cross border trading, buying and selling old clothes and later supplying small scale miners with mercury. You will not believe that my life got transformed when l secured a small scale mine from the Ministry of mines and mining development. Doing small scale mining is a challenge if you are a woman and its even terrible when you are a widow and despised. However, I am one of the few women who have managed to make it through small scale mining. l have managed to send my kids to affluent A1 schools in Zimbabwe and some to South African universities. In terms of property accumulation, I have managed to buy a low-density house in Selbourne park in Bulawayo, build very good habitual infrastructure as you see,*

as well as securing substantial number of animals. I have more than thirty people working in my mine".

The Discussion with MaNkomo indicates that some households have experienced upward social mobility through livelihoods diversification. However, some households have been left worse off in their attempt to diversify their livelihood portfolios. It emanated from the engagements that some households in Rocksdale farm that attempted to diversify into small scale mining and cash crops lost a fortune in the process. This was clearly captured in a discussion with one key informant who noted that:

"Not everyone who has ventured into small scale mining has come out happy. Some farmers sold houses in Bulawayo and their cattle in their attempt to secure capital needed in mining. You will not believe that some have never come across a gramme of gold just to recover invested capital. We also have some who have attempted to grow tobacco and cotton in this community, but sadly the agro-ecological characteristics of this area and the dependence of rain- fed agriculture has failed them. In the last six years no one has attempted to grow these cash crops. One farmer who got a loan from Agribank Zimbabwe tried tobacco and got into trouble after the leaf failed him".

7.3.2 Household food security

One of the important debates in the context of agrarian economy are the implications of diversification on agricultural production and household food security (Laha, 2016). Attention has been put on the importance of crop diversification and its influence on food security at household levels. Pattel (2015) argues that household livelihood options underpin food security and the most important aspect of household food security is the means by which people produce or secure food for themselves. Clover (2003) posit that strategies (agricultural or others) may lead to more or less satisfactory household food security. It emanated from the study that crop diversification has had an impact on household food security. Participants of the study highlighted that growing a variety of crops did not only give them an opportunity to generate an income but also contributed much on household food security especially dietary diversity.

It came out of the engagements that households with draught power, capital and ability to hire labour had diversified cropping practices compared to vulnerable poor households that lacked draught power and, in most instances, had no capacity to buy different seed varieties. That is, crop diversification in this study was found to play a key role in ensuring household food security in the three study farms. It was observed that households with great crop diversification achieved much with regards to security in the access to food. One Agritex extension representative noted that:

"We encourage farmers to diversify their cropping patterns especially in these semi-arid areas. Those who have taken heed of our advice have done extremely well. You will realise that those who have appreciated small grains, short varieties as well as cow pees, always have something to harvest even in bad seasons".

It also emanated from the study that venturing into off-farm and non-farm activities also contributed to household food security. Discussions revealed that livelihood diversification is closely linked to food security. Participants of the study including vulnerable households indicated that livelihood diversification provided additional income for households that relaxed their financial constraint. Etea (2019) cites Babatunde and Qaim (2010) arguing that the multiple sources of income with reliable amounts are essential to ensuing food for households. Their study in Nigeria indicated that the prevalence of child Stunting and underweight was lower among farmers with off-farm income as compared with families without off-farm incomes. The same study indicated that livelihood diversification also contributed to increased food production by reducing capital constraints on the farmers. Devereux (2000) in a study in Ethiopia found that food insecure households were primarily those dependent on undiversified livelihoods based on rainfed agriculture.

7.3.3 Child welfare

In less developed countries poor households are the most vulnerable, mainly because the product of their agricultural activities is closely linked to welfare outcomes like food security and child development (Ravallion, 2009; Inder et al., 2017). It emanated from the study that livelihood diversification has implications on child development. In-depth interviews revealed that income generated from a diversified livelihood portfolio was mainly spent on children's welfare including food, educational inputs, clothes and their health. Observations from the three study areas also revealed that well-off households invested on good habitual infrastructures, education and good health for their children. This was captured in a conversation with Mr Moyo who noted that:

"I am involved in a number of livelihood options so that I generate income enough to fend for my family. My children's education, health and safety come first. ***(Indoda ngenakelela imuli yayo)****. My kids are a priority to me because their development depends on my investment in their needs."*

Further engagements also revealed interesting findings around livelihood diversification and child welfare. It emanated from in-depth and key informant interviews that livelihood diversification amongst other households had a negative implication on children. Participants revealed that crop diversification especially the adoption of small grains has meant the use of

children in minding birds and harvesting. It also came out that some households that are into vending and small-scale mining were using children to meet their labour demands. The use of children as labourers in pursuit of various livelihood options especially amongst poorer households has impacted on their access to education as some spend time vending *(see figure. 10 attached)* or assisting their parents in small-scale mining. It surfaced that some households were using children in doing their piece jobs that include field clearing and, in some instances, harvesting. The use of children especially in small scale mines has been condemned by the World Health Organisation (WHO) and the International Labour Organization (ILO). Children contract communicable diseases such as tuberculosis and some are sexually abused in these dangerous contexts. This was amply captured by one key informant who postulated that:

> *"The economy is bad in this country and a significant number of rural households are succumbed to poverty. It is however very sad to see what some of the poor households do. It is every family's responsibility to fend and protect their children, but what we have seen in this farm is the use of children in doing piece jobs, in processing gold in the mines and in some instances as vendors along the main road. Most of these children are deprived of their right to education and are exposed to communicable diseases and abuse in general."*

O'Driscoll (2017) supports the study findings on the implications of livelihood diversification on child welfare. He argues that diversification has increased child labour especially in mines and agricultural estates. Amnesty International (2016) and Human Rights Watch (2013) argue that child labour in these small mines includes extremely hazardous duties that endanger the children's lives and long-term health. Children are in some instances sexually abused and put under pressure to engage in sex work (Human Rights Watch, 2013; Schipper et al., 2015). However, Hilson (2010;448) argues that "mining provides supplementary earnings to farming, as farmers have to diversify due to the liberalized market if they want to continue with their smallholder farming activities. The fact that numerous children in Sub-Saharan Africa are engaged in activities similar to those carried out on smallholder farms suggest that child labour in this concept has cultural dimensions".

7.3.4 Entrepreneurship development

Livelihood diversification is seen as a source of wealth creation, asset accumulation and small enterprise development (Murwendo et al., 2011). It emanated from the study that some households have established enterprises from remittances, returns from small scale mining and a few from loans accessed from Banks and other credit houses. One key informant alluded that livelihood diversification has played an important role in enabling some households to establish thriving businesses. The informant revealed that some households had established

businesses that include bottle stores, grinding mills, stamping mills, supplying small scale miners with equipment and protective clothing, food outlets, as well as vegetable stalls. It also emanated from the informant that such enterprises had also created some form of employment for the youths and also improved access to critical services in the area. He postulated that:

> *"Diversification of livelihoods has enabled some households especially those with capital to establish lucrative enterprises. We have a Mr Mathe in this community who is doing well in terms of enterprise development. He started as a small-scale miner and has managed to grow his business to the extent of establishing a stamp mill, grocery shops, and a hardware. However, this is not easy for households without start-up capital and experience in running a business."*

It emanated from the discussions in the three farms that women have also taken advantage of livelihood diversification and have established their small businesses that include weaving, buying and selling of vegetables as well as traditionally brewing beer for sale. It however stemmed out that such small enterprises are feminised and less lucrative compared to other activities pursued by men with capital and collateral. Further probes revealed that the macroeconomic environment in Zimbabwe stifles growth of some of the enterprises pursued by the new resettled farmers for both survival and accumulation purposes. Participants revealed that doing business has been complicated by the introduction of the Zimbabwean dollar amid inflation and price distortions. A combination of unavailability and unaffordability of fuel has also caused a strain to the established enterprises.

A number of scholars have concurred the findings of this study (Perret et al., 2005; Makhura et al., 2000). A study by Perret et al. (2005) in Limpopo province indicated the importance of small and local businesses in creating employment and making goods and services available in the study area. The scholars argue that these small and local businesses focus on a diverse range of products and services that are mainly used by the locals. It also emanated from their study that some enterprises are engaged seasonally and performed by unpaid family labour, catering mainly for the surrounding markets.

7.3.5 Social differentiation and stratification

Social differentiation has been defined by Schwab (2018) as a variable that incorporates an expression of social equality and the absence or presence of stratification in a given community. The scholar further argues that it is an 'expression of the differential ranking of functionally significant roles in terms of a common set of social values or, put another way, it is the result of the interaction of social stratification and social evaluation'. Observations and discussions in the

three study farms revealed that households benefit differently in livelihood diversification. In other words, accumulation levels from diversified livelihood portfolios differ from one household to another depending on factors that include investment capacity, asset base, human capital endowment as well as the nature of the livelihoods pursued. As already highlighted in this thesis, poor households with the intention of surviving stresses and shocks, adopt less lucrative livelihoods that do not require much financial capital or skills possession.

It emanated from the study that diversification has deepened social differentiation and has reconFigured power dynamics in the three farms. Livelihood diversification in the three study farms has given rise to the 'rural elite'. These 'elites' comprise mainly those who have excelled in livelihood diversification and have managed to accumulate income and property. These elite hire labour to meet the demand of their diversified livelihood portfolios and some by virtue of having assets and savings do not face huddles in accessing credit. It stemmed out that these 'rural elites' by virtue of their status have become influential in community decision making as captured in an in-depth discussion with one community participant Mr Phiri who insinuated that:

> *"Newly resettled farmers, like communal farmers are under the jurisdiction oftraditional leaders. These traditional leaders are the custodians of our culture and land. They also play an important role in community resource governance. What we have seen in this farm is that there are people who are undermining the authority of the leaders because they now have money and some influence. This is an 'A1' resettlement farm where each household is expected to have a maximum of twenty herd of cattle. This is because there is a particular carrying capacity that this farm can support. You will not believe that we now have individuals with more than one hundred and twenty (120) herd of cattle in this farm and no one can do anything about it. Our traditional leader has struggled to address that problem"*

It emanates from the above anecdotes that social differentiation has complicated community resource management in these newly resettled farms. The 'elite' appear to get the bigger share of the cake of the community resources. Ellis (1998) argues that livelihood diversification 'has a disequalising effect on rural incomes, in other words it exacerbates rural differentiation'. This is also substantiated by a number of studies that have confirmed that wealthier families accumulate a higher proportion of their incomes from non-farm resources than poorer families (Webb et al., 1992; Collier and Lai, 1986; Evans and Ngau, 1991). For Dercon and Krishnan, (1996) poor households fail to derive higher returns from diversification because of lack of assets and their inability to participate in highly remunerated labour markets as a result of lack of education and skills constraint. For Reardon and Taylor (1996) rural income inequalities is exacerbated by differential access to more lucrative livelihood activities.

7.3.6 Gender and Diversification

Kabeer (1997) argues that there are a number of issues around livelihood relationships between rural men and women in the context of vulnerability to poverty and feminisation of poverty. FAO (2012) argues that "efforts to create gender equity in labour markets and income generating activities, as well as to support decent employment initiatives in rural areas, are hampered by lack of comprehensive information on the multiple dimensions of social and gender inequalities particularly in rural areas." This is also supported by Zakaria et al. (2015) who argue that there is limited gender disaggregated information regarding the implications of livelihoods diversification on women and men. The scholars further allude that there is still scanty information on gender specific challenges faced by women in their attempt to diversify their livelihood portfolios on-farm and off-farm.

It emanated from the study that women and men benefit differently from a diversified livelihood portfolio. Specifically, it came out of focus group discussions in the three study areas that gender influences access to and control of productive resources such as land and livestock as well as employment prospects. Overwhelming evidence from in-depth interviews and focus group discussions revealed that rural women in the three farms were engaged mainly in unpaid household work, agriculture and self-employed low remunerative activities. It also emanated from probes that most women have secondary land rights as they use land that is in the names of their husbands (some deceased). It come out from the discussions that control and ownership of livestock is gendered as women control small livestock such as goats and chicken while men have a greater say on cattle and other productive assets. One male participant in a focus group discussion elucidated that women are not left out of livelihood development in their community. He pinpointed that:

> *"What we need to understand is that men and women play different important roles in sustaining the livelihoods of a household. It is within our cultural tradition that women focus on agricultural activities and the caring of the household. That is part of our cultural identity and heritage. It is not in any way an oppression or exclusion of women in livelihood development".*

It stemmed out of the engagements and observations that men dominated in non-farm and off-farm lucrative livelihood options such as small-scale mining and enterprise development. In small-scale mining most men were involved in digging for gold while a significant number of women were involved in petty trading including selling food. However, it is important to note that there were few women in the study areas who manage to break the glass ceiling determining access to male

dominated lucrative livelihood options. These comprised mainly of independent women who have access to capital through remittances. One successful woman had this to say:

> *"I am an independent mother of three children and started staying here in the year 2000, after securing this piece of land. It has not been easy for me to be where I am as a woman in this community, but what I can tell you is that I am an independent woman who makes her own decisions. I do not consult anyone about what I want to pursue as long as there is an opportunity that I want to take advantage of. Women are despised and excluded in decisions impacting their lives and livelihoods. I have been called names after establishing my various businesses in this community. What I have realised is that men are intimidated by women who outplay them in their game"*

The findings of this study are authenticated by White-head and Kebar (2001) who argue that 'differences to opportunities to diversify have clearly contributed to inequalities in the distribution of income in certain contexts. Unequal access to diversification opportunities in Sub-Saharan Africa have served to exacerbate gender inequalities.' Reardon (1997) emphasises female disadvantage with regards to start-up capital and lack of collateral. In a study in rural Tanzania by Collier et al. (1986) it emanated that 'inequality in returns to male and female education' extremely crooked the access to non-farm employment, with access influenced by gender, age and education. Interestingly, are findings by Adams (1991) in rural Zimbabwe indicating that some females heading households on defacto grounds were able to invest their husbands' remittances through diversifying into higher returning livelihood options.

7.4 Constraints to livelihoods diversification

Saha and Bahal (2012) argue that livelihood diversification is the single most important source of poverty reduction for smallholder farmers in the global south. Livelihood diversification is a way in which most people in the third world countries try to improve their well-being. These poorer countries tend to assure themselves with a better income through diversified activities. Diversification is also common in first world countries where individuals and families seek better prospects. It is widely believed that agriculture is an important driver of the rural non-farm economy. In order to understand lives and livelihoods of rural dwellers it is important to ascertain what exactly inhibit their attempts to diversify their livelihood portfolios. Having this assumption in mind, this study attempted to identify the constraints faced by newly resettled farmers in their attempt to diversify their livelihoods. Focus group discussions and in-depth interviews revealed that the newly resettled farmers face a number of constraints in their attempt to diversify their livelihood portfolios.

7.4.1 Land tenure insecurity and lack of collateral

A number of scholars argue that security of tenure is an integral part of the land tenure question (Deininger and May, 2000; Moyo, 2004; Couzins, 2003). According to the World Bank (2002) and Deininger (2003) security of land tenure can only be realized if land rights of the beneficiaries are transferable and respected. For World Bank (2002) the security of tenure has a bearing on investment decisions, access to credit as well as the production behavior of farmers. It emanated from in-depth interviews and focus group discussions that farmers in the three study farms faced security of tenure challenges. Participants at the Fox farm and Springrange farm indicated that in 2018 all households received letters from the Ministry of Land and Resettlement advising them that there were resettled illegally and were expected to vacate the farms by July the same.

It also emanated that in January 2019 the Ministry wrote traditional leaders in the two respective farms letters indicating that the Government had made a decision that they vacate by the end of year. Although participants at the Rocksdale farm by the time of data collection had not received such communication from the ministry of Land and Resettlement, we observed that the security of tenure was also affecting them as they were aware of what was happening in other farms. It emanated from the engagements that security of tenure was discouraging farmers from investing on their pieces of land and having an implication on farm production. One focus group discussion participant noted that:

> *"We settled here in 2000 after the allocation of land by the government of Zimbabwe. Government has renewed its interest of removing us in this farm in the last 2 years. You will not believe that more than 17years after resettlement we still do not have title deeds and continue to be reminded by Government that we should vacate. Honestly, how do you develop your piece of land under insecure tenure. I wanted to start a gardening project but I am afraid that I might waste my few savings and remittances from my kids in South Africa. Any time, we can be evicted in this farm like what is happening in other farms. You cannot plan properly on which economic activities to pursue without title deeds"*

Further probes also indicated that lack of title deeds was also making it impossible for the small holder farmers to use their land as collateral in their attempt to secure credits. The challenge of insecure land tenure and lack of collateral has constrained a significant number of households in their attempt to diversify their livelihoods. This is buttressed by a number of scholars who saw access to credit services as having a positive effect on diversification of livelihoods (Ellis, 2000; Mentamo and Geda, 2016; Debele and Desta, 2016). For Smith (2001;21) 'inaccessibility of financial services as a result of market imperfections or lack of credit acknowledge in Uganda is a

major constraint to potential diversification into non-farm economic activities.' However, Asfaw (2018) alludes that access to credit had a negative implication in a study in Ethiopia as farmers inclined to purchase agricultural inputs rather than diversifying their livelihoods.

7.4.2 Poor rural infrastructure

A number of scholars have emphasized the importance of rural infrastructural development in poverty reduction as well as livelihood diversification (Barret and Reardon, 2000; Bird et al. 2002; Handley et al., 2009). There is overwhelming evidence that most rural areas in the Global South lack basic infrastructure such as hospitals, roads, schools, electrification, water development and markets that are instrumental in livelihood development. Barret and Reardon (2000) argue that access to transport is one important factor affecting rural livelihoods as it has a bearing on the movement of people and goods as well as in the development of markets. Discussions with participants in the three study areas indicated that lack of infrastructure was negatively affecting livelihood diversification. This was amply captured in a conversation with a key informant who noted that:

> *"There are many livelihood opportunities that we can pursue in these newly resettled areas. Unfortunately, lack of infrastructure development is one major setback to some of our dreams. This farm is inaccessible because of the poor state of roads that have never been maintained in the last decade. Communication is a hurdle in this place as there are always network challenges. We still do not have electricity, almost 20 years after resettlement. There is nothing that you can do without electricity."*

DFID (1999) argues that an improved rural infrastructure ensures that the rural dwellers are not only informed about available opportunities, but can also strengthen rural-urban linkages which play a significant role in livelihoods diversification. Handley et al. (2009) argue that 'inadequate institutional and infrastructural linkages (e.g. railway, roads, landline, and mobile telecommunication) between local, national and international markets- means that rural markets are poorly integrated, over both time and space. This not only affects physical markets but reduces producers' and traders' access to information that signals price changes, which limits their ability to change their patterns of production and trade to avoid economic shocks'. Findings of this study are also corroborated by Khatan and Roy (2012) who argue that rural infrastructure especially irrigation, water development and markets were found to be important determinants for livelihood diversification.

7.4.3 Lack of household assets

Household assets play an important role in determining successful livelihood diversification (Berry, 1989; Devereux, 1993; Sen, 1997; Ellis, 2000). It stemmed out of the discussions that lack of household assets was one of the major constraints to livelihood diversification. Participants indicated that without household assets such as cattle, ploughs and other important agricultural tools, it was difficult for one to diversify their crop production. Lack of draught power was cited as one of the main reasons why households are failing to utilise their land. It also emanated that without assets, it was difficult for one to access credit as household property is used as some form of collateral. One participant from a vulnerable household had this to say:

> *"If you do not have assets such as cattle and other valuables, no one can borrow you money as those are manifestations of wealth and even capacity to pay back. We are willing to venture into other livelihood options outside agriculture, but where do we get start-up capital without assets. The only thing that we have is land, but without draught power it has remained fallow. Those with cattle can sell them, get income and buy good seed varieties or venture into livelihood options of their choice. That is something that is impossible for me since I do not own even a cat."*

The above sentiments from the participant indicate the importance of household assets in livelihood diversification and highlights constraints faced by poor households in their quest to broaden their livelihood portfolios. The sentiments also indicate the importance of livestock ownership as an indicator of wealth. Khatun and Roy (2012) in their study on *Rural Livelihoods diversification in West Bengal*, found that household assets help both directly and indirectly in diversification of livelihoods. The scholars found that assets offered a store of wealth and also provided a window to invest in alternative livelihoods. Khatun and Roy (2012) opine that the value of physical assets owned by a household was found to have a significant and positive effect on the level of livelihood diversification. Asset base is one of the limiting factors towards livelihood diversification in Rural west Bengal. Ayele (2008) supports Khatun and Roy (2012) as he argues that access to and ownership of productive resources enables adaptation and diversification of livelihoods while both strategic moves assist in consolidating household asset bases.

7.4.4 HIV and AIDS

Rural households in Sub-Sahara have been affected by the HIV and AIDS epidemic. FAO (2006) posit that the HIV and AIDS epidemic is reversing decades of socio-economic development and resulting in rural fragmentation. In-depth and key informant interviews revealed that the HIV and AIDS epidemic in the three farms was one of the constraints to livelihoods diversification. Further

engagements uncovered that the epidemic was mainly affecting the economically and sexually active groups. One participant revealed that the epidemic was impacting a lot on the availability of labour in her household. She highlighted that caring for the terminally ill reduced labour availability on livelihood options such as crop farming. The participant also revealed that caring for the ill also reduced time spent on critical livelihood options pursued for both accumulation and survival purposes. Discussions also uncovered that the epidemic was increasing the caring burden on women who play an important role in smallholder agriculture and in sustaining household demands. This feminisation of HIV and AIDS caring also reduced the ability of women to diversify into higher returning livelihoods.

In one focus group discussion, it emanated that households were selling productive assets to meet the caring costs. It also stemmed out that household savings that act as an indicator of livelihood sustainability were depleted in the process. Further engagements also revealed that the tendency of sending the terminally ill to rural areas by urbanites was also creating a resource strain to the rural dwellers, especially through high food consumption during funerals. One key informant hinted that:

> *"HIV and AIDS is a serious problem in this farm. Almost every household is affected one way or the other. The epidemic has impoverished the most vulnerable households in this community as it reduces their capacity to work the fields and also compromises their ability to produce their own food or even to diversify their livelihood portfolios. The epidemic also leaves a trail of orphaned and vulnerable children. What I have realised in working with homebased care givers is that poor households struggle to cope with the effects of the epidemic compared to their wealthier counterparts with capacity to hire labour and in some instances receiving support through remittances. These wealthier households are in a position to absorb shocks and stresses compared to their vulnerable counterparts."*

The results of this study are validated by FAO (2006) as it notes that 'with farmers dying in the prime of life before they can pass on knowledge to their children, the potential long-term impact on nutrition and food security is devastating'. SAPES Trust (2001) argues that the impact of HIV and AIDS on assets, labour, income, skills, knowledge as well as practices of households has destabilised the prospects for sustainable rural livelihoods. The epidemic not only expands the extent of food insecurity and poverty, but also changes the characteristics of poverty through structural dynamics in adult mortality (FAO, 2010; Ambernstsson, 2011). Scholars have also lamented that HIV and AIDS has also increased the number of child and

female headed households as well as families fostering children (Coulibally, 2005; UNFPA, 2003; UNAIDS, 2000).

7.4.5 Lack of education and skills training

Bruns et al. (2003) postulate that human capital development (education and skills training) is the most powerful tool for reducing poverty and inequality as well as laying concrete for sustainable livelihood development. The scholars argue that education for girls has a positive impact on the empowerment of women and reducing their chances of being poor. Some scholars argue that education and skills training improve the natural resource governance in communities (Berry, 1989; Chimhowu and Woodhouse, 2006). It emanated from in depth and key informant interviews in the three study farms that lack of formal education and skills training was one of the constraints to livelihood diversification. Participants revealed that with education you can go anyway in the world and start a livelihood. It came out of the discussions that most rural employment opportunities require 5 Ordinary level subjects including English and maths, and those without such qualifications struggle to get employed especially in government and quasi-governmental programs. One participant of the study Nkosiyazi (Not real name) indicated that:

> *"Life is difficult if you never went to school like me. There has been a number of employment opportunities, especially from the Zimbabwe Electricity Supply Authority as well as the Rural District Council. Our councilor always brings out job adverts, however the challenge is that they need a minimum qualification of 5 Ordinary Level subjects including English"*

It also emanated that most of the trainings that newly resettled farmers have undergone through the facilitation of various institutions including a few non-governmental organisations are focused on agricultural development. Smallholders in the three study farms indicated that Agritex extension workers, World vision and Lutheran Development trust have trained them on conservation agriculture, small grains and small livestock production. The farmers indicated that there was little focus on livelihood diversification in the trainings they had attended. The feeling from most participants was the need for government to train them on business development as well as on vocational skills including building, brick moulding, wood technology and water works. One participant pinpointed that:

> *"We have never been trained on off-farm and non-farm activities. I think that will be a good starting point so that we appreciate how different communities diversify their livelihoods. We need to have an appreciation on how to start a business and grow it. However, getting skills capacitation without start-up capital will not assist us move out of poverty. Lack of start-up capital needs to be addressed in the process"*

Loison (2015) cites Ellis (1998) arguing that a significant number of vulnerable households tend to lack skills and formal education, which act as entry constraints deterring them from adopting higher return activities such as non-farm waged and skilled employment. These scholars further argue that poor households remain trapped in low income activities that leave them reeling in structural poverty, while the well to do households specialise in lucrative on and off farm activities. Findings of this study are also validated by Ayele (2008) who argues that training farmers in diverse skills increase their options to diversify into various activities and accumulate income from these different sources. The scholar further argued that skilling farmers allows them to be competitive in what they venture into.

7.4.6 Socially and familial constraints

It emanated from the study that there are social and familial constraints to livelihood diversification. Participants of the study indicated that livelihoods such as farming and animal rearing are embedded in their socio-cultural values and societ al., expectations. As already indicated in this study participants revealed that crop and animal farming was part of their social identity and heritage. The social value attached to crop and animal rearing has been seen as a livelihood diversification inhibiting factor. This was captured by one participant who noted:

> *"Crop farming is the main reason why I am here and I cannot imagine doing anything outside farming. What will people say if they see me venturing into non-farm activities. Even my ancestors will not be happy to find that I am no longer prioritising crop and animal rearing. You need also to understand that if a land audit is done and you are found not practicing crop production you may lose your land."*

It also emanated from the study that some households are shy to diversify their livelihoods into activities that are despised by communities. It stemmed out of the discussions that such households are discouraged by the low value associated with some livelihood options such as vending, traditional beer brewing and doing casual piece jobs. One participant indicated that her husband ended up going to South Africa after being called names by some of his relatives after venturing into traditional beer brewing. It emanated that the community also became at loggerhead with him as they blamed him for fueling social ills through his traditional beer brewing. She highlighted that:

> *"Livelihood diversification is a challenge especially when you venture into an option that is not supported by some members of the community. We saw this when we started traditional beer brewing. This community and even our close relatives turned against us to the extent of calling us into a village head disciplinary meeting to stop us from pursuing that livelihood option."*

7.4.7 Wild animals and animal diseases

Study participants in the three farms indicated that problem wild animals were also impacting on their attempt to diversify their livelihoods on-farm. It emanated that a number of animals have encroached into the three farms, some in search of pastures, water and in some instances for marauding purposes. Animals that were named as problematic in crops include kudus, warthogs, antelopes, baboons and monkeys. Farmers mentioned that these problem wild animals destroy crops and, in the process, reduced their harvests. It also came out that predators such as hyenas, leopards and cheetahs, jackals were also wiping small livestock especially goats, sheep, and pigs. This was amply captured by one participant in one of the farms who noted that:

> *"Problem animals are a source of demotivation for some of us. We lose livestock to hyenas, leopards and jackals almost every day. We have reported to the National Parks and Wildlife management but it was all in vain, as we are told to coexist with the wild animals. I had started a sheep breeding project because of the ready market it has in Bulawayo and Victoria Falls. I ended up abandoning it after losing more than 30 of them to these predators. We also get our crops destroyed by baboons, kudus and warthogs. It is difficult to make because of these problem animals. A number of households have failed to make it in gardening because of wild animals."*

It emanates from the conversation that on-farm diversification is impeded by the problem of wild animals. It came out from the conversations that most game reserves close to the resettled farms are no longer fenced, necessitating straying of animals into fields and other places with sources of water. Participants of the study also mentioned animal diseases as one of the challenges faced by households in their attempt to diversify. It came out of the discussion that a number of households that have tried to venture into poultry have failed to make because of diseases such as the new castle disease. In one focus group discussion it emanated that foot and mouth as well as lumpy skin diseases killed a significant number of cattle in 2017 and 2018. Pulpy kidney and heart water diseases were reported to be killing a number of goats and sheep especially at the Fox and Rocksdale farms. It emanates from the engagement that wild animals and animal diseases handicap households that seek to diversify their livelihoods through cropping and animal rearing.

7.4.8 Government and the farm household development model

Small holder Agriculture remains prioritized by governments in the global south within their rural development policy frameworks. Government of Zimbabwe like other governments in sub-Saharan, strongly believe that small holder agriculture is the engine for rural economies and they cannot be substitute for that. As already indicated in some parts of this thesis the

purpose of the land reform program in Zimbabwe was to increase agricultural production so as to improve household and national food security. On that basis government of Zimbabwe has supported agrarian based livelihood with limited support of off-farm and non-farm activities. Participants of the study revealed that government only supports on crop and animal rearing activities. It emanated from the participants that limited support of livelihood diversification of the government of Zimbabwe was one of the constraining factors in their attempt to diversify their livelihood portfolios. Discussions further revealed that government's one shoe fit all rural development approach especially of distributing agricultural inputs without looking at the agro ecological capacities of various farms was seen as hand cap to household diversification. Participants opined that it was high time for government to consider context specific factors in determining the nature of the livelihood support rendered to new resettled farmers. This was vehemently captured by one participant who posited that:

> *"Livelihood diversification is not that promoted by government programmes and even other development agents in most newly resettled areas. I think what informs the nature of programmes in these areas is that households were resettled for agrarian purposes. So, focus is on agricultural inputs and trainings on better agricultural practices. We are not seeing much in terms of promoting livelihoods diversification. For example, the feeling is that some non-farm and some off-farm livelihood activities threaten the foundation of the land reform programme. But what is ignored is that rain-fed agriculture can't take households away from poverty. I think policy makers need to understand that we need to survive in these farms and without irrigation livelihoods will remain vulnerable to shocks and stresses. Again, l think it is important for those who make decisions to appreciate that access to land without systematic support that includes affordable loans is not enough to take us out of poverty. We will remain poor till the kingdom comes."*

7.5 Post land reform support schemes and livelihoods diversification

FAO (2006;11) argues that "land reform becomes more effective when beneficiaries acquire the necessary experience in land use and management and when they have the capacity to generate sustainable or sufficient food. Rural infrastructure, improved technologies and a range of responsive rural services, including training have proved essential to effective and lasting agrarian reform". Scholars such as Van der Elst (2007) argue that it is the responsibility of governments to provide assistance in the form of farm inputs, farm credit, skills training, and marketing. There is also need for governments to provide critical rural infrastructure for example roads, water supplies, communication connectivity and power supplies. Participants of the study were asked questions that aimed at establishing the nature of post settlement support they have received and its implications on livelihood diversifications

7.5.1 District development fund (DDF) Programmes

The government of Zimbabwe established the District development fund in 1981 to support rural development in communal, small-scale commercial farming zones and in resettlement areas. This parastatal is under the office of the President and Cabinet. According to PlanAfric, (2000) DDF has a multiplicity of responsibilities that include rural water supply, irrigation establishment and maintenance, gravel roads upkeep as well as supporting smallholder farmers on tillage and land preparation. This parastatal works with Rural District Councils and in the 1980s it used to be funded by International development agencies such as the Danish International Development Agency (DANIDA) and Swedish International Development Agencies (SIDA). Chaya (2019) posit that DDF has 179 tractors and only 56 are working. The scholar further highlights that the parastatal has 33 seed drills, 84 ploughs and 75-disc harrows.

Discussions with participants revealed that the District development fund is one parastatal that used to be visible during the first 5 years of the resettlement programme. Farmers revealed that one had to buy fuel for tractors to access the services which were very affordable for newly resettled farmers. Some hinted that the tillage programme was easily accessible especially during the dry spell out where demand for it was low. It also emanated that during the first years of the resettlement programme DDF played an important role in borehole drilling and maintenance in the three study farms. Participants also revealed that the parastatal also played a cardinal role in assisting newly resettled farmers peg their stands and fields. It also stemmed out that the parastatal has been invisible in the last decade with some participants highlighting that the parastatal had been run down by corrupt and incompetent management. One participant opined that:

> *"We used to get a lot of support from the District development fund. The Department was instrumental in pegging our fields, drilling borehole, maintaining some land for tillage during the first three or so years after our settlement by government here at Springrange. Because of lack of central government funding, the parastatal has collapsed. We no longer hear about DDF. It appears this organisation was looted by corrupt management. I also understand that all their tractors are currently down in this district. Their borehole drilling machine broke down some years back. The capacity to maintain broken down boreholes has also been compromised by the current economic challenges faced by the country. I am also told some of the activities of this parastatal have been halted by lack of fuel. It is a very sad development for us as farmers given the water and tillage challenges, we face in this farm."*

The findings of this study indicate limited contributions of the DDF activities in improving the lives and livelihoods of the newly resettled farmers. This is also supported by PlanAfric (2000) as it argues that rural infrastructure improved in Zimbabwe in the 1980s and had a bearing on the economic prospects and quality of life, however, it did not have much effect on off-farm

activities and rural employment in general. A number of scholars who have evaluated DDF's rural development activities argue that the parastatal is failing to transform the lives and livelihoods of rural dwellers because of its centralised administrative structure, lack of coordination among rural development agencies, incapacitation, lack of funding as well as incompetence and corruption (Carley, 1994; PlanAfric, 2000; Shivji et al., 1998).

7.5.2 Command Agriculture and Command Livestock Programme

Zimbabwe has since the year 2000 had major changes in terms of its agrarian economy. According Chisoko and Zharare (2017) the extensively poor planning in the land redistribution which was aimed at restoring the skewed land tenure systems resulted in a significant backward shift in terms of agrarian productivity. Obi and Chisango (2011; 7) further go on to note that "the period after the brutal invasions of the commercial farms marked the beginning of the demise of Zimbabwe's agricultural sector, as the country that was once dubbed the bread basket of Africa became a basket case and had to depend on vast volumes of international food aid to avert huge food deficits faced nationwide". For Chisango (2018) the Government of Zimbabwe in a bid to resuscitate the ailing agricultural sector has over the years brought in a number of initiatives which include The Presidential Input scheme, The Operation Feed the Nation "Maguta" and also the current Command Agriculture Program.

The Command Agriculture Program as noted by Chisango (2018) was initiated by the Government of Zimbabwe during the 2015 and 2016 farming season so as to mobilize affordable and sustainable funding for the newly resettled farmers who lack access to credit lines as they do not have property rights which they can use as collateral when accessing capital from Banks and other financing institutions. The Command Agriculture Program was born out of the burden to assist newly resettled farmers, so that they can benefit from the agricultural inputs and in the long run boost production of strategic crops and as a result improve provision of food and nutrition for the rural populace.

Discussions in the three study farms uncovered that the newly resettled farmers were aware of Government's Command Agriculture Programme. Some indicated that they registered their names to secure inputs for the crop programme, while others registered for the livestock programme. A significant number of participants indicated some disappointments with the command agricultural programme as revealed by one focus group participant who pinpointed that:

"The Command agriculture is a good programme for us especially in newly resettled areas. We need government support given that Non-Governmental Organisations neglect us. It started as a crop and cereals focusing support scheme and the later government included a livestock component. Like most of these support schemes that we have seen, it is those connected to power who always benefit. For your own information I had registered with quite a number of other farmers in this and other neighbouring farms. We thought maybe this time we will benefit like others. A significant number of farmers who registered their names for Command agriculture did not benefit. To me l still think that government was just pushing an election agenda. If am wrong, why is it that we are no longer hearing anything about the programme after the elections? I saw this several times even under Mugabe. As new farmers we end up thinking these programmes are designed for political expediency purposes. There is nothing wrong about command agriculture as long as there is transparency and accountability in terms beneficiary identification In some farms we know that people with more than 50 herd of cattle benefited from the command heifer programme. In some farms we know that people with more than 50 herd of cattle benefited from the command heifer programme.

It emanates from the above conversation that the newly introduced Command Agriculture Programme just like previous programmes has hit a brick wall in terms of governments bid to assist the newly resettled farmers, especially at Fox, Rocksdale and Springrange farms. This is due to the fact that there are a number of challenges that have surfaced in the implementation stages as noted by the Participant. Issues of the rich getting richer through corrupt practices came out of the engagements especially at Rocksdale farm. Findings of this study are validated by Scholars such Chandiposha et al. (2013) and Chisango (2018) who argue that the little success registered by The Command Agriculture is as a result of a plethora of challenges surrounding its implementation strategies and disparity in the perceived outcomes of the programme by the farming community and the authoritarian implementers.

Chisango (2018) further goes on to note that the same challenges that previous Agricultural programmes faced are the same challenges affecting the Command agriculture Programme, which include abuse of office by elite governmental officials. This in turn has meant an insignificant improvement of the country's Agricultural sector, as the targeted farmers do not benefit from the programme. For Mazwi et al. (2019) the Command Agriculture in Zvimba district failed because of insufficient inputs supplied by the contractor (Government). The scholars also postulate that inadequacy in funding coupled with profit maximization strategies by the contacting partners collapsed the command agricultural programme.

7.5.3 Former Vice President Mpoko's Tillage programme

It emanated from one of the farms that there was once a Vice President's Tillage programme. This programme was housed under the then Vice President of the Republic of Zimbabwe (Phelekezela Mpoko). Participants revealed that Bubi District of which Rocksdale is a part was allocated 8 new tractors with ploughs and disc harrows as well as planters. In this programme farmers only bought fuel and the other operational costs were stomached by the government. It emanated from the discussions that this programme ran for three seasons and a significant number of farmers claimed to have harvested a significant yield because of the Vice President's Programme. This was amply captured by one female in-depth interviewee who noted that:

> *"We used to have a tillage programme that was managed through the office of the then Vice President of the republic of Zimbabwe Phelekeza Mpoko. The Tillage programme ran for three consecutive years (2015-2017) and l can tell you as farmers, that the programme assisted us a lot. The office of the Vice President made available 8 new tractors for Bubi district of which Rocksdale is a part. We only bought fuel for the tractors and nothing else. Those three years saw an increase in cultivated land as well as yields in general. But what disappointed us is that immediately after his removal together with Mugabe in Office, tractors vanished. We don't even know what happened to the tractors, where the machinery is and whether the programme will ever commence again. As new farmers, I think that's one challenge that we face. A significant number of post land reform support programmes are not sustainable. Each season has a new programme and it is confusing us as farmers because we expect government to have a clear policy with clear objectives. I don't think there is follow up to establish the performance of these programmes and even to establish what we need as farmers. What l am saying is that programmes lack buy-in of the farmers given that they are just imposed from above and with a one-shoe-fit all kind of approach. Its high time that Government establishes context specific needs of various farmers in various agricultural zones. This area is good for ranching but we always get maize seeds and fertilizers."*

It emanates from the above conversation that government programmes targeting newly resettled areas lacks appreciation of the importance of livelihood diversification as it is still framed on the farm household perspective. Government appears to continue prioritizing small holder agriculture as it remains the backbone of the rural economy in Zimbabwe. This is seen through its agrarian focused support of these newly resettled areas. Attention is on agricultural inputs and livestock development. These agrarian packages are not structured in a manner that creates opportunities for diversification. Furthermore, it emanates from the engagements that government programmes are not only top-down driven but also lack bottom-up and context specific orientation.

7.5.4 Agribank and Old Mutual smallholder support programmes

Access to credit has been seen as one of the most important facilities that may change the fortunes of smallholder farmers. With access to credit farmers are capacitated to buy agricultural inputs, a variety of seeds as well as starting other enterprises outside farming. It emanated from the study that the Agricultural bank of Zimbabwe (Agribank) has a number of credit facilities targeting small holder farmers. Participants revealed that a number of them had applied for loans and never got responses from the bank. One participant who got a declined response from the bank indicated that it came several months after the rainy season. The participant revealed that there was no explanation on why his application was not successful. Some participants highlighted that their applications were declined over the counter as the bank staff specified that without collateral, they were wasting their time. It stemmed out of the discussions that most newly resettled farmers had no confidence in Agribank credit facilities. One disgruntled participant noted that:

> *"Seeking credit from Agribank is just a waste of time and energy. We have been trying in the last decade without success. l have decided to use other sources to finance my activities outside Agribank and its demands".*

The above conversation reveals that contrary to government's claim that Agribank's main function is to support smallholder farmers with or without collateral, it emanates that getting a loan in this bank is a tumultuous task for smallholders in newly resettled areas. It stemmed out of the discussions at Springrange farm that Old Mutual was also providing agricultural loans at this farm. Framers who wanted to access this loan scheme had to apply as a group as the scheme was not targeting individual farmers. By the time of data collection farmers appeared contemplating working in groups as they preferred loans as individuals. Like the Agribank, the Old mutual scheme expected some form of collateral from this group in question.

7.5.5 Agritex and Vet extension programmes

Rukuni and Eicher (1997) define agricultural extension services as a mechanism of transferring agricultural technology and information to farmers for production and marketing purposes. Agricultural extension services in Zimbabwe focus on crop and animal husbandry. It emanated from the focus group discussions and in-depth interviews that participants in the three study farms received agricultural extension services through workshops, pamphlets, farmers WhatsApp groups and electronic media. Participants revealed that in the last decade they have received extension services focusing on the following:

- Climate change variability and adaptation

- Promotion of drought tolerant crops and small livestock
- Conservation agriculture
- Agricultural value chains
- Gender and agriculture
- Animal cross breeding through insemination

Participants noted that the Agritex and Vet extension officers were playing an important role in information dissemination and skills development around crop and animal rearing. Discussions revealed that newly resettled farmers in the three study areas were trained on climate change, its impact on agriculture and possible adaptation strategies. It also came out that the extension services also trained farmers on conservation agriculture. It stemmed out from the participants that conservation agriculture was been encouraged among poor households without adequate family labour and draught power. Further probes also indicated that extension services also focused on gender and agriculture value chains. Focus was on the role of women in smallholder agriculture and the possibility of agricultural value addition in these newly resettled areas. Discussions also uncovered that the Veterinary Extension Services engrossed on animal cross breeding, use of insemination as well as the promotion of drought tolerant livestock. One local authority key informant revealed that:

> *"Agritex extension workers have done us proud in this farm. They are always there for us as farmers in terms of advice and agricultural skills development. ……Maybe to answer your question, I think we have benefited substantially in terms of crop and animal diversification. I have seen quite a number of people in this farm growing a variety of crops as advised by the extension workers. I have also seen growth in interest in small livestock and even the desire to commercialise on agricultural activities is growing. The only challenge is that these extension workers are very demotivated as they get paltry salaries from government and their working conditions are very appalling. Most experienced extension workers have left for greener pastures. It's so sad that government no longer furnishes them with motorbikes, off-road vehicles and even protective clothes."*

Contrary to the study findings by Mandizadza's (2009) that access to and use of extension services was influenced by a farmer's attitude and ineffectiveness of the extension workers, it emanated from this study that newly resettled farmers in the three study farms understood the centrality of extension services in improving their production. Farmers were of the opinion that the challenges of extension workers were emanating from their working conditions and under resourcing by government. The findings of this study are concurred by Kinsley (2002) who notes that most extension workers in newly resettled areas are inexperienced and lack proper training on extension work.

7.5.6 Non-Governmental Organisations and support services

Non-Governmental organisations play an important role in complimenting government efforts in rural development in Sub-Sahara. According to Odhiambo (2017), a Non- Governmental Organisation can be defined as an organization which is comprised of natural persons or of autonomous collective voluntary organizations whose aim is to improve economic, social and cultural development and to advocate for public interests of a certain group, natural persons, organizations or with the view of promoting the common interest of their members. Odhiambo (2017) further goes on to note that there are various roles that the Non-Governmental Organisations play especially in third world countries, and these include Social Development and Sustainable Community Development. Furthermore Asamoah (2003) notes that another advantage of Non-Governmental Organizations is their flexibility, non-profit status, grass-root orientation and also their commitment and recruitment policy. However, through in-depth and focus group discussions it came out that NGO's were not that committed in terms of assisting them to curb some of the challenges they were facing in the farms. It emanated at Fox farm that there were no NGO's at all that had come in the area after the government resettlement programme.

Study participants at both Fox and Springrange farms noted with concern that ever since the resettlement programme was initiated, they had however had limited to no support at all from Non-Governmental Organisations. At Rocksdale farm however, participants noted that organizations such as the World Vision, ORAP and the Lutheran Development Trust had on numerals occasions visited the farm. However, some participants noted that, World vison had last visited them way back in the early 2000's during a Food Distribution Programme they were doing. It further emanated from In-depth discussions with study participants from Rocksdale farm that the other Non-Governmental Organisations such as the Lutheran Development Trust, are ever present in the area, but however their main focus was to assist widows and also offer HIV related Programmes. The focus of Non-Governmental Organisations on HIV and AIDS related activities was further cemented by one Key Informant at Springrange farm who noted that NGOs that came in the area were very few, and the few that came were mostly focusing on HIV and AIDS programmes.

Further engagements from in-depth interviews especially at Fox revealed that the limited support that newly resettled farmers receive is as a result of NGO policies to stay out these newly resettled areas, as they had the perception that the land reform exercise was not properly planned. This is further cemented by CCMT (2014) that notes that NGOs cannot channel funds

to areas whose legal status is being challenged. Furthermore, other participants felt they were *"dumped"* by the government as they felt the government had done very little to convince NGOs to work in the newly resettled areas. One study participant had this to say:

> *"There are a lot of challenges that we are going through in this area. Some of which include water shortages for us people, agricultural crops as well as for livestock. We also face shortages of agricultural inputs amongst other challenges. We do understand that the economy is in a bad shape and as a result the government cannot fully quench our thirst in terms of our needs and desires. As such I think it would be wise for the government to try and encourage Non-Governmental Organisations and de-politicise the land question as it is affecting us in a huge way. I think if both the Government and the Non-Governmental organizations could find a neutral ground and work together, we would surely come out of some of these challenges and hopefully get more boreholes being drilled in the area."*

Further discussions with participants uncovered that the low support they receive from NGOs was as a result of the poor road network they had in the farm. Another participant pinpointed the politization of the land reform as having a major factor in chasing away the NGOs in thearea. The participant noted that some political, traditional and district leaders were unwilling to permit any NGOs to work in the newly resettled areas and as a result these organisations focused mainly on communal areas with minimum political interference.

7.5.7 Chapter summary

This chapter has looked at the drivers of livelihood diversification in the three study farms. The presented information reveals that households in the study areas diversify because of push as well as pull factors. It stemmed out that these households diversify their livelihood portfolios for survival against shocks and stresses. Such shocks and stresses come in the form of drought, harvest failure, unemployment or seasonal food insecurity. It also came out of the chapter that well to do households diversify for income and asset accumulation. Unlike the vulnerable households who lack capital and diversify into less lucrative livelihood options, well off households with access to credits and remittances venture into high returning livelihood options.

This chapter also looked at the implications of livelihood diversification on household wellbeing. It came out of the discussions that diversification has amongst some households reduced food insecurity, improved dietary diversification, increased income and asset accumulation. However, the chapter uncovered that different households adopt different livelihood options with some varying returns. Accumulation levels both in income and in assets differs from one household to another. The central argument of the chapter is that livelihood diversification has deepened social differentiation and reconFigured power

dynamics in these newly resettled areas. Specifically, it came out of the chapter that social differentiation is complicating social community resource governance. The last part of the chapter enthralled on post-land reform support programmes. The intention was to assess the nature of these programmes and establish the extent at which they encourage or constrict livelihood diversification.

Chapter Eight: Summary of findings, Conclusions and Policy implications

8.1 Introduction

The central objective of this thesis has been to present new insights into the dynamics of household poverty in newly resettled areas of Zimbabwe by exploring the role of livelihoods diversification in the lives of the smallholder farmers. Specifically, focus was on household poverty and livelihoods vulnerabilities, livelihoods options pursued by newly settled households, drivers of diversification and its implications on household well-being. The last part of the study focused on the nature of the post land reform support mechanisms and their role in strengthening livelihoods in the three study areas. The three case studies revealed that livelihood diversification has become an alternative to overcome poor living conditions in newly resettled areas and that determinants based on individuals and household's response to incentives of livelihood diversification fall into two broad categories: "push" versus "pull" factors and different socioeconomic factors influence household's sustainable livelihood diversification. The purpose of this chapter is to synthesis the analytical results of the study based on presentations and triangulations of the results in previous chapters. Specifically, the chapter summaries the study findings, concludes and suggests implications for policy and future research.

8.2 Summary of findings

Agriculture being the traditional livelihood source in rural areas, is failing to guarantee sustainable livelihood opportunities even in agrarian settings. Consequently, the newly resettled households participate in diverse livelihood income activities to improve their standard of living. This part thesis summarizes the study findings.

8.2.1 Livelihoods vulnerability and Household poverty

It emanated from the study that livelihood vulnerability is an evolving multi-faceted condition that reduce an individual or household's capacity to fend for themselves. It came out of the study that vulnerability compromises the capacity of individuals and households to deal with risks, shocks and stresses. This vulnerability context exposes households to poverty that manifest in the form of food insecurity, sale of household property and in some instances distress migration and destitution. This study revealed that livelihood vulnerability and household poverty are driven by a number of factors. It emanated that land tenure insecurity in the three study farms was having a bearing on livelihood vulnerability and household poverty. It came out of the discussions that insecurity of land tenure in newly resettled areas was discouraging some

smallholders from investing in their pieces of land as they were not guaranteed permanence in those areas.

HIV and AIDS was also mentioned as one of the factors that increased livelihood vulnerability and poverty in newly resettled areas. It emanated from the study that the HIV and AIDS epidemic was reducing labour availability and time taken in productive activities such as farming as some household members especially women had to care for the terminally ill or accompany them to seek medical attention. It sprang out that some household productive resources such as ploughs were sold to raise money to cover the medical needs of the terminal ill. The study also revealed that lack of employment and livelihood opportunities was contributing much to household poverty. It stemmed out from the study that employment opportunities normally require particular skills or qualifications that most rural poor do not possess.

The study also discovered that the agro-ecological characteristics of some newly resettled farms determine livelihood vulnerability and poverty. It emanated that rainfall unreliability; compromised soil fertility and harvest failure were having an influence on livelihoods and poverty in general. It came out that farms that are rocky and of low moisture retention capacity struggled to support plant life and with far reaching household food security implications. Pests and problem wild animals were also mentioned as detrimental to crops and small livestock. It came out that warthogs, kudus and baboons were racking havoc on crops in the three study farms while wild predators were wiping small livestock. Participants also felt neglected by government as shown by the lack of development in their respective areas. Lack of critical infrastructure was seen as one of the factors driving poverty in the three study areas. Unavailability of reliable water sources, banks and communication infrastructure were cited as having an implication on household livelihood vulnerability and poverty. Evidence from the study indicates that a significant number of households have remained impoverished in the three study farms and have also failed to diversify into lucrative livelihood options. To a large extent governments desire to increase livelihood security, incomes as well as food security in general has remained a piped dream in these new resettled areas as a result of lack of comprehensive post-land reform support schemes and other agro-ecological factors.

8.2.2 Predominant livelihoods diversification options

Rural households pursue a number of livelihood options outside smallholder agriculture. Although households in the three study farms had one way or the other diversified their

livelihoods, smallholder agriculture remains at the heart of the rural economy. A significant number of newly resettled farmers still practice crop and animal rearing. Diversification in this sector has involved introducing a variety of crops that include cow-pees, water merlons, pumpkins, sweet potatoes, ground nuts, round nuts, as well as vegetable gardening. Only a few have tried tobacco and cotton with limited success. It emanated that some new farmers have broadened the scope of their small livestock rearing through introducing piggery, Guinea fowl, ducks and other goat and sheep breeds. However, cattle remains a symbol of wealth and plays a cardinal role in providing draught power, manure, milk and income.

It also emanated that some households in the three study farms are involved in small scale mining. A number of households have ventured into small scale mining as a result of both push and pull factors. Some have adopted the livelihood option because of their desire to accumulate more income and assets, while others have been pushed by poverty especially food insecurity and unemployment. Small scale mining has also been seen as offering more prospects than rain-fed agriculture that normally fails because of floods, drought and in some cases lack of draught power and agricultural inputs. One interesting finding around small scale mining is that while others felt that it had reduced agricultural labour as youngsters flocked into these small scale mining areas, some felt that small scale mining had in fact re-agrarianised their livelihoods as it enabled them to fence their fields, buy agricultural inputs, hire tractors and even labourers.

It stemmed out of this study that remittances play an important role in the lives and livelihoods of newly resettled farmers. Discussions revealed that remittances mainly came from South Africa, Botswana, United Kingdom, United States of America and Namibia. Such remittances come in the form of cash, groceries and farm machinery. Remittances are used to pay debts, hire labour and buy household immediate needs such as food. The study uncovered that remittances especially from South Africa, Botswana and Namibia are received through formal and informal channels. Omalayitsha (Cross border transport operators) act as a conduit for which remittances are received.

Well-off households use remittances to invest in other livelihood options with higher returns while poor households use remittances to clear debts, pay for fees, and other non-productive needs of their households. Another interesting aspect of remittances was transnational parenting: a phenomenon involving mothering and fathering from afar through caregivers and other relatives. Remittances were used to cement ties with left behind siblings.

Discussions with participants also revealed the importance of social grants in the lives and livelihoods of newly resettled farmers. Social grant programmes target vulnerable and

orphaned children, the aged, those living with disabilities as well as the chronically ill. It emanated from the discussions that these social programmes important as they are, have been affected by galloping inflation and price distortions. The purchasing power parity of what households get as social grants has been reduced to nothing as prices continue to astronomically leap in Zimbabwe. Some also highlighted receiving pensions and maize as part of the social safety net from government. It however came out that accessing cash at banks remains a challenge for these rural dwellers and that the maize programme is very erratic as some go for more than three months without receiving anything.

It emanated from the study that communities take advantage of their natural capital in an attempt to sustain their livelihoods. It sprang out from the study that bio-diversity and wildlife conservation is beginning to yield positive results for households involved in one project at the Tshabalala Game Park. Participants indicated that the ecotourism project is a source of empowerment for them as it provides them with opportunities not only to protect the environment and wildlife but also to earn an income out of it. It stemmed out that the project had created some source of employment for those involved as it offered them an opportunity to market their hand made products such as bags and other ornaments. It also came out of the study that some households were taking advantage of the availability of Mopane worms to earn an income. Mopane harvesting has an advantage in that it is collected at no cost and is done twice a year (April and December). However, participants revealed that over harvesting of the mopane worms has led to their scarcity, negatively impacting on those households depending on them as a food and income source.

It also emanated from the study that some households were involved in leasing out land for cropping and grazing. These households got income through rentals and in some instances were paid using animals at the end of the year. This livelihood option was mainly pursued by poor households without draught power and having no capacity to utilize their land. Leasing out land for cropping and grazing was seen as tantamount to the purposes of the land reform programme as it increased vulnerability of local livestock to diseases as well as the problem of overgrazing. Poor households also embarked on sand and firewood poaching to raise income in order to sustain their household needs. Unaffordability of electricity, load shedding as well as construction in the city of Bulawayo was providing a market for those involved in sand and firewood poaching. Sand and firewood poaching raise a lot of interesting questions around

poverty and the environment as well as the governance of natural resources in these newly resettled The study results also indicated that wage labour plays an important role in ensuring that households meet their demands. It came out that a vast majority of the newly resettled farmers not only work in their farms but also engage in non-farm activities and earn income from wage labour. Overwhelming evidence indicated that poor individuals and households venture into low paid casual labour in agriculture and small-scale mines as a pathway out of poverty. Discussions uncovered that manual labour was adopted as a survival strategy by mainly youngsters who lacked education and social capital to pursue better livelihood options.

8.2.3 Drivers of livelihoods diversification

It emanated from the study that various factors motivate or push households to diversify their livelihoods, be it for accumulation or survival purposes. It stemmed out from the study that village headship influenced livelihood diversification in the three study farms. It came out of the study that conservative traditional leaders were less appreciative of livelihood diversification than younger and better schooled village heads. It stemmed out that the conservative village heads strongly believed that smallholder agriculture was the only pathway out of poverty and a critical part of their identity. Younger and better schooled village heads understood that depending on rainfed agriculture was a risk as it succumbs to droughts and other calamities. These younger village heads encouraged their subjects to diversify their livelihood options so as to spread risks against eventualities (Demurger, 2007).

The study findings also exposed that the agro-ecological characteristics of an area determines livelihood diversification. It emanated that poor soils, poor grazing and climate change variability were pushing households to diversify their livelihoods off-farm. It further came out that climate change coupled with heatwaves was compromising agro-based livelihoods, forcing farmers to diversify their livelihoods. These agro-ecological characteristics impact on crop production viability, grazing and animal welfare as well as availability of water in the study areas. Overpopulation was also cited as one of the factors influencing households to diversify their livelihoods. Participants indicated that population growth as a result of an increase in the number of illegal settlers increased resource degradation, caused strain on water sources, deforestation and other problems related to land pressure including putting up settlements in arable and grazing areas. The influx of illegal settlers was not only compromising land tenure security in these areas but also pushing some households to invest outside agriculture.

Migration was also seen as instrumental in influencing households to diversify their livelihoods. The study findings indicated that households receiving substantial amount of cash and capital goods were motivated to diversify their livelihoods into higher return options than poor households that received insignificant cash with specific purposes such as fees payment, buying food and debt recompense. It emanated that poor households received remittances mainly from Botswana and South Africa that came in the form of groceries, agricultural inputs and inconsequential amounts of money. The poor households appear to use remittances to address pressing household needs such as food insecurity, while well-off households have an opportunity to invest in other livelihood options for accumulation purposes.

Natural resource endowment and household assets were also mentioned as determinants of diversification. It came out of the study that households take advantage of locally available resources to pursue various livelihood options. Availability of gold in the three study farms has motivated the well-off and the poor to venture into small scale mining. Availability of mopane worms has also encouraged a significant number of women at the Fox farm to diversify into Mopane harvesting for food security and income generating purposes. It also came out of the study that some poor households with no capacity to diversify into livelihoods that require capital opted for firewood and sand poaching to generate income and meet household needs. It also emanated from the study that household asset base influences a household's capacity and ability to diversify its livelihood options. It stemmed out of the discussions that household assets can be used as collateral in seeking credit at banks and other financial houses. Households that lack assets remain glued in farming and reel in poverty (Fabusoro et al., 2010; Scoones et al., 2011).

It also came out of the study that households diversify their livelihoods as a way of increasing their resilience against shocks and stresses that come in the form of seasonal food insecurity. It also arose from the study that livelihood diversification is a risk reduction measure against seasonal deterioration of food production and stocks. Discussions also revealed that some households diversify their livelihoods with the intention of accumulating assets and income. The study findings also uncovered that the rural-urban linkages have a bearing on the lives and livelihoods of rural dwellers. Rural dwellers migrate to cities on a regular basis and maintain strong ties with their rural places of origin as long as the urban economies offer economic opportunity. The study unraveled that the rural-urban links acted as an engine for accessing

non-farm activities that include wage employment as well as skills development that benefited households.

Human and Social capitals were also indicated as determinants of livelihood diversification in the three study farms. Human capital has a bearing on the availability of household labour skills and ability to work. It emanated that education and skills training exposed individuals to new dimensions that included reading and writing as well as job opportunities outside farming. It also surfaced that the health status of household members influenced the choice of livelihoods they pursued. Specifically, time allocated to productive activities of the households was reduced due to caring for the terminally ill. Participants also highlighted that social capital propelled them to diversify their livelihoods. Through social capital some households managed to secure cattle while others secured capital to start up their businesses.

8.2.4 Livelihoods diversification and household well-being

The study findings indicated that livelihood diversification is done for survival and in some cases for accumulation purposes. It emanated from the study that livelihood diversification from some well-off households have increased their incomes and assets. It stemmed out that well to do households with access to credit and remittances ventured into higher returning livelihood options compared to their poor counterparts who ventured into less lucrative activities for survival purposes. Through diversification some well-off households have managed to drill boreholes, increase their livestock, buy agricultural tools and equipment and construct beautiful habitual structures. It also emanated that some households have managed to send children to better schools in South Africa and Botswana. The argument raised is that some households have experienced upward social mobility as a result of diversifying their livelihood portfolios.

The study also uncovered that diversification has been done to improve household food security. It came out the study that households diversify their crop production as well as their livelihood rearing activities. Crop diversification appears to improve household income, food security as well as dietary diversification. This is also substantiated by Devereux (2000) and Etea (2019) who allude that livelihood diversification contributed to increased food production, increased access and availability of food in their respective studies. The study further uncovered that diversification has further implications on child development. It emanated from the study that households thriving on diversification invest a lot on children's food and nutrition, educational inputs, clothes and their health. It also came out that such households build good habitual infrastructure and ensured that children spend their greater part in schools.

This is supported by Etea (2019) who argues that the prevalence of child stunting and underweight was lower amongst farmers with diversified livelihoods compared to those without off-farm incomes. It came out of the study that diversification of livelihoods in some households has negatively affected children. Specifically, it was uncovered that poor households without capacity to hire labour used children to sustain the labour demands of some of their livelihood activities. Poor households were using children to mind birds, harvest, do vending, and in some instances assist in small scale mining. The use of children in some of the livelihoods pursued by poor households was compromising their access to education, exposing them to communicable diseases, sexual and emotional abuse.

It sprang out of this study that livelihood diversification has created opportunities for some to establish businesses that include bottle stores, grinding mills, stamping mills, food outlets as well as vegetable stalls. This enterprise development has created some form of employment and improved access to critical services. However, the unfavorable macro-economic climate in Zimbabwe characterized by inflation, price distortions and shortage of fuel has distressed some of these enterprises. The study findings also unraveled that livelihood diversification has deepened social differentiation and stratification in the three study farms. It emanated that household livelihood diversification returns differs from one household to another and the lucrativeness of various livelihood options differs depending on business management skills, education, the market, as well as the scope of the entity (Makhura et al., 2000). It came out of the study that poor households that diversify for survival purposes adopt less lucrative livelihoods that are easy to venture into without capital or collateral such as vending. Such activities have lower returns compared to those pursued by well-off households. Diversification therefore has deepened social differentiation and reconFigured classes in rural areas creating rural elites with power and influence especially on community resource governance and decision making.

It also came out of the study that livelihood diversification has reconstructed gender relations in newly resettled areas. It emanated from the study that women and men benefit differently from livelihoods diversification. Specifically, it came out that gender influences access to and control of productive resources such as land and livestock as well as employment prospects. It stemmed out that most women were engaged mainly in unpaid household work, farming, and low remunerative activities. With regards to ownership and control of livestock it emanated that small livestock were women's domain while men had control over cattle. However, it is

important to note that few women in the study areas had managed to break into male-dominated livelihood options such as small-scale mining. These were mainly independent women with access to capital through remittances. It emanated that men felt threatened by the excelling of such women and in most instances called them by names.

8.2.5 Constraints to livelihoods diversification

Saha and Bahal, (2012) argue that there is need to understand the constraints faced by households in their attempt to diversify their livelihood portfolios. The two scholars are of the opinion that an in-depth comprehension of the huddles faced by individuals and households in their quest to diversify their livelihoods may go a long way in designing pro-livelihoods diversification policies. The first constraint uncovered by this study in chapter seven is the land tenure insecurity and lack of collateral factor. A major issue that came out of the study is that the land tenure insecurity had a major implication on the newly resettled farmers' attempt to diversify their livelihoods. Insecurity of tenure appears to have discouraged some farmers from investing on their pieces of land. It also came out that the insecurity of tenure was having a bearing on livelihood development planning at both community and household levels with far reaching implications on on-farm production as well as farm infrastructure development. Furthermore, lack of title deeds had also a negative impact in all the three study farms as the farmers indicated that they could not access credit from banks and other financial institutions, thus hindering their ability to diversify.

Poor rural infrastructure was also mentioned as a major constraint to livelihood diversification in the newly resettled farms. As noted by Barret and Reardon (2000) who argue that transport is one important factor affecting rural livelihoods as it has a bearing on the movement of people and goods as well as in the development of markets. Participants from the three study farms revealed that the lack of infrastructure in their respective farms was negatively affecting their livelihood diversification as it limited their capacity to change their patterns of trade and production to avoid economic stresses and shocks. Lack of infrastructure was not only affecting the movement of goods and people but also accessibility of these areas by prospective development agencies. It also stemmed out that lack of infrastructure was also creating a challenge with regards to communication.

It also emanated from the study that lack of household assets was one of the constraints faced by the participants in their attempt to diversify their livelihoods. It came of the study that without household assets such as cattle and other important agricultural tools, it was difficult for some to

diversify their livelihoods. It appears household assets enables households to adapt and diversify their livelihoods and in the process deal with shocks and stresses. It further emanated from the study findings that lack of draught power was also one of the main reasons why households were failing to utilize their land. It stemmed out that without asset, it was difficult for the farmers to access credit as some household property could be used as some form of collateral. Lack of education and skills development were also indicated as some of the constraints faced by households in their attempt to diversify their livelihoods. Findings of this study revealed that rural employment opportunities required at least 5 Ordinary level subjects including English and maths, and those without such qualifications struggled to get employed especially in government and quasi-governmental programmes. It emanated that with education you can go anywhere in the world and start a livelihood.

The study also revealed that HIV and AIDS is having a bearing on the lives and livelihoods of the newly resettled smallholder farmers. It came out that the epidemic is mainly affecting the economically active group that plays an important role in providing household labour and in sustaining livelihoods in general. It came out of the study that the epidemic was having a bearing on household assets, income as well as on time spent on productive activities of the household. Socially and familial constraints were also indicated as having a bearing in motivating farmers to diversify. It stemmed out of discussions that some households are shy to diversify their livelihoods into activities that are despised by communities. It also came out of the discussions with participants that such households are discouraged by the low value associated with some livelihood options such as vending, traditional beer brewing and doing casual piece jobs.

The study also reveals that problem animals were also affecting on farm diversification activities of the newly resettled farmers. Participants noted with concern that wild animals such as Kudus, warthogs and baboons were destroying their crops (including gardens) while wild cats such as hyenas, leopards and jackals were wiping their small livestock especially goats and sheep. It also sprang out from the study findings that animal diseases especially foot and mouth and lumpy skin disease were having a bearing on their livestock. Chapter seven also reveals that another constrain to diversification in newly resettled farms was the government and farm household model of rural development. A farm house model of rural development prioritises smallholder agriculture and sees it as an engine of the rural economy. Within this kind of rural development model, there is limited appreciation of rural livelihood diversification and its contribution to rural poverty reduction.

8.2.6 Post-land reform support schemes and livelihoods diversification

The Fast Track Land Reform Programme which took center stage at the turn of the millennium, necessitated the need for government and other non-state institutions to come up with support schemes that would support the newly resettled farmers. It emanated from the findings that government of Zimbabwe has had numerous post-land reform support programmes with the intention of stimulating agricultural production and improving service delivery as well as the well-being of the newly settled. Participants revealed that Government of Zimbabwe was making attempts to increase agricultural production in these newly resettled areas. With regards to tillage, water development, as well as agricultural inputs it emanated that the District development fund as well as the Command Agriculture Programme were being implemented to support the newly resettled farmers. It also emanated that there was a short-lived Vice-President's Tillage Programme that also played an important role in increasing cultivated land as well as yields especially at Rocksdale farm.

It however, emanated that these government initiatives face challenges ranging from their top-down nature, lack of coordination, lack of transparency and accountability to unsustainability. It came out from the study that some of these programmes have limited buy-in of the newly resettled farmers because of their top-down nature. It also stemmed out that the targeting of some of these programmes is marred by corruption as well as the desire to appease Zanu PF loyalists. It became clear during in-depth interviews and focus group discussions that beneficiaries are not consulted in order to establish their needs and priorities in the process of formulating these post land support schemes. Participants also revealed that these post land reform support programmes spearheaded by government suffer from limited funding. Participants of the study indicated that the District development fund was at its knees because of management incompetence and limited funding from central government. It also surfaced that some post land reform support programmes are implemented for vote buying purposes. Participants were of the opinion that a significant number of programmes were being implemented for political expedience purposes.

The study results also indicate that some agricultural input schemes are implemented way into the farming season, with some inputs delivered around February. It also came out that the Agricultural bank of Zimbabwe (Agribank) whose primary mandate is to ensure that smallholders access agricultural loans has failed in newly resettled farmers. It emanated that

some newly resettled farmers have applied for loans and got no responses from the bank. Some highlighted that in principle Agribank should not require collateral from smallholders to access loans but in practice that is what is happening. It emanated from the study that a significant number of post land reform support schemes are silent about livelihood diversification and focus extensively on farming.

8.3 Conclusion

The most important conclusion that can be fished out of this study is that the newly resettled farmers in the three study farms are mainly impoverished as it is manifested by food insecurity, unemployment or lack of incomes. A significant number of households regardless of their ownership of land seem to be struggling to sustain their livelihoods. This is as a result of a combination of socio-economic and political factors such as lack of government support, lack of infrastructure, as well as the agro-ecological characteristics of the farms that struggle to support plant and animal life. The study also reveals that the newly resettled farmers diversify their livelihood portfolios to include on-farm, non-farm and off-farm activities. It emanates that these newly resettled farmers like what has been discovered elsewhere diversify their livelihoods for either accumulation or survival purposes.

It also surfaced from the study that socio-economic and political factors influence this diversification move adopted by households as a risk reduction measure or window of hope and income accumulation. Specifically, it comes out of the study that agro-ecological characteristics of the study farms and other socio-economic factors have a bearing on the remunerative strategies adopted by households as part of diversification. The differential access to these higher returning livelihood options explains deepening social differentiation in these newly resettled areas. The rise of the rural 'elite' with power and influence has implications on the governance of the commons as well as traditional leadership structures. One conspicuous adaptation by the newly resettled farmers is the utilization of the locally available resources to generate income and as a means of sustaining a living.

It also emanates from this study that constraints to livelihood diversification experienced by some of the households in the study areas do not only handicap some form of diversification but can push poor households into dangerous and environmentally damaging low return activities. The land tenure insecurity challenge experienced by newly resettled farmers complicates livelihood development in these areas. Without title deeds and guarantee from government that these farmers

will not lose their land makes agrarian development as well as diversification difficult in these areas. It is difficult for one to invest on a piece of land blemished by insecurity of tenure. The question of de-agrarianisation surfaces in this thesis. A significant number of rural households diversify their livelihoods out of smallholder agriculture and interestingly is that returns from these off-farm and non-farm activities are used to re-agrarianize their livelihoods. Contrary to Brycerson's (1996; 78) "disappearing peasantry" and "abandoning of farming", it appears smallholder agriculture in the study remains at the nave centre of the rural economy. The central argument of this thesis is that smallholder agriculture regardless of its challenges in newly resettled areas remains the dominant and traditional supported livelihood option. With regards to post land reform support programmes, government and other development agencies seem to provide support that is centered on the desire to increase farming production. There is limited support of household livelihood diversification through these post land support schemes.

8.4 Study policy implications and livelihoods development

This study recommends the need for government to address land tenure insecurity bedeviling newly resettled farmers. Government should consider titling these farmers as it may go a long way in ensuring that they access loans and credit at banks. Titling newly resettled farmers will also encourage them to invest with confidence in their pieces of land. Putting to finality the insecurity of tenure faced by these newly resettled farmers may also encourage Non-Governmental Organisations to broaden their programming into these areas. Government of Zimbabwe should also consider addressing the issue of illegal settlers and land allocation corruption in new resettled areas. This can be done through improving land governance in line with the principles of transparency and accountability.There is also need for government and other development agents to consider scaling up rural infrastructural development. Establishment of roads, clinics, reliable water sources and maintenance of dilapidated farming infrastructure especially dip tanks, cattle handling facilities and fences may also go a long way in improving the lives and livelihoods of these rural dwellers. Investment in energy development especially solar and biogas may also turn the fortunes of the rural poor as it may enable them to diversify into lucrative livelihood options. Improving rural infrastructure may also improve the movement of people and goods as well as in the development of rural markets.

The study also recommends the need for government to revisit its rural development model in newly resettled areas. There is need for government to desist from the one-shoe-fit all approach to rural development in Zimbabwe. Rural development programmes should be context specific,

bottom up in nature and informed by the priorities of the grassroot. With regards to agricultural development, there is need for development actors to consider agro-ecological characteristics of these newly settled farms in designing their programmes and projects. The challenge around unsustainability of Post-Land Reform Programmes needs to be addressed. It is also imperative for such programmes to improve on their targeting, as well as monitoring and evaluation. There is also need for government to consider streamlining roles of some quasi-governmental entities involved in rural development. This will go a long way in reducing confusion between Rural District Councils and the District development funds on infrastructure development in these newly resettled areas. There is also need for government to resource extension services so as to improve their effectiveness in discharging their mandates. Government should consider availing vehicles and motorbikes to improve the mobility of extension workers.

HIV and AIDS is not only a healthy concern but also a serious rural livelihood development challenge. The epidemic seems to be reversing the development gains realised in the last three decades. Households are losing skilled labour, indigenous knowledge and in some instances redirecting efforts away from productive livelihood activities into the caring economy. There is need for government and non-state actors to scale-up sexual and reproductive health programmes in these newly resettled areas. Investment should be broadened on ensuring that women and girls access HIV and AIDS care and treatment. It emanated from this study that lack of human capital development has a bearing on livelihood diversification. There is need for development agents to consider skills development in these newly resettled areas as it may improve not only the capacity to diversify into lucrative livelihoods but also to improve the resource governance in these communities.

There is also need for government and non-state actors to consider the plight of children in newly resettled areas. The study revealed that poor households use children as laborers in their attempt to diversify their livelihood portfolios. There is therefore an agent need to scale-up child protection programmes in these newly resettled areas. The use of children in small-scale mines renders them vulnerable to emotional and sexual abuse. Non-Governmental Organisations and child protection committees should come up with community-based child protection programmes that will conscientise these communities on children's rights and the need to protect them. This study also realised the livelihood threats emanating from problem wild animals in the study farms. There is need for Parks and Wildlife authorities to improve their fencing of Game Reserves as well as establishing eco-tourism projects similar to that of Fox farm. Income earned through eco-tourism

maybe used to fund wildlife conservation as well as in stimulating socio-economic development which is a panacea for sustained rural livelihood diversification. There is also need for government and non-state actors to broaden their understanding of de-agrarianisation and social differentiation given its implications on rural poverty alleviation. Specifically, rural poverty alleviation strategies need to mainstream livelihood diversification in their programmes.

8.5 Study Theoretical Frameworks and Future research Gaps

This study employed the Sustainable Livelihood Framework, The Capabilities Approach as well as the De-agrarianisation hypothesis in analysing livelihood dynamics in newly resettled areas. These theoretical frameworks enabled the researcher to understand the drivers of livelihood diversification, its implications on household well-being as well as issues around livelihood vulnerability and poverty. Amartya Sen's emphasis of the importance of capabilities and assets in determining the sustainability of household livelihood did play a cardinal role in broadening the researcher's understanding of drivers and constraints to diversification. It also enabled the researcher to appreciate the individual and household specific factors that explain the choice of livelihoods pursued at a given place and time.

The sustainable livelihood framework, its capitals as well as its emphasis on shocks and stresses enabled the researcher to understand why some households are poor and why different households have differential access to resources and differential returns from livelihoods pursued. The framework also played an important role in making the researcher appreciate the link between local resource endowment, population dynamics and environmental degradation. The De-agrarianisation hypothesis whose central thesis is that lives and livelihoods in rural areas are becoming divorced from land played a central role in disentangling a number of assumptions around livelihoods diversification and its implications on farming. However, there is need to indicate that contrary to the held thought that rural areas are now characterized by de-peasantisation catalysed by migration and other socio-economic processes, it emanated from this study that livelihood diversification plays a role in re-agrarianisation livelihoods in general.

In terms of future research gaps, this study suggests the need to interrogate the implications of livelihoods diversification on rural child development. There is need for interested scholars to unravel how livelihood choices pursued by various households' impact on children especially their well-being. The study also suggests the need to look at the intricate link of small-scale mining and smallholder agriculture. Central to such a study are questions on whether the two

compete or complement each other in the sustainability of household livelihoods. Studies are also needed to look at possible ways of reconfigureuring rural development policy to appreciate the significant of rural livelihood diversification. There is also need for scholars to frequently monitor and evaluate post land-support schemes in Zimbabwe. This might go a long way in terms of improving their effectiveness in enhancing lives and livelihoods of the rural dwellers.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Pictograph attachments

Figure 3 One of the garden projects at fox farm

Source: Fieldwork Data (2019)

Figure 4 livestock kept by newly resettled farmers in the three study farms.

Source: Fieldwork (2019)

Figure 5 animals scrambling for water

Source: Fieldwork Data (2019)

Figure 6 small scale miners mining

Source: Fieldwork Data (2019)

Figure 7 The Curio Shop at the Tshabalala Game Park

Source: Fieldwork Data (2019)

Figure 8 Weaving and Crafting at Fox farm

Source: Fieldwork Data (2019)

Figure 9 Workers in a farm

Source: Fieldwork Data (2019)

Figure 10 A Malnourished goat that has succumbed to drought.

Source: Fieldwork Data (2019)

Figure 11 A household with dilapidated habitual

Source: Fieldwork Data (2019)

Figure 12 A girl child selling carrots

Source: Fieldwork Data (2019)

Appendix 2: Application letter for seeking authority to carry out the study

School of Social Sciences
International Public Affairs
University of KwaZulu Natal
Durban 001
South Africa

16 February 2018

The Minister of Provincial Affairs/CEO/DA

RE: Application for authorization to carry out a study in Fox/Springrange/Rocksdale farms

The above matter refers. I am a PhD in public policy candidate at the university of KwaZulu Natal doing a study entitled: ***Land Reform as a livelihood strategy in Zimbabwe: Breaking the household poverty in selected resettled farms in Matabeleland.*** The aim of the study is to interrogate household poverty and the livelihood vulnerability issues. Specifically, the research seeks to explore the experiences of newly resettled farmers on household poverty and livelihood vulnerability, analyse the predominant livelihood options pursued by farmers, the contribution of livelihoods diversification on household well-being and challenges faced by farmers in their attempt to diversify their livelihood portfolios. I am interested in interviewing newly resettled households at Fox farm (Matobo), Springrange farm (Umguza) and Rocksdale farm (Bubi) so as to explore their experiences on the subject. I am therefore applying for authorisation by your office to carry out the study in the said farms as it falls under your jurisdiction. My contact details are as follows: douglasnyathi08@gmail.com and +263779597077. My supervisor can be contacted on +27791809561 and ndlovuj1@ukzn.ac.za.

Your assistance would be immensely appreciated.

Yours faithfully

Douglas Nyathi

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT AND CABINET

All correspondences to be addressed to:

"The Honorable Minister of State for Provincial Affairs."

Tel: +263 9 889848
Fax: +263 9 71796

The Minister of State for Provincial Affairs
Matabeleland North Province
6th Floor Mhlahlandlela Government Complex
Cnr 10th Ave/ Basch Street
P. o. Box 1771
BULAWAYO

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

Ref: Permission to conduct research in Matabeleland Province

This letter serves to authorize Douglas Nyathi (ID no 08-770955W39) (Student number 215078036) to conduct his study in the province. He is doing a PhD in Public Policy at the University of KwaZulu Natal and as part of the fulfillment of the said degree programme, he is expected to collect data for his thesis. He is therefore granted access to relevant public organisations/institutions, officials and communities in the province to carry out his study titled: **Land reform as a strategy for sustainable livelihoods in Zimbabwe: Breaking the household poverty in selected resettled farms in Matabeleland**.

Your co-operation in assisting the stated individual gain access to his selected farms would be greatly appreciated and go a long way in uncovering poverty dynamics and household responses in the area. All protocols in the Districts and cultural norms to be observed always.

Please accept the assurances of my highest consideration.

Office of the President & Cabinet
Min. of State for Provincial Affairs
15 MAY 2018
Matabeleland North Province
Zimbabwe

.....
HONOURABLE AMBASSADOR. N. C. G. MATHEMA
MINISTER OF STATE FOR PROVINCIAL AFFAIRS
MATABELELAND NORTH PROVINCE

Appendix 3: Letters of Authorisation

All correspondence should not be addressed to individuals

MINISTRY OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT, PUBLIC WORKS AND NATIONAL HOUSING

TREDGOLD BUILDING

GNR 7TH AVE & FORT ST.

P.B.J. 5104

BULAWAYO

Telephone:09 66138/66149

Fax: 0389-507

ZIMBABWE

15 MAY 2018

To whom it may concern

RE: PERMISSION TO DO RESEARCH IN UMGUZA DISTRICT.

This letter serves to confirm that Douglas Nyathi ID number 08-770955W39 has been granted permission to carry out research in Umguza District. His research is titled **Land reform as a strategy for sustainable livelihoods in Zimbabwe: Breaking the house hold poverty in selected resettled farms in Matabeleland.**

Kindly assist him in his research

Your cooperation as stakeholders would be greatly appreciated

(D.A)
District Administrator's
Office UMGUZA
MAY 2018
Private Bag J 5104, Bulawayo
Telephone 66138

T ZIVOVOYI
DISTRICT ADMINISTRATOR
UMGUZA

BUBI RURAL DISTRICT COUNCIL

P.O. Box 5 Turkmine
bubirdc@gmail.com
www.bubirdc.co.zw

Tel: (0292803) 339/253
Cell: 071 3 439 842
077 9 783 240

08 October 2019

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

Ref Authority to conduct a research study in Bubi District Nkenyane Ward 14.

The above regards.

The local authority has no objection in Mr Douglas Nyathi, a PHD student from the University of KwaZulu Natal carrying out a study on land reform as a livelihood strategy in Zimbabwe, breaking the household poverty in selected resettlement areas in Matabeleland, particularly at Nkenyane Ward 14.

The Council would also be obliged to get the copy of the final research document in regard for documentation.

Thank you.

S. Dube (E. O Administration and Human Resources)
For the Chief Executive Officer

BUBI RURAL DISTRICT COUNCIL
E.O. ADMINISTRATION &
HUMAN
0 OCT 2019
TURKMINE
TEL (0292) 339/253 EXT:335
CELL: 0713439842

MATOBO RDC

MATOBO
RURAL DISTRICT COUNCIL
P.O.BOX 5730
MAPHISA

+263 715 964 153 / +263 772 831 792 / +263 775 101 764

matobordc@yahoo.com

XC152/05/2018

16 November 2018

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

REF: AUTHORITY TO CONDUCT A RESEARCH STUDY IN MATOBO DISTRICT – ULUNDI FARM

The above regards.

The Local Authority has no objection in Mr Douglas Nyathi, a PhD student from the University of KwaZulu Natal carrying out a study on land reform as a livelihood strategy in Zimbabwe: Breaking the household poverty in selected resettled in Matabeleland, particularly at Ulundi farm.

The Council would also be obliged to get the copy of the final research document in regard for documentation.

Thank you.

THE CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER
MATOBO RURAL DISTRICT COUNCIL
16 NOV 18
P. BAG 5730 MAPHISA
TEL: (082)-362, 354, 584, 595

E. SIBANDA

CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER

Appendix 4: Ethical Clearance Certificate

UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL
INYUVESI YAKWAZULU-NATALI

19 March 2019

Mr Douglas Nyathi (215078036)
School of Social Sciences
Howard College Campus

Dear Mr Nyathi,

Protocol reference number: HSS/1618/018D
Project title: Land reform as a strategy for sustainable livelihoods in Zimbabwe: Breaking the household poverty in selected farm in Matabeleland

Approval Notification – Expedited Application

In response to your application received on 11 September 2018, the Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee has considered the abovementioned application and the protocol has been granted **FULL APPROVAL**.

Any alteration/s to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach and Methods must be reviewed and approved through the amendment/modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number. PLEASE NOTE: Research data should be securely stored in the discipline/department for a period of 5 years.

The ethical clearance certificate is only valid for a period of 3 years from the date of issue. Thereafter Recertification must be applied for on an annual basis.

I take this opportunity of wishing you everything of the best with your study.

Yours faithfully

.....
Dr Rosemary Sibanda (Chair)

/ms

Cc Supervisor: Dr Joram Ndlovu
cc Academic Leader Research: Professor Maheshvari Naidu
cc School Administrator: Ms Nonhlanhla Radebe

Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee
Dr Rosemary Sibanda (Chair)
Westville Campus, Govan Mbeki Building
Postal Address: Private Bag X54001, Durban 4000
Telephone: +27 (0) 31 260 3587/8350/4557 **Facsimile:** +27 (0) 31 260 4609 **Email:** [illegible]

Appendix 5: Data Collection Tools
In-depth interview schedule

Introduction

My name is Douglas Nyathi who is studying towards a PhD in public Policy at the University of KwaZulu Natal. I am doing a study on livelihood experiences of newly resettled farmers in Fast Track land reform areas. The purpose of the study is to gain an insight on the newly resettled farmer's experiences on household poverty and livelihood vulnerability in such areas; to identify predominant livelihood diversification options pursued by farmers, constraints and opportunities faced in diversification of livelihoods and post land reform support mechanisms needed to support such portfolios. It is imperative to note that participation in this study is on a voluntary basis and that all the information collected will be kept confidential. Your participation is entirely voluntary.

It is also important to note that you have a choice to participate, not to participate or stop participating in the research.You will not be penalized for taking such a decision.

1(a) Ice breaking

To begin our conversation, please tell me about your members of the household and your community. **(Ask any questions below if not covered by the general response)**

- Can you tell me about your permanent members of your household? *Probe on their level of education, skills and their relations with the family.*
- What are the factors impacting on the functioning of households in the area? *Probe on gender-based violence, divorces, migration, poverty*
- What are the development challenges faced by households in the area? *Probe on HIV/AIDS, Seasonality, poor infrastructure, land disputes, access to loans, markets*
- In your opinion, what is the significance of land to households in this community? *Probe on food production, collateral, social status, cultural value*
- Has your household composition changed since you were first settled? Explain your answer
- Where was your household before you were settled here? *Probe on economic activities that were pursued before getting the land*

Now l wants us to look at household poverty and livelihood vulnerability in your area

(b) Household poverty and livelihood vulnerability

- What is your experience of the Fast Track Land Reform programme? *Probe on how land was distributed, violence, gender issues, politics, ethnicity, identity*
- Has your household been involved in any conflict over land? If Yes; *Probe source of conflict, threats of eviction, and how it affected household economic activities*

2. In your opinion, what are the characteristics of household poverty in newly resettled area?

Probe on food availability, income, assets, household headship, deaths from long illnesses

- How seasonal is household poverty and livelihood vulnerability in the area? *Probe on seasonal variability of purchasing power, seasonal hunger, seasonal migration*
- What are the key drivers of livelihood shocks and vulnerability in newly resettled areas? *Probe on possible ways of addressing seasonality induced livelihood vulnerability*
- In your opinion, has the land reform programme addressed household poverty and livelihood vulnerability in newly resettled areas? *Explain your answer.*

Now, l want us to look at livelihood diversification in newly resettled areas.

3. Predominant livelihood diversification options

- What are the major agricultural activities pursued by households in your area? *Probe on the significance of crops and livestock*
- What are the agro-ecological characteristics of the area that affect agricultural productivity (crop and livestock) *Probe on rainfall pattern, land tenure, soil fertilit*
- Apart from agricultural related alternative livelihoods, what are the other options pursued by households in this area? *Probe on migration, off farm and non-farm activities*
- In your opinion, what are the main livelihoods activities popular to households in the area apart from agricultural?
- What role is played by off farm and non-farm livelihood activities in stimulating agrobased livelihoods? *Probe on whether diversification has led to re-agrarianisation*
- In your household, who decides what type of livelihood option(s) to pursue and how are these decisions made? *Probe on household headship, gender issues*

4. Determinants/ Constrains to livelihoods diversification

- What are the drivers of household livelihood diversification in this community? *Probe on social, economic and environmental factors*
- In your opinion, what role is played by social networks in livelihood diversification? *Probe on the importance of social capital, informal networks and extended family*
- What influence does migration have on household activities in this community? *Probe on the gendered nature of migration, its contribution to livelihood diversification, remittances.*
- Do all households undertake similar livelihoods strategies? *If not, what makes households undertake certain strategies and leave others*
- What are the constraints faced by households in their attempts to diversify their livelihoods in this community? *Probe on availability of institutions, credit, skills and market.*
- How do assets and access (social rules and norms) influence livelihoods diversification options at a household level?
- Are there any intra gender differences between households headed by men and those headed by women on livelihoods diversification success? *Probe on livelihoods activities portfolios composed, rules of access and who detects.*

5. Livelihoods diversification and household well being

- What are the contributions of livelihood diversification in reducing household poverty? *Probe on the extent to which diversification has increased household income, food security and inequality.*
- What role has been played by livelihoods diversification in asset accumulation? *Probe on the type of assets accumulated or disposed and who determines what to accumulate.*
- In your opinion, what contribution has been done by livelihoods diversification in addressing rural unemployment? *Explain your answer.*
- What is the link between non-agricultural activities and household agriculture? *Probe on the extent at which off farm and non-farm activities have affected crop and animal husbandry, ability to buy farm inputs*
- In your opinion, what impact has diversification had on women's status at household level? *Probe on women's empowerment, disempowerment, division of labour, economic independence*

•What role has been played by diversification of livelihoods on household savings?

6. Post land reform support mechanism and livelihood diversification

- What is the most effective way to assist and support the livelihoods of the rural poor in newly resettled areas?
- Are there institutional structures in this newly resettled area that promotes diversification of livelihoods? *Explain your answer.*
- What types of credit and financial services are available to the household? *Probe on challenges faced, collateral, title deeds, offer letters and who in the household is able to access these services*
- Did you or any of your household members receive training in the last three years? *Probe on the type and purpose of training received e.g. on farming best practices, coking, sewing, marketing, business entrepreneurship, small scale mining*
- Did you receive any support from NGOs or Government in the last three years? *Probe on the nature of support received and implications on livelihoods*
- What sources of energy do you use in your household? In your opinion, what is the significance of having sustainable energy in sustaining your households' economic activities?

Thank you very much for your time. This was a very fruitful discussion. Do you have any question on what we have discussed?

KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW GUIDE

- Briefly tell me about this area under your jurisdiction
- What factors impact on livelihood sustainability in this area?
- What are the specific development needs and challenges of this newly resettled area?
- In your opinion, what role has been played by the land reform programme in addressing poverty and livelihood vulnerability?
- What are the characteristics of poverty in this area?
- In your opinion, how seasonal is poverty and livelihood vulnerability?
- What are the key livelihood options adopted by newly resettled farmers in this area?
- What inspires new farmers to participate in livelihoods outside farming?
- What are the constraints faced by households in their attempt to diversify their livelihoods?
- In your opinion, what do you think is the contribution of diversification on the household economy and well-being in general?
- What is the most effective way to assist and support the livelihoods of the rural poor in such areas?
- What role is played by your department/organisation/office in assisting newly resettled farmers?
- In your opinion, what are the strengths and weaknesses of your support and how can it be improved in the context of diversified livelihood portfolios?

FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION

Introduction

My name is Douglas Nyathi who is studying towards a PhD in public Policy at the University of KwaZulu Natal. I am doing a study on livelihood experiences of newly resettled farmers in Fast Track land reform areas. The purpose of the study is to gain an insight on the newly resettled farmer's experiences on household poverty and livelihood vulnerability in such areas; to identify predominant livelihood diversification options pursued by farmers, constraints and opportunities faced in diversification of livelihoods and post land reform support mechanisms needed to support such portfolios. It is hoped that the results of the research upon publication of the results would influence policy on rural development and social protection. It is also important to note that participation in this study is on a voluntary basis and that all the information collected will be kept confidential. I am going to facilitate the discussion and audio tape record the conversation.

You have a right to participate, not to participate or stop participating in the research. You will not be penalized for taking such a decision.

CODE OF CONDUCT DURING THE FOCUS GROUP

In order to allow our discussion to flow smoothly, I would kindly request each of you to observe the following ground rules:

- Only one person may speak at a time
- We should speak through the facilitator. Please avoid side conversations.
- You do not have to answer all questions. However, l expect to hear from each of you today as the discussion progresses
- This is a confidential discussion. Your names and what you say will not be revealed. Fictitious names will be used in the final report.
- There are no "wrong answers" in this discussion but just different opinions.
- Please let me know if you need a break.

Introduction

Before we start, for the purpose of this discussion, l would like us to know each other.

Please tell me about your family background and this community

General questions

1) Does everyone here have an A 1 farm holding? *The following questions are targeted at individuals* a) How big is your farm?
   - Do you have irrigation?
   - Why did you get an A1 farm holding?

Specific questions

- What are the development challenges faced by households in this farm?
- What are the characteristics of households in poverty?
- What are the memorable issues around the Fast Track land Reform?
- In what ways has the Fast Track Land Reform programme improved household livelihoods and reduced poverty?
- Has the land reform fulfilled its objectives? *Probe for an explanation of the response* 7) What are the key drivers of livelihood vulnerability in newly resettled areas?

8) Apart from agriculture, what are the other livelihood options pursued by households?

9) What are the motivational factors behind those live hoods?

- What are the constraints faced by households in their attempt to diversify their livelihoods?
- What role is played by social capital in livelihoods diversification and with what gender implications at household level?
- What are the impact of diversify livelihoods (off farm/ non-farm) on household poverty and well-being? (Probe on income, assets, food security)
- What is the most effective way to assist and support the livelihoods of rural poor in newly resettled areas?
- How accessible are credit facilities in this area?

•Are there institutional structures in this newly resettled area that promotes diversification of livelihoods?

•What kind of support do you get from do you get from NGOs and Government?

Thank you very much. This discussion has been so enlightening.

Observations tool

The research will use the observation strategy so as to triangulate information that will come from other tools. Specifically, the research will observe the following:

- Developments that households have been done on land after accessing land from government (cleared fields for crop production, borehole drilling, houses constructed)
- Livelihood assets e.g. cattle, donkeys, goats, chickens
- Availability of food at household level
- Off farm and non-farm activities e.g. small-scale mines will be visited,
- Bank statements or savings records
- Available institutional support services e.g. markets and its activities
- Travel documents for cross border traders
- Livelihood centred developments done by NGOs and Government in newly resettled areas
- Women's roles in diversified livelihoods

Informed Consent Document

Ugwalo lokuvuma ukuphathisa kuphenyo ngemva kokuchazelwa ukuthi uphenyo lolu lungani.

Dear Participant,

Kulunga eliphathisayo

My name is **DOUGLAS NYATHI (215078036)**. I am a PhD candidate at the University of Natal, Howard College.

*Ibizo lami ngingu **DOUGLAS NYATHI (215078036)** ngingumfundi wePhD ekolitshini yemfundo yaphezulu yase yunivesithi yeNatal ethiwa yiHoward College.*

The title of my research is: ***Land Reform as a strategy livelihood in Zimbabwe:***

Breaking the household poverty in selected resettled farms in Matabeleland.

*Isihloko sophenyo lwami siphathelene **loluhlu lokunikwa kwabantu abamnyama umhlabathi nguhulumende njengendlela yokuziphilisa elizweni leZimbabwe ukuze banqobe ukuswela kukhangelwe amaplazi ambalwa akhethiweyo ezindaweni okwahlaliswa khona abantu emhlubulweni waseMatabeleland.***

The aim of the study is to interrogate household poverty and the livelihood vulnerability issues.

Injongo yaloluphenyo yikukudinga ukuzwisisa ngenhlupho lezizakhamizi ezihlangane lazo ekuphileni kwabo kulenzindawo okungabe kubangela ukuswela kwabo.

Specifically, the research seeks to explore the experiences of newly resettled farmers on household poverty and livelihood vulnerability, analyse the predominant livelihood options pursued by farmers, the contribution of livelihoods diversification on household well-being and challenges faced by farmers in their attempt to diversify their livelihood portfolios. I am interested in interviewing you so as to share your experiences and observations on the subject matter.

Uphenyo lolu luhlose ikakhulu ukuhluza izehlakalo zabalimi abatsha abahlaliswe kulezindawo kukhangelelwe ukuswela kwabo, lenhlupho abahlangana lazo. Lujonge njalo lokuhluza imizamo yabo yokuziphilisa kulezindawo lokuhlola ukuba imizamo yabo ibancedise njani ekuzithuthukiseni njengezimuli. Ngithanda ukuxoxisana lawe ukuze sabelane ngezehlakalo zakho lokunanzeleleyo ngalolundaba engikhuluma ngalo.

Please note that:

Qaphela lokhu:

- The information that you provide will be used for scholarly research only.
- *Konke ozangitshela khona kuzasetshenziswa kuphenyo lwezemfundo kuphela.*
- Your participation is entirely voluntary. You have a choice to participate, not to participate or stop participating in the research. You will not be penalized for taking such an action.
- *Kawubanjwa ngamandla ukuphathisa. Kukuwe ukukhetha ukuphathisa kumbe ukungaphathisi. Nxa angabe usuqalile ukuphathisa ulakho ukuguqula ingqondo yakho. Kakula muntu azakubeka icala ngalokho.*
- Your views in this interview will be presented anonymously. Neither your name nor identity will be disclosed in any form in the study
- *Imibono yakho kulengxoxo yethu, kanye lebizo lakho lokuthi ungubani akuzi kuvezwa loba ngasiphi simo kuloluphenyo.*
- The interview will take about 1hr 30 minutes.
- ***Ingxoxo yethu izathatha iskhathi esingange hola elilengxenye.***
- The record as well as other items associated with the interview will be held in a password-protected file accessible only to myself and my supervisors. After a period of 5 years, in line with the rules of the university, it will be disposed by shredding and burning.
- *kufihlakele kufayili eyaziwa yimi kanye labaqondisi bami. Kungadlula iminyaka emihlanu ubufakazi lobu buzadatshulwa njalo butshiswe ngokuphathelane lemithetho yekolitshi.*
- *Ubufakazi kanye lakho konke okuzasetshenziswa kulengxoxo kuzagcinwa*
- *If you agree to participate please sign the declaration attached to this statement (a* separate sheet will be provided for signatures)
- *Nxa ungabe uvuma ukungiphathisa sayina isivumelwano esilandelayo (uzathola elinye iphepha lokusayina)*

I can be contacted at: School of Social Sciences, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Howard College Campus, Durban. Email: douglasnyathi08@gmail.com

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My supervisor is Prof J Ndlovu who is *located* at the School of Social Sciences, Howard College Campus, Durban of the University of KwaZulu-Natal. Contact details: email ndlovuj1@ukzn.ac.za Phone number: +27791809651.
Umqondisi wami ngu Sikhwicamfundo J Ndlovu otholakala esikolo se Social Sciences ekolitshini laseHoward eDurban, eyunivesithi yase KwaZulu Natal. Ungamthintha ku email ethi: ndlovuj1@ukzn.ac.za Ucingo lwakhe. +27791809651

The Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee contact details are as follows: Ms Phumelele Ximba, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Research Office, Email:ximbap@ukzn.ac.za**,**Phonenumber+27312603587.

Ungathinta uNkosazana Phumelele Ximba ngokuphathelane lemithetho yophenyo kugatsha lwe Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee eyunivesithi yase KwaZulu-Natal ku email le: ximbaap@ukzn.ac.za Ucingo lwakhe luthi: +27312603587

Thank you for your contribution to this research

Ngiyabonga ngosizo lwakho kuloluphenyo.

DECLARATION/ISIVUMELWANO

I…… *(full names of participant*) hereby confirm that I understand the contents of this document and the nature of the research project, and I consent to participating in the research project.

Mina……. (Ibizo *eligcweleyo lomuntu ophathisa kuloluphenyo)* ngalesi sikhathi ngifakaza ukuzwisisa okuqukethwe lugwalo lolu okuphathelane lalokuphenyo. Ngiyavuma ukuphathisa kuloluphenyo.

I understand that I am at liberty to withdraw from the project at any time, should I so desire. I understand the intention of the research. I hereby agree to participate.

Ngiyazwizisa ukuthi angibanjwa ngamandla ukuphathisa. Nxa ngingabe sengiguqule ingqondo yiloba yiliphi ibanga lophenyo ngilakho ukwekela ukuphathisa. Ngiyayizwisisa injongo yophenyo lolu ngalokho ngiyavuma ukuphathisa.

I consent / do not consent to have this interview recorded (if applicable)

Ngiyavuma /angivumi ukuba ingxoxo yethu icidenzwelwe (khetha okuvumayo)

SIGNATURE OF PARTICIPANT DATE

UPHAWU LOMUNTU OPHATHISAYO (signature)

USUKU

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