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IMPORTANCE OF UTILIZATION OF SOCIAL CAPITAL IN AGRO-BASED POVERTY REDUCTION STRATEGIES IN SMALLHOLDER FARMING AREAS IN NORTH-EASTERN ZIMBABWE

BY

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(11585519)

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University of Venda
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DECLARATION

I, Thomas Mupetesi, hereby declare that this thesis for Doctor of Philosophy in Rural Development (PhDRDV) at the University of Venda hereby submitted by me, has not been submitted previously for a degree at this or any other university, that it is my own work in design and in execution, and that all reference material contained therein has been duly acknowledged.

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Dr. M. J. Mudau

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To my family, my wife and children

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Since independence in 1980, both public and private initiated programmes have been introduced in Zimbabwe aiming to reduce poverty in smallholder farming communities. However, limited success has been realized. This highlights the need for finding lasting solutions to this challenge. The current study investigated how poverty could be tackled considering its linkages with social capital and gender within smallholder farming communities in Guruve District of Zimbabwe.

The study was carried out in all the 19 wards of the District. A total of 385 heads of households were randomly sampled. Focus group discussions and formal questionnaire surveys were conducted. Informational contents were summarised using the content analysis technique and hypotheses formulated. The Statistical Package for Social Scientists (SPSS) was used to analyse quantitative data. Frequency tables and cross-tabulations were generated using SPSS. Using the SPSS-generated results, income poverty, human poverty index (HPI) and human development index (HDI) were calculated. The extent to which four primary social capital scales predicted the total mean monthly expenditure per capita (serving as a proxy measure of poverty) was determined using the multiple regression analysis technique.

This study revealed that the significant reduction in food poverty in Guruve District measured in terms of the food poverty line (FPL) was outweighed by the total consumption poverty line (TCPL), which worsened between 2003 and 2009. The low HDI (0.417) and high HPI (35.2 %) obtained in this study implied that Guruve District continued to lag far behind its Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) target. High mortality rates as reflected by the 50 % probability of not reaching 40 years of age (life expectancy) could have significantly contributed to the low HDI and high HPI.

Social capital significantly explained the variation in the household monthly expenditure per capita ($p < 0.05$). Informal structures dimensions which encompass the extent of networks people had with family, friends and neighbours were relatively more important than all the other predictors of social capital. Membership of organisations yielded significantly higher levels of social capital ($p < 0.05$) on aspects such as participation in local community activities and having friends in institutional networks. Females displayed significantly higher levels of social capital with respect to place attachment (in particular being proud to live in the community) ($p < 0.01$) and formal norms (taking into account trust in institutions without necessarily drawing support from them) ($p < 0.05$).

Given the fact that up-to-date statistics on poverty were lacking in Zimbabwe, this study provided insights into trends in poverty that are crucial for decision making, in particular targeting of development relief. The characterization of the nature of social capital (bonding social capital) prevalent in Guruve District is ground breaking particularly when the dearth of literature on this subject in Southern Africa is considered. Membership of organizations improved the social capital of individuals.

This study isolated the prevalent type of social capital existing among women in Guruve District. However, it was not clear what confined the women to the types of social capital observed in this study. Further empirical studies based on critical gender perspectives are needed to determine if such types of social capital did not perpetuate gender-based stereotypes and entrench social divisions as well as existing power relations in smallholder farming communities.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

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DECLARATION ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS v
TABLE OF CONTENTS vi
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS xi
CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION 1
1.1 Background 1
1.2 The Zimbabwean Economy and the Agricultural Sector 3
1.3 Impact of HIV and AIDS on Poverty 6
1.4 Poverty Reduction Strategies in Zimbabwe 6
1.5 Social Capital and Poverty Reduction 9
1.6 Statement of the Research Problem 10
1.7 Context of the Study 10
1.8 Research Objectives and Hypothesis 11
1.9 Operational Definitions 13
CHAPTER 2 REVIEW OF LITERATURE 15
2.1 Introduction 15
2.2 Defining and Measuring Poverty 16
2.3 Classification of Poverty 17
2.4 Dimensions of Poverty 19
2.5 Prevalence and Distribution of Poverty in Zimbabwe 19
2.6 Causes of Poverty in Zimbabwe 20
2.7 Poverty and Agriculture in Zimbabwe 21
2.8 Other Poverty Alleviation and Reduction Strategies 25
2.8.1 Improving access to water 25
2.8.2 Health and education policy 25
2.8.3 Drought relief policy 26
2.8.4 Gender-specific factors of poverty 26
2.8.5 Agrarian reform as a poverty reduction strategy 26
2.9 The Importance of Agriculture in Developing Countries 28
2.10 Extension in the Smallholder Agricultural Sector 32
2.11 Defining Social Capital 32
2.11.1 Bonding and bridging social capital 34
2.12 Measuring Social Capital 35
2.13 Relationship between Gender and Social Capital 36
2.14 The Role of Farmer Organisations in Social Capital Formation and Sustenance 38
2.15 Theoretical Framework Underpinning the Study 41
2.16 Summary of Review of Literature 41
CHAPTER 3 EXTENT OF POVERTY RATES IN GURUVE DISTRICT OF ZIMBABWE 43
3.1 Introduction 43
3.2 Description of the Study Area 44
3.3 Research Methods 46
3.3.1 Population and sampling procedures 46
3.3.2 Data collection 48
3.3.3 Derivation of income poverty 49
3.3.4 Calculating the Human Poverty Index (HPI) and the Human Development Index (HDI) 50
3.3.5 Data analyses 52
3.4 Results 53
3.4.1 Demographic characteristics 53
3.4.2 Income poverty 53
3.4.3 Human poverty and development indices 56
3.5 Discussion 56

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Creating Future Leaders

3.5.1 Income poverty 56
3.5.2 Human poverty 60
3.5.3 Human development 61
3.6 Conclusions 61
CHAPTER 4 UTILIZATION OF SOCIAL CAPITAL IN POVERTY REDUCTION IN SMALLHOLDER FARMING COMMUNITIES IN GURUVE DISTRICT OF ZIMBABWE 63
4.1 Introduction 63
4.2 Measurement of Social Capital 63
4.3 Research Methods 64
4.4 Data Collection 64
4.5 Data Analysis 66
4.6 Results 67
4.6.1 Levels of social capital per category of poverty 67
4.6.2 Levels of social capital based on household membership 68
4.6.3 Comparative social capital by type and FACHIG membership 69
4.6.4 Determinants of social capital 69
4.7 Discussion 71
4.7.1 Community networks 71
4.7.2 Trust in communities 72
4.7.3 Reciprocity in communities 72
4.7.4 Social capital and income 73
4.7.5 Social capital, participation and membership in organisations 73
4.7.6 Optimising bonding and bridging social capital 75
4.8 Conclusions 77
CHAPTER 5 GENDERED PATTERNS OF SOCIAL CAPITAL ENDOWMENTS AMONG SMALLHOLDER FARMERS IN GURUVE DISTRICT OF ZIMBABWE 78
5.1 Introduction 78
5.2 Gender Disparities in Zimbabwe 79
5.3 Relationship between Social Capital and Gender Inequality 80
5.4 Research Methods 81
5.5 Results 82
5.5.1 Levels of social capital 82
5.6 Discussion 82
5.7 Conclusions 87
CHAPTER 6 GENERAL DISCUSSION, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS 89
6.1 Introduction 89
6.2 Extent of Poverty Rates in Guruve District 89
6.2.1 Trends in income poverty 90
6.2.2 Containing human poverty 92
6.2.3 Improving human development 93
6.2.4 Finding an optimum mix of bonding and bridging social capital 94
6.2.5 Social capital and participation in local community events 95
6.2.6 The link between social capital and poverty 96
6.3 The Gendered Pattern of Social Capital Endowments 96
6.4 Conclusions and Recommendations 97
6.5 Implications of the Study Results for Research 99
6.6 Recommendations for Further Research 100
REFERENCES 102
APPENDICES 123
Appendix 1 Guruve Rural District Poverty Assessment Study Survey:2009 Markets Questionnaire 123
Appendix 2 Guruve Rural District Poverty Assessment Study Survey:2009 Household Questionnaire 127

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Appendix 3 Guruve Rural District Poverty Assessment Study Survey: 2009 Community Questionnaire 163
Appendix 4 Regression Equation 178

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LIST OF TABLES

Table 1.1 Key economic indicators in Zimbabwe 2001-2007 5
Table 1.2 Poverty reduction strategies implemented in Zimbabwe, 1980-2008 8
Table 1.3 Objectives, research questions and hypothesis of the study 12
Table2.1 Farm sectors, land distribution and utilisation patterns in Zimbabwe (2006-2007) 29
Table2.2 Some approaches to measuring social capital 37
Table3.1 Comparison of indicators and measurements of poverty obtained in 2003[1] and 2009 studies in Guruve District of Zimbabwe 57
Table4.1 The four Primary measures of social capital and accompanying sub-scale dimensions 65
Table5.1 Social Capital Levels against Sex Category 83
Table5.2 Levels of social capital in Guruve District by sex category 84

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LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1 Trends in consumer price inflation in Zimbabwe, 2001-2007 2
Figure2.1 Classification of poverty..... 18
Figure 2.2 Maize production and imports in Zimbabwe, 2000-2007 22
Figure 2.3 Maize productivity trends in Zimbabwe, 2001-2007 24
Figure 3.1 Map Showing the Reconstituted Guruve District and Insert of the District in Mashonaland Central Province and Zimbabwe Maps. 45
Figure 3.2 The age by sex pyramid for the survey population in Guruve District of Zimbabwe 54
Figure 4.1 Comparative social capital in Guruve District of Zimbabwe by membership of FACHIG..... 70

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A1	Newly resettled smallholder farms (average size 40hectares).
A2	Newly resettled small to medium farms (average size 71hectares)
AGRA	Alliance for a Green Revolution in Africa
Agritex	Agricultural Technical and Extension Services
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
CFSAM	Crop and Food Security Assessment Mission
CFU	Commercial Farmer's Union
CHIGs	Community self-Help Investment Groups
CR-SURF	Centre for Research into Sustainable Urban and Regional Futures
CSO	Central Statistics Office
DFID	Department for International Development
ESAP	Economic Structural Adjustment Programme
FACHIG	Farmers Association of Community self-Help Investment Groups Trust
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organisation
FGDs	Focus Group Discussions
FPL	Food Poverty Line
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GOZ	Government of Zimbabwe
HDI	Human Development Index
HIV	Human Immune Virus
HPI	Human Poverty Index
IGs	Investment Groups
KIIs	Key Informant Interviews
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MERP	Macro Economic Reform Programme
MPSLSW	Ministry Public Service Labour and Social Welfare
NANGO	National Association of Non-governmental Organisations
NERP	National Economic Reform Programme
NGOs	Non-government Organisations
NPDM	National Policy on Drought Management
NRs	Natural Regions
PAAP	Poverty Alleviation Action Plan
PASS	Poverty Assessment Study Survey

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PPP	Purchasing Power Parity
PRI	Policy Research Initiative
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SC	Social capital
SCAT	Social Capital Assessment Tool
SCPS	Social Capital and Poverty Survey
STERP	Short-term Emergency Recovery Programme
TCPL	Total Consumption Poverty Line
UNDP	United Nations Development Plan
USD	United States Dollar
WEDC	Water, Engineering and Development Centre
WFP	World Food Programme
YWCA	Young Women Christian Association
ZCFU	Zimbabwe Commercial Farmers Union
ZCTU	Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Union
ZFU	Zimbabwe Farmers Union
ZIMPREST	Zimbabwe Programme for Economic and Social Transformation

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1.1 Background

Over the past 20 years, Zimbabwe witnessed an unprecedented growth in rural poverty. Ministry of Public Service Labour and Social Welfare (MPSLSW, 2006) statistics indicate that the proportion of poor people in rural areas increased by 30 % between 1995 and 2003. Recent observations show that the poverty situation has worsened due to the consecutive depressed harvests and a hyperinflation-induced (Figure 1.1) high cost of living (Alliance for a Green Revolution in Africa: AGRA, 2009; Food and Agriculture Organisation: FAO, 2009; Pazvakavambwa, 2009).

Zimbabwe is one of the many countries that adopted the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) on poverty and thus seeks to meet the target set by the United Nations (Government of Zimbabwe: GOZ, 2004). The MDGs are a set of development targets aimed at reducing poverty and improving the lives of people all around the world by 2015 (United Nations Development Programme: UNDP, 2010). By 2015, the GOZ aims to have halved the proportion of people whose income is less than the Total Consumption Poverty Line (TCPL), which is the level of income at which people can meet their basic food and non-food needs (MPSLSW, 2006). During the same period, the GOZ intends to halve the proportion of people who suffer from hunger or proportion of the population below the Food Poverty Line (FPL). The latter refers to a level of income at which people can meet their basic needs.

Although various strategies, ranging from the Growth with Equity (1980-1990) to the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) (1990-1995) and Short-Term Stabilisation policies (2001-2008) (MPSLSW, 2006; Government of Zimbabwe: GOZ, 2007) have been implemented since independence in 1980 to address poverty, viable solutions remain elusive. Presumably, this can be attributed to the failure to recognize the importance of investing in the formation, strengthening and sustenance of social capital. In this study, social capital was considered as networks, trust and norms of reciprocity that can improve the efficiency of communities and societies (Putnam, 2000; Sabatini, 2009; Duberley and Cohen, 2010; Von Schnurbein, 2010).

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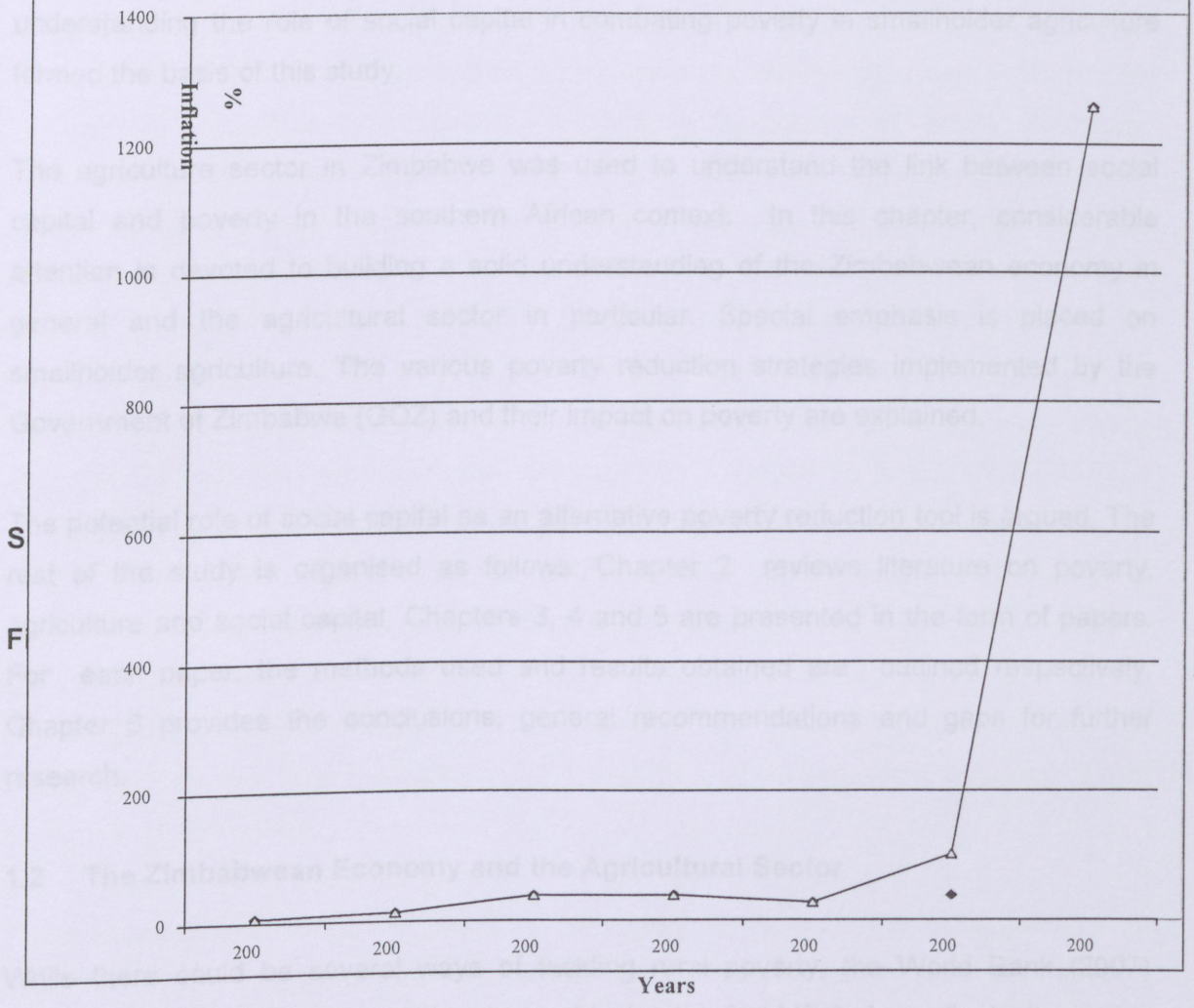

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The key assumption guiding the study was that adequate and more effective implementation of agro-based poverty reduction programmes calls for greater investment in social capital formation and sustenance in the smallholder farming sector. Thus, understanding the role of social capital in combating poverty in smallholder agriculture formed the basis of this study.

The agriculture sector in Zimbabwe was used to understand the link between social capital and poverty in the southern African context. In this chapter, considerable attention is devoted to building a solid understanding of the Zimbabwean economy in general and the agricultural sector in particular. Special emphasis is placed on smallholder agriculture. The various poverty reduction strategies implemented by the Government of Zimbabwe (GOZ) and their impact on poverty are explained.

The potential role of social capital as an alternative poverty reduction tool is argued. The rest of the study is organised as follows: Chapter 2 reviews literature on poverty, agriculture and social capital. Chapters 3, 4 and 5 are presented in the form of papers. For each paper, the methods used and results obtained are outlined respectively. Chapter 6 provides the conclusions, general recommendations and gaps for further research.

1.2 The Zimbabwean Economy and the Agricultural Sector

While there could be several ways of tackling rural poverty, the World Bank (2007) contends that agriculture is a vital tool for achieving the first MDG. Accordingly, it remains a strong option for spurring growth, overcoming poverty and enhancing food security in much of sub-Saharan Africa. Since about 70 % of the Zimbabwean population derives its livelihoods from agriculture and other related rural economic activities (AGRA, 2009), increased productivity and incomes of smallholder farmers could be the most plausible and effective means to achieve the MDG on poverty.

Zimbabwe's economy heavily depends on agriculture, which in 2007 contributed approximately 50 % to the growth of the country's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) (GOZ, 2007). Agriculture has always been the backbone of the economy (Masiiwa, 2001; GOZ, 2007). In addition, the agricultural sector also ensured food self-sufficiency and food security were achieved during the period 1980 up to 2000 through the production of

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staple food crops such as maize, wheat, sorghum, millets, oilseeds, livestock, fruit and vegetables (GOZ, 2007).

Magaramombe (2004) and Mudhara (2004) note that the agrarian reforms that the GOZ implemented in 2000 with the intention of reversing the skewed land ownership pattern are increasingly putting into question the ability of the country to restore agricultural production to the levels achieved prior to this radical policy intervention. These arguments stem from the fact that introduction of the agrarian reforms damaged the country's economy, contributing to a sharp decrease in GDP and agricultural productivity (Table 1.1). By 2003, the growth of GDP in Zimbabwe had decreased by almost 20 %, with unemployment affecting 70 % of the population (European Union, 2005). The Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO, 2009) estimates that Zimbabwe's economy shrunk by about 50 % in real terms between 1998 and 2008. According to the GOZ (2006), a cumulative total population of 1.4 million people, which constituted 17 % of the people in rural areas, were not expected to meet their household cereal requirements during the 2006/07 marketing year. Recent evidence (AGRA, 2009) indicates that food insecurity is still a critical issue for millions of Zimbabweans. The effect of the agrarian reforms was a reversal of the socio-economic gains of the 1980s and early 1990s to such an extent that chronic poverty and food insecurity in both rural and urban areas became common in Zimbabwe (AGRA, 2009).

Economic decline in Zimbabwe continues unabated. As Figure 1.1 depicts, the country witnessed an exponential growth in inflation. Table 1.1 presents the major indicators of Zimbabwe's economy. Huge trade deficits, high external debts and declining agricultural production and exports are the major features of the country's economy. This situation resulted in high import requirements from 2001-2007, in particular of food and negative current account balances. In turn, these effects have continued to put severe pressure on exchange rates. The year 2008 was the tenth in a row of negative growth in the country's real GDP (FAO, 2008). Declining GDP per head means that unemployment and underemployment are increasing (Table1.1). The share of agricultural exports in the country's total exports came down from 39 % in 2001 to 14 % in 2006 with some relative improvement in both 2008 and 2009 (FAO, 2009). A combination of these factors contributed to an escalation of poverty.

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Table 1.1 Key economic indicators in Zimbabwe 2001-2007

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Indicator	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Agricultural GDP growth rate, %	-3.9	-22.7	-1.0	-2.9	-10.0	-4.5	-1.0
GDP per head (USD at PPP)	214	204	185	182	174	170	168
Exchange rate – Z$/US$	--	--	--	--	--	250	30 000
Agricultural exports % of total	39	36	31	23	21	14	13
Total Exports (US$ m)	2 114	1 802	1 670	1 684	1 606	1 533	1 680
Total Imports (US$ m)	1 791	1 821	1 778	1 989	1 994	2 000	2 200
Trade Deficit in million US$	-323	18	108	305	388	467	520
Total external debt (US$ bn)	3.6	3.9	4.5	4.8	4.3	4.7	5.2

Source: FAO (2008)

Key: 1) Z$: Zimbabwe Dollar

2) US$: United States Dollar

3) PPP: Purchasing Power Parity

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1.3 Impact of HIV and AIDS on Poverty

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Smallholder and subsistence agriculture are the main sources of livelihoods for millions of families in Africa, including Zimbabwe (Jackson, 2002). Worsening mortality indicators (especially among adults) during the past 15-20 years is a consequence of the high HIV and AIDS prevalence rates (Bird and Shepherd, 2003; GOZ, 2009; ZIMSTAT, 2009).

High death rates among adults due to HIV and AIDS affects the availability of labour, especially for agricultural production (Bird and Shepherd, 2003; Hope, 2004; Antony and Laxmaiah, 2008).

These authors posit that the pandemic in turn, considerably constrains family income and intensifies deprivation, particularly of poor and very poor households. This results in increased poverty. The negative impacts are more evident in the smallholder agricultural sector because of its reliance on individual labour (Sukume, Moyo and Matondi, 2004).

Although HIV and AIDS prevalence rates in Zimbabwe among 15-24 year olds decreased from 26.5 % in 2001 to 15.6 % in 2007 (GOZ, 2009), the reduction was not significant enough to lessen poverty in the country.

The collapse of the agricultural sector and the spread of HIV and AIDS considerably contributed to a general downturn of the country's economy as well as the ensuing increase in poverty and vulnerability. In an attempt to reverse this situation, in March 2009, the newly established inclusive government unveiled the Short-Term Economic Recovery Programme: STERP (GOZ, 2009). A major feature of STERP has been the promotion of production and increasing the utilization of capacity in all the sectors of the economy, particularly agriculture. All this has been done in order to improve food security and reduce poverty. According to AGRA (2009), out of the US$5 billion assistance that the government appealed for from international donors, US$1billion was earmarked for agriculture. As of 8 May 2009, approximately US$650 million only in the form of lines of credit had been secured mostly from SADC countries. This cast doubts on the potential success of the turnaround programme.

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At independence in 1980, Zimbabwe inherited a highly polarized and dualistic society where the majority of the people in both rural and urban areas lived in abject poverty (GOZ, 2003). The new government sought to address some of the inequalities through policies that sought to prioritize poverty reduction via various policy measures. Table 1.2 provides an overview of the policies the GOZ enacted between 1980 and 2008.

As shown in Table 1.2, for much of the 1980s the Zimbabwean government tried to address poverty through various strategies. According to GOZ (2007), the "Growth with Equity" Strategy of 1981 implemented under the Zimbabwe Transitional National Development Plan (1982-1985) and the First Five Year Plan (1986-1990) placed a premium on increasing social sector expenditures, expansion of rural infrastructure, agrarian reforms, reducing socio-economic inequality and poverty.

Due to a favourable socio-economic environment made possible by the return to peace, favourable rainfall seasons and international assistance, positive social indicators and modest economic growth were achieved then. Between 1997 and 2007, several policies, which included MERP and NERP, were implemented in quick succession, largely aimed at stabilizing the economy and rekindling economic growth. According to GOZ (2007), MERP and NERP signified the abandonment of liberal economic policies in favour of government controls. Despite all these economic policymaking efforts, Zimbabwe continued to experience considerable macro-economic instability and worsening poverty (MPSLSW, 2006).

By the end of the 1980s all the strategies the government implemented had begun to show their limitations. The 1990s saw the introduction of market-based strategies such as ESAP and ZIMPREST with the goal of achieving poverty reduction. However, implementation of these policies led to sharp increases in the level of poverty, characterized by a marked decrease in social indicators (GOZ, 2007).

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Table 1.2 Poverty reduction strategies implemented in Zimbabwe, 1980-2008

Period	1980-1990	1990-1995	1996-2003	2001-2008
Strategy	Growth with equity+ 1st and 2nd National Development Plan	ESAP[1], PAAP[2]	ZIMPREST[3]	Short-term stabilisation policies. e.g. MERP[4] and NERP[5]
Main Features	Increased social expenditure, expansion of rural infrastructure, Redressing social, economic inequality and land reform	Removal of subsidies Market Liberalisation	Indigenization and market based and Small Scale Enterprises development	Stabilisation policies to address economic decline
Comment	Very strong social indicators, missed growth targets and increased budget deficits	Increased poverty, prices of basic commodities (inflation) and shortages of basic commodities	Lack of resources to support the programme, inflation and economic decline	Lack of support resources, hyper inflation, chronic food shortages, High (80 %) unemployment
Impact on Social Capital	Improvements in infrastructure and social indicators can increase social capital investments	Decline in social indicators and infrastructure reduce social capital investments	Decline in social indicators and infrastructure reduce social capital investments	Decline in social indicators and infrastructure reduce social capital investments

Key

[1]Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (MPSLSW, 2006, Government of Zimbabwe, 2007)
[2]Poverty Alleviation Action Plan (MPSLSW, 2006, Government of Zimbabwe, 2007)
[3]Zimbabwe Programme for Economic and Social Transformation (MPSLSW, 2006)
[4]Macro Economic Reform Programme (Government of Zimbabwe, 2007);
[5]National Economic Reform Programme (Government of Zimbabwe, 2007)

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The situation described above strengthens the case for identification and implementation of poverty reduction strategies that are more sustainable. This view originates from the observation that the agro-based poverty reduction programmes implemented in Zimbabwe to date have been neglecting and downplaying the diversity of other strategies such as social capital formation and institutional arrangements that smallholder farmers pursued and used to achieve sustainable livelihoods (Wolmer, Sithole and Mukamuri, 2002). For example, Table 1.2 provides evidence showing that poverty reduction strategies implemented since 1990 were silent on measures that promote social capital investments such as infrastructure development and increased social expenditure in rural areas (Woolcock and Narayan, 2000; Shideler and Kraybill, 2009). This is the case despite the observation in literature that social capital contributes to socio-economic development and elimination of poverty in rural areas (Wallis, Killerby and Dollery, 2004). The potential contribution of social capital to poverty reduction in smallholder farming areas of Zimbabwe forms the basis of the study.

1.5 Social Capital and Poverty Reduction

As highlighted in the previous section, strategies that build and strengthen sustainable social capital could be the answer to the problem of poverty in Zimbabwe. Lending support to this view is a growing body of literature that links social capital with socio-economic development (Serageldin and Grootaert, 2000; Kilpatrick and Falk, 2001; Shideler and Kraybill, 2009; Jones, 2010). Also, there is increasing emphasis in World Bank and international development literature on the centrality of social capital in promoting local and regional economic development (Haines and Robino, 2006) and its usefulness as a tool for poverty reduction (Wallis et al., 2004).

Various studies have demonstrated the existence of a positive correlation between social capital and a host of economic (Woodhouse, 2006; Heenan, 2010), social (Lin and Huang, 2005), health (Asadi et al., 2008; Pronyk et al., 2008; Heenan, 2010) and poverty outcomes (Mubangizi, 2003, Grootaert and Narayan, 2004). In Southern Africa, it is becoming increasingly evident that social capital is shifting to the centre of the discourse of social development policy (Swart, 2006). According to van Wyk, Breen, Sherwill and Magadlela (2007), policy statements emanating from the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) show a strong commitment to enhancing social capital in Africa.

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Despite this, little is known or understood about the importance of social capital as a tool for fighting poverty among smallholder-farming communities in the entire Southern African Development Community (SADC).

Even though there is considerable evidence suggesting that social capital enhances poverty reduction and economic development, there has been little interest throughout the world in investigating the gender neutrality of the social capital discourse (Muntaner and Lynch, 2002; Lowndes, 2004). This is the status quo although there is also evidence showing that men are more likely to have access to some forms of social capital than women (Eriksson, Dahlgren, Weinhall, and Emmelin, 2010). This raises the question: To what extent are the social capital endowments of women compared to men different?

1.6 Statement of the Research Problem

Both public and private sector initiatives introduced in Zimbabwe to reduce rural poverty in smallholder farming communities since independence in 1980 have continued to realize limited success. There is need for finding lasting solutions to this challenge. In this regard, strategies that build and strengthen sustainable social capital might be the answer. However, little is known about how social capital can contribute to combating poverty in smallholder farming areas. Thus, this study sought to assess the potential contribution of social capital to poverty reduction in smallholder farming communities in North-eastern Zimbabwe.

The underlying argument of this study was that despite its huge potential in reducing poverty, there has not been any deliberate attempt to strengthen social capital as an alternative solution. Nor have there been sufficient empirical studies on the contribution of social capital in poverty reduction strategies in Zimbabwe. As a result, it is still unclear whether social capital can be taken advantage of to achieve poverty reduction in the smallholder farming areas.

1.7 Context of the Study

The presence of many Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) that provide a range of development assistance in Guruve District is worth noting (FAO, 2011). One such NGO is the Farmers Association of Community self-Help Investment Groups (FACHIG).

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Ascertaining the impact (if any) of such organisations in cushioning poor communities from sliding into deeper poverty is important. In addition, assessing the potential role of organisations such as FACHIG in the formation, strengthening and sustenance of social capital could provide alternative ways of reducing poverty.

The FACHIG is a grassroots-based member organization founded in 1999 and has operated in Guruve District ever since. Its overall objective is to contribute to poverty reduction through improving food security and promoting income generation opportunities in HIV and AIDS-affected farming systems. The primary target group includes women, who make up about 73 % of FACHIG's total membership. In Guruve District, there are almost 3 000 members organized into 242 groups locally known as Investment Groups (IGs). The IGs are re-grouped into eight area associations called Community self-Help Investment Groups (CHIGs). In turn, the CHIGs federate to form the Guruve District Farmers Association (GDFA). The GDFA is an affiliate member of FACHIG and operates in three other Districts of Mashonaland Central Province, namely Rushinga, Muzarabani and Mt Darwin. Thus, including FACHIG in the study made it possible to assess whether a large presence of women in groups contributes to social capital formation. In addition, the existence of several types of group formations in it provided an ideal situation for studying the relationship between groups and social capital.

1.8 Research Objectives and Hypothesis

This study sought to achieve three key objectives, namely to:

a) ascertain the extent of poverty rates in Guruve District, focusing on the period, 2003 to 2009;

b) determine the importance of utilising social capital in agro-based poverty reduction programmes implemented in Guruve District's smallholder farming communities between 2003 and 2009; and

c) ascertain the extent to which social capital endowments differed between female and male-headed smallholder farming households.

Table 1.3 presents the objectives, research questions and hypotheses underpinning the study. In section 1.9 the key terms used in the study are defined.

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Table 1.3 Objectives, research questions and hypothesis of the study

Objective	Research Questions	Hypothesis
1)To ascertain the extent of poverty rates in Guruve District focusing on the period, 2003 to 2009;	What are the major features of poverty in smallholder farming areas in Guruve District?	There was no significant difference in change in poverty rates since 2003 when the last assessment was carried out in smallholder farming areas in Guruve District.
2) To determine the importance of utilising social capital in agro-based poverty reduction programmes implemented in Guruve District's smallholder farming communities between 2003 and 2009;.	Which core components (networks, trust and norms) of social capital and in what combination had the greatest influence on poverty? Is there a link between bonding and bridging social capital and poverty rates? Does membership of an organisation have value in terms of increasing social capital and reducing poverty?	Social capital contributes significantly to poverty reduction in smallholder farming areas in Guruve District.
3) To ascertain the extent to which social capital endowments differed between female and male farming households in Guruve District.	Is gender a factor in the perceived relationship between social capital and poverty rates in smallholder farming communities in Guruve District?	There are no differences in social capital endowments between male- and female-head households in smallholder farming communities in Guruve District.

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1.9 Operational Definitions

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The purpose of this section is to isolate and explain the key terms and concepts used in the study. Given that this study focused on the relationships existing among poverty, social capital and gender, it is important to provide contextual meanings of the terms in relation to the study.

This study adopted the three perspectives of defining poverty (United Nations Development Programme: UNDP, 1997). From the first perspective of income poverty, a person is defined as poor if his or her income level is below a defined poverty line or a level of income sufficient to purchase a specified amount of food. The second perspective is grounded in basic needs. It considers poverty as deprivation of material requirements to satisfy a minimally acceptable level of human needs including food, basic health, education and employment. Lastly, the other approach views poverty as the absence of some basic capabilities to function. The capabilities include adequate nutrition, clothing, shelter, long healthy life, safety and enjoyment of human and other rights.

Considering the fact that there is no consensus on the definition of social capital (Sabatini, 2009), this study embraces the conceptual understanding that it refers to networks, trust and norms of reciprocity (Lisakka and Alanen 2006; Sabatini, 2009; Von Schnurbein, 2010).

Woolcock and Narayan (2000) describe networks as social ties. This contrasts the views of Dasgupta (2000) who regards networks as systems of communication channels, protecting and promoting personal relationships.

Also, Brien and Smallman (2010) define 'social networks' as how and when people associate with each other. Jutte (2010) regards networks as structures for cooperation between individuals or institutions over a longer period of time in order to attain joint objectives and to generate added value for its members. In this study, networks are social ties that are linked to some form of economic and social benefits.

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According to Fidrmuc and Gerxhani (2008), trust refers to the extent to which people find strangers trustworthy or reliable. In general, trust is seen as the perception and interpretation of others' expected dependability, which can only emerge out of interaction (Van Schaik and Beugelsdijk, 2005; Von Schnurbein, 2010). For purposes of this study, trust refers to a form of social capital that promotes beneficial relationships leading to social and economic pay-offs.

Norms constitute a powerful form of social capital that facilitates certain actions and constrain others (Coleman, 2000). They are concerned with how one thinks about and acts toward others (Uphoff, 2000). This study viewed the norms of reciprocity as a form of social capital that facilitated change and progress.

Heenan (2010) explains reciprocity as a complex set of obligations and expectations associated with 'helping out' or 'doing your bit'. Since reciprocity is frequently manifested through exchange of labour, credit and agricultural implements in rural farming communities (Abe, 2009), it is viewed in this study as a powerful form of social capital that may contribute to poverty reduction.

The World Health Organisation (WHO, 1998) considers 'gender' to be women's and men's roles and responsibilities that are socially determined. This study is concerned with the extent to which gender influences the distribution of social capital and poverty in rural farming areas.

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2.1 Introduction

At global level, attention is increasingly focused on poverty reduction than ever before. In this respect, the global target for poverty reduction is to halve the number of poor persons (defined as those living on less than US$1 per day) by 2015 (World Bank, 2007). Other complementary targets include achieving full and productive employment and decent work for all and halving by 2015, the proportion of people who suffer from extreme hunger (United Nations, 2004).

According to the United Nations (2008), poverty is in a downward trend and the goal of cutting in half the proportion of people in the developing world (except sub-Saharan Africa) living on less than $1 a day by 2015 remains within reach. However, full employment remains a distant reality and rising food prices threaten the limited gains in alleviating child malnutrition. The same author observes that, full employment remains a distant reality and rising food prices threaten the limited gains in alleviating child malnutrition.

Anriquez and Stimoulis (2007) demonstrate that a strong association exists between poverty and rurality. Evidence from the World Bank (2007) and the Government of Zimbabwe (GOZ, 2007) indicates that about 75 % of the people in developing countries, Zimbabwe included, live in rural areas. This highlights the importance of a rural focus when designing poverty reduction strategies in the country. According to Wiggins (2006), achieving the MDG of reducing the proportion of the population living in poverty to half the 1990 level by 2015 depends largely on efforts made to combat it.

Throughout this chapter, arguments and evidence will be presented that highlight the positive benefits of investing in rural agro-based poverty reduction strategies. Considerable attention will be given to explain the concept of poverty and its various dimensions. In an attempt to find viable solutions to the problem of poverty in Zimbabwe's smallholder farming sector, the centrality of social capital to local socio-economic development (as alluded to in Chapter 1) will be argued. Gender is treated as a cross-cutting issue in poverty reduction efforts.

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2.2 Defining and Measuring Poverty

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Available literature defines poverty based on various perspectives. For example, Chakravarty, Deutsch and Silber (2008) view poverty as a manifestation of insufficient well-being. Serumaga-Zake, Kotze and Masden (2005) regard poverty as relative material deprivation measured in terms of satisfying the basic human needs and accessibility of social services such as clean water, energy and health. Also, Gelderblom (2007) views poverty as a state where an individual and/or household controls too few material resources to partake the normal lifestyle of a society. Thus, all these views show that despite the huge amount of research on it there is still no consensus in literature on the definition of poverty.

As pointed out in section 1.9 the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP, 1997) takes a comprehensive three pronged perspective to defining poverty. Hope (2004) contends that the UNDP approach of defining poverty allows for its measurement and profiling based on multiple dimensions (World Bank, 2001). Similarly in Zimbabwe, poverty is often measured and profiled using three dimensions, namely income poverty, Human Development Index (HDI) and Human Poverty Index (HPI) (MPSLSW, 2006). Accordingly, the UNDP approach to defining poverty was found useful in this study because of its focus on measuring and profiling communities based on various dimensions.

The HPI is a composite measure that considers failure in capabilities in multiple dimensions as constituting poverty (Chakravarty and Majumder, 2005; Chakravarty et al., 2008). These dimensions include deprivation in longevity, literacy, safe water, basic health, nutrition for persons under five years of age and denial of fundamental human rights as poverty. On the other hand, the Human Development Index (HDI) measures the country's achievements in life expectancy, educational attainment and a decent standard of living (World Bank, 2001; Mulale and Flora, 2006; United Nations, 2008; Haughton and Khandker, 2009).

In terms of income poverty, Zimbabwe recognises two poverty lines, namely the Food Poverty Line (FPL) and Total Consumption Poverty Line (TCPL). Very poor households are those whose monthly mean expenditure per capita is less than the FPL (MPSLSW,

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2006). Poor households have a mean monthly per capita expenditure of less than the TCPL but above the FPL. All the households living below the TCPL constitute the total poor while those above the TCPL are considered non-poor.

Klasen (2007) argues for a focus on both income and non-income dimensions as this may help to achieve the first MDG. Thus, the complementary nature of income-based and composite measures of poverty (MPSLSW, 2006; Antony and Visweswara Rao, 2007) made both approaches relevant in this study. In addition, simultaneous use of these approaches made it possible to compare observed poverty trends with another Poverty Assessment Study Survey (PASS) carried out in 2003 (hereinafter referred to as PASS 2003) (MPSLSW, 2006). This assessment uses the same approaches as those applied in PASS 2003.

It is important to make a distinction between poverty alleviation and poverty reduction. This is due to the observation that many authors seem to view them as if they are the same. Poverty alleviation mainly addresses the effects of poverty such as deprivation of social needs and rights in the short term, while poverty reduction focuses more on attacking the causes of poverty (Danish International Development Agency: DANIDA, 1996). Lastly, poverty eradication is also a term widely used in literature. According to Botha (2001) and Skidmore (2009), poverty cannot be eradicated. Rather, it can only be reduced. Despite this reality, it is always crucial to ensure that antipoverty initiatives target eradication since this is the ideal.

2.3 Classification of Poverty

Turnham (2004) classifies poverty as either urban or rural. It can be further broken down into chronic, transitory and catastrophic sub-classes (World Bank 2001; Turnham, 2004) whose main features are as depicted in Figure 2.1. Due to the unprecedented political and economic crisis currently facing Zimbabwe, it is imperative to accept that both urban and rural areas are experiencing a combination of all the forms of poverty reflected in Figure 2.1.

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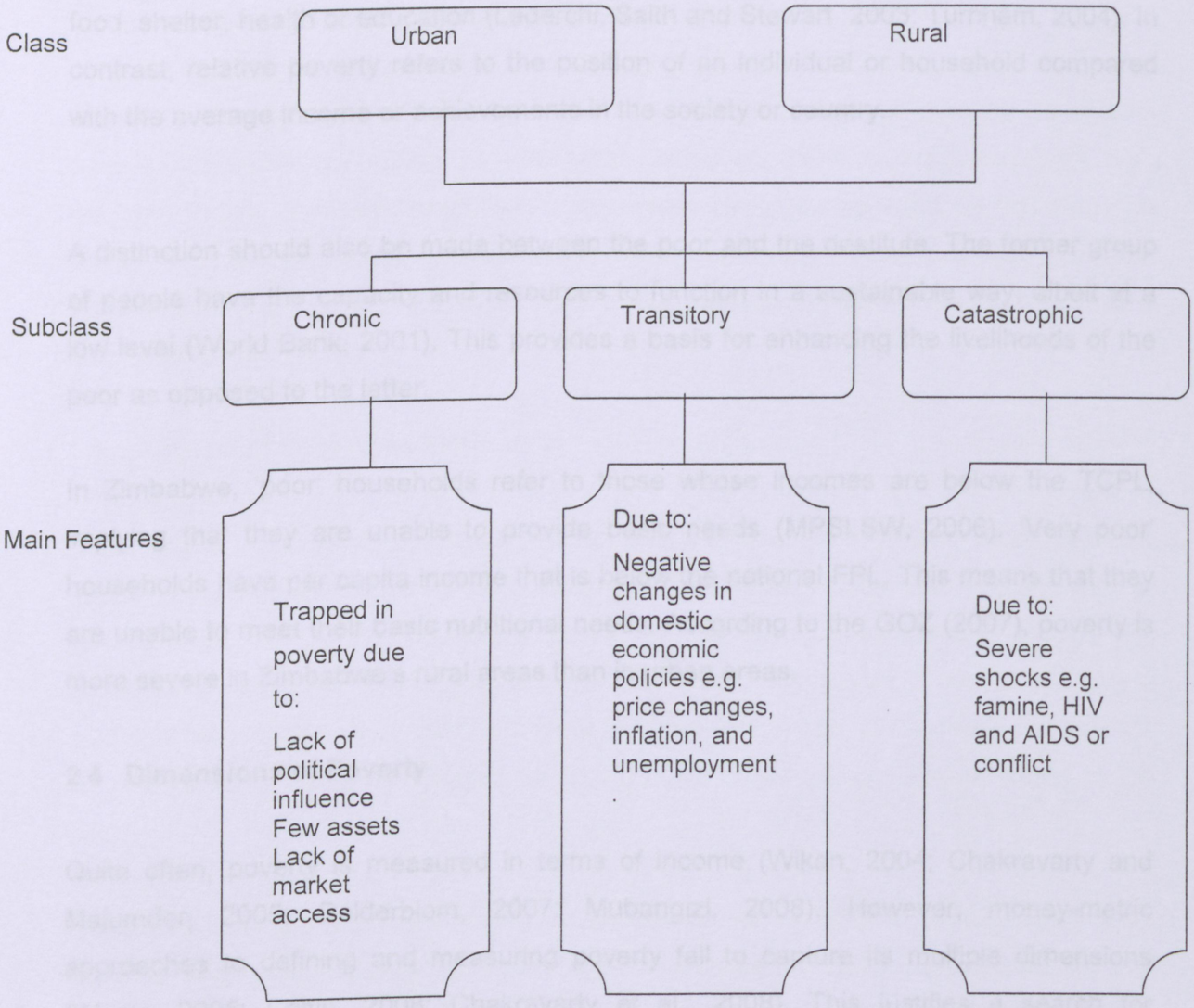

Source: Modified from World Bank (2001); Turnham (2004)

Figure2.1 Classification of poverty

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There is need for differentiating 'absolute poverty' from 'relative poverty'. Absolute poverty reflects a complete deprivation or non-fulfilment of bare minimum needs such as food, shelter, health or education (Laderchi, Saith and Stewart. 2003; Turnham, 2004). In contrast, relative poverty refers to the position of an individual or household compared with the average income or achievements in the society or country.

A distinction should also be made between the poor and the destitute. The former group of people have the capacity and resources to function in a sustainable way, albeit at a low level (World Bank, 2001). This provides a basis for enhancing the livelihoods of the poor as opposed to the latter.

In Zimbabwe, 'poor' households refer to those whose incomes are below the TCPL, implying that they are unable to provide basic needs (MPSLSW, 2006). 'Very poor' households have per capita income that is below the national FPL. This means that they are unable to meet their basic nutritional needs. According to the GOZ (2007), poverty is more severe in Zimbabwe's rural areas than in urban areas.

2.4 Dimensions of Poverty

Quite often, poverty is measured in terms of income (Wikan, 2004; Chakravarty and Majumder, 2005; Gelderblom, 2007; Mubangizi, 2008). However, money-metric approaches to defining and measuring poverty fail to capture its multiple dimensions (Wagle, 2005; Calvo, 2008; Chakravarty et al., 2008). This justifies a search for composite measures of poverty such as the HDI and HPI, which reflect the various dimensions of human development and deprivation. Antony and Visweswara-Rao (2007) argue that a composite measure combining income and non-income indicators has more merits for determining poverty and standard of living. The main dimensions of poverty used in Zimbabwe and relevant to this study have been described above.

2.5 Prevalence and Distribution of Poverty in Zimbabwe

According to the MPSLSW (2006), incidence of poverty in Zimbabwe increased considerably between 1995 and 2003. During that period, the proportion of households living below the FPL and TCPL increased by 148 % and 51 %, respectively. Incidence of

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poverty was highest (70 %) in Matabeleland North Province and lowest (50 %) in Mashonaland Central Province. These statistics reveal that there is a regional dimension in the prevalence of poverty in the country.

Focusing on poverty distribution, all land use sectors had more than 50 % of their households below the TCPL. In rural areas, however, 63 % of the households lived below the TCPL compared to 53 % in urban areas. These statistics display the existence of higher levels of poverty in rural areas when compared to urban areas. The GOZ (2004) alludes to this reality and also points out that poverty is increasing in both rural and urban areas.

2.6 Causes of Poverty in Zimbabwe

According to the GOZ (2003), poverty is not a new phenomenon since it originated from the initial conditions created by the colonial era (1890-1980). Chief among the causes of poverty were the racially skewed distribution and ownership of land and resources, the dispersal of African people into mostly marginal areas, destruction of their property and confiscation of cattle. Also, the liberation war of the 1960s and 1970s that culminated in independence in 1980 was fought, principally, to reverse poverty and inequality in the country.

It should be highlighted that inequality in Zimbabwe still exists to this day almost three decades after attaining independence. Recent statistics (MPSLSW, 2006) indicate that inequality, as measured by the Gini coefficient, increased from 0.53 in 1995 to 0.61 in 2003. This shows that income inequality is worsening and has serious implications on how poverty is perceived in the country.

While poverty in Zimbabwe is viewed as occurring when individuals or groups are unable to satisfy a minimum standard of living, it results from the overall social and economic order as well as the distribution of power and resources within the society (MPSLSW, 2006). The persistence of droughts in Zimbabwe exacerbates the magnitude of poverty. Drought caused a decrease in the GNP of about 1.9 % in 1982 and a further 3.4 % in 1983 (Dansereau and Zamponi, 2005), mainly through its effects on agriculture.

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Consequently, rural poverty worsened since the majority of the population in Zimbabwe still live in rural areas and depend on agriculture to earn a living.

The poor performance of the economy in the late 1980s (see sections 1.1 and 1.2) forced the government to adopt the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) as a possible solution. During the ESAP period, poverty and hardships among the people increased steadily due to rapid inflation and rising unemployment (GOZ, 2007).

For much of the past 10 years Zimbabwe faced uncontrollable and ever-escalating hyperinflation, sustained period of negative economic growth, massive devaluation of the currency and reduced productive capacity with massive de-industrialization (FAO, 2009). The consequences of this were widespread food shortages and deep entrenchment of poverty.

2.7 Poverty and Agriculture in Zimbabwe

According to the United Nations (2008), three quarters of the world's poorest people live in rural areas. Similarly, about 69 % of the Zimbabwean population is classified as rural (FAO, 2009). Since poverty is worsening and mainly a rural phenomenon, attempts to eradicate it in the country should put more emphasis on these areas.

The World Bank (2007) points out that agriculture remains the fundamental instrument for sustainable development and poverty reduction in the 21st Century. Agriculture is also the main driving force behind economic growth and development in Zimbabwe (Multi-Donor Trust Fund-Zimbabwe, 2009). However, people living in Zimbabwe's rural areas are still trapped in a vicious cycle of poverty due to a cumulative neglect of agriculture over years (United Nations, 2008). The decline in the economy and agricultural productivity alluded to in the earlier parts of this thesis often lead to widespread poverty and food shortages, in particular in rural areas (FAO, 2009; Pazvakavambwa, 2009). As a result, during the last 10 years Zimbabwe has been transformed from a food surplus to an increasingly food deficit country (Figure 2.2).

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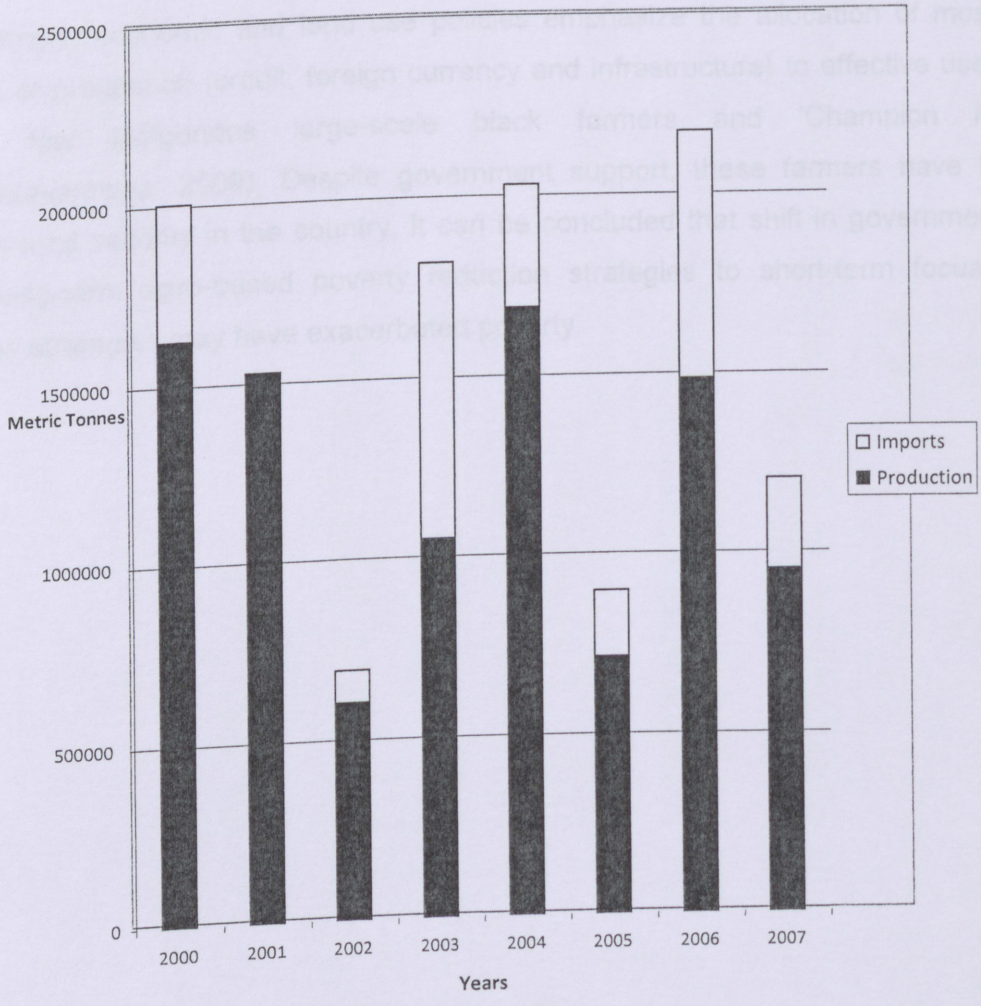

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(2003) highlight the fact that returns on the supported farms are far short of expectations of both the farmers and government.

The major reasons cited for the underutilization of land include shortages of tillage equipment, seeds, fertilizers, chemicals, fuel, infrastructure investments, market distortions and absenteeism on the part of some new settler beneficiaries.

Pazvakavambwa (2009) adds the fact that the negative trend in production was partly due to failed agricultural policies, the demise of the agricultural lending system,

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inadequate government funding and inappropriate priority setting in the sector. A combination of these factors could have forced the GOZ to shift from its long-term agro-based poverty reduction policies to short-term focused food security strategies. In order to achieve the goal of food security, the GOZ believes in the perceived efficiency of large farms in producing enough food for the country (Sukume et al., 2004).

Accordingly, economic and land use policies emphasize the allocation of most of the means of production (credit, foreign currency and infrastructure) to effective use of land to a few indigenous large-scale black farmers and 'Champion Farmers' (Pazvakavambwa, 2009). Despite government support, these farmers have failed to ensure food security in the country. It can be concluded that shift in government policy from long-term agro-based poverty reduction strategies to short-term focused food security strategies may have exacerbated poverty.

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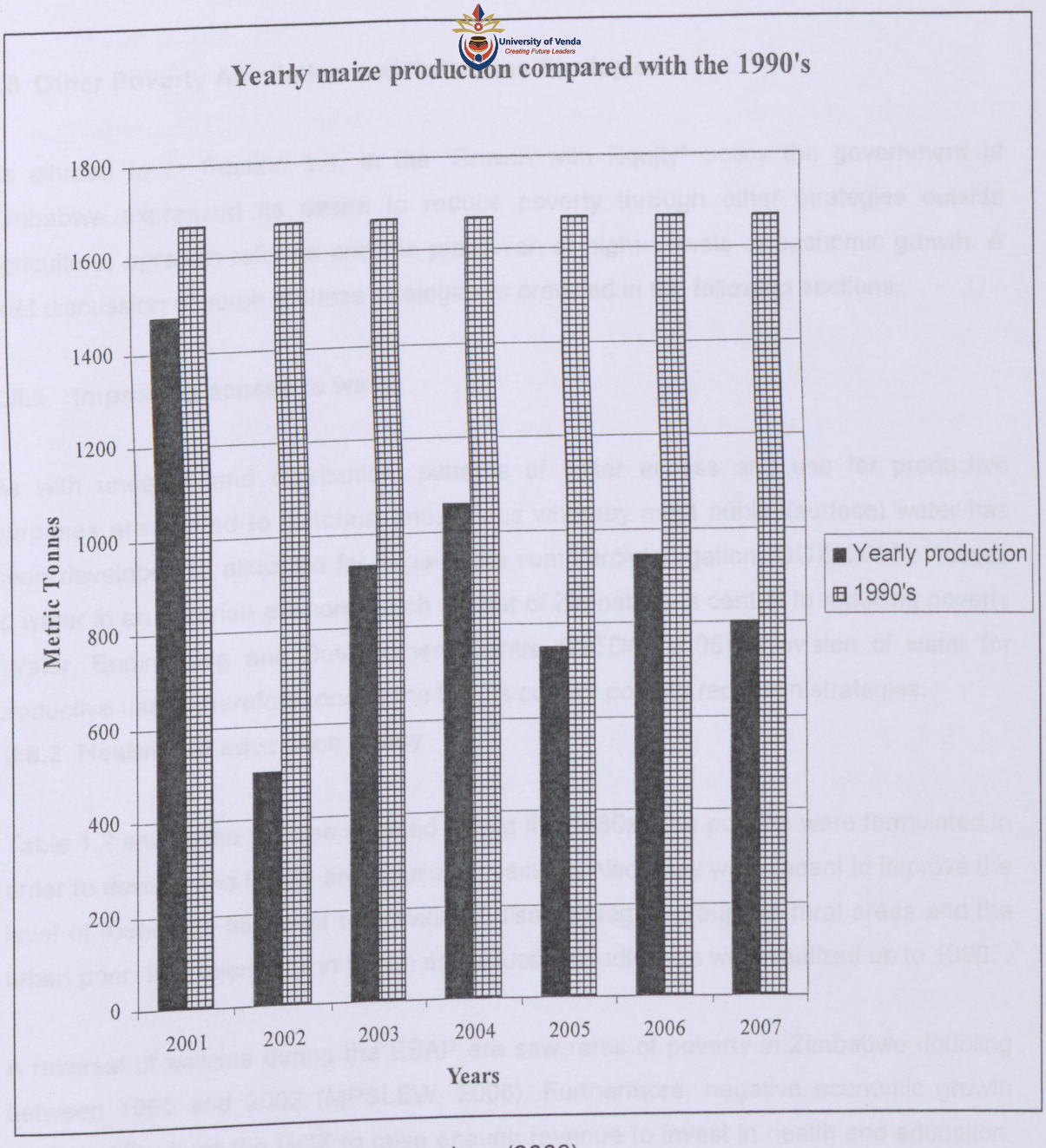

Source: Adapted from Pazvakavambwa (2009)

Figure2.3 Maize productivity trends in Zimbabwe, 2001-2007

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2.8 Other Poverty Alleviation and Reduction Strategies

As alluded to in Section 1.4, in the 'Growth with Equity" policy the government of Zimbabwe expressed its desire to reduce poverty through other strategies outside agriculture, agrarian reforms and the promotion of higher levels of economic growth. A brief discussion of some of these strategies is provided in the following sections.

2.8.1 Improving access to water

As with unequal land distribution, patterns of water access and use for productive purposes are related to historical imbalances whereby most public (surface) water has been developed or allocated for large–scale commercial irrigation (GOZ, 2003). Access to water in an agrarian economy such as that of Zimbabwe is central to reducing poverty (Water, Engineering and Development Centre (WEDC, 2005). Provision of water for productive use is therefore, one of the GOZ's current poverty reduction strategies.

2.8.2 Health and education policy

Table 1.2 shows the policies adopted during the 1980s. The policies were formulated in order to develop the health and education sectors. Also, they were meant to improve the level of resources allocated to previously disadvantaged groups in rural areas and the urban poor. Improvements in health and education indicators were realized up to 1990.

A reversal of policies during the ESAP era saw rates of poverty in Zimbabwe doubling between 1995 and 2003 (MPSLSW, 2006). Furthermore, negative economic growth made it difficult for the GOZ to raise enough revenue to invest in health and education. A combination of these and other factors culminated in a decline in the level of availability and quality of health and education services in the country, in particular for the poor. As a result, Zimbabwe lost considerable ground on its MDG on poverty (GOZ, 2007). As highlighted in Table 1.2 a decline in social indicators such as health and education amounts to a loss in social capital investments.

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2.8.3 Drought relief policy

The adverse effects of recurring droughts contributed to economic decline and increased poverty in Zimbabwe (UNDP, 2004). In response, the National Policy on Drought Management (NPDM) was developed (GOZ, 1998). Linked to this policy were strategies and programmes aimed at drought relief, recovery and preparedness to combat drought. In Australia, Alston and Kent (2004) observe that drought induced outmigration from farms represent a loss of social capital. Commenting on the same subject, Hagan, MacMillan, and Wheaton (1996) concede that migration destroys socially structured relations between individuals in formations such as families, schools, neighbourhoods that are sources of social capital. Thus, it can be argued that drought mitigation strategies might be partly motivated by an explicit concern to prevent unplanned and disruptive migrations that destroy social capital.

2.8.4 Gender-specific factors of poverty

Pochum (2001) observes that women constitute the majority among the poor and illiterate people. The same author argues that gender biases that reduce women's opportunities in education, skills development, employment, asset ownership and participation in community affairs cause widespread poverty among women. This view is supported by observations in Zimbabwe (MPSLSW, 2006), which establish that, in general women are poorer than men. For example, women accessed about 15 % of land on offer during the agrarian reform exercise (Multi-Donor Trust Fund-Zimbabwe, 2009). However, the Short-Term Economic Stabilisation Programme (STERP) introduced in 2009 places special attention to equality and the central role of women through encouraging mainstreaming and appropriate targeting so as to ensure food security and poverty reduction (AGRA, 2009). Supporting the role of women in this way was likely to have a higher social multiplier effect on development in Zimbabwe (Fletschner and Carter, 2008).

2.8.5 Agrarian reform as a poverty reduction strategy

Agrarian reform which entails reforming access to land and bestowing land rights is considered central to development policies in poor countries (World Bank, 2006; Haroon

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Akram-Lodhi, 2007). Cousins (2000) attributes to the crucial role of agrarian reform in alleviating poverty and achieving long-term stability in South Africa. On the other hand, Zimbabwe's agrarian sector has largely been influenced by the government's desire to redress colonial (1890-1980) imbalances in land ownership patterns (GOZ, 2003). Socially, agrarian reforms intended to address equity in the distribution of land with the long-term effect of ameliorating poverty among the rural populace (Masiiwa and Chipungu, 2004).Supporting this view, Moyo(1998) associates the growth of poverty in the country with an irrational inherited colonial land policy that undermined the growth of rural incomes. The ownership imbalances have largely been rectified through the land reform programme initiated at independence and reached a peak during the 2000-2002 period.

According to Sachikonye (2004), agrarian reforms came in two phases. Between 1980 and 1997, the GOZ implemented the first of the two–phased programme. The first phase was slow but orderly. It resulted in the transfer of 3.6 million hectares from large-scale commercial White farmers to 71 000 Black smallholder farmers. The second phase (2000-2002) was comprehensive though disorderly and controversial. Eleven million hectares were confiscated from about 4 000 White farmers and given to an estimated 127 000 smallholder farmers and about 72 00 Black large-scale farmers.

The Multi-Donor Trust Fund-Zimbabwe (2009) reports that the current land ownership pattern of 33 million hectares reserved for agricultural production is such that 98 % of the farmers are smallholder semi-commercial producers; 1.75 %, small to medium-scale commercial producers and 0.4 %, large-scale commercial producers. One of the negative impacts of the agrarian reform programme was that all the productive sectors, especially agriculture suffered significant decline.

According to Pazvakavambwa (2009), the decrease in the performance of the agriculture sector was largely due to poor organization of the land redistribution programme where people with little experience or not interested in farming were allowed to occupy productive land. This contributed to severe under-utilization of land resources as shown in Table 2.1 and inevitably, low agricultural production (FAO, 2008).

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Even though it is too early to comment on the long-term impact of the recent agrarian reform, its impact can be deduced. While the land made available to the Black majority opened potential economic opportunities for them, failure to utilise it (see Table 2.1) productively, droughts and lack of skills and knowledge may lead to the persistence of rural food insecurity, poverty and erosion of social capital.

2.9 The Importance of Agriculture in Developing Countries

In this section the important role of growth in agriculture in reducing poverty and promoting or expanding other sectors of the economy is discussed. In addition, the significant contribution of smallholder farmers to growth of the agricultural sector and reducing poverty rates are highlighted.

Several authors (Botha, 2001; UNDP, 2003; Lipton, 2006; Anriquez and Stimoulis, 2007) allude to evidence which suggests that continued investment in agricultural development by developing countries and particularly in food staples and the smallholder farming sector is unlikely to yield development. According to Hazell (2007), some agricultural sceptics argue that in an era of globalization, trade liberalization, changing market structures and demand, and ample world food supplies, poor countries should now downplay the importance of food staples and small farms. Instead, they should focus on commercial farms, higher-value agricultural produce, and rural income diversification through migration and non-farm development.

Even though this may be the case, agriculture still plays a crucial role in kick-starting economic growth and reducing poverty and hunger in developing economies (Weatherspoon, Cacho and Christy, 2001; Rigg, 2005; World Bank, 2007). According to Anriquez and Stimoulis (2007), some of the first arguments in favour of agriculture as a vehicle for development were placed by Lewis (in the early 1950s) and Johnston and Mellor (early 1960s). Respectively, they recognized its important role in development and were first to note that successful industrialization experiences were usually preceded by periods of dynamic agricultural growth.

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Table2.1 Farm sectors, land distribution and utilisation patterns in Zimbabwe (2006-2007)

Sector	No. of farmers	Arable land holding (ha)	Total arable land (ha)	Cultivated land (ha)	% land utilization
Communal(smallholder farmers owning an average of 15hectares of land)	1 132 311	2.2	2 491 084	1 924 340	77
Old Resettlement(smallholder farmers with an average of 51hectares of land)	159 985	5	799 925	241 102	30
A1(Newly resettled smallholder farmers with an average of 40 hectares of land)	145 000	5	725 000	357 134	49
A2(Newly resettled commercial farmers owning an average of 71 hectares of land)	15 540	Variable		160 609	
Small-scale commercial (colonial era small scale farms owned by blacks with an average land holding of 175 ha)	29 902	Variable	709 966	115 636	55
Large-scale commercial (Remaining commercial white farmers and black farmers with an average land size of 695 hectares),	920	Variable		112 541	
Total	**1 483 658**		**4 725975**	**2 911 362**	**62**

Source: Adapted from FAO (2008) and Multi-Donor Trust Fund-Zimbabwe -Zimbabwe (2009)

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Nowadays, there is growing emphasis on 'pro-poor growth'. This refers to an increase in average income or purchasing power that is also accompanied by improved distribution (Anriquez and Stimoulis, 2007). In addition, such growth must be biased towards the poor (Klasen, 2007). According to Pochum (2001), growth in all countries needs to be pro-poor. This would ensure that there is sustainable poverty reduction.

Evidence suggesting that growth through sustainable agricultural production is more pro-poor than non-farm in poverty-stricken rural areas is strong (Lipton, 2006). There is also ample evidence suggesting that agricultural growth is effective in reducing poverty. In Chile, for example, the dramatic pro-poor role of agricultural growth tends to improve all measures of poverty with the head count falling by about 7.3 % as a result of a 4.5 % increase in agricultural output (Lopez and Anriquez, 2004). According to the World Bank (2007), China's rapid growth in agriculture was responsible for a decrease in rural poverty from 53 % in 1981 to 8 % in 2001. Given this evidence, pro–poor growth should be concerned with increasing agricultural productivity and incomes, in particular in the small-scale agricultural sector.

In Zimbabwe, government support to smallholder farming in the 1980s resulted in a 'mini' green revolution (Kinsey, 1999). The 'mini revolution' was initially accompanied by an increase in yields in the smallholder farming sector with an accompanying huge positive impact on poverty reduction (Alumira and Rusike, 2005). The same authors attribute the success of the revolution to a favourable mix of policies, institutions and political support. Such policies included the development and availability of high performance technologies, human capital development and physical infrastructure such as roads, telecommunications, markets, small dams and irrigation facilities as well as farmer support institutions which facilitated access to credit, input and product markets.

Apart from having a large impact on poverty, the effects of agricultural growth are much greater than that of expanding other sectors in the economy (Department for International Development (DFID, 2005). Lipton (2006) argues that historically, agricultural expansion preceded non-farm growth and accompanied reduction in initial mass poverty in developing Europe, America and Japan in the 18th and 19th Centuries. The World Bank (2007) acknowledges that agriculture is an engine of economic growth and represents a major force for poverty reduction. It is the World Bank's contention that

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countries such as China and India have now come to depend increasingly on non-farm growth only after going through successful agricultural revolutions. On the other hand, Hazell (2007) stresses that, in the majority of cases, the countries that have failed to achieve an agricultural revolution remain trapped in poverty, hunger and economic stagnation.

Lipton (2006) points out that it pays more to invest in agriculture because capital costs per extra workplace, in terms of self-employment or hired work, are relatively low in the sector. Bautista, Thomas, Muir-Leresche and Lofgrem (2002) make an almost similar observation. These authors note that the demand stimulus arising from increased incomes of poor households (coming mostly from smallholder farming) in Zimbabwe will favour labour intensive, domestically produced goods and services over capital intensive and imported products. This might help reduce overall poverty.

According to Lipton (2006), poor people have few assets of which land is the major type with the largest share. According to this analogy, poverty reduction is, therefore, more likely to be achieved by increasing returns to land than to other assets, provided land ownership is not more biased against the poor than the other assets. As highlighted in earlier sections of this thesis, the agrarian reform programme in Zimbabwe and the restructured government expenditure towards smallholder agriculture in the early 1980s were pro-equity policy measures designed to trigger positive distribution of income. Consequently, the early phase of agrarian reforms in the 1980s produced a real agricultural output growth rate of about 4 % per annum up to 1987, with much of the growth emanating from smallholder farmers (Kanyenze, 2004). Rigg (2005) agrees with this view and notes that the solution to global poverty lies in revitalizing farming and land redistribution.

The key development issue arising from the above analysis is that enhancing participation of smallholders in agricultural activities will contribute to poverty reduction. This view is consistent with the observations of the World Bank (2007). Therefore, this means that the GOZ should concentrate resources such as credit, extension and infrastructure development in the smallholder sector in order to achieve higher levels of agricultural production. Such a strategy often increases social capital (Bird and Shepherd, 2003). Arguably, restating policies such as those implemented in the early

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80s could increase social capital investments and contribute to poverty reduction in the smallholder farming sector.

2.10 Extension in the Smallholder Agricultural Sector

When Zimbabwe attained independence in 1980, the government sought to redirect support services to better serve the needs of smallholder farmers (Connolly and Hagmann, 2000). According to LINDS Agricultural Services (LAS, 1999), these reforms resulted in a 4 % per annum growth in the smallholder sector. In addition, this sector became the major producer of maize (66 %), cotton (70 %) and small grains (88 %). As highlighted in section 1.4, of this thesis, the redirection of support services amounted to increasing social capital investments in the smallholder farming sector. This argument finds support from Kilpatrick and Falk (2001) who argue that government extension services are a deliberate attempt to build bridging social capital. However, it must be pointed out that the dwindling budgetary allocations for the national extension system (Connolly and Hagmann, 2000) which coincided with the introduction of ESAP in the early 90s led to a stagnation of growth. In social capital terms this amounted to an erosion of social capital. As a result, many smallholder farmers gradually became poorer (MPSLSW, 2006).

2.11 Defining Social Capital

Sections 1.1 and 1.4-1.5 provided the growing evidence on the potential role of social capital in stimulating development in poor countries. Arguments for the need for placing this at the heart of reducing poverty in Zimbabwe were advanced. The purpose of this section is to present a contextual definition of social capital that would enhance understanding of its increasing importance as an intangible and critical resource for poverty reduction and sustainable development. In addition, issues relating to measurement of social capital and its role in farmer organisations are highlighted.

At international level, discussions in the literature remain inconclusive on what social capital is (Sabatini, 2009). One reason could be that the term has diverse intellectual origins and various meanings as extensive reviews on the subject suggest (Wallis et al., 2004; Stimson, Western, Baum and Gellecum, 2003; Shideler and Kraybill, 2009;

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Heenan, 2010). The most common and widely used definitions of social capital are those of Coleman (1988, 1990) and Putnam (2000).

Coleman defines social capital as a set of resources that is inherent in the structure of relationships among people and allows them to share their knowledge and skills, or human capital. On the other hand, Putnam views social capital as stocks of social trust, norms and networks among citizens that can improve the efficiency of communities and societies.

Putnam's approach to defining social capital distinguishes itself from that of Coleman in that he regards it as a phenomenon associated with the community (Lisakka and Alanen, 2006). Also, he views it as part of the social fabric that promotes trust and cooperation between individuals, which provides a foundation for positive collective action (Heenan, 2010). In contrast, Coleman's perspective on social capital is based on the notion that it either belongs to individuals or organisations, a view that other authors (Bourdieu, 1986; Fan, 2008) share.

With the development of the internet, new definitions of social capital are emerging. For example Steinfield, Ellison and Lampe (2008) are of the view that relationships among young adults and peers which generate offline benefits constitute social capital. From another angle, the World Bank (2001) takes a broader view on social capital that also accounts for institutions that are active in society. In the case of Zimbabwe, the subject of social capital is not widely researched and applied as current literature bears testimony. However, a study by Bird and Shepherd (2003) on social capital in Zimbabwe characterised the term as including membership of formal groups, traditional societies and informal borrowing and lending relationships.

Despite diverse opinion on the meaning of social capital, some authors (Lisakka and Alanen 2006; Sabatini, 2009 and Von Schnurbein, 2010) conclude that it is commonly used to refer to networks, norms and trust. A content analysis of eleven definitions of social capital (Pawar, 2006) reveals that in these definitions, trust, networks, collective action and norms are its major features. Accordingly, Besser (2009) and von Schnurbein (2010) refer to networks, norms and trust as the core components of social capital. Embracing this conceptual understanding, this study considered social capital as

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referring to networks, trust and norms of reciprocity. The contextual meanings of these terms were provided in section 1.9.

2.11.1 Bonding and bridging social capital

Social capital is also classified either as bonding or bridging. Bonding social capital consists of connections or strong ties among homogenous individuals and groups. It focuses on normative aspects such as trust, unity and reciprocity within the connections (Stimson, Western, Baum and Van Gellecum, 2003; Mulale and Flora, 2006; Barros and Nunes, 2008; Jones, 2010). Stimson et al. (2003), and Fidrmuc and Gerxhani (2008) describe bridging social capital as a measure of ties between individuals and the capacity of people within one particular network to draw on others when in need. Mulale and Flora (2006) add that bridging social capital connects diverse groups within and outside a community to each other.

With respect to bonding social capital, Wallis et al. (2004) and Mulale and Flora (2006) acknowledge its role as a source of access to resources that allows communities to 'get by', a notion which Putnam (2000) initially advanced. However, the same authors are quick to point out that this form of social capital can place considerable non-economic claims on members' sense of obligation and commitment, with negative economic consequences.

Bridging social capital is considered to be a supporting framework in that it helps communities to 'get ahead' (Edwards, 2003). This form of social capital is described by the same author as useful in connecting to external assets and for information diffusion. It is more useful to individuals seeking to 'get ahead' than being stronger ties to relatives and close friends.

Kilpatrick and Falk (2001) describe strong ties formed from dense homogeneous networks (bonding social capital) as the sociological 'super glue' best suited for providing the social and psychological support its members need for 'getting by' in their day to day activities. In Zimbabwe, such kinds of network ties (or bonding social capital) manifest themselves in the form of membership to some tribal and ethnic-based associations/groups, for example burial societies and social soccer clubs. In addition, use

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of such terms as "*wezhira*" and "homeboy" (meaning from the same home area) as well as membership to some religious sects can also be considered to epitomise some form of bonding social capital. Membership of such groups and/or associations usually attracts some benefits that allow members to 'get-by'. However, they can also be a source of some undesirable behaviour such as arranged marriages that some apostolic sects in the country practice. The practice of "*nhimbe or ilima*", a form of collective action for sharing agricultural labour is also a form of bonding social capital that eases labour shortages at critical times and brings about economic development at the local level.

At national level, the formation of strong trade unions and African political parties in the 1950s and 1960s, which culminated in the liberation struggle that brought about independence in 1980, was based on some form of bridging social capital. Many Non-governmental Organisations(NGO's) and civic organisations have formed networks such as the Zimbabwe Aids Network, Women's Coalition, the National Association of Non-governmental Organisations NANGO) and the Zimbabwe Farmers Union in an attempt to enhance their bridging social capital. This gives them the power to leverage their bargaining power and enhance their access to resources and decision-making structures.

There is a general agreement in literature that a combination of both forms of social capital (bonding and bridging) is required to open up opportunities for economic advancement (Putnam, 2000; Agnitsch, Flora and Ryan, 2006; Woodhouse, 2006). The challenge however, relates to how to achieve the optimum mix of both forms of social capital that could facilitate change and progress.

2.12 Measuring Social Capital

Narayan and Pritchett (2000: 170) contend that 'we cannot examine the effects of what we mean by social capital, only what we measure.' Focusing on the extent that wages and salaries reflect the social worth of people, Dasgupta (2000) concludes that social capital is part of measurable human capital. However, there is relatively little experience of measuring social capital, particularly in developing countries (Harpham, Grant and Thomas, 2002). Nonetheless, there are now various studies that allow the identification of some issues that should be considered when measuring it.

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Table 2.2 summarizes some of the approaches that have been used to measure social capital in various countries. Most of the measurement studies were mainly designed for use in developed countries. Because of this, their application in the Zimbabwean setting may be problematic. Irrespective of this weakness, the approaches offer some relevant theoretical insights into the measurement of social capital

2.13 Relationship between Gender and Social Capital

Gender is an important concept in development practice. It helps provide an understanding and means of tackling social inequality (Luttrel and Moser, 2004). The World Health Organisation (WHO, 1998) considers 'gender' to mean women's and men's roles and responsibilities that are socially determined. Gender-based differences arise from specific socialisation experiences where for example the feminine role is thought to encourage the display of emotional dependence on others, whereas the masculine gender role puts on strength and individuality (Hetty van Emmerik, 2006). In addition, Molyneux (2002) makes note of a widely-held assumption that depict women as naturally predisposed to serve in their families or communities due to their reproductive role. In practice, such normative assumptions about women roles lead to development policies of questionable merit.

Luttrel and Moser (2004) define gender equality as the absence of discrimination on the basis of a person's sex in opportunities and the allocation of resources and benefits or access to services. With this in mind, in 1995 the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) coined the Gender Development Index (GDI) as an attempt to account for gender inequality. Also, the Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) was introduced to account for gender inequality in opportunities in economic and political areas (Sanusi, 2008). There are many forms of inequality between households and groups in society such as race, class and ethnicity which influence gender inequality (Smith, 2000; Luttrel and Moser, 2004). Also, Luttrel and Moser (2004) single out intra-household age, marital status and physical ability as factors of gender.

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Table2.2 Some approaches to measuring social capital

Reference	Method/Approach	Main Dimension
Harpham, Grant and Thomas, 2002	Adapted SCAT Designed for Application in low income developing countries with low levels of literacy	Distinguishes between cognitive and structural components of Social Capital
Narayan and Pritchett, 2000	Social Capital and Poverty Survey (SCPS)	Membership in groups, values, attitude, trust and social cohesion
Policy Research Institute (PRI), 2005	Uses communication, network analysis, institutional and synergy approaches	Assesses participation in clubs, networks, service , political, legal groups
Ruston and Akinrodone, (2002)	Social capital Question Bank Shows the wording of questions on social capital	Reference map on how to use the social capital question bank
Simpura, Alanen and Limonen(2003)	A tool for assessment for measurement of Social Capital	Improves learning about what should be known about the measurement of Social Capital
Spellerberg, (2001)	Defines a measurement framework that can be used in the New Zealand	Norms and effective sanctions, Authority relations Obligations and expectations between actors
World Bank (2002)	Integrated Questionnaire for measurement of Social Capital	Structural and cognitive dimensions of social capital

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Consideration of gender is pertinent in the current study because women and men do not have an equal level of social capital (Seierstad and Opsahl, 2011). This study focused on the structure of the relationship between women and men as it relates to the distribution of social capital. Social capital exists in the relations among people (Coleman, 1988).This being the case, it can thus be assumed that social capital resources such as information, knowledge or material resources needed to achieve better poverty outcomes do not reside within the individual (intrapersonal resources). Instead, the resources reside in the structure of his or her social networks.

This implies that in order to gain access to social capital an individual must be related to others (Putnam, 2000; Eriksson et al., 2010). Besides, being female is considered a social risk factor that can hinder development (Goksen and Cemalcilar, 2010). This provides justification for exploring the possibility of a gendered pattern in the distribution of social capital endowments in smallholder farming communities in Guruve District of Zimbabwe.

2.14 The Role of Farmer Organisations in Social Capital Formation and Sustenance

The role of farmer organisations as cradles for social capital in smallholder farming communities in Guruve District is explored. It is assumed that farmer organisations have the potential, as platforms for collective action, which can enable members to enhance their economic and social situations. This results in reduced poverty rates. In this respect, farmer organisations are increasingly being valued for representing the crucial social capital needed for transforming the agricultural sector in Africa (Wennink and Heemskerk, 2006).

The term farmer organisation is considered to mean groups of rural producers of agricultural goods and services coming together to form organisations that are membership-based (composed of and run by farmers themselves), to pursue specific common interests of their members (Hussein, 2000; Heemskerk and Wennink, 2004). Wennink and Heemskerk (2006) make a distinction between "farmer" and "producer" organisations. Farmer organisations represent persons managing land, labour,

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equipment and input knowledge for agricultural production while producer organisations operate in markets with a commodity-based focus.

The Government of Zimbabwe (GOZ, 2009) recognises the importance of farmers organising themselves into self-reliant associations (and unions) capable of providing platforms for research, technical and marketing support for their members. According to the Multi-Donor Trust Fund-Zimbabwe (2009), there are four main farmer organisations in Zimbabwe. The Commercial Farmer's Union (CFU) represents large-scale commercial farmers. There is also the Zimbabwe Farmers Union (ZFU), which represents smallholder or communal farmers. Another farmer organisation, namely the Zimbabwe Commercial Farmers Union (ZCFU) (formerly the Indigenous Commercial Farmers Union) represents the indigenous commercial farmers. The Zimbabwe National Farmers Union (ZNFU) is an umbrella organisation that represents the interests of all the farmers in the country.

According to Haddad and Maluccio (2003), social capital in the form of membership in associations or organisations has a positive effect on household income. Carloni (2005) stresses that farmer organisations form the basis of social capital through their capacity to establish networks, group memberships and links with other stakeholders beneficial to their members. Wennink and Heemskerk (2006) support this view by asserting that through collective action (social capital) and participation in local platforms farmer organisations can establish partnerships with other actors for service provision in various areas. These services include provision of information and training technologies, credit and savings schemes as well as defending members' interests. Thus, farmer organisations can be one of the key mechanisms for providing a wide range of services to members through the inherent or imparted social capital.

Marongwe and Drimie (2006) observe that the nature and function of some farmer organizations are sometimes naturally exclusive of the poor. For instance, farmer organizations in Zimbabwe historically represented the three major classes of large-scale commercial farmers, small-scale commercial and communal farmers, in a descending order of their wealth status. The biggest of the four unions, which is the Zimbabwe Farmers' Union, espouses to represent the interests of more than one million smallholder farmers has an actual coverage of only 2 % of the claimed membership base (Africa

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Institute for Policy Analysis and Development: AIPAD, 2008). According to Marongwe and Drimie (2006), the majority of the ZFU members are in wealthier categories.

The example given above exposes the weakness of national farmer unions in Zimbabwe in having the poor on board. Moreover, national unions in the country lack capacity in financial, human and organisational terms to represent farmers (AGRA, 2009). Worse still, national farmer unions face a host of other problems which include loss of membership, reduced revenue from traditional sources (licence fees and levies) and operational difficulties associated with the bad macro-economic situation (AIPAD, 2008).

As a result of the above mentioned problems, farmer unions' structures in Zimbabwe are weak or hardly functional. This is particularly true with respect to the ZFU, ZCFU and ZNFU. It is also worth noting that the land and agrarian reform programme also weakened the historically strong CFU structures. The foregoing scenario is significant in making decisions on whether to work with existing farmer organizations or form new ones, particularly when initiating new interventions or agricultural support programmes.

Marongwe and Drimie (2006) point out that it is not healthy to have a few dominant farmer groups, unions or associations that serve the interests of farmers in production, marketing policy and advocacy, as is the case in Zimbabwe today. This calls for a situation that allows for multiple institutions that address the needs of smallholder farmers, a development that would pave the way for competition in the provision of services to farmers at the grassroots community level.

The Farmers' Association of Community self-Help Investment Groups (FACHIG) is one of the many grassroots-based institutions representing smallholder farmers in Zimbabwe outside the four national unions described above. A full description of FACHIG was presented in Chapter 1. Apart from acting as a representative body for farmers, FACHIG provides a range of services to its members with the aim of improving agricultural productivity and reducing poverty.

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2.15 Theoretical Framework Underpinning the Study

Poverty is viewed as a multi-dimensional phenomenon (Mulale and Flora, 2006; United Nations, 2008; Haughton and Khandker, 2009). Conceptualising poverty in this manner is considered holistic because it addresses both monetary and non-moetary aspects of it (Wikan, 2004). This study is based on the premise that the existence of relatively high levels of social capital in rural communities directly and positively impacts on the levels of economic development and poverty (Woodhouse, 2006). Although this argument is not new (Bjornskov, 2006 and Woodhouse, 2006), the ground breaking studies of Coleman (1988) and Putnam (1993) reinvigorated interest and widespread attention to social capital as a key driving force behind long-term economic development and poverty reduction. Studies carried out in Australia (Kilpatrick and Falk, 2001; Woodhouse, 2006), Europe (Fidrmuc and Gerxhani, 2008) and South Africa (Mubangizi, 2003) allude to the fact that social capital is a powerful concept that explains economic development and poverty reduction. Even though that may be the case a growing body of litetature(Gidengil et al.,2003; Lowndes, 2004; Eriksson et al.,2010), questions the gender neutrality of the social capital discourse. This study considered the importance of gender and its effects on the distribution of social capital across sexes.

2.16 Summary of Review of Literature

The review of literature suggests that there is considerable global attention on poverty reduction. In this regard, Zimbabwe is one of the many countries that adopted the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) on poverty. The country seeks to meet its MDG target of reducing by half the number of poor persons (defined as the proportion of people living on less than $1 a day) by 2015.

Considerable attention was given in the review of literature to the role of agriculture as the engine of growth and development in rural areas. It was noted that Zimbabwe's "success" story of the 1980s showed that agriculture had the potential to lift the country out of poverty irrespective of the fact that benefits accrued to only a minority of people.

Despite the efforts made to reduce poverty through a range of strategies implemented since independence in 1980, poverty continues to increase. Limitations in the policy

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making efforts strengthen the case for identifying and implementing alternative poverty reduction strategies such as building and sustenance of social capital. Such strategies are conspicuously absent in all the poverty reduction strategies implemented in the country since 1990.

Although there is considerable evidence pointing to the immense contribution of social capital to poverty reduction in many regions of the world, in Zimbabwe little is known about the potential contribution of social capital to poverty reduction. This fact justified a study to investigate the relationship (if any) between social capital and poverty in smallholder farming areas.

The potential role of farmer organisations in Zimbabwe as cradles of social capital formation and sustenance was also highlighted in this review of literature. The failure of the existing farmer organisations to fully accommodate the poor in their programmes was identified as a major weakness. This led to the conclusion that alternative forms of farmer organisations that enhance social capital forma tion and sustenance among the poor were needed.

The review of literature revealed that women and men accrued social capital in different ways. This implied that social capital endowments of women could be different from those of men. Considering the potential that social capital has in contributing to poverty reduction, a study to explore the gendered pattern of endowments could help shed light on its effects across the sexes.

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3.1 Introduction

In Chapters 1 and 2, it is reported that Zimbabwe experienced unprecedented growth in poverty during the past 20 years. Recurring droughts, floods and failure to achieve the growth objectives of the "Economic Structural Adjustment Program (ESAP) of 1991-1995" were some of the factors that contributed to the worsening of poverty (GOZ, 2009). It is widely claimed (Bird and Shepherd, 2003; Magaramombe, 2004; Masiiwa, 2004; Mudhara, 2004) that implementation of the controversial agrarian and land reform programme since the year 2000 and poor governance worsened the situation through creating a protracted political, social and economic impasse that even today continues to exacerbate poverty and vulnerability in the country.

Establishment of the Government of National Unity (GNU) in February 2009 somewhat eased the political, social and economic downturn facing the country and rekindled the hope for recovery, development and growth. Besides the challenge of stabilising the economy and controlling unprecedented hyperinflation, it was crucial to reduce the worsening poverty. However, the unavailability of up-to-date statistics on poverty trends required as a reference point when developing interventions, presented a huge challenge for the GNU. Since the last poverty study was carried out in 2003 (Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare: MPSLSW, 2006), it is clear that statistics on poverty in Zimbabwe are outdated. Such studies should be undertaken every three years (Spence, 2005). Anyanwu (2005) and Spence (2005) stress the need for a country to have an up-to-date profile of the poor based on several policy and intervention-oriented dimensions such as income, consumption, nutrition, education and health.

The state of affairs presented above justified the need for an empirical study to establish current poverty rates that could serve as a basis for understanding, analysing and tackling the prevailing poverty issues in Zimbabwe. This study was undertaken in Guruve District located in north-eastern Zimbabwe. Income Poverty, human development index (HDI) and human poverty index (HPI) were adopted as measures of poverty following the

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approach used in the Poverty Assessment Study Survey (PASS) carried out in the District by the MPSLSW (2006).

3.2 Description of the Study Area

Guruve is one of the eight Districts that constitute Mashonaland Central Province of Zimbabwe (refer to Figure 3.1). It shares borders with Mashonaland West Province to the west, Zambia to the north, Mozambique to the north-east, Muzarabani District to the east and Mazowe to the south. Guruve District is situated on coordinates $16^0\ 20'\ 0''$ S $30^0\ 35'\ 0''$ E and lies at an altitude of 446-1600 m. It is about 150 km to the north-east of Harare, which is the capital city of Zimbabwe.

In 2007, Guruve District was subdivided into two, namely Upper (now known as Guruve District) and Lower Guruve (Mbire District). This study was conducted in all the 19 wards which make up the reconstituted Guruve District. Generally, a Ward comprises 150–2 700 households and is an administrative unit within a District (Central Statistical Office: CSO, 2002). In turn, a Ward is sub-divided into Enumeration Areas (EAs), which are predetermined population clusters that the CSO demarcates for use in national household surveys. The EAs are relevant for the purpose of this study.

Based on the Vincent and Thomas (1961) classification, Guruve District lies in natural or agro-ecological region (NR) II. The Vincent and Thomas (1961) classification system demarcates the whole country into five agro-ecological zones, taking into account climatic conditions, soil types and appropriate farming systems. In general, the quality of climate (including amount of rainfall received) and intensity of agricultural production decreases from NR 1 to V. Natural Region II is suitable for intensive farming systems based on crops and/or livestock and receives moderately high rainfall (750-1 000 mm). Agriculture is the major economic driver of the District.

Despite having good climatic conditions and a high agricultural potential, Guruve District is characteristically poor. Many farming communities live a subsistence type of life. Its HDI was 0.398 in 1995 and had dropped to 0.335 by 2003 (MPSLSW, 2006). In addition, the District's HPI increased from 28 % to 38.4 % between 1995 and 2003. This showed that poverty was worsening.

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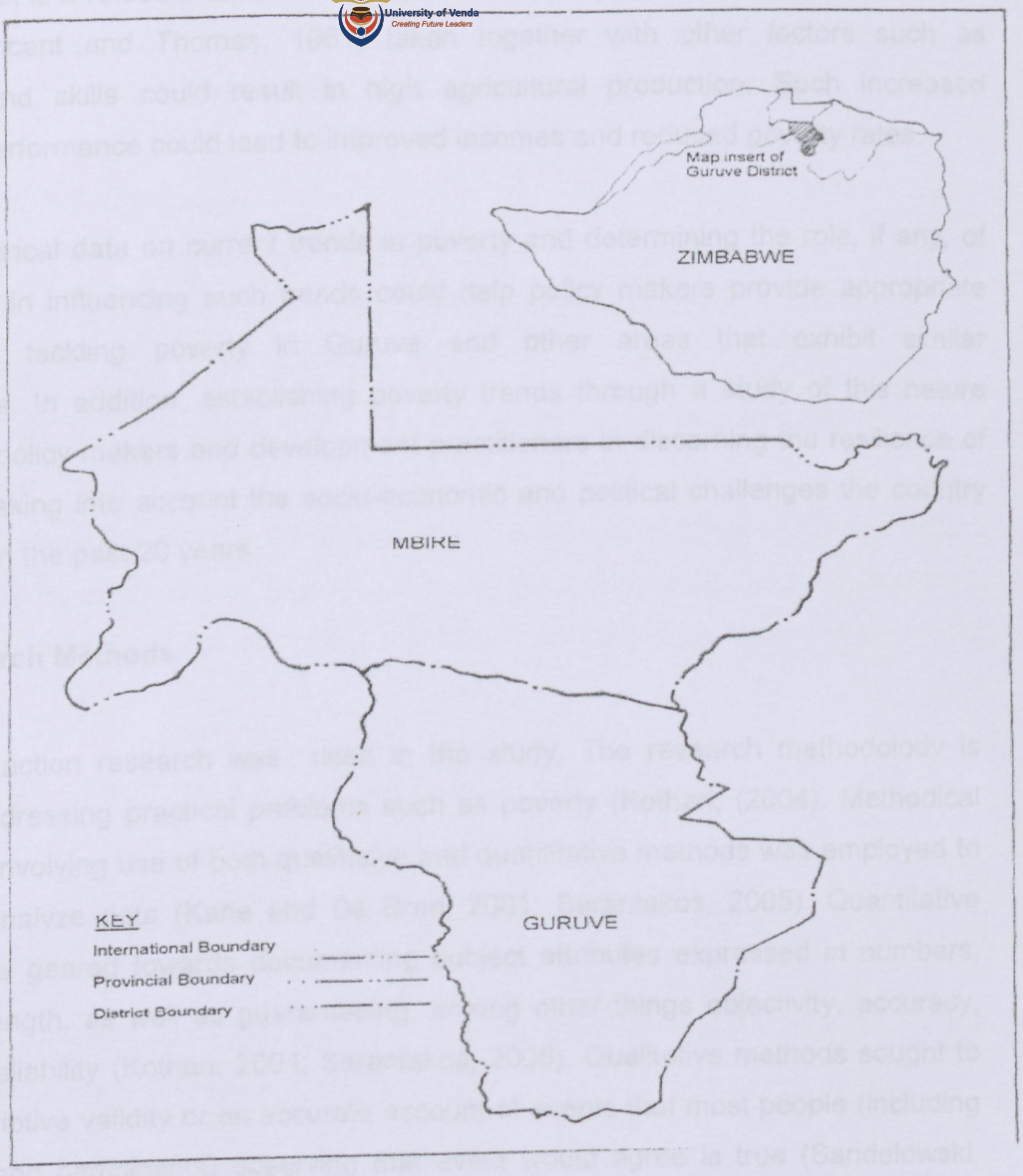

Source: Department of Agricultural Technical and Extension Services (2011)

Figure 3.1 Map Showing the Reconstituted Guruve District and Insert of the District in Mashonaland Central Province and Zimbabwe Maps.

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Guruve District is a relevant case for a study of this nature because its good agricultural potential (Vincent and Thomas, 1961) taken together with other factors such as knowledge and skills could result in high agricultural production. Such increased agricultural performance could lead to improved incomes and reduced poverty rates.

Deriving empirical data on current trends in poverty and determining the role, if any, of social capital in influencing such trends could help policy makers provide appropriate solutions for tackling poverty in Guruve and other areas that exhibit similar characteristics. In addition, establishing poverty trends through a study of this nature would assist policy makers and development practitioners in discerning the resilience of the District, taking into account the socio-economic and political challenges the country experienced in the past 20 years.

3.3 Research Methods

Participatory action research was used in the study. The research methodolody is usefull for addressing practical problems such as poverty (Kothari, (2004). Methodical triangulation involving use of both qualitative and quantitative methods was employed to gather and analyze data (Kane and De Brun, 2001; Sarantakos, 2005). Quantitative methods were geared towards documenting subject attributes expressed in numbers, extent or strength, as well as guaranteeing, among other things objectivity, accuracy, validity and reliability (Kothari, 2004; Sarantakos, 2005). Qualitative methods sought to provide descriptive validity or an accurate account of events that most people (including researchers and participants) observing that event would agree is true (Sandelowski, 2000). A number of instruments and techniques were used to gather qualitative data. These included documentary analysis, wealth ranking, seasonal calendars, resource maps, transect walks, participant/direct observation, Focus Group Discussions (FGDs), Key Informant Interviews (KIIs) and Structured Interviews.

3.3.1 Population and sampling procedures

Household heads served as the respondents in this study. A sample size of 385 households out of 23 694 households constituting the reorganised Guruve District was determined. This was done using the formula presented below (Cochrane, 1963).

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An acceptable margin of error (ME) was defined to be 5 %. The required sample size (N) for this degree of precision was determined using the following formula:

$N = [Z^2\pi(1-\pi)] \div [ME^2]$, where

N	=	required sample size
Z	=	z-value for desired level of confidence
π	=	population proportion
ME	=	acceptable margin of error in confidence interval.

A conservative or safest value of the proportion of the population (π) of 0.50 was adopted in order to determine the sample size. The minimum sample size (N) for a 5 % margin of error (ME), around the sample proportion in the 95 % Confidence Interval was calculated as follows:

$$N = [(1.96^2)(0.5)(0.5)] \div [0.05^2]$$
$$= (0.9604) \div (0.0025)$$
$$= 384.16$$

Based on the sample calculations shown above, the minimum sample size (N) for the household survey was found to be 385 households.

A two-stage sampling procedure was used. In stage 1, households were grouped according to enumeration areas (EAs). Using the proportion to size probability sampling, 40 EAs were selected. Since the sampling units (EAs in this case) varied considerably in size, it was desirable to use the proportion to size probability sampling method. Use of this method ensured that households located in EAs of different sizes had the same probability of being selected.

Stage 2 involved purposive sampling of the FACHIG-supported households. The purposive sampling method was chosen because it allowed for the inclusion of particular variables, features or characteristics which enabled detailed explanation of the research

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objectives. Again, the proportion to size probability sampling technique was used to select 171 FACHIG-supported households (≈ 43 % of the total sample of 385).

3.3.2 Data collection

Three types of questionnaires, which captured market, household and community-related, data were used. The market questionnaire (Appendix 1) dealt with prices of food and non-food items. Appendix 2 (individual questionnaire) mainly focussed on characteristics of members such as age, sex, marital status, relationship to head of household and orphanhood, education, health, employment, income, consumption expenditure, access to land, agricultural activities, transport and communication. Lastly, the community questionnaire (appendix 3) collected data through focus group discussions (FGDs). Specifically, it was used to collect the profiles of Wards, including health, education, livelihoods and variables essential for characterising poverty. The variables were demography, consumption, expenditure and income.

The principal researcher worked closely with a statistician when pilot-testing all the three questionnaires. Six people (2 women and 4 men) were hired as research assistants. The research assistants comprised three university students (2 undergraduates and 1 Masters). The other three were FACHIG project officers, one from the study district and the other two from other districts in which FACHIG also operated. Apart from participating in the interviews, the resident project officer also assisted with making logistical arrangements and introducing the research team to the respondents. Pilot-testing the data collection instruments provided an opportunity for the research assistants to gain experience in using the data collection tools and also familiarizing with interviewing techniques. In addition, the pilot-testing helped to assess whether the questionnaires attracted reliable responses. After pre-testing, the questionnaires were adjusted taking into consideration the preliminary field observations and experiences.

The primary data collection phase commenced with FGDs, which took about two weeks to complete. Focus groups were used specifically to explore issues and use the results to develop the structured questionnaire. Key informants were identified and interviewed. They included people associated with major government institutions, namely Guruve Rural District Council, traditional leaders, schools, health centres, extension services and

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the Veterinary Services Department. The key informants participated in meetings in which two well-trained research assistants/enumerators per meeting alternated in taking down notes and leading discussions. As this happened, the principal researcher and hired statistician backstopped the whole process. They did this through explaining and making clarifications on problematic aspects of the questionnaires, whenever necessary.

The final part of the fieldwork involved administering a household survey questionnaire to FACHIG-supported and non-FACHIG households. In the case of FACHIG-supported households, interviews took place at pre-arranged meeting sites. In each case, the questionnaire was administered separately to the heads of households or their designated representatives. In order to reduce the chances of households influencing each other's responses, interviewees were requested to leave the meeting site soon after being engaged. Unlike the FACHIG-supported households that were known and could be contacted or invited easily to participate in pre-arranged meetings, non-FACHIG households were individually interviewed at their homesteads.

3.3.3 Derivation of income poverty

Following the steps outlined in Technical Note B of PASS 2003 (MPSLSW, 2006), income poverty was derived. Income poverty was calculated by first deriving the expenditure-based food basket and food poverty line (FPL). A food basket is a bundle of food items expected to meet the minimum energy and nutritional requirements per capita per day (MPSLSW, 2006). The expenditure-based food basket considers the actual patterns of spending by the poor. PASS 2003 recommends that the first 30 items mostly consumed by households regarded as poor form the food basket.

Household consumption and expenditure data were converted to a reference period of October 2009, using the Consumer Price Index (CPI) obtained from the CSO. Food and non-food expenditures were summed up to give total household expenditure. Thereafter, total household expenditure was converted into a per capita measure and the results sorted in ascending order. At this stage, cases whose per capita expenditure occupied the bottom 40 % were selected. It was believed they represented the poorest segment of the studied population.

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The mean monthly per capita expenditure for each food item that the bottom 40 % consumed was calculated. Derivation of the proportion of households consuming each food item followed. Weighted mean expenditures for each food item were obtained as the product of the mean expenditures and the proportion of households consuming the food. The results obtained were then ranked in descending order. Only the top 30 items were selected to represent the expenditure-based food basket. This was in line with the recommendations of PASS 2003 which stipulated that the first 30 items mostly consumed by the poor formed the food basket.

The calorific value of each food item included in the food basket was determined. Per capita calorific values per day were stated using values drawn from the study on "Zimbabwe Food Items and Nutritional Values" (Chitsuku, 1989) and the USDA National Database for Standard Reference of 2010. Using the monthly mean expenditure per capita for all items in the food basket, the FPL was derived. The total kilocalories per day per capita for all food items listed in the food basket were calculated. The sums of the mean monthly expenditure per capita for all items listed in the food basket were obtained. The food poverty line was determined as follows: Total mean monthly expenditure per capita x (2 100 kilocalories ÷ total kilocalories per day per capita).

The Total Consumption Poverty Line (TCPL) was calculated by finding the average of the total expenditures of households whose monthly food expenditure was equal to the FPL. Monthly food expenditures per capita were ranked in ascending order. The median total monthly expenditure per capita for households with food expenditure $\pm$ 5 % around the FPL (taking 1 % intervals at a time until there were five median total monthly expenditures per capita values) was then calculated. An average of the five median totals was then calculated to constitute the TCPL for the sample.

3.3.4 Calculating the Human Poverty Index (HPI) and the Human Development Index (HDI)

The HPI was derived by obtaining the unweighted average of the three indicators used to measure deprivation in a decent standard of living. This was given by the following computation (MPSLSW, 2006): 1/3 x (children <5yrs who are underweight) + 1/3 x

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(population without access to safe water) + 1/3 x (population without access to health care). The HPI was then obtained using the formula given below:

$$HPI = [1/3(P_1\square + P_2\square + P_3\square)]^{1/3}, \text{ where}$$

$P_1\square$ = the probability at birth of not surviving to the age of 40 years;

$P_2\square$ = adult literacy rate; and

$P_3\square$ = unweighted average of indicators of decent a standard of living.

The HDI was computed by determining the minimum and maximum values for expectancy, education and income, all of which are dimensions of life. The performance in each of these dimensions was calculated using the following formula:

Dimension Index = (Actual value – Minimum value) ÷ (Maximum value – Minimum value)

Calculation of a simple average of the indices of the three life dimensions, as shown in the formula below, gave the HDI.

HDI = 1/3(life expectancy index) + 1/3(education index) + 1/3(income index); where:

a) The education index is calculated as 0.67(adult literacy index) + 0.33(average years of schooling); and

b) Income index was calculated using logarithms of annual mean expenditures per capita.

Following the procedures outlined in the PASS 2003, nutrition and life expectancy data used to compute the HDI were obtained from the Multiple Indicator Monitoring Survey (Zimbabwe National Statistical Agency: ZIMSTAT, 2009). From the survey data, adult illiteracy was measured in terms of those adults at least 15 years old who did not complete three years of primary schooling. The proportion of the population without access to safe water was measured in terms of the number of people who indicated their source of water was from an unprotected borehole, unprotected well, river/stream. The number of people obtained was then expressed as a percentage of the total sample size

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to give the proportion of those without access to safe water. The population without access to health care was calculated from the survey data by examining the people who fell ill but did not visit a health facility because it was too far away or they did not have the money. The number obtained was then expressed as a proportion of the sample of the population that fell ill. The average years of schooling was calculated by dividing the total years of schooling by the sample size.

The probability at birth of surviving to age 40 was generated from life following the approach.
From the life table (MPSLSW, 2006),

l_x is the number of survivors at age x;
l_0 is the number of survivors at age of birth and l_{40} is the number of survivors at age 40;and the probability of surviving to age 40=l_{40}/l_0.
Therefore the probability of not surviving to age 40 is 1- l_{40}/l_0

3.3.5 Data analyses

Informational contents of data were summarized using the content analysis technique (Sandelowski, 2000). This process involved listing the key variables by Ward and consolidating the responses to the open-ended questions. The Ward and District profiles obtained during this process were used to generate preliminary hypotheses that could be tested using the household data. Hypotheses that were postulated largely sought to explain some of the quantitative data obtained from the structured household questionnaire.

Data collected from household questionnaires were captured into a template designed using the Statistical Package for Social Scientists (SPSS) version 17.0 for Windows. Data cleaning, verification and further analysis then followed. All the discrete variables were transformed to continuous forms through recoding and assigning numeric values to the responses. During the second step, all the variables were transformed from 'nominal' to 'ordinal' levels of measurement. Nominal levels of measurement used numbers to classify or label categorical data. For example, the variable "sex" was regarded as nominal. Assigning 1 and 0 to denote male and female, respectively, helped to

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distinguish the two sex categories. This adopted "ordinal" level of measurement allowed grouping into separate categories as well as prioritising them.

Frequency tables and cross-tabulations were generated using SPSS. Data generated from the SPSS analysis were used to derive estimates of income poverty, HPI and HDI following steps outlined in sections 3.3.4. Pearson's Chi-square test for independence (Mendenhall and Reinmuth, 1974) was carried out to compare the results for the different categories of respondents in the study.

3.4 Results

In this section, the major findings of the poverty assessment survey conducted in Guruve District are presented. The demographic characteristics of the study sample are highlighted first followed by the results of the income poverty survey. In the last part of this section, poverty rates measured in terms of HDI and HPI are presented.

3.4.1 Demographic characteristics

The average household size was 5.5, with the rate of out-migration being 19.3 %. About 51 % of the interviewees were female. Also, 76 % of the households were male-headed. Almost all (96 %) of the male heads of households were married. In contrast, 23 % of the female heads of households were married. The respective rates of orphanhood, disability and illness for male- and female-headed households were 18 % vs 20 %; 3.9 % vs 3.5 %; and 12 % vs 18 %.

Figure 3.2 depicts the age-sex structure of the respondents. The population pyramid had a wide tapering base, reflecting a population with more males than females for most age groups. Within each sex category, younger people were predominant.

3.4.2 Income poverty

Through this survey, the FPL per capita per month was estimated to be US$10.36. Also, the TCPL was found to be US$19.50. The proportions of households living below the FPL and TCPL were estimated to be 15 % and 56 %, respectively.

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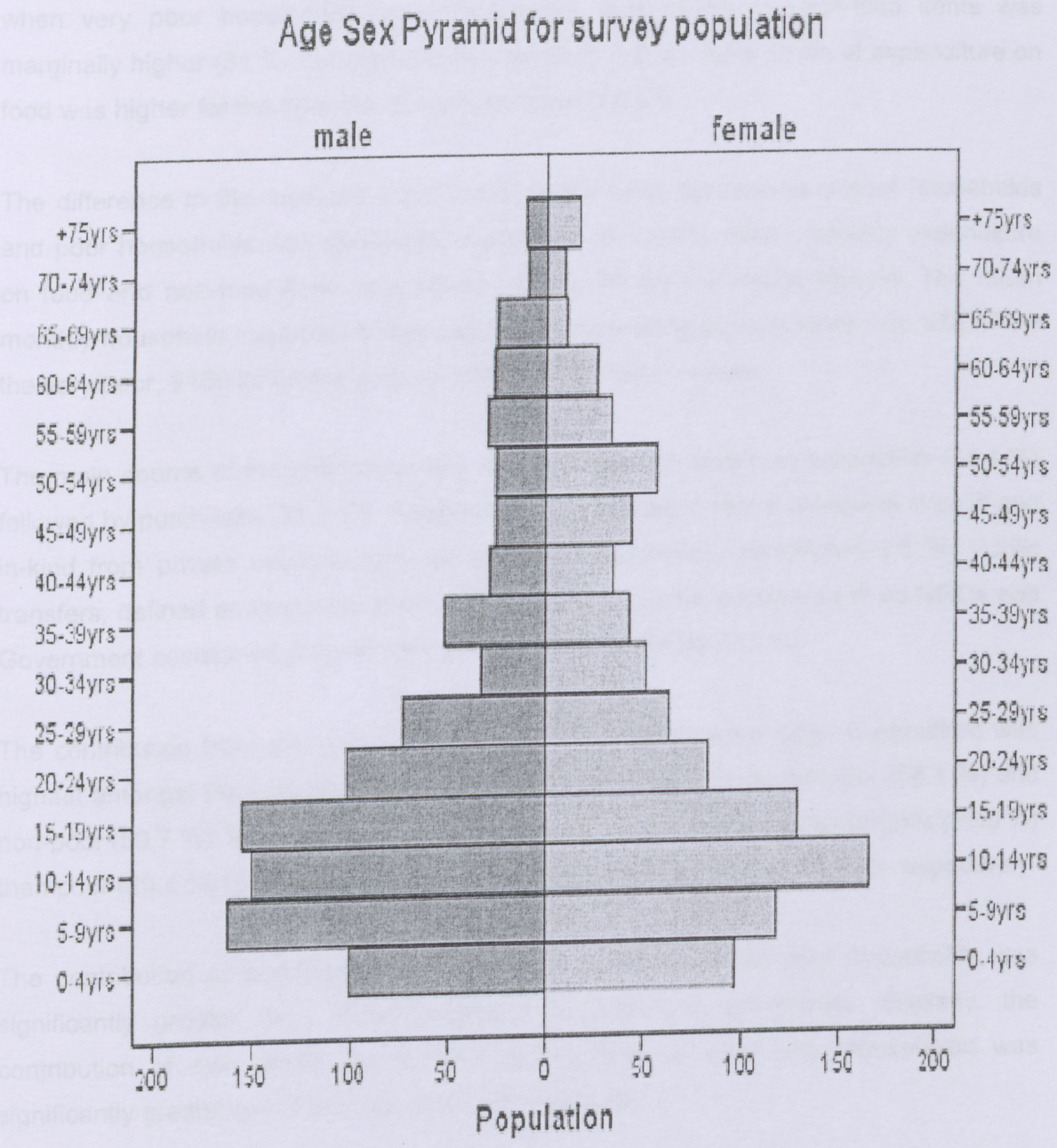

Figure 3.2 The age by sex pyramid for the survey population in Guruve District of Zimbabwe

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Approximately, 53 % of household monthly expenditure went towards food. However, when very poor households were considered, expenditure on non-food items was marginally higher (51 %) compared to that on food (49 %). Also, share of expenditure on food was higher for the poor (54 %) and non-poor (53 %).

The difference in the food and non-food budget shares between very poor households and poor households was statistically significant ($p < 0.05$). Mean monthly expenditure on food and non-food items was about US$141.76 for the whole sample. The mean monthly household expenditure decreased with increasing poverty rates, viz. $76.41 for the very poor, $109.29 for the poor and $200.28 for the non-poor.

The main source of monthly household food in this study was own production (64.4 %) followed by purchases (31.2 %). Private transfers, defined in terms of income in cash and in-kind from private sources such as relatives and friends, constituted 3.5 %. Public transfers, defined as income in cash and in-kind from public sources such as NGOs and Government assistance programmes, were almost negligible (0.1 %).

The contribution from own production to household food consumption expenditure was highest amongst the very poor households (71.4 %) compared to the poor (66.1 %) and non-poor (59.7 %). Purchases were significantly higher for non-poor households (36.0 %) than poor (29.4 %) ($p < 0.01$) and very poor households (29.4 %) ($p < 0.05$), respectively.

The contribution of own production to food consumption within poor households was significantly greater ($p < 0.05$) compared to non-poor households. Similarly, the contribution of own production to food consumption of very poor households was significantly greater ($p < 0.01$) than that of the non-poor.

Cereals (mainly maize the staple crop) contributed the largest share (30.9 %) of the monthly household food consumption expenditure of the sample. The share of cereals increased with increasing poverty where cereals constituted 25.2 %, 31.9 % and 44.2 % of the non-poor, poor and very poor households' food budget, respectively. Food expenditure shares for vegetables (18.5 %) and meat/poultry/eggs (18.2 %), were the second and third highest, respectively.

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In contrast to meat/poultry/eggs, the relative share of vegetables increased with increasing poverty rates. Fruits (1.2 %), alcoholic (1.5 %) and non-alcoholic beverages (1.6 %) contributed the least to the household's monthly food budget. Mean monthly expenditure on food items decreased with increasing poverty as follows: non-poor ($101), poor ($58) and very poor ($37).

Rent, rates and domestic power contributed the largest (49.9 %) share of the non-food expenditure. However, the rent, rates and domestic power budget share increased as poverty worsened. Education and transport/communication had the second (14.3 %) and third (8.9 %) largest share of the household non-food monthly expenditure. The budget share for health was 4.9 % and decreased with increasing poverty. There was no significant variation in the budget share for education across the poverty categories. With respect to the share of transport/communication, the budget share increased with decreasing poverty levels. Insurance/loan/interest, tobacco and recreation/entertainment were the least prioritized non-food expenditure items.

3.4.3 Human poverty and development indices

As shown in Table 3.1, Guruve District's HPI and HDI were 35 % and 0.417, respectively. Approximately, 20 % of the sampled households had no access to safe water compared to 13.7 % for health. The probability at birth of not surviving to 40 years old was about 50 % and the illiteracy rate, 13.1 %. On average, the number of years of schooling was 9.3.

3.5 Discussion

In the following sections the results obtained in this study are explained. The implications for development in smallholder rural farming communities are also highlighted.

3.5.1 Income poverty

The proportion of households living below the FPL observed in this study was lower by 46 % when compared to the PASS 2003 findings. This suggested that the food poverty situation in the District was improving.

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Table3.1 Comparison of indicators and measurements of poverty obtained in 2003[1] and 2009 studies in Guruve District of Zimbabwe

Indicator	Status in 2003	Status in 2009
% households below Food Poverty Line (FPL)	28%	15%
% households below Total Consumption Poverty Line (TCPL)	45%	56%
Human Poverty Index (HPI)	38.4%	35.2%
Human Development Index (HDI)	0.335	0.417
% population without access to safe water	24.9	20.3%
% population without access to health care	14	13.7%
% children under five years who are underweight[2]	19.6	12.0%
Life expectancy[3]	35.7yrs	43.3yrs..
Probability at birth of not surviving to age 40 (times 100)	54%	50%.
Adult literacy rate	85.7%	86.9%
Adult illiteracy rate	14.3	13.1%
Average years of schooling	6.3yrs	9.3yrs

Source: [1] PASS 2003 (MPSLSW, 2006)

[2,3] Multiple Indicator Monitoring Survey (ZIMSTAT, 2009).

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Presumably, the improvement in the food poverty situation between 2003 and 2009 was due to the fact the share of household food consumption coming from own production increased dramatically in 2009 when compared to 2003. In 2003 for example, the main source of household food consumption was purchases (76 %) (MPSLSW, 2006) across all poverty categories (very poor, poor, and non-poor) whereas in this study, own production (64 %) was more important than purchases (31.2 %).

The results agree with Wikan (2004) who reports an inverse relationship between availability of food (mainly cereals) from household own production and poverty levels in the Tutume area of the Central District of Botswana. In addition, there is a general agreement in the sub-Saharan Africa context (Palmer and Sender, 2006) that own production of food mostly for domestic consumption by rural households is an important anti-poverty strategy.

Antony and Laxmaiah (2008) note that inter-state variation in poverty in India could be attributed to declining calorie intake due to per capita reduction in the consumption of cereals. In turn, this was a result of a decrease in agricultural productivity. Considering these results, policies that support production of own food crops, particularly the staple maize crop are likely to have a positive impact on food poverty in Guruve's smallholder farming communities.

Despite the improvement in the proportion of households able to meet their basic food needs (very poor), incidence of poverty continued to worsen as reflected by the increase (16 %) in the proportion of households living below the TCPL in 2009 when compared to the findings of PASS 2003. Although rent had the highest share of monthly household non-food expenditure, it was not an important cost to consider in practice. This was due to the fact that it was just an opportunity cost necessary to consider when computing the TCPL (MPSLSW, 2006). It was observed that the households in Guruve did not actually pay rent for their houses.

Despite the fact that there was an increase in the proportion of households falling below the TCPL, the communities in Guruve District were still committed to educating their children. The high monthly non-food expenditure budget share of education (second after rent) across all poverty categories supported this view. Favourable government policies

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that took into account the hardships parents faced ensured that school and examination fees were kept at a minimum through subsidies and controls (Mahere, 2010). Through such policies, it seemed possible that in the long-term, Guruve District stood to benefit from poverty reduction.

In a study in three rural areas of Zimbabwe, Bird and Shepherd (2003) observe that education enables households to engage in formal employment, to have more assets and to diversify from subsistence agriculture leading to a reduction in poverty. Studies conducted in South Africa (Serumange-Zake and Naude, 2002), Kenya (Mwabu, Kimenyi, Kimalu, Nafula and Manda, 2003) and Nigeria (Anyanwu, 2005) reinforce the fact that education is a major determinant of household welfare and hence, a top priority in poverty reduction strategies.

The high levels of literacy observed in the Guruve study can be viewed as a positive development. High levels of literacy are assumed to be an accumulation of human capital that could serve as the engine that drives economic growth, socio-economic enhancement and poverty reduction (Mayer-Foulkes, 2008; Hanjra *et al.*, 2009). Hanjra *et al.* (2009) point out further that improvements in human capital are needed in order to reform rural institutions that limit poor people's access to resources. The same authors contend that enhanced human capital fosters technological change that can lead to improved agricultural productivity and incomes. This implies that maintaining sound education policies could lead to improvements in the TCPL in Guruve District.

The amount of money that rural households allocated to transport and communication decreased with increasing poverty. This is consistent with the observations of Gelderblom (2007) and UNDP (2009) who contend that high upfront costs associated with transport and communication make it difficult for the poor to migrate in search of better opportunities. Also, high transport costs inflate food prices and make access to services such as health and education difficult and expensive (Bird and Shepherd, 2003). Kam *et al.* (2005) highlight the importance of improved accessibility in providing opportunities for intensifying and diversifying agricultural activities and food production using improved technologies.

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The slight decrease (0.3 %) in the number of people without access to health, which is another important component considered in the computation of the HPI that occurred between 2003 and 2009 in Guruve District was rather surprising. This happened when the macro-economic environment and health delivery services were deteriorating. Available evidence (GOZ, 2009) points to the fact that access to health for most rural areas throughout Zimbabwe, especially in resettlement areas, is limited. In addition, the country's public expenditure on health of 8.9 % (World Bank, 2009) relative to the total government budget is much lower than in other sub-Saharan countries such as Malawi (18.0 %), Mali (12.2 %) and Rwanda (27.3 %). It can be presumed that the Zimbabwean government was facing serious constraints in financing the health budget.

The evidence provided above implies that very poor and poor households in Guruve District were more likely to suffer from poverty and social exclusion due to lower incomes that limited their mobility and ability to network effectively with distant communities and services. Presumably, this problem could be addressed by improving communication through building infrastructure (better roads) to improve physical access. Acquisition of modern technology could assist in fostering improved exchange of information with higher authorities as well as across social groups and regions. This could avail resources and opportunities for development to the deprived communities.

3.5.2 Human poverty

Despite a slight increase (8 %) in the HPI for Guruve District since 2003, the HPI observed in this study (35.2 %) was almost the same as what was obtained for Zimbabwe (34.0 %) in 2007 (UNDP, 2009). When compared to a developed country such as Singapore that registered a value of 3.9% in 2007 (UNDP, 2009), Guruve District and Zimbabwe as a whole were lagging far behind in terms of human poverty levels. Besides this the HPI observed in this study (35.2 %) continued to lag far behind the Millennium Development Goal target of halving it to 17 % by 2015 (ZIMSTAT, 2009).

The 50 % probability of dying before attaining the age of 40 obtained in this study explained the high HPI values for Guruve District. Longevity expressed as vulnerability to death at a relatively early age as measured by the probability of dying before attaining the age of 40 is an important factor that is often considered when computing the HPI

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(MPSLSW, 2006). Presumably, the high maternal and under-five mortality rates in the country contributed to the low longevity and high HPI levels observed in Guruve District. This stems from the fact that they are viewed as important factors of longevity in Zimbabwe (CSO, 2007; 2009; ZIMSTAT, 2009). Linked to this are the high HIV and AIDs prevalence rates in the country of about 15.6 % among 15-24 year olds (GOZ, 2009). As Hope (2004), and Antony and Laxmaiah (2008) point out, this situation was likely to have also exacerbated HPI levels through increasing mortality rates and deprivation, in particular of poor and very poor households.

3.5.3 Human development

Despite a 24 % increase in HDI between 2003 and 2009, Guruve District and Zimbabwe as a whole continued to be the poorest in sub-Saharan Africa, whose average was 0.514 in 2007 (World Bank, 2009). In human development terms, these statistics suggested that the quality of life that the people in the District enjoyed was poor.

Irrespective of the fact that access to clean drinking water is positively associated with higher HDI (Sanusi, 2008), the decrease in the proportion of the people without access to safe water observed in this study had no positive effect on the District's HDI. With respect to improving the HDI for Guruve District, poor performance in terms of longevity and income outweighed the relatively better performance of the District in the knowledge category and other dimensions.

3.6 Conclusions

The findings of this study revealed that the proportion of households living below the FPL decreased by 46 % when compared to the PASS 2003 findings. This suggested that the food poverty situation in the District was improving. The improvement in income poverty observed in 2009 when compared to the results of PASS 2003 as measured by the FPL, implied that the high own production of the staple maize crop observed in this study impacted positively on household food poverty, in particular for the poor and very poor households. Therefore, there is need for promoting policies that favour increased agricultural productivity of main food crops, especially maize.

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A 16 % increase in the proportion of households living below the TCPL in 2009 when compared to the findings of PASS 2003 showed that income poverty as measured by this dimension worsened. The proportion of people living below the TCPL could be reduced through direct support in education and transport/communication. It is possible to achieve this through provision of subsidies and improved infrastructure (better roads and communication technology). This argument originates from the fact that education and transport/communication combined, accounted for more than one fifth of the budget of the poor and very poor households in Guruve District.

The results of this study revealed an 8 % decrease in the HPI and 24 % increase in the HDI for Guruve when compared to the results of PASS 2003. Compared to developed countries, the results of this study showed that the Guruve District lagged far behind on these indicators. High mortality rates significantly contributed to the observed high HPI levels.

Promoting measures that aim to reduce risky sexual behaviour and use of antiretroviral drugs could contribute to the lowering of HIV and AIDs prevalence rates and also reduce mortality rates. There is need for measures that might help improve reproductive health care. In particular, better obstetric care could result in lower maternal mortality rates. In this respect, containing the major causes of childhood deaths such as pneumonia, diarrhoea, malaria and measles have the potential to reduce infant and child mortality rates.

Maintaining and where possible, improving the relatively high standards in education through adopting policies designed to maintain high quality standards in the District, are likely to impact positively on the HDI. Efforts should also be made to ensure that there is improved access to safe water in communities. Possibly, this might have a positive impact on Guruve District's HDI.

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CHAPTER 4 UTILIZATION OF SOCIAL CAPITAL IN POVERTY REDUCTION IN SMALLHOLDER FARMING COMMUNITIES IN GURUVE DISTRICT OF ZIMBABWE

4.1 Introduction

The fact that there was unprecedented growth in rural poverty in Zimbabwe over the past 20 years was highlighted in preceding chapters. Lack of viable strategies for containing it remains a major concern. In both Chapters 1 and 2, an argument was presented lamenting the neglect and downplaying of the diversity of other strategies and institutional arrangements that smallholder farmers in Zimbabwe used to achieve sustainable livelihoods. It was suggested that strengthening social capital could positively contribute towards socioeconomic development and poverty reduction in rural areas. In the context of this chapter, social capital refers to networks, trust and norms of reciprocity. Building on the potential of social capital to promote development and reduce poverty, this chapter sought to analyse the potential use of networks, trust and norms of reciprocity to strengthen smallholder farming communities in Guruve District of Zimbabwe. Community ties or relationships that individuals in the communities have and could depend on in situations of need were examined to check if such ties equated to bonding social capital. In addition, the notion of bridging social capital provided a paradigm to explore and characterize the nature, extent or density and usefulness of network ties of FACHIG groups and the communities in Guruve District with outside organisations and or networks.

4.2 Measurement of Social Capital

Fidrmuc and Gerxhani (2008) argue that despite the increasing recognition in literature of the importance of social capital to achieve economic outcomes, there is limited understanding of the factors that determine its stock at the individual or aggregate levels. For example, Sabatini (2009) observes that most empirical studies which measure social capital indirectly using indicators such as crime rates, teenage pregnancy and blood donations cause considerable confusion. As a result of this problem, Sabatini (2009) argues for the adoption of indicators that represent the major components of social capital, namely networks, trust and social norms. Supporting this view, Woodhouse

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(2006) concludes that networks, trust and norms represent the building blocks of social capital and can be used as proxies for its measurement.

A study of small rural enterprises in Chimanimani District of Zimbabwe (Zuwarimwe and Kirsten, 2010) concedes that challenges arise as a result of use of myriad proxies of social capital. Bird and Shepherd (2003) report on a study on social capital that they carried out in three rural farming communities of Chivi, Gutu and Matobo Districts of Zimbabwe. The study used proxies such as membership of formal groups, traditional societies, informal borrowing and lending relationships as measures of social capital. However, the same authors acknowledge the limitations of these proxies because of inherent failure to represent social capital well presumably through emphasizing outcomes. In contrast, the current study extended the discourse of social capital in Zimbabwe through measuring its elements, namely networks, trust and norms, as opposed to outcomes.

4.3 Research Methods

Both quantitative and qualitative methods were uses to gather and analyse data as described in chapter 3. The study was undertaken in all the 19 wards (namely wards 12-31) which made up Guruve District. A sample of 385 out of 23 694 households constituting the re-organised Guruve District was determined as described in Chapter 3. The study targeted household heads as respondents.

4.4 Data Collection

The structured data collection instrument that Stimson et al. (2003) developed was used. Based on four primary and 14 sub-scale measures, the instrument was chosen because it provided a Cronbach's alpha tested and validated methodology for measuring social capital within various communities. The Cronbach's alpha is generally used as a measure of internal consistency or reliability of a psychometric instrument (Choudhury, 2010). In other words, it measures how well a set of variables or items measures a single, one-dimensional latent aspect of an individual. Table 4.1 presents a description of the four measures and accompanying sub-scale measures of social capital considered in this study.

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Table4.1 The four Primary measures of social capital and accompanying sub-scale dimensions

Social Capital Measure	Description
1) Informal structures (Alpha 0.7566) *a)Community divisions (e.g. based on education, religious beliefs)* *b)Particularised social agency (e.g. seeking mediation from neighbours)*	The extent of networks people have with family, friends and neighbours measured by the size of a given network based on the number of people that belong to it, geographical dispersion of the networks, and capacity of people to drawing on the networks for help
2)Formal Structures (Alpha 0.4466), *a) Participation (e.g. attending public events)* *b) Generalised agency (e.g. petitioning)* *c) Friends in institutional networks (knowing people in government, political parties)*	The same kind of network measures as above but with respect to more formalized groups such as community groups, associations, businesses and institutions such as schools, police and the various levels of government.
3) Informal Norms (Alpha 0.7713): *a) Particularised Trust (e.g. trusting friends)* *b) Informal reciprocity and exchange (e.g. exchange help and advice)*	This measure deals with levels of trust that exist between network members, reciprocity and feelings of belonging or unity within the network
4) Formal norms (Alpha 0.8525), *a) Openness and tolerance of diversity (e.g. welcoming outsiders and gender equality)* *b) Feelings of safety and generalised agency (e.g. feel safe walking at night)* *c) Confidence in links (e.g. confidence in local council)* *d) Community spirit (e.g. identify with local community)* *e) Place attachment (e.g. proud to live in community)* *f) Formal reciprocity (e.g. giving something back to community)* *g) Trust of links (e.g. trust leadership)*	This represents the qualities associated with formal structures, involving trust, reciprocity and unity although not necessarily with individuals only but more generally with institutions as a whole.

Source: Adapted from Stimson et al. (2003)

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A questionnaire containing 61 variables grouped according to the four pillars and fourteen sub-scales of social capital (Stimson et al., 2003) was administered to the 385 sampled households. The questionnaire was pilot-tested in a dummy District, namely Mt Darwin. This exercise allowed for adjustments to the questionnaire in the form of grounding language used in some questions into the Zimbabwean rural context. The first part of data collection involved the researcher and seven research assistants conducting focus group discussions with key informants drawn from Government institutions, viz. Guruve Rural District Council, traditional leaders, schools, health centres, extension services and the Veterinary Services Department. During the second phase of fieldwork, a household questionnaire was administered to FACHIG-supported (n = 166) and Non-FACHIG (n = 219) households.

4.5 Data Analysis

The content analysis technique was used to summarise qualitative data. After this, the data were captured from household questionnaires into a template designed using the Statistical Package for Social Scientists (SPSS) version 17.0 for Windows. Data cleaning and verification were carried out. Variables were transformed from discrete to continuous forms through recoding and assigning numeric values to responses. All the variables were transformed from "nominal" levels of measurement to "ordinal" types. Weights ranging from 0 to 1 were assigned to all the 61 variables in the household questionnaire. Standard weights were hypothetically assigned to variable responses to denote the varying levels of social capital as follows: 0 = low social capital; 0.5 = medium social capital; 1 = high social capital. Frequency tables and cross-tabulations were generated using SPSS before being exported to MS Excel for further analysis.

The total mean monthly expenditure per capital was used as a proxy measure of poverty (Grootaert and Narayan, 2004). Multiple regression analysis was conducted in which the four primary social capital scales were used as predictors. The total mean monthly expenditure per capita was used as a proxy measure of poverty (Grootaert and Narayan, 2004). A multiple regression analysis is based on the assumption that the relationship between the dependent and independent predictor variables is represented by a linear statistical model (Mendenhall and Reinmuth, 1974). Normally scatter plots are obtained prior to data analysis in order to display the relationship between dependent and

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predictor variables. This is a useful first step and often reveals associations between variables which would be otherwise missed by plunging into regression analysis straight away. In this case use of SPPS software negated the need for scatter plots because the software generated the correlation coefficient. The correlation coefficient showed a linear relationship which is one of the key conditions for performing a regression analysis. The equation given below represents the general hypothesized relationship between social capital and poverty.

Poverty = f (SC, other variables), where SC = IS, FS, IN, FN

Poverty $= \alpha + \beta_1 IS + \beta_2 FS + \beta_3 IN + \beta_4 FN + \infty$

Where,

IS = Informal structures component of social networks;

FS = Formal structure component of Social capital;

IN = Informal norms component;

FN = Formal norms component;

A = Constant; and

ß = Coefficient.

4.6 Results

The results obtained in this study are reported against the four primary measures and 14 sub-scales of social capital. Also presented here are the results of regression analysis.

4.6.1 Levels of social capital per category of poverty

High levels of social capital were exhibited amongst both total poor and non-poor categories of households. The proportions were 79 %, 93 % and 93 % for informal structures (density of networks with friends and neighbours and capacity of drawing support from them), informal norms (trust in friends and neighbours) and formal norms (trust in institutions without necessarily drawing support from them), respectively.

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The level of social capital in terms of informal structures was low (23 %). Non-poor households exhibited significantly higher levels of social capital when compared to the total poor on informal structures ($p < 0.01$).

The levels of social capital across all poverty categories (total poor and non-poor) based on community divisions, participation in local community and generalised agency were 79 %, 94 % and 90 %, respectively. Significantly high levels of social capital were observed in terms of particularised social agency (97 %), trust (91 %), informal reciprocity (91 %), openness to tolerance and diversity (98 %), feelings of safety (86 %), community spirit (93 %), place attachment (83 %), formal reciprocity (67 %) and trust in links (61 %).

4.6.2 Levels of social capital based on household membership

High levels of social capital of 75 %, 93 % and 91 % in the population (FACHIG and non-FACHIG) were observed for informal structures, informal norms and formal norms, respectively. The formal structures component had significantly low levels of social capital (24 %). Members of FACHIG displayed significantly higher levels of social capital ($p < 0.01$) on informal norms compared to non-FACHIG members.

Significantly low levels of social capital of 17 %, 15 %, and 5 % were observed for community divisions (education, religious beliefs and ethnicity), generalised agency (issues such as petitioning) and participation in local community activities (attendance of public events), respectively. However, there were high levels of social capital in terms of particularised social agency (issues such as seeking mediation from neighbours) (96 %), particularised trust (trust in friends and neighbours) (91 %), informal reciprocity (exchange help and advice) (92 %), openness and tolerance of diversity (for example welcoming outsiders and believing in gender equality) (98 %), community spirit (identifying with local community) (91 %) and place attachment (pride to live in community) (89 %).

Significantly higher levels of social capital were observed for FACHIG members on participation in local community (issues such as attending public events) ($p < 0.01$), friends in institutional networks (issues such as knowing people in government and political parties) ($p < 0.01$), informal reciprocity (issues such as exchange help and

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advice) ($p < 0.001$), community spirit (issues such as identifying with local community) ($p < 0.001$), place attachment (issues such as proud to live in community) ($p < 0.01$), formal reciprocity (issues such as giving something back to community) ($p < 0.001$) and trust in links (issues such as trust in leaders such as councillor or member of parliament) ($p < 0.001$).

4.6.3 Comparative social capital by type and FACHIG membership

Figure 4.1 compares the types of social capital against category of membership of FACHIG. In terms of the formal structures component, there were significantly low levels of social capital across all categories.

4.6.4 Determinants of social capital

The multiple correlation coefficient (R) of 0.167 obtained through regression analysis indicated that there was a weak but positive linear relationship between social capital (informal structures, formal structures, informal norms and formal norms) and per capita monthly household expenditure (Appendix 4).

Also, the very small R^2 value of 0.028 showed that the proportion of variation in the household monthly expenditure per capita attributed to the variables included in the regression model was very small.

The very high residual sum of squares in the analysis of variance indicated that the model failed to explain most of the variation in the social capital. However, the independent variables significantly explained ($p < 0.05$) the variation in the household monthly expenditure per capita. The informal structures component was relatively more important than all the other predictors of social capital in the regression model estimated as follows:

$$\text{Poverty} = \alpha + \beta_1 IS + \beta_2 FS + \beta_3 IN + \beta_4 FN + \infty$$

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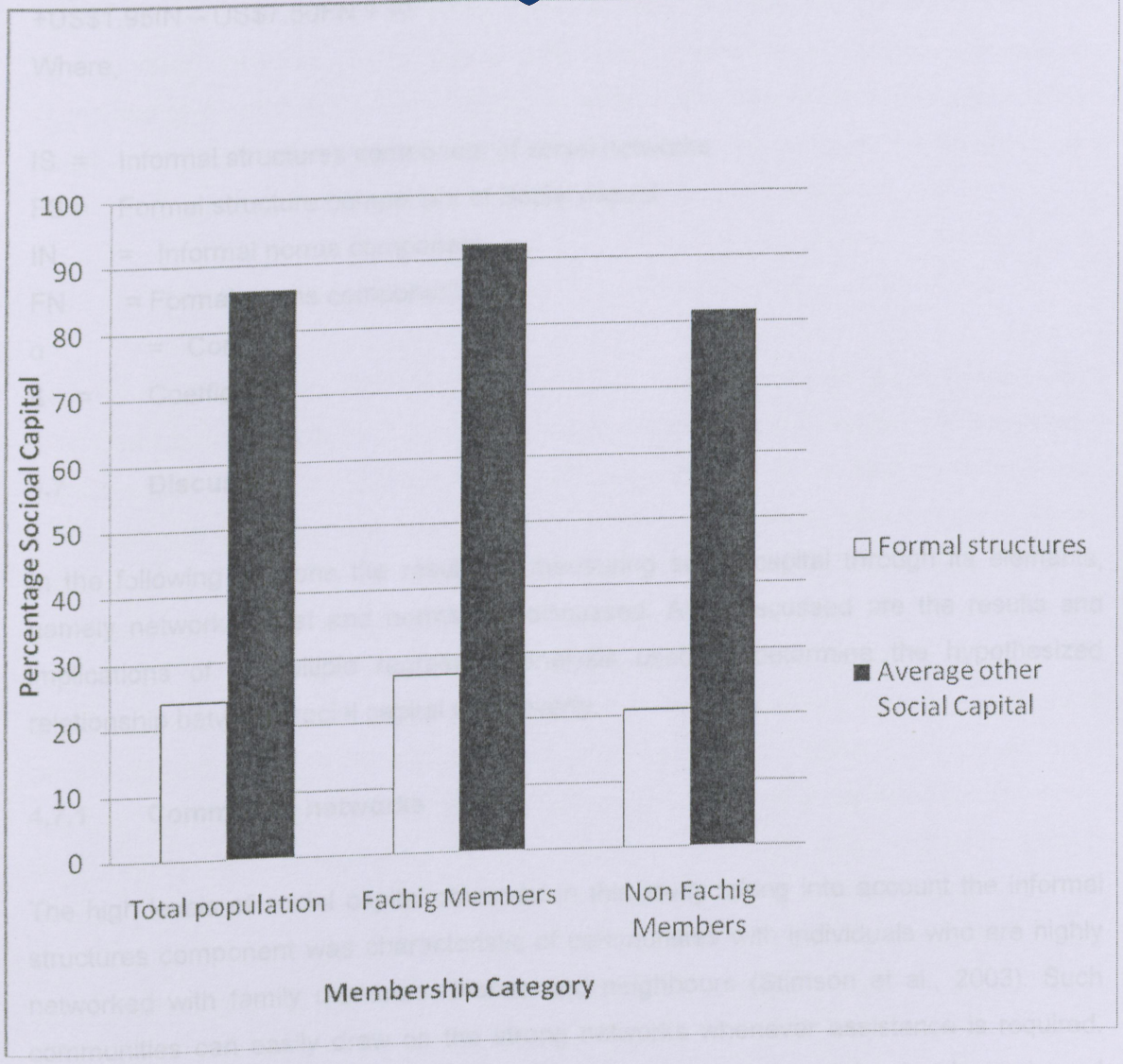

Figure 4.1 Comparative social capital in Guruve District of Zimbabwe by membership of FACHIG

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Household monthly expenditure per capita = US$13.64 + US$18.39IS + US$5.88FS +US$1.95IN – US$7.50FN + ∞

Where,

IS = Informal structures component of social networks

FS = Formal structure component of Social capital

IN = Informal norms component

FN = Formal norms component

α = Constant

ß = Coefficient

4.7 Discussion

In the following sections the results of measuring social capital through its elements, namely networks, trust and norms are discussed. Also discussed are the results and implications of a multiple regression analysis used to determine the hypothesized relationship between social capital and poverty.

4.7.1 Community networks

The high levels of social capital observed in this study taking into account the informal structures component was characteristic of communities with individuals who are highly networked with family members, friends and neighbours (Stimson et al., 2003). Such communities can easily draw on the strong networks whenever assistance is required. Bird and Shepherd (2003) and Heenan (2010) point out that social networks and good neighbourliness are crucial for the survival of poor households. Also, van Wyk et al. (2007) lend support to this assertion, arguing that the strength of existing social capital can support people in their attempts to alter their roles as clearly evidenced by the help that individuals can draw from community networks.

The high density of social networks observed in this study was attributed to the fact Guruve District was rural, relatively remote and local people lived in isolated traditional communities where everyone knew all the other local members (Coleman, 1988; Kritsotakis and Gamarnikow, 2004; Besser, 2009). It is most likely that this enhanced

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cooperation and networking among individuals. The results of this study confirmed the Jones (2010) observation that insular and relatively small and traditional communities have denser networks. Quite often, such communities act collectively as they are connected to a traditional cultural fabric that binds individuals together (Grischow, 2008). Asadi et al. (2008) allude to the fact that social networks increase the likelihood that people engage in collective action in order to resolve local problems.

4.7.2 Trust in communities

High levels of social capital in terms of the informal norms were observed in the current study, which suggested that individuals within Guruve District trusted close relatives, friends and neighbours. The trust extended to workmates, other associates and local institutions (in particular formalized groups such as community groups, associations, businesses and institutions for example schools, the police and various levels of government, and even the community as a whole). The high levels of trust observed in the studied communities could be important in poverty reduction interventions. This argument emanates from the fact that trust is essential in reversing economic and social decline, in particular in rural areas (Swart, 2006; Asadi et al., 2008). For example, trust reduces the costs associated with monitoring and facilitating transactions (Sabatini, 2009). Also, there is evidence (Dinda, 2008) that trust promotes economic growth through fostering cooperation within the firm, market and the state. Trust can form the basis of positive collective action (Shideler and Kraybill, 2009; Heenan, 2010), which helps resolve problems that communities usually face (Jones, 2010).

4.7.3 Reciprocity in communities

Individuals residing in the smallholder farming communities in Guruve District often exchanged practical help such as labour and advice. The high level of reciprocity expressed suggested that individuals wanted to give something back to their communities. Bird and Shepherd (2003) allude to the fact that good linkages with neighbours and good social networks in three semi-arid rural Districts of Chivi, Gutu and Matopo in Zimbabwe enable households short of agricultural labour, ploughs, oxen, ox-drawn carts or cash for seasonal input needs to be able to borrow. Such a situation is desirable given the high poverty rates and lack of resources in the communities in the

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current study in Guruve District. As Swart (2006) suggests, high levels of reciprocal relationships within communities inspire development processes and are crucial for overcoming poverty at local levels (Asadi et al., 2008).

4.7.4 Social capital and income

The significantly higher levels of social capital among non-poor households when compared to the total poor in terms of the informal structures component suggested that the former had denser social networks when compared to the latter. Thus, it could be deduced that there was a positive association between social capital and income. Bird and Shepherd (2003) report a similar relationship between social capital and levels of income in households found in Chivi, Gutu and Matopo Districts of Zimbabwe. Also, Barros and Nunes (2008) point to the existence of a significant association between earnings and social capital within Portuguese' non-profit organisations. This evidence suggests that policies that promote increased incomes of the very poor and poor segments of societies are most likely to contribute to social capital formation, with concomitant payoffs in terms of poverty reduction.

4.7.5 Social capital, participation and membership in organisations

Despite the high levels of social capital observed in the smallholder farming communities in Guruve District, participation in local events was found to be poor. The events in question included attending public meetings, getting involved in efforts to resolve local neighbourhood and environmental problems, being active members and leaders of local organisations, clubs and community projects as well as organising new services. This implied that membership or participation in organisational activities did not necessarily enhance social capital, a view that Heenan (2010) also subscribes to.

Eriksson *et al.* (2010) reviews literature and points out that individuals who live in high social capital areas may benefit from it despite being low-trusting or low participating individuals. This view supports observations made in this study and repudiates the claims by Putnam (1993) that social capital is located in groups and organisations and that low levels of it are correlated with poor participation in group or organisational activities.

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The fact that membership of FACHIG was significantly associated with participation in local community events bears testimony to the importance of such organisations in cultivating social capital and development of entrepreneurship (Putnam, 1993; Zuwarimwe and Kirsten, 2010). As Asadi et al. (2008) note, social capital from associations such as FACHIG enable individuals to collectively participate in effective local decision making, better monitor government agencies and lobby for improved services.

Membership of FACHIG facilitated individuals to engage much more in reciprocal arrangements with friends, relatives, neighbours and local institutions. Evidence of this was provided by the significantly higher levels of social capital in terms of informal reciprocity. In support of this view, Asadi et al. (2008) assert that reciprocity transforms individuals from having selfish tendencies into members of a community with shared interests, a common identity and also commitment to a common goal. This can be crucial in poor communities such as those in Guruve District because it allows them to assist each other in situations of need, particularly when their isolation and distance from major services are considered.

Significantly higher levels of social capital were observed in terms of formal reciprocity and trust in links of FACHIG members when compared to those who were not. This implied that FACHIG members had much better chances of having friends in institutional networks and being networked to people in local and national government, media as well as in political parties than the latter. Such a feat strengthened the chances and ability of FACHIG members to leverage resources in addition to having better bargaining power when compared to their counterparts. Bird and Shepherd (2003) lend support to this view and point out the crucial role of groups and networks in mediating improved access to technical information, credit, inputs and markets in Zimbabwe. Studying organisations similar to FACHIG, Grootaert and Narayan (2004) observe that membership of agrarian syndicates and other associations in Bolivia is critical in changing the negotiating power of small community groups *vis-a-vis* the state and markets. Thus, the presence of FACHIG in the smallholder farming communities in Guruve District was important because it served as a potential 'bridge' for mediating economic and social benefits on behalf of its members, which would greatly contribute to poverty reduction.

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The low social capital observed among CHIG members based on the formal structure component suggests that the 'bridging' role referred to above is not yet realised. Members were not yet sufficiently networked and connected to privileged external communities and institutions of power such as government agencies, businesses and politicians. Such connections are crucial because of their potential in making available resources and opportunities to disadvantaged communities.

4.7.6 Optimising bonding and bridging social capital

The perspectives shared above seemed to suggest that social capital could facilitate the establishment of networks, trust and norms of reciprocity with concomitant economic and social payoffs that help reduce poverty. Therefore, in theoretical terms, the high levels of social capital exhibited in many aspects of this study should have reinforced the basic assumption that a positive connection exists between social capital and poverty reduction. This contrasts the MPSLSW (2006) statistics provided which allude to generalised levels of poverty in the same communities in Guruve District.

Taking the contradiction referred to above into account, it is hypothesized that the high levels of social capital exhibited in Guruve District represented bonding social capital. This is due to the fact that the low social capital levels displayed in terms of the formal structures component indicated that individuals in the communities within Guruve District were not sufficiently networked to formal institutions such as government agencies and other institutions of power and did not draw assistance from these potential sources (Stimson et al, 2003). Presumably, this suggests that there was insufficient bridging social capital in the communities since strong ties with such institutions are important for connecting to external assets and resources (Edwards, 2003). According to Woodhouse (2006), communities with high levels of bonding social capital typically exhibit a rich social life among their members, although they remain economically disadvantaged. This might explain the generalised poverty observed in Guruve District.

The results of the regression analysis provided further proof of the existence of relatively more bonding than bridging social capital in the studied communities. It was observed that the informal structures component of social capital was relatively more important than the rest of the predictors, confirming that the smallholder farming communities in

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Guruve District exhibited relatively strong bonding than bridging social capital. This implied that despite the poor communities having a close knit and intensive stock of bonding social capital they could leverage to "get by", diffuse and extensive bridging social capital that could be deployed for strategic advantage to "get ahead" (Woolcock and Narayan, 2000) was lacking. Grischow (2008) supports this view by acknowledging the limitations of bonding social capital in lifting poor people out of poverty as well as facilitating change and socio-economic progress.

In this study, it was highlighted lack of bridging social capital among communities was associated with the generalised poverty in the sampled Guruve population. This was not surprising given the fact that Woolcock and Narayan (2000) make similar observations through a poverty assessment survey of more than 200 000 community groups in the rural areas of Kenya. In the Woolcock and Narayan (2000) study, despite possessing high levels of social capital, most of the members of the community groups were unconnected to outside resources, a factor that perpetuated their poverty. Besides this study, the same authors provide empirical evidence from their work in Haiti and Latin America which shows that despite the existence of high levels of social capital, local communities experienced considerable levels of poverty and social exclusion. This originated from the fact that they did not have the resources and adequate access to power needed to help them address their challenges. Given the fact that at the time when the current study was undertaken Zimbabwe was just emerging from a state of socio-economic and institutional paralysis, it is plausible to suggest that the prevailing environment may not have been conducive enough for the acquisition of bridging social capital.

Despite the challenge referred to above, there is need for policy makers to find ways of harnessing the synergistic effect of both bonding and bridging social capital such that it creates the optimum situation for positive economic outcomes for poor and isolated rural communities (Putnam, 2000; Agnitsch, Flora and Ryan, 2006 and Woodhouse, 2006) such as those in Guruve District of Zimbabwe. At the same time, it is desirable to help the poor to gain access to formal institutions and a more diverse stock of bridging social capital (Woolcock and Narayan, 2000). This could be achieved through building appropriate infrastructure, in particular better access roads, which would improve communication. Also, introduction of modern technology could assist in fostering

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exchange of information with institutions of power and across social groups and regions. In turn, this could avail resources and opportunities for development to the disadvantaged communities in Guruve District.

4.8 Conclusions

In general, despite the existence of high levels of bonding social capital observed in this study, the communities in Guruve remained poor. These findings did not, therefore, support the hypothesis in this study that social capital contributes significantly to poverty reduction in smallholder farming areas in Guruve District. This situation was attributed to the absence of sufficient bridging social capital, which is needed to help the communities to connect to external assets and resources as well as to better leverage institutions of power that often facilitate change and progress necessary for them to escape from poverty.

In addition to the above, the study in Guruve District established that membership of organisations strengthened social capital among individuals. In particular, it was found out that membership of a local organisation was positively associated with better links to government agencies, politicians, the media and other institutions of power. This provided a good platform for enhancing the bridging social capital of individuals and local organisations, leading to the possibility of lowered poverty rates in future.

Policies that promote the formation of groups or local organisations should be encouraged. When this happens, such policy making is likely to have a positive impact on poverty reduction in rural communities. Building appropriate infrastructure, in particular better access roads, which would improve communication could enhance bridging social capital. Apart from this, introduction of modern technology could assist in fostering exchange of information with institutions of power and across social groups and regions. This could avail resources and opportunities for development to the disadvantaged communities in Guruve District. It is clear from this study that the major challenge for policy makers is how to tap the synergistic effect of both bonding and bridging social capital and create the optimum situation for positive economic outcomes for poor and isolated rural communities such as those in Guruve District.

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CHAPTER 5 GENDERED PATTERNS OF SOCIAL CAPITAL ENDOWMENTS AMONG SMALLHOLDER FARMERS IN GURUVE DISTRICT OF ZIMBABWE

5.1 Introduction

According to Wolmer, Sithole and Mukamuri (2002), smallholder farmers in Zimbabwe have a long history of working together for a common purpose. The same authors describe these forms of collective action as institutional dynamics that are critical if smallholder farmers are to achieve their livelihoods. Such forms of collective action are differently known as social capital (Lowndes, 2004; Shideler and Kraybill, 2009; Heenan, 2010).

As shown in all the preceding chapters of this thesis, there is considerable evidence suggesting that strong social capital enhances poverty reduction and socio-economic development in rural areas. Even though this is the case, the dearth of interest in investigating whether the social capital discourse is gender neutral was highlighted in sections 1.5 and 2.13. In addition to evidence presented in both sections pointing to a male bias in terms of access to some forms of social capital, research on small rural enterprises in Chimanimani District of Zimbabwe (Zuwarimwe and Kirsten, 2010) suggests that reliance on social capital to deal with market imperfections vary when it comes to male and female-run enterprises. Also, Kanazawa and Savage (2009) contend that women have more kin in their personal networks. What is not clear though is whether such social capital significantly facilitates social change and socio-economic progress.

Lack of interest in gender within the social capital debate highlighted above is a serious oversight since there are many questions that could be clarified if there was an appropriate shift to include this crucial dimension. For example, there is still no clear understanding of the nature, extent and utilisation of social capital by women when compared with men. Accordingly, GOZ (2004; 2009) contends that gender equality is a core development issue and a human right objective in its own right, which is necessary for the attainment of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).

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Zimbabwe is in transition, especially after years of serious economic downturn and socio-political impasse. Because of this, there is need to pay serious attention to equality between men and women (Thabethe, 2009). In general, Zimbabwean women are poorer than men (Ministry of Public Service Labour and Social Welfare (MPSLSW), 2006). Besides this, women accessed about 15 % of the land on offer during the land and agrarian reform exercise (Multi-Donor Trust Fund-Zimbabwe, 2009). Yet, they constitute the majority (51 %) of the population (MPSLSW, 2006). Even though Zimbabwe has witnessed a decrease in HIV prevalence rate in the 15-24 years age group from 26.5 % in 2001 to 15.6 % in 2007, women and girls still constitute a greater proportion of the population living with the pandemic (Bird and Shepherd, 2003; Central Statistical Office: CSO, 2007; GOZ, 2009). Furthermore, disparities in favour of males in enrolment in tertiary education institutions, participation in political and economic decision making, access to jobs and incomes are some of the main reasons that contribute to the disempowerment of women and their higher vulnerability to poverty (GOZ, 2009). Inadequate studies have been undertaken specifically focusing on the difference in social capital endowments of women when compared to men in Zimbabwe.

This chapter contributes to the social capital discourse in the country through addressing the question raised in section 1.4: *To what extent are the social capital endowments of women compared to men different?* Addressing this question has the potential, from a gendered perspective, of unlocking the possible benefits of social capital in addressing poverty in Guruve District. An understanding of the social capital of women could lead to a more nuanced, sensitive and appropriate approach to the local participation and inclusion of women in development initiatives (Thomas, 2002).

5.2 Gender Disparities in Zimbabwe

In Zimbabwe, gender disparities characterise all aspects of development. For example, the country is ranked 130th in the global gender-related development index (Thabethe, 2009). In general, this reflects the low status of women in terms of income distribution, political participation, power relations, access to, control and ownership of economic and productive resources. This is the situation even though Zimbabwe signed, ratified and acceded to several declarations, conventions and protocols that aim to attain gender equality. Zimbabwe is a signatory to the following: Universal Declaration of Human Rights

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of 1979, Convention on the Elimination of Forms of Discrimination Against Women of 1991, Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action of 1995, Southern African Development Community Declaration on Gender of 1997, and Prevention and Eradication of Violence Against Women and Children of 1998, (GOZ, 2004:2009). In addition, the country promulgated various laws seeking to address gender issues. These include Equal Pay Regulations, Legal Age of Majority Act of 1982, the Sexual Offences Act of 2001, Domestic Violence Act of 2006and the Matrimonial Causes Act of 2006 (GOZ, 2004). However, because of low literacy on legal issues and many women's inability to afford legal representation (GOZ, 2009), most of these laws are poorly implemented.

5.3 Relationship between Social Capital and Gender Inequality

Although there are many known definitions of social capital, of interest in this section, is that of Coleman (1988; 1990). He defines social capital as a set of resources inherent in the structure of relationships among people and allows them to share their knowledge and skills, which is commonly referred to as human capital. This definition is relevant to this study which focused on the structure of the relationship between women and men, including how this affects the distribution of social capital in Guruve District's smallholder farming communities.

There is compelling evidence that supports the view that social capital promotes within and between group cohesion, commonly referred to as bonding and bridging social capital (Grootaert and Narayan,2004; Dinda, 2008; Shideler and Kraybill, 2009). Irrespective of this, Muntaner and Lynch (2002) take note of the fact that debate on social capital ignores class-based conflicts between men and women. The structural divisions and conflicts among various ethnic communities, classes, pressure groups and also along gender lines which strongly characterise societies, have a strong influence on overall economic performance and welfare (Crudeli, 2006). Luttrel and Moser (2004) stress the need for conceptual distinction of constraints that men and women experience. These authors also note that while some constraints apply to all, gender may exacerbate them. Also, they argue that women and men have different needs and power, which should be identified and addressed in a manner that rectifies the imbalance between the sexes.

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Lamenting the lack of focus on gender in social capital discourse, Lowndes (2004) criticises the early ground breaking studies on social capital (Putnam, 1993) for not acknowledging gender dynamics and instead disproportionately focusing on male-dominated activities. Brush et al. (2002) report that there is a gap in the research and studies that focus on, include or compare women venture capital providers or entrepreneurs in America. Molyneux (2002) expresses displeasure about the deflation of gender issues from efforts made to place social capital in development policy and laments how the approaches remain reticent.

The preceding arguments indicate that there is dearth of evidence in literature which reveals the extent to which the social capital debate has ignored the gender dimension and its attendant ripple effects with respect to achieving equitable development. A study of this kind is justified because of its immense potential in contributing to closing this gap in literature.

It is worth pointing out that debate on social capital in Zimbabwe is still in its infancy. Scarcity of relevant literature on the subject confirms this view. The foregoing observations are critical considerations in the process of developing a social capital discourse in Zimbabwe that is gender neutral and sensitive. An overt or covert bias towards a single sex may generate policy considerations that reinforce gender inequality, which is already a societal headache in the country.

5.4 Research Methods

As described in chapter 3, both quantitative and qualitative methods were used to gather and analyse data. The study was undertaken in all the 19 wards which make up Guruve District. A sample of 385 households out of 23 694 households constituting the re-organised Guruve District was determined using the steps outlined in Chapter 3. The sampling procedures used in this study were also the same as those described in Chapter 3. However, it was unnecessary to purposively sample FACHIG household heads since the analysis took the sex of the respondent and not membership status into account. Of the 385 respondent heads of households, 291 were male. The same data collection and analysis methods as those given in Chapter 4 were used. However, regression analysis was not carried out in this study.

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5.5 Results

In the following subsection, the results of the study showing the levels of social capital for both women and men are presented. Social capital is considered in terms of informal structures, formal structures, informal norms and formal norms.

5.5.1 Levels of social capital

Significantly high levels of social capital were observed. This is presented in Table 5.1. Social capital was significantly greater for women when formal norms were considered ($p < 0.05$).

Low levels of social capital (27 % for men and 17 % for women) were observed for the formal structures component.

As shown in Table 5.2, low levels of social capital were observed when community divisions, participation in local community, generalised agency, particularised social agency and friends in institutional networks were taken into account. Medium levels of social capital were exhibited on trust in links. Lastly, high levels of social capital were displayed in terms of particularised social agency, particularised trust, informal reciprocity, openness and tolerance of diversity, community spirit and place attachment.

5.6 Discussion

The results obtained in this study revealed that both women and men were highly networked with family members, friends and neighbours from which they were drawing support. In addition to this, high levels of trust and reciprocity in the communities they belonged to were observed. These results are consistent with those presented in section 4.6.1. The significantly higher likelihood of women when compared to men in the study to trust and engage in reciprocal arrangements with family members, friends, neighbours and formal institutions in their locality resonates with the findings of Heenan (2010).

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Table5.1 Social Capital Levels against Sex Category

Social Capital Component	Level of social capital, %	
	Male	Female
Informal Structure	75	75
Informal Norms	93	93
Formal Norms	88	98
Formal Structures	27	17

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Table5.2 Levels of social capital in Guruve District by sex category

Sub-scale measures	Level of social capital (%)	
	Male	Female
Community divisions	17	21
Particularised social agency	96	98
Participation in local community	4	7
Generalised agency	15	16
Friends in institutions	53	50
Particularised trust	93	86
Informal reciprocity/exchange	91	92
Openness and tolerance	97	100
Feeling of safety	88	92
Confidence in links	52	49
Community spirit	90	94
Place attachment	87	95
Formal reciprocity	52	62
Trust in links	56	55

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Through his studies of Irish rural farming communities, Heenan (2010) observes that reciprocal relationships exist largely based on gender-specific lines. Using evidence from their studies in Buzi District of Mozambique, Gotschi, Njuki and Delve (2008) conclude that women often serve as treasurers in groups. This is often due to the belief that women are more trustworthy than men.

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High levels of trust and reciprocity are associated with empowerment or the realisation of rights that enable greater control over livelihood resources (Lyons, Smuts and Stephens, 2001). This means that the high levels of trust and feelings of reciprocity observed among women in the study might be empowering to them. It can be deduced that this would make them potentially better partners for implementing more sustainable development projects compared to men, albeit at a localised level. This is so notwithstanding the fact that the social capital they possess could be the bonding in nature, which may not be important in terms of facilitating change and progress at a wider level as hypothesised in section 4.7.6.This view is supported by Lowndes (2004) who contends that women are richer in bonding social capital.

The low levels of social capital in terms of membership of formal structures for both male and female-headed households observed in Guruve District indicated that all of them were not sufficiently networked. Nor were they drawing enough support from formal institutions such as government agencies and other centres of power. This situation was exacerbated by the low levels of social capital reflected by generalised agency (lack of engagement with the media or government), friends in institutional networks (lack of connection with people in the media and government) and poor trust in links (lack of faith in elected representatives such as councillors and Member of Parliament).

Taken together, the factors presented above indicated that both women and men in the smallholder farming communities in Guruve District lacked strong ties with institutions that could help them address their socio-economic development issues. Therefore, it can be concluded that there were low levels of bridging social capital across the sexes. While both women and men had high stocks of bonding social capital, they lacked bridging social capital, a factor that explained the high levels poverty observed in this study. Baliamoune-Lutz (2011) lends support to these observations and suggests that strengthening social capital and institutions in Africa may be complementary strategies for improving the well–being of people.

In the current study, the apparent lack of engagement and distrust of local government and elected representatives highlighted the gaps and opportunities that women should take advantage of. However, the inability of women to build relationships with higher authorities and external agencies was likely to deny them the benefits and resources

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usually associated with such ties. Being able to form and maintain relationships is a necessary precondition for accumulating social capital (Steinfield, Ellison and Lampe, 2008). Also, Thomas (2002) argues and highlights the need for women to be empowered through targeted interventions such as income generating activities with the potential to change their perceptions. Such interventions improve interaction, networking and social trust, thereby leading to enhanced social capital. Steinfield et al. (2008) demonstrate that social network sites such as Facebook improve bridging social capital and can help build and maintain strong relationships. It is most likely that the introduction of policies that improve communication through increasing physical access (better roads) and using the internet could enhance bridging social capital and ultimately, yield better poverty outcomes for women.

5.7 Conclusions

Considering the fact that higher levels of trust and reciprocity inspire development processes, the greater possibility of women when compared to men to trust and engage in reciprocal arrangements with family members, friends, neighbours and formal institutions in their locality observed in the current study made women potentially better partners for implementing successful projects at grassroots level. These findings confirm a difference in the social capital endowments of women when compared to men. Therefore, the hypothesis that there are no differences in social capital endowments between male and female household head in smallholder farming areas in Guruve District was rejected..

The study established that both men and women had high levels of bonding social capital. Despite this, both lacked sufficient bridging social capital. Such a situation limited their capacity to draw benefits and resources usually associated with it. The need for policies that create an enabling environment for cultivating bridging social capital was regarded as essential for linking both men and women in Guruve District with powerful institutions and other privileged communities. This, in turn, could enhance the channelling of resources, opportunities, skills and knowledge to these disadvantaged people with concomitant spin-off benefits to development and poverty reduction.

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The high levels of social capital observed for both women and men in the communities amidst low levels of participation in local community events questioned the conventional belief occupying space in literature that there is strong social capital in groups and organisations. This implied that social capital was not necessarily enhanced by membership only or by participation in organisational activities. The current study found that high levels of social capital were associated with low levels of participation in group or organisational activities.

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6.1 Introduction

The principal motivation for carrying out the current study was to provide analytical evidence on the importance of utilising social capital in agro-based poverty reduction strategies within smallholder farming communities in Guruve District of north-eastern Zimbabwe. Taking into consideration the unavailability of up-to-date poverty statistics in the country, a poverty assessment study was undertaken to determine the extent of poverty rates. This was meant to provide an empirical basis for understanding, analysing and tackling the prevailing poverty-related issues. It was important to establish how poverty could be tackled considering its linkages with social capital and gender within smallholder farming communities. The objectives of the study were three–fold, viz:

a) Firstly, to ascertain the extent of poverty rates in Guruve District focusing on the period, 2003-2009;
b) Secondly, to determine the importance of utilising social capital in agro-based poverty reduction programmes implemented in Guruve District's smallholder farming communities; and
c) Thirdly, to ascertain the extent to which social capital endowments differed between female and male-headed smallholder farming households.

This chapter distils and explains the major findings of the entire study, taking one specific objective after the other. Also explained are the implications of the findings for policy, development practice and research. Conclusions are then drawn taking into account the major tenets of the entire study.

6.2 Extent of Poverty Rates in Guruve District

In Zimbabwe, income poverty, human development index (HDI) and human poverty index (HPI) are the commonly used measures of poverty. This section is devoted to discussing them specifically focusing on their contribution to the observed trends in poverty in the country.

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6.2.1 Trends in income poverty

The decrease in the number of households living below the food poverty line (FPL) between 2003 and 2009 that was observed in this study highlighted the importance of own production for domestic consumption as opposed to reliance on purchases as a strategy for containing food poverty. Empirical evidence from studies in Botswana, India and other parts of sub-Saharan Africa support this view. Irrespective of this, Hazell (2007) notes that rural income diversification, a global glut of food staples, low market prices, and substandard growth rates in demand for food staples in many countries make agriculture largely irrelevant for the rural poor. Because of this reality, Hazell (2007) believes that countries can neglect their food staples sector and rely more on food imports while focusing their efforts on producing higher value products.

Contrast

The arguments that Hazell (2007) advances contrast the findings of this study and existing evidence in literature. In the case of the Green Revolution achieved in Asia, smallholder farmers participated and contributed more to poverty reduction (Boesen and Rukuni, 2000; Department for International Development: DFID, 2005). The Green Revolution came through technical progress in irrigation, use of fertilizer and adoption of new crop varieties (Otsuka and Yamano, 2005). This demonstrated that given the right conditions, agricultural growth could take large numbers of people rapidly and sustainably out of poverty.

In Ethiopia, the country's food security strategy is built around increasing the availability through domestic production and increasing access to it (Adenew, 2004). In South Africa, the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC, 2004) notes the important role of agriculture in making households less reliant on purchased food. Taking into account the arguments presented above, the position of this study is that smallholder farming communities in Guruve District should be encouraged to produce their own food for household consumption.

Despite an increase in the proportion of households able to meet their basic food needs (very poor), incidence of poverty (TCPL) in Guruve District continued to worsen. These results confirmed the view that poverty reduction initiatives may not be effective unless,

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and until there is added access to cashflow, irrespective of trends in subsistence production (Xiaoyun and Remenyi (2008). Palmer and Sender (2006) argue that while farming in South Africa is a risky activity that households with no other source of cash income undertake, for most poor rural households, involvement in the labour market and access to public transfers determine the prospects for survival.

Despite the increase in the proportion of people living below the TCPL, communities in Guruve District were still committed to educating their children. The high monthly non-food expenditure budget share of education (second after rentals) across all poverty categories underscored this observation. In addition, the ability of poor households to keep their children in school in the face of worsening poverty might have been due to government subsidies and controls in the education sector. This is consistent with the observations of Xiaoyun and Remenyi (2008) who argue that public assistance to poor households is one way that can be used to ensure that cashflow into poor households is augmented. In the long-term, such a policy is likely to bring benefits in terms of poverty reduction.

High upfront costs associated with transport and communication observed in Guruve District exacerbated the incidence of poverty through making services and markets difficult to access, and also expensive. Xiaoyun and Remenyi (2008) report similar observations from their work in China. They note that the existence of an all-weather road, for example, is a conduit of information for everyone about markets and potential employers. Evidence from Ethiopia (Adenew, 2004) reveals that poor road infrastructure adds to high marketing costs and is a further disincentive to provide for the markets. These observations imply that investment by government in local level infrastructure such as roads and communication technology could reverse the high poverty rates observed in the smallholder farming communities in Guruve District. It can be concluded that despite the gains achieved in reducing food poverty, income poverty in Guruve District worsened between 2003 and 2009. This was attributed to high non-food expenditure in particular towards education, transport and communication. This in turn caused an increase in the proportion of people living below the TCPL.

With respect to policy issues, this study supports the call by Palmer and Sender (2006) for the allocation of additional resources to improve the health, education and bargaining

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power of the poor, including other relevant forms of interventions. Examples of such interventions include those that promote wage labour intensive industries and agro-industries; improve rural infrastructure in the form of roads and irrigation; and provide direct and immediate wage employment in construction as well as incentives to increase output on wage labour-intensive farms. When all these are taken together, the interventions could have a significant impact on the TCPL of Guruve District's smallholder communities. These arguments are informed by the fact that exclusive focus on incomes and neglecting the broader view of poverty which considers non-income aspects is lamentable (Klasen, 2007). This is why it was found useful to extend the analysis of poverty in Guruve District to include non-income dimensions of poverty, namely HPI and HDI, which are discussed below.

6.2.2 Containing human poverty

The fact that Zimbabwe continued to lag far behind its first Millennium Development Goal target of halving HPI to 17 % by 2015 was highlighted in Chapter 3. This call was made despite an 8 % decrease in the HPI for Guruve observed in this study when compared to the situation that prevailed in 2003. This meant that communities in the District were deprived of the normal basic goods and services such as food, housing, clothing and other aspects of well-being such as education, health and gender equity (Klasen, 2007).

The high probability of dying before reaching 40 years of age (low life expectancy) was identified as the main factor behind the observed high HPI for Guruve District. Antony and Rao (2007) report of a low life expectancy as a major contributor to HPI levels in some Indian states. The greater incidence of premature deaths in Guruve District was thought to be mainly due to high child and maternal mortality rates. This provides further evidence in support of the MDGs aim of reducing maternal and child mortality. In support of this thrust, the World Bank (2005) and Antony and Laxmaiah (2008) call for faster progress in reducing maternal and child mortality in order to enable countries such as Zimbabwe to achieve their MDG targets. It is likely that this could assist in reducing human poverty in Guruve District.

The positive change, though marginal (0.3 %), in the proportion of the population without access to health that occurred between 2003 and 2009 in Guruve District, despite

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deterioration in the macro-economic environment and health delivery services, was surprising. However, Wen, Browning and Cagney (2003) also find a non-significant association between income inequality and health in the United States of America as particularly thought provoking. In Zimbabwe, income inequality is often associated with poverty (Ministry of Public Service Labour and Social Welfare (MPSLSW), 2006). According to Wen et al. (2003), probably at a larger spatial aggregation (for example the state or nation) income inequality negatively affects health whereas for smaller areas (in this case, small communities such as those in Guruve District) the effect is either weak or insignificant.

6.2.3 Improving human development

Despite the observed increase (24 % in 2009) in the Guruve HDI compared to PASS 2003 remained among the poorest in sub-Saharan Africa. Also, the low HDI observed in this study meant that Guruve District continued to lag far behind its MDG targets.

With respect to increasing the HDI for Guruve District, this study observed that low longevity outweighed the relatively better performance of the District in terms of knowledge and other dimensions. The dimensions that were considered included a decent standard of living, in terms of a composite of the proportion of people without access to safe water, health services and moderately and severely underweight children below the age of five years (Hope, 2004). Antony and Laxmaiah (2008) report similar variations in HDI across Indian states. They attribute this to low life expectancy as well as high maternal and child mortality rates, among other factors. These observations imply that the quality of life that the people in Guruve District enjoyed was poorer when compared to other areas with high HDI values.

Given the fact that low HPI and high HDI are usually associated with a higher quality of human life and a lower level of deprivation and poverty among people (Hope, 2004; Sanusi, 2008), communities in Guruve suffered from both forms of poverty. In order to improve both the HDI and HPI of the District, it is important to reduce maternal and child mortality rates through adopting the measures highlighted in Chapter 3.

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6.2.4 Finding an optimum mix of bonding and bridging social capital

This section explores the link between the observed high poverty rates and levels of social capital within the communities in Guruve District. This is done in order to clarify the extent to which social capital determines poverty rates. In general, despite the existence of high levels of bonding social capital observed in this study, the communities in Guruve remained poor. This implies that these findings did not support the view that social capital contributes significantly to poverty reduction in smallholder farming areas in Guruve District, which the current study tested.

It was highlighted in Chapter 4 that there was a high density of social networks, considerable trust and formidable norms of reciprocity based on families, neighbours and friends within the smallholder farming communities in Guruve District. Particularly worth noting was the fact that membership of FACHIG was positively associated with high levels of reciprocity. Sabatini (2009) coins the strong family-based network ties as bonding social capital. The analysis in section 4.7.6 gave credence to the hypothesis that the network ties in the study communities were indeed based on bonding social capital. As reported in section 2.11, bonding social capital rests on connections between homogenous people and helps people to get by. It is not unusual, however for rural communities to be endowed with high densities of such kinds of social networks. For example, in Buzi District of Mozambique and in rural Ireland, social life is organised around kin and family networks (Gotschi et al., 2008; Heenan, 2010). Irrespective of this, it is important to discern the benefits (if any) that are likely to accrue from membership of such networks.

Although social networks increase the likelihood that people engage in collective action in order to resolve local problems, leading to economic development and well-being (Asadi *et al.*, 2008; Sabatini, 2009), this is not always the case. Smith (2000) notes that small, dense, homogenous networks (referred to in this case as bonding social capital) lack influential ties that bring in new opportunities and resources. Grootaert and Narayan (2004) acknowledge the limited nature of bonding social capital in terms of imparting power and resources to some social groups. Furthermore, Sabatini (2009) believes that bonding social capital causes backwardness. Thus, the benefits accruing from the type of

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social capital observed in the current study are of a limited nature since they do not confer resources and power to the communities that may see their poverty situation improving.

Areas characterised by higher levels of bonding social capital such as those in the current study can suffer from a lack of bridging social capital (Sabatini, 2009). Presumably, the lack of bridging social capital in the Guruve communities could possibly account for the observed generalised poverty. Bridging social capital enables social groups to access various resources, information and influence (Smith, 2000). Besser (2009) takes note of the fact that bridging social capital crosses boundaries and brings together people from disparate groups. This means that bridging social capital promotes the interests of the community as a whole instead of those of individuals. Clearly, in light of the fact that the communities in Guruve District were highly endowed with bonding social capital, this point cannot be overemphasised. As Heenan (2010) notes, bonding social capital has a limited impact on the wider community.

Evidence was provided in this study that membership of FACHIG significantly improved the chances of having friends based in institutional networks and also being networked to people in local and national government, media and political parties. Section 4.7.5 draws attention to the importance of such associations as potential 'bridges' that help mediate economic and social benefits with local and international institutions on behalf of members.

Having discussed the benefits and limitations of bonding social capital and the potential that bridging social capital has in bringing down poverty rates in Guruve District, it is important to point out that better poverty outcomes emanate from taking advantage of both forms of social capital. However, the challenge is to find the optimum mix of both forms of social capital that would steer communities in Guruve away from poverty. Section 4.7.6 provides some clues on how this could be achieved.

6.2.5 Social capital and participation in local community events

The low levels of participation in local community events observed in this study implied that social capital was not necessarily and only enhanced by membership or involvement

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in organisational activities. This observation strengthens the growing literature that rejects the claim that social capital is located in groups and organisations, including the belief that low levels of it cause low levels of participation in group or organisational activities (Putnam, 1993). Despite this, Gaiha (2003) notes that the inability to relate to others and to take part in the life of the community can directly impoverish a person's life. Smith (2000) reviews literature and concludes that being connected allows individuals access to information to exploit opportunities before they become widely known, thereby enhancing status and improving incomes. Therefore, it can be concluded that policies that promote participation in groups, clubs, community events and network activities contribute to poverty reduction.

6.2.6 The link between social capital and poverty

In this study, it was observed that a positive link existed between social capital and income, implying that the former was directly associated with poverty. A probable explanation for this could be that income enables individuals to invest in social capital (Cheung and Chan, 2008). Therefore, policies that promote income generation by poor people in Guruve District are likely to contribute to social capital formation with concomitant payoffs in terms of poverty reduction.

6.3 The Gendered Pattern of Social Capital Endowments

The significantly higher likelihood of women when compared to men observed in this study to trust and engage in reciprocal arrangements with family members, friends, neighbours and formal institutions in their locality confirmed the hypothesis that there are differences in social capital endowments between male and female household heads in smallholder farming areas in Guruve District.

The high levels of trust and feelings of reciprocity observed among women in this study are consistent with the findings of Lowndes (2004). The results implied that women in Guruve District were potentially better partners for implementing successful development projects at local level compared to men (refer to section 5.5). It was concluded that building trust and norms of reciprocity helped overcome poverty among the communities.

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Despite the perceived benefits arising from women's social capital endowments in terms of trust and reciprocity, some scholars question its instrumental value taking into account the fact that in most paternal societies such as those in Guruve District, men control crucial resources (Gidengil et al., 2003). According to Eriksson *et al.* (2010), men are more likely to have access to some forms of social capital than women. In Canada for example, men seem to be active around economic and recreational activities, while women prefer to be more involved in expressive and community-oriented groups that are related to kin ties, 'care' activities and the domestic sphere (Gidengil et al., 2003). It seems, therefore, that the higher levels of trust and reciprocity associated with women in the current study are more inclined towards kin ties, 'care' activities and the domestic sphere. Such social capital is of a bonding nature and excludes them from more powerful social networks and opportunities (Eriksson et. al., 2010). Therefore, it is not enough to simply examine the depth of social capital without recognising its gendered nature.

It is evident that this study clarified the extent of poverty and its generalised nature in Guruve District. A link between social capital and poverty was discerned. The generalised poverty observed in the smallholder farming areas was associated with a lack of bridging social capital. A gendered pattern in social capital endowments clearly emerged from the study, suggesting that women exhibited more reciprocity and trustworthiness compared to men. These observations justified the view that women were more likely to be better partners in development and poverty reduction programmes than men. However, it remains unclear whether the type of social capital endowed in women in Guruve District offered any economic benefits and other life improving opportunities. Since social capital of a bonding nature prevailed among women, they were likely to be enjoying limited benefits from it in terms of achieving progress and change in their lives.

6.4 Conclusions and Recommendations

This study revealed that TCPL, which worsened between 2003 and 2009, outweighed the significant improvement in food poverty in Guruve District measured in terms of FPL. The worsening income poverty was attributed to the observed high costs of education, transport and communication.

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In order to mitigate the situation presented above, it was recommended that policy makers should prioritise strategies that encourage own production of food for domestic consumption, especially maize (the staple food crop). Diversification of incomes through farm and off-farm activities could improve incomes within communities. This is likely to impact positively on food and income poverty in the District. Favourable government policies that allow poor and very poor households to keep their children in school, for example subsidies and controls, should be maintained and strengthened in order to address the increasing incidence of poverty. While such policies have a positive impact on income poverty, there is need for balancing them such that excessive dependence on government support is not created.

Improvements in infrastructure such as roads and telecommunication could improve physical access, information exchange and networking apart from reducing the cost of transport and communication. Acquisition of modern technology could assist in fostering information exchange with higher level institutions and across social groups and regions at a lower cost. In turn, this could avail resources and opportunities for development to these deprived communities with concomitant spin-off benefits on income poverty in Guruve District.

The HDI and HPI obtained in this study meant that Guruve District continued to lag far behind in achieving its MDG targets. High mortality rates significantly contributed to the high HDI and HPI. Promoting measures that aim to reduce risky sexual behaviour and use of antiretroviral drugs could contribute to the lowering of HIV and AIDS prevalence rates and effects. Efforts should be made to improve reproductive health care. In particular, better obstetric care could help reduce high maternal mortality rates. In order to reduce child and infant mortality, simple improvements in basic health services and adherence to proven interventions should be implemented. This might help contain the major causes of child deaths such as pneumonia, diarrhoea, malaria and measles. Considered together, the above measures might possibly reduce mortality rates in the country with significant positive spin-offs on the District's HDI and HPI and overall poverty.

The generalised poverty observed in the study communities was largely attributed to a lack of bridging social capital. This was so despite the perceived benefits associated with

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high levels of bonding social capital such as those observed in this study. It was recommended that policy makers should formulate policies that create an optimum mix of both bonding and bridging social capital necessary for poverty reduction.

The need for policies that promote the cultivation of bridging social capital was found to be essential in linking the smallholder farming communities in Guruve District with higher level institutions and more privileged communities. This, in turn, could result in the channelling of resources, opportunities, skills and knowledge to them, resulting in considerable development and poverty reduction. Policies that promote the formation of groups or local organisations should be encouraged. Such membership provides a good platform for enhancing bridging social capital of individuals and local organisations, possibly leading to lowered poverty rates in future.

6.5 Implications of the Study Results for Research

Five key issues of interest to research emerged from this study. Firstly, up-to-date statistics on poverty are lacking in Zimbabwe. This study has provided insights into poverty trends in the country that are of interest to academics and policy makers alike.

Secondly, the study showed that high levels of social capital were not necessarily associated with reduced poverty as conventionally accepted in literature. When discussing social capital it is important to distinguish the form that is being referred to. In this respect, there is need to establish whether it is bonding or bridging social capital. This is crucial because the two types are often associated with different outcomes and effects.

Thirdly, this study characterised the nature of social capital (bonding social capital) existing in the smallholder farming communities of Guruve District. In addition, a relationship was found to exist between poverty and bridging social capital, which showed that lack of it contributed to poverty in Guruve District. This should be considered as a major achievement in broadening the frontiers of knowledge given the dearth of literature on this subject in Zimbabwe.

Fourthly, this study unearthed a gendered pattern in social capital endowments. This suggested that women were more trustworthy and attached to their communities than

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men. These results implied that women were a pillar of strength in their communities and more likely to be better partners in development and poverty reduction programmes than men. Given the dearth of literature linking social capital, gender and poverty, these results are important in that they shed some light on the type of social capital associated with women in Guruve District and its significance to poverty reduction and development.

Lastly, the high levels of social capital (bonding) observed in this study, despite low participation levels in local community events, challenged the conventional belief that social capital is located in groups and organisations. Therefore, these results contribute to a growing social capital discourse that questions the assertion that low levels of social capital are necessarily correlated with low levels of participation in group or organisational activities.

6.6 Recommendations for Further Research

This study was undertaken during a turbulent period in which rural households in Zimbabwe faced a myriad of socio-economic and political challenges. It is possible that a similar study conducted in a much more stable environment could yield different results.

Although this study managed to isolate lack of bridging social capital as being associated with the continued poverty situation in Guruve District, it is not clear why the smallholder farming communities should not simply 'acquire' it instead of waiting for external intervention. There is need for extending the scope of the study to include an investigation into the factors that make communities fail to acquire bridging social capital. In this context, additional empirical research is also needed to establish a timeframe, conditions and roadmap for acquiring bridging social capital.

This study presented a unique example of a successful local level organisation, namely FACHIG, which led to high leverage of social capital. However, generalisation of the results of the study could be problematic because of the nature of the research design. A research design covering a broader spectrum of comparable organisations could help strengthen the conclusions made in this study. Also, there is scope for research that clarifies how organisations such as FACHIG could actively manage and promote the development of social capital especially in poor rural farming communities.

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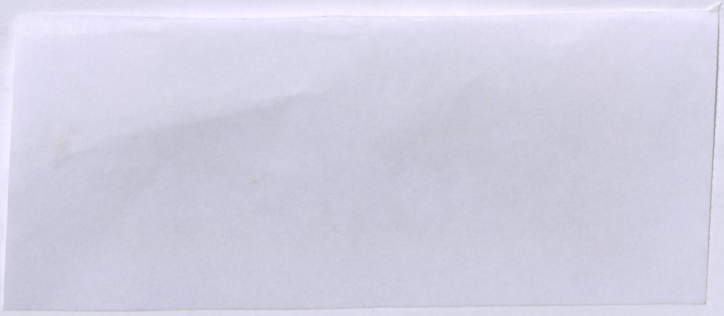
Strong social capital in communities may have a negative influence in smallholder farming communities. In this study, the special focus on positive outcomes of social capital is likely to have resulted in a failure to distil the negative influences. This necessitates further analysis that builds a more balanced understanding of all the possible implications of strong social capital for poverty reduction.

Lastily, although this study isolated the type of social capital that women in Guruve possessed it was not clear what confined them to it. Further empirical studies based on a critical gender perspective are needed to establish if such a type of social capital does not perpetuate and strengthen social divisions as well as existing power relations.



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APPENDICES

Appendix 1 Guruve Rural District Poverty Assessment Study Survey:2009 Markets Questionnaire

Fill the boxes, circle or write response where applicable

A. Identification

GEOCODE

[A1] Province.....

[A2] District .....

[A3] Ward.....

[A4] Sector.....

[A6] Language spoken in interview (maximum 2 options)

1=Shona

2=Ndebele

3=English

4=Other.....

[A5] Shopping Centre:.....

Enumerator name ..... [A7] Enumerator Code .....

[A8] DATE ..... / 11 / 2009

[A9] Questionnaire Number.....

Signature of enumerator .....

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Food Item and non-food items	B1 Does this shop have the following commodities in stock? **1**=yes **2**=no ***If no, go to next food item***	B2 Unit of measurement **1**=loaf **2**=kg **3**=litre	B3 **If yes in F1:** What was the selling price for …?	
			Quantity/ Unit of sale	**Value (USD)**
Bread	1 2			
Maize/mealie rice	1 2			
Flour (wheat)	1 2			
Mhunga	1 2			
Millet	1 2			
Rapoko	1 2			
Sorghum	1 2			
Rice	1 2			
Breakfast cereals	1 2			
Meat	1 2			
Fish	1 2			
Milk	1 2			
Cheese	1 2			

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Eggs	1 2			
Butter/peanut butter/margarine	1 2			
Cooking oil/Lard/Dripping (Animal Fat)	1 2			
Fruits	1 2			
Cabbages	1 2			
Onions	1 2			
Tomatoes	1 2			
Rape/Covo/Chomoulier	1 2			
Pumpkin/Squashes	1 2			
Green mealies	1 2			
Green Beans	1 2			
Dried/Tinned Vegetables	1 2			
Groundnuts	1 2			
Potatoes	1 2			
Sweet potatoes	1 2			
Sugar/Sweets/glucose	1 2			
Coffee/Tea/Chocolate drink	1 2			
Take Away Cooked Foods	1 2	xxxxxxxxxxx		
Sit down meals	1 2	xxxxxxxxxxx		

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Alcoholic beverages	1 2			
Non-Alcoholic beverages	1 2			
Tobacco	1 2	Packet of 20		
Clothing	1 2	Trousers and shirt		
Footwear	1 2	Size 7 men's shoes		
Firewood	1 2	bundle		
Other fuel (specify)	1 2	litres		
School Uniforms	1 2	Shorts and shirt		
School Shoes	1 2	Size 6 "children's"		
Stationery for School	1 2	1*Exercise book, 1*pen and 1* ruler		
Education books (text books)	1 2	1* text book		
Furniture (table and chairs)	1 2	set		
Radio	1 2	1 piece		
TV	1 2	1 TV set		
Camera	1 2	1 piece		

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Appendix 2 Guruve Rural District Poverty Assessment Study Survey:2009 Household Questionnaire

Introduction and Informed Consent

Hello. My name is _____ and I am with FACHIG. We are conducting a survey in Guruve district on Poverty and Social Capital. Your household was randomly selected to be interviewed. We would very much appreciate your participation in this survey. I would like to ask you some questions about your household related to health, education, income, consumption pattern and other features of poverty. This information will be used in the understanding and characterization of poverty in Guruve District. The survey usually takes between 45 to 60 minutes to complete. Whatever information you provide will be kept strictly confidential and will not be shown to other persons.

Your participation in this survey is voluntary and you may choose not answer any individual question or all of the questions. We hope, however, that you will participate in this survey since your views are important.

Now, do you want to ask me anything about the survey?

May I begin the interview now?

Signature of interviewer: _____ Date: _____

RESPONDENT AGREES TO BE INTERVIEWED . . . 1 RESPONDENT DOES NOT AGREE TO BE INTERVIEWED . . .

↓

2 → END INTERVIEW

PROCEED

(To be completed at the end of the interview)

Result of Interview

1=completed 2=not at home 3=postponed

4=refused 5=partly completed

6=other (specify) _____

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FILL THE BOXES, CIRCLE OR WRITE RESPONSE WHERE APPLICABLE

B. Identification

GEOCODE

[A1] Province ..... [A7] Language spoken in interview (maximum 2 options)

[A2] District ..... 1=Shona

[A3] Ward ..... 2=Ndebele

[A4] Sector ..... 3=English

[A5] EA ..... 4=Other,.....

[A6] Household .....

Enumerator name ..... [A8] Enumerator Code .....

[A9] DATE ...../...../ 2009

[A10] STARTING TIME .....

[A11] FINISHING TIME .....

[A12] Questionnaire Number.....

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SECTION A: POVERTY DERIVATIVES

1. CHARACTERISTICS OF HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS

Person code	B4 What is …'s relationship to the head of household? **1**=head **2**=spouse **3**=child **4**=parent of head **5**=parent of spouse **6**=sister/brother **7**=co-wife **8**=grand-child **9**=grand-parent **10**=other relative **11**=non-relative/employee	B5 What is …'s marital status? **1**=never married **2**=married **3**=divorced/ separated **4**=widowed **5**=co-habiting	B6 Is …'s father alive? **1**=yes **2**=no **3**=don't know ***I f No, skip to B8***	B7 **If Yes in B6** and father is a current member of the household, circle father's code	B8 Is …'s mother alive? **1**=yes **2**=no **3**=don't know ***I f No, skip to B10***	B9 **If Yes in B8** and mother is a current member of the household, circle mother's code	B10 Is … disabled? **1**=yes **2**=no ***If No, go to next person, or next section***	B11 **If yes to B10:** What is the nature of disability? **1**=difficulty moving **2**=difficulty seeing **3**=difficulty speaking **4**=difficulty hearing **5**=difficulty learning/ mental handicap **6**=chronic fits/epilepsy **7**=strange behavior/ mental illness **8**=lack of feeling in hands or feet/leprosy **9**=Other (Specify)……. **Go to B12**
01	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	1 2 3	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
02	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	1 2 3	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
03	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	1 2 3	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
04	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	1 2 3	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
05	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	1 2 3	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
06	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	1 2 3	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

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07	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	1 2 3	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
08	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	1 2 3	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
09	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	1 2 3	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
10	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	1 2 3	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

B12	How many members of this household moved out in the last 12 months? **(If zero, go to next section on Education)**	.....
B13	If more than zero in B12, where did they move to?	**1**=urban area **2**=rural area **3**=abroad **4**=other (specify) .....

2. EDUCATION

Ask for all household members aged 5 years and above

P	C1	C2	C3	C4	C5	C6	C7	C8

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e r s o n c o d e	Has ... ever been to school? **1**=yes **2**=no ***If no, go to C4***	**If yes to C1:** what is the highest level of education ... has completed? **1-7**=Grade 1-7 **8-13**=Forms 1-6 **20**= Vocational training after primary **21**=Vocational training after secondary **22**=Diploma **23**=Graduate / post graduate **24**=Other (specify)..... **99**=Not completed Grade 1	Is ...'s currently attending school? **1**=yes **2**=no ***I f no and under 24 years, go to C4*** ***If no and above 24 years, go to C6***	If ... is currently out of school or has never been to school, what is the main reason? **1**=financial constraints **2**=school too far **3**=ill health **4**=religious/ cultural reasons **5**=too young **6**=education not important **7**=became pregnant **8**=could not cope with school **9**=truancy **10**=completed education **11**=to work at home or on farm **12**=Other (Specify)	If ... has ever been but is now out of school, what was the year he/she last attended school? ***(Record the month and year)***		Can ... read a letter? **1**=yes **2**=no	Can ... write a letter? **1**=yes **2**=no	Can ... perform accurate monetary transaction? **1**=yes **2**=no
					M o n t h	Y e a r			
01	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 20 21 22 23 24 99	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12			1 2	1 2	1 2
02	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 20 21 22 23 24 99	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12			1 2	1 2	1 2
03	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 20 21 22 23 24 99	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12			1 2	1 2	1 2
04	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 20 21 22 23 24 99	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12			1 2	1 2	1 2
05	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 20 21 22 23 24 99	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12			1 2	1 2	1 2

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06	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 20 21 22 23 24 99	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12			1 2	1 2	1 2
07	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 20 21 22 23 24 99	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12			1 2	1 2	1 2
08	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 20 21 22 23 24 99	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12			1 2	1 2	1 2
09	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 20 21 22 23 24 99	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12			1 2	1 2	1 2
10	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 20 21 22 23 24 99	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12			1 2	1 2	1 2

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3. GENERAL HEALTH

Person code	D1	D2	D3	D4	D5	D6
	During the past month did ... suffer from any illness/ injuries? **1**=yes **2**=no ***If no, go to next person***	**If yes to D1:** What was the major illness/injury that ... suffered from in the past month? **1**=malaria **2**=Diarrhoea **3**=cholera **4**=injury **5**=skin condition **6**=eye condition **7**=ear/nose/throat condition **8**=STIs **9**=Tuberculosis **10**=Influenza/cold/cough **11**=other (specify).....	Was ... unable to engage in his/her usual activities, such as working, going to school or playing, due to the illness/ injury? **1**=yes **2**=no	Did ... seek treatment? **1**=yes **2**=no ***If yes, go to D6***	**If no to D4:** why did ... not seek treatment? **1**=facility too far **2**=lack of funds **3**=home treatment sufficient **4**=religious beliefs **5**=condition cannot change **6**=illness/injuries not serious **7**=no time **8**=other (specify)	**If Yes in D4:** where did ... seek treatment? **1**=public clinic/hospital **2**=private doctor/clinic/hospital **3**=traditional/faith healer **4**=other (specify) .....
01	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	1 2	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	1 2 3 4
02	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	1 2	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	1 2 3 4
03	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	1 2	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	1 2 3 4
04	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	1 2	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	1 2 3 4
05	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	1 2	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	1 2 3 4
06	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	1 2	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	1 2 3 4
07	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	1 2	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	1 2 3 4
08	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	1 2	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	1 2 3 4
09	1	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	1	1	1 2 3 4 5 6	1 2 3 4

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	2	9 10	2	2	7 8 9 10	
10	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	1 2	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	1 2 3 4

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4. INCOME

Agricultural Income

E1	Does this household have access to land for cultivation? **1**=yes **2**=no **If No, go to the Livestock Table**	**E1b:** What is the total land holding size for this household? **1**= <2Acres **2**= 2-5Acres **3**= 6-10 Acres **4**=>10Acres
E2	Does this household have access to sufficient labour for Agricultural activities? **1**=yes **2**=no	
E3	Does this household have access to sufficient drought power for farming purposes? **1**=yes **2**=no	
E4	Does this household have access to livestock manure? **1**=yes **2**=no	

	E5	E6		E7	E8	E9		E10		E11	E12	E13	
Crop	Which of the following crops did this household plant last season (2008/ 2009)? **1**=yes **2**=no	**If yes,** what was the estimated harvest of each of the crops last season? **Codes for units:** **1**=50kg bags **2**=90kg bags **3**=bale **4**=bucket **5**=kgs **6**=gallon 7=tonnes		What was the estimated total amount of seed used? **(kgs)**	What was the source of the seed? **1**=purchased **2**= Govt transfers **3**=FACHIG 4=NGO transfers **5**=Pvt Company **6**=remittances **7**=own seed **8**=Other (Specify)……	If seed was purchased, what was the cost? **Currency:** 1=USD 2=Zim$		What was the planted area under each crop last season? **Codes for Unit:** 1=Acres 2=Hectare		What was the main source of fertilizer used by this household last season? **1**=purchased fertilizer **2**=Govt transfers **3**=FACHIG **4**=NGO transfer **5**=Pvt Company **6**=remittances **7**=no fertilizer	How many kgs of fertilizer were used last season? **(kgs)**	What was the cost of the fertilizer purchased last season? **Currency:** 1=USD 2=Zim$	
		u n i t	**Qty**			**U n i t**	**$ $**	U n i t	A r e a			Unit	$

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Maize	1 2				1 2 3 4 5 6					1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9					
Millet/Mhunga	1 2				1 2 3 4 5 6					1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9					
Sorghum/ Mapfunde	1 2				1 2 3 4 5 6					1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9					
Rapoko/ Zviyo	1 2				1 2 3 4 5 6					1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9					
Rice	1 2				1 2 3 4 5 6					1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9					
Wheat	1 2				1 2 3 4 5 6					1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9					
Soyabeans	1 2				1 2 3 4 5 6					1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9					
Beans	1 2				1 2 3 4 5 6					1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9					
Sunflower	1 2				1 2 3 4 5 6					1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9					
Peas/Cowpeas	1 2				1 2 3 4 5 6					1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9					
Groundnuts(unshelled)	1 2				1 2 3 4 5 6					1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9					

Crop	E5	E6	E7	E8	E9	E10	E11	E12	E13
	Which of the following crops did this household plant last season (2008/ 2009)? **1**=yes **2**=no	**If yes,** what was the estimated harvest of each of the crops last season? **Codes for units:** **1**=50kg bags **2**=90kg bags **3**=bale **4**=bucket **5**=kgs **6**=gallons **136**=tonnes	What was the estimated total amount of seed used?	What was the source of the seed? **1**=purchased **2**= Govt transfers **3**=FACHIG 4=NGO transfers **5**=Pvt Company **6**=remittances	If seed was purchased, what was the cost? **Currency** **1**=USD **2**=Zim$	What was the planted area under each crop last season?	What was the main source of fertilizer used by this household last season? **1**=purchased fertilizer **2**=Govt transfers **3**=FACHIG **4**=NGO	How many kgs of fertilizer were used last season?	What was the cost of the fertilizer purchased last season? **Currency:** 1=USD 2=Zim$

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					7=own seed 8=Other (Specify).....				Codes for unit: 1=Acre 2=Hectare	transfer 5=Pvt Company 6=remittances 7=no fertilizer			
				(kgs)							(kgs)		
		unit	Qty			unit	$	unit	Area			unit	Amt
Cotton(unginned)	1 2				1 2 3 4 5 6					1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9			
Tobacco	1 2				1 2 3 4 5 6					1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9			
Roundnuts	1 2				1 2 3 4 5 6					1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9			
Sweet potatoes	1 2				1 2 3 4 5 6					1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9			
Onions	1 2				1 2 3 4 5 6					1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9			
Tomatoes	1 2				1 2 3 4 5 6					1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9			

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Paprika	1 2				1 2 3 4 5 6						1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9			
Green leaf Vegetables	1 2	xx	xxx xxx xx		1 2 3 4 5 6						1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9			
Cabbages	1 2	xx	xx		1 2 3 4 5 6						1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9			
Fruit	1 2				1 2 3 4 5 6						1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9			
Other agric products (Specify)	1 2				1 2 3 4 5 6						1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9			

Agricultural income (continued): Crop Table

Crop	E14 If no fertilizer was used, what was the main reason? 1=too expensive 2=not available 3=not needed 4=could not get credit 5=due to climatic conditions 6=other(specify)	E15 How is the crop produced used? 1=household consumption 2=partly for consumption and partly for sale 3=for sale	E16 How many kgs were used for payment in kind? ***(Include funeral contributions etc. and estimate per month)*** **(kgs)**	E17 How many kgs did you send to other relatives?	E18 How many kgs did this household sell last season? ***(If more than zero, go to E19)*** **(kgs)**	E19 To whom was the crop sold? 1=GMB 2=FACHIG 3=Pvt Companies 4=Independent dealers 5=community 6=other (specify)…….. ***(multiple responses allowed)***	E20 How much money was received from the crop sales? **(USD)**	E21 How much of the crop is currently in stock? **(kgs)**
Maize	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3				1 2 3 4		

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Green leaf Vegetables	1 2 3 4 5 6	1 2 3				1 2 3 4 5 6		
Cabbages	1 2 3 4 5 6	1 2 3				1 2 3 4 5 6		
Fruit	1 2 3 4 5 6	1 2 3				1 2 3 4 5 6		
Other agric products	1 2 3 4 5 6	1 2 3				1 2 3 4 5 6		

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Agricultural income (continued): Livestock Table

Livestock	E22 Does the household have any of the following livestock? **1**=yes **2**=no ***(If no, go to E24)***	E23 If yes, how many of each livestock do you have?	E24 What number was sold in the last 12 months? ***(Use last month as the reference period for rabbits, poultry and birds)***	E25 What was the estimated price per head?	E26 What was the number of live head used as payment in the last 12 months?	E27 If sold, why did you sell the livestock? **1**=medical **2**=education **3**=food procurement **4**=business **5**=other	E28 What is the current price for each livestock?
Cattle	1 2					1 2 3 4 5	
Goats	1 2					1 2 3 4 5	
Sheep	1 2					1 2 3 4 5	
Pigs	1 2					1 2 3 4 5	
Donkeys	1 2					1 2 3 4 5	
Poultry	1 2					1 2 3 4 5	
Rabbits	1 2					1 2 3 4 5	
Other	1 2					1 2 3 4 5	

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Livelihoods/Household business income (preferably ask owner of household business)

E29	Did this household or any of its members run a household business in the last 12 months? **1**=yes **2**=no							
E30	E31	E32			E33	E34	E35	
If yes to E29: Who owns the household business? ***Circle the person code***	Describe the type of **main** household business in max. 3 words for each of the household members	If the household business is jointly owned, indicate the person codes of the **three** main owners if they are members of the household P1	P2	P3	What was the estimated monthly income in cash from this business during the last 12 months **(USD)**	How much income in cash did you receive from this business last month? **(USD)**	What was the estimated monthly income in kind from this business during the last 12 months? **(USD)**	
01								
02								
03								
04								
05								
06								
07								
08								

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09								
10								

Transfer Income (in cash and in kind)

E 36	Did this household receive any transfers during the **last month**? **1**=yes **2**=no ***If no, go to E41***

If yes to E36: provide details in the table below:

E37 From which source did you receive transfers? **1**=relatives **2**=spouse **3**=children **4**=government **5**=NGOs/Donors **6**=group/network **7**=other (specify)	E38 If applicable where is this individual? **1**=urban **2**=rural **3**=abroad	E39 Cash value of the transfer **(USD)**	E40 How much **in kind** did you receive last month? **(USD)**	E41 Describe the ty transfer?
1 2 3 4 5 6 7	1 2 3			
1 2 3 4 5 6 7	1 2 3			
1 2 3 4 5 6 7	1 2 3			
1 2 3 4 5 6 7	1 2 3			
1 2 3 4 5 6 7	1 2 3			
1 2 3 4 5 6 7	1 2 3			

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E41	Who makes decisions in this household on the use of **all incomes**?	**1**=head of household-male **2**=head of household female **3**=joint **4**=other (specify)

5. CONSUMPTION EXPENDITURE

Food consumption expenditure ***(ask for the whole household as an entity)***

Food Item	F1 Did this household spend anything on the following food items in the last month? **1**=yes **2**=no ***If no, go to F4***	F2 Unit of measurement **1**=loaf **2**=kg **3**=litre	F3 **If yes in F1:** What was the total amount spent on the food item last month? ***Also ask for quantity***		F4 In addition to purchases, how much did this household consume of the following food items **from other sources** in the last month? **1**=own production **2**=public transfers **3**=private transfers **4**=other (specify)……							
			Quantity	**Total Value (USD)**	**1**		**2**		**3**		**4**	
					Qty	Value	Qty	Value	Qty	Value	Qty	Value
Bread	1 2											
Maize/mealie rice	1 2											
Flour (wheat)	1 2											

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Mhunga	1	2											
Millet	1	2											
Rapoko	1	2											
Sorghum	1	2											
Rice	1	2											
Breakfast cereals	1	2											
Meat	1	2											
Fish	1	2											
Milk	1	2											
Eggs	1	2											
Butter/peanut butter/margarine	1	2											
Cooking oil/Lard/Dripping (Animal Fat)	1	2											
Fruits	1	2											
Cabbages	1	2											
Onions	1	2											
Tomatoes	1	2											
Rape/Covo/Chomoulier	1	2											
Pumpkin/Squashes	1	2											
Green mealies	1	2											
Green Beans	1	2											
Dried/Tinned Vegetables	1	2											
Groundnuts	1	2											
Potatoes	1	2											
Sweet potatoes	1	2											
Sugar/Sweets/glucose	1	2											
Coffee/Tea/Chocolate drink	1	2											
Take Away Cooked Foods	1	2	xxxxx										
Sit down meals	1	2	xxxxx										

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Alcoholic beverages	1	2											
Non-Alcoholic beverages	1	2											
Other (specify)…… …	1	2											

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Non-food consumption expenditure ***(ask for the whole household as an entity)***

	F5	F6
Non-Food Item	Reference/ Recall Period **1**=last month **2**=last 12 months **3**=last term	How much did this household spend on the following non-food consumer items? ***Please note the reference /recall period in F5*** **(USD)**
Tobacco	1	
Clothing	2	
Footwear	2	
Rent	1	
Water	1	
Repair and Maintenance of house	2	
Electricity	1	
Firewood	1	
Other fuel (specify)	1	
Household textiles and furnishing	2	
Household Utensils	2	
Household Operations	2	
Insurance (house, etc)	2	
Funeral policies/Burial Society	2	
Domestic wages	1	
Medicines	1	
Payment for Medical Aid	1	
Fees paid to Doctors/traditional/faith healers	1	
Hospital/Clinic/Maternity Fees	1	
Fees paid for medical/laboratory tests	1	
Funeral Expenses	1	
Operation of Personal Transport Equipment (tyres, fuel)	1	
Communication/Transport (road, rail, etc)	1	
Recreation, Entertainment and Cultural Activities	1	
School Fees and Levies ECEC (e.g. crèche)	1	
School Fees and Levies for Primary Education	3	
School Fees and Levies for Secondary Education	3	
College/University Tuition Fees	2	
School Uniforms	2	

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School Shoes	2	
Stationery for School	1	
Education books (text books, novels)	1	
Transport to school	1	
Boarding Fees	3	
Personal Care Effects (e.g. hair dressing, perfumes)	1	
Personal Goods	2	
Expenditure in Hotels and Package Tours	2	
Expenditure on Financial and Legal Services	2	
Interest on House and Other loans	2	
Furniture	2	
Purchases of motor cars, vans, motor cycles, bicycles, etc	2	
Jewellery, Watches, Rings and Precious Stones	2	
Radio, TV, Cameras, etc	2	
Payments on Regular Installments of house/other loans	2	
Other expenditures (e.g. air fares)	2	

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6. HOUSING, AMENITIES AND ASSETS

Housing

G1	What is the tenure status of the household? **If code 2, 4, or 5, go G3**	**1**=owner **2**=tenant **3**=lodger **4**=tied accommodation **5**=other (specify).....
G2	**If code 1 in G1,** who owns the dwelling?	**1**=household head-female **2**=household head-male **3**=co-ownership **4**=child **5**=other household members **6**=relative **7**=other family members **8**=other (specify).....
G3	How many separate living rooms are there in the dwelling excluding bathrooms?	.....
G4	Are you sub-letting any rooms?	**1**=yes **2**=no
G5	How many rooms does the household occupy in this dwelling?	
G6	What is the type of **main** dwelling unit? **By observation by enumerator**	**1**=traditional **2**=mixed **3**=detached **4**=semi-detached **5**=town-flat **6**=other (e.g. shack)
G7	What material is the roof of the main dwelling unit made of?	**1**=concrete/cement **2**=asbestos 3=wood 4=zinc/iron 5=bamboo-thatch or straw 6=other

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G8	What material is the floor of the main dwelling unit made of?	**1**=cement or brick **2**=tile **3**=wood **4**=stone **5**=mud **6**=natural/no floor **7**=other (specify)……
G9	What material are the walls of the main dwelling unit made of?	**1**=bricks **2**=pre-fab / durawall **3**=wood **4**=plastic **5**=cardboard **6**=mud **7**=asbestos **8**=other (specify)……
G10	When was the main dwelling constructed? **(year only)**	
G11	If you sold the dwelling today, about how much do you think you could get for it? (USD)	1=USD_____ 2=Don't Know

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Water and Sanitation

G12	What is the main source of water used most often in this household for cooking and drinking?	**1**=piped water inside dwelling **2**=piped water outside dwelling **3**=communal tap **4**=well/borehole **5**=well-unprotected **6**=river/stream **7**=other (specify)……
G13	How far away is the main water source?	**1**=inside dwelling **2**=on premises **3**=less than 500m **4**=500-1km **5**=more than 1 km
G14	What kind of toilet facility does the household use mostly?	**1**=flush **2**=blair **3**=pit **4**=communal **5**=none
G15	Where is the toilet facility	**1**=inside dwelling **2**=outside dwelling-on stand **3**=outside dwelling-off stand

Assets

G16	Does the household own or have access to the following items? **They must be in good working condition/ order.**	Item	Ownership **1**=yes **2**=no	Access **1**=yes **2**=no
		Bicycle	1	
		Wheelbarrow	1	
		Scotchcart	1	
		Plough	1	
		Tractor		

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		Cultivator	1		
		Yokes	1		
		Motor Vehicle (excluding public transport)			
		Motor Cycle/Scooter			
		Land (arable, industrial, residential)			
		Livestock	1		
		Bed			
		Refridgerator/Deep-freezer			
		Grinding mill			
		Grinding stone			
		Radio			
		Television			
		Video Tape Recorder			
		Telephone			
		Cell Phone			
		Stoves (gas or electric)			
		Solar Panel			
		Generator			
		Oil Press			
		Peanut Butter Machine			
		Pound and Mortar			
		Forge (mvuto)			
		Knitting Machine			
		Sewing Machine			
		Computer			
		Satellite Dish			
		Dura	1		
		Barn			
		Kraal (danga)	1		
		Shade			

SECTION B: SOCIAL CAPITAL DERIVATIVES

Informal structures *(Use 6 months recall period unless stated otherwise)*

H1	Does the community recognize the importance of differences between men and women in:			
	a) land allocation?	1=yes	2=sometimes	3=never

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	b) selection of leadership	1=yes	2=sometimes	3=never
	c) Marriage	1=yes	2=sometimes	3=never
	d) Education	1=yes	2=sometimes	3=never
H2	Does the community recognize the importance of differences between younger and older generations in dividing the community?			1=yes 2=sometimes 3=never
H3	Does the community recognize the Importance of differences in religious beliefs in dividing the community?			1=yes 2=sometimes 3=never
H4	Does the community recognize the Importance of differences in ethnic background in dividing the community?			1=yes 2=sometimes 3=never
H5	Does the community recognize the Importance of differences in education in dividing the community?			1=yes 2=sometimes 3=never
H6	Does the community recognize the Importance of differences in political party affiliations in dividing the community?			1=yes 2=sometimes 3=never
H7	Does the community recognize the Importance of differences between long-term residents and new arrivals in dividing the community?			1=yes 2=sometimes 3=never
H8	Do you often go outside local community to visit family?			1=yes 2=sometimes 3=never

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H9	If you had had a dispute with a neighbour, would you be willing to seek mediation?	1=yes 2=sometimes 3=never
H10	At work, do you frequently take the initiative to do what needs to be done?	1=yes 2=sometimes 3=never
H11	At work, do you frequently help workmates even though it is not in your job description?	1=yes 2=sometimes 3=never

Formal Structures *(Use 6 months recall period unless stated otherwise)*

H12	How often do you help a local group as a volunteer?					1=never 2=once/week 3=once/month 4=once/six months 5=once/year
H13	How many times in the past 6 months have you attended the following local community events?					
	a) Field Days	**1**=never	**2**=once/week	**3**=once/month	**4**=once/six months	**5**=once/year
	b) Agricultural Shows	**1**=never	**2**=once/week	**3**=once/month	**4**=once/six months	**5**=once/year
	c)Burial Society	**1**=never	**2**=once/week	**3**=once/month	**4**=once/six months	**5**=once/year
	d) Annual Rituals	**1**=never	**2**=once/week	**3**=once/month	**4**=once/six months	**5**=once/year
	e) Farmers meetings (Agritex)	**1**=never	**2**=once/week	**3**=once/month	**4**=once/six months	**5**=once/year
	f) FACHIG Meetings	**1**=never	**2**=once/week	**3**=once/month	**4**=once/six months	**5**=once/year

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	g) Other (Specify)	**1**=never	**2**=once/week	**3**=once/month	**4**=once/six months **5**=once/year
H14	How many local organizations or clubs are you an active member of?				1= 0 2= 1 -5 3= 6 -10 4= >10
H15	How many local organizations or clubs do you sit in the management committee or organizing committee?				1= 0 2= 1 -5 3= 6 -10 4= >10
H16	How many times in the past 3 years have you joined a local community project or working bee?				1= 0 2= 1 -5 times 3= 6 -10 times 4= >10 times
H17	How many times have you been part of project to organize a new service in your local community?				1= 0 2= 1 -5 times 3= 6 -10 times 4= >10 times
H18	How many times have you signed a petition or taken a complaint to:				
	a) Village Head?	**1**= 0	**2**= 1 -5 times	**3**= 6 -10 times	**4**= >10 times
	b) Councillor?	**1**= 0	**2**= 1 -5 times	**3**= 6 -10 times	**4**= >10 times
	c) Chief?	**1**= 0	**2**= 1 -5 times	**3**= 6 -10 times	**4**= >10 times
	d) Government?	**1**= 0	**2**= 1 -5 times	**3**= 6 -10 times	**4**= >10 times
	e) SDC?	**1**= 0	**2**= 1 -5 times	**3**= 6 -10 times	**4**= >10 times

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H19	How many times have you:	
	a) contacted the mainstream media regarding a problem?	**1**= 0 **2**= 1 -5 times **3**= 6 -10 times **4**= >10 times
	b) contacted the school headmaster regarding a problem?	**1**= 0 **2**= 1 -5 times **3**= 6 -10 times **4**= >10 times
	c) contacted a Chief regarding a problem?	**1**= 0 **2**= 1 -5 times **3**= 6 -10 times **4**= >10 times
	d) made announcements during local meetings regarding a problem?	**1**= 0 **2**= 1 -5 times **3**= 6 -10 times **4**= >10 times
	e)contacted churches regarding a problem?	**1**= 0 **2**= 1 -5 times **3**= 6 -10 times **4**= >10 times
	f) contacted a Councillor regarding a problem?	**1**= 0 **2**= 1 -5 times **3**= 6 -10 times **4**= >10 times
H20	How many times have you contacted a government official regarding a problem?	1= 0 2= 1 -5 times 3= 6 -10 times 4= >10 times
H21	How many times have you attended a public meeting organized by:	
	a) Government?	**1**= 0 **2**= 1 -5 times **3**= 6 -10 times **4**= >10 times
	b) NGOs?	**1**= 0 **2**= 1 -5 times **3**= 6 -10 times **4**= >10 times
	c) Private Companies?	**1**= 0 **2**= 1 -5 times **3**= 6 -10 times **4**= >10 times
	d)Churches?	**1**= 0 **2**= 1 -5 times **3**= 6 -10 times **4**= >10 times
	e) Traditional Leaders?	**1**= 0 **2**= 1 -5 times **3**= 6 -10 times **4**= >10 times

H22	How many times have you joined with people to resolve a local or neighbourhood problem?	1= 0 2= 1 -5 times 3= 6 -10 times 4= >10 times
H23	How many times have you taken steps to improve the environment through:	
	a) Tree planting?	**1**= 0 , **2**= 1 -5times , **3**= 6 -10times , **4**= >10times
	b) Conservation Agriculture?	**1**= 0 , **2**= 1 -5times , **3**= 6 -10times , **4**= >10times
	c) Contours / *Vertiva* grass?	**1**= 0 , **2**= 1 -5times , **3**= 6 -10times , **4**= >10times
	d) Gully reclamation?	**1**= 0 , **2**= 1 -5times , **3**= 6 -10times , **4**= >10times
	e) Composting?	**1**= 0 , **2**= 1 -5times , **3**= 6 -10times , **4**= >10times
H24	Do you personally know someone in the media?	1=yes 2=no
H25	Do you personally know someone in the state government?	1=yes 2=no
H26	Do you personally know someone in the local government?	1=yes 2=no
H27	Do you personally know someone in political parties?	1=yes 2=no

Informal Norms *(Use 6 months recall period unless stated otherwise)*

H28	To what extent would you trust close family and other relatives with whom you do not live?	1=never at all 2=to a less extent 3=to a greater extent
H29	To what extent would you trust your friends?	1=never at all 2=to a less extent 3=to a greater extent
H30	To what extent would you trust your neighbours?	1=never at all 2=to a less extent 3=to a greater extent
H31	To what extent would you trust your workmates and other associates?	1=never at all

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		2=to a less extent 3=to a greater extent
H32	How often do you, your close family, and other relatives with whom you do not live exchange practical help or advice?	1=never 2=once/week 3=once/month 4=once/six months 5=once/year
H33	How often do you and your friends exchange practical help or advice?	1=never 2=once/week 3=once/month 4=once/six months 5=once/year
H34	How often do you and your neighbours exchange practical help (e.g. labour) or advice?	1=never 2=once/week 3=once/month 4=once/six months 5=once/year
H35	How often do you and your current workmates or associates exchange practical help or advice?	1=never 2=once/week 3=once/month 4=once/six months 5=once/year

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Formal Norms *(Use 6 months recall period unless stated otherwise)*

H36	Do you agree that your community should welcome from outside cultures:	
	a) the idea of intermarriages?	**1**=yes **2**=sometimes **3**=never
	b) the idea of Gender equality?	**1**=yes **2**=sometimes **3**=never
	c)new agricultural technologies (e.g. conservation agriculture)	**1**=yes **2**=sometimes **3**=never
H37	Do you agree that rather than staying separate it is better if all groups adapt and blend in to your community?	1=yes 2=sometimes 3=never
H38	Do you agree that you should be cautious about accepting certain groups into your community?	1=yes 2=sometimes 3=never
H39	a) Do you agree that 'multiculturalism' makes life in your local community better?	1=yes 2=sometimes 3=never
	b) Do you enjoy living amongst people of different lifestyles?	1=yes 2=sometimes 3=never
H40	Do you feel safe walking down the street after dark?	1=yes 2=sometimes 3=never
H41	Can most people be trusted?	1=yes 2=sometimes 3=never
H42	If someone's car breaks down near your house at night, generally, would you invite them into your home to sleep over?	1=yes 2=sometimes 3=never
H43	In your local community, do you have the reputation for being at home alone during the day?	1=yes 2=sometimes 3=never
H44	Do you feel safe being at home alone during the day?	1=yes 2=sometimes 3=never
H45	Do you feel safe walking alone in the street during the day?	1=yes 2=sometimes 3=never

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H46	Do you have confidence in churches' ability to:	
	a) to solve problems/disputes?	1=yes 2=sometimes 3=never
	b) to bring development into the area?	1=yes 2=sometimes 3=never
	c) to create peace and harmony in the community?	1=yes 2=sometimes 3=never
	d) to raise morality in the community?	1=yes 2=sometimes 3=never
H47	Do you have confidence in the schools' ability to:	
	a) provide quality education?	1=yes 2=sometimes 3=never
	b) instill discipline in the children?	1=yes 2=sometimes 3=never
	c) raise moral values in the community?	1=yes 2=sometimes 3=never
H48	Do you have confidence in police force's ability to:	
	a) apprehend criminals/law-breakers?	1=yes 2=sometimes 3=never
	b) be fair at all times?	1=yes 2=sometimes 3=never
	c) instill discipline in the community?	1=yes 2=sometimes 3=never
H49	Do you have confidence in local media?	1=yes 2=sometimes 3=never
H50	Do you have confidence in government?	1=yes 2=sometimes 3=never
H51	Do you have confidence in local council?	1=yes 2=sometimes 3=never
H52	Are people around here really willing to help each other out?	1=yes 2=sometimes 3=never
H53	Do the values shared by the people around here differ :	
	a) by age?	1=yes 2=sometimes

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		3=never
	b) by sex?	1=yes 2=sometimes 3=never
	c) by ethnicity?	1=yes 2=sometimes 3=never
	d) towards education?	1=yes 2=sometimes 3=never
H54	Do you feel a strong sense of identity with your local community?	1=yes 2=sometimes 3=never
H55	Are you well informed about local affairs?	1=yes 2=sometimes 3=never
H56	Do you feel emotionally attached to the local community?	1=yes 2=sometimes 3=never
H57	Do you feel that you belong to the local community?	1=yes 2=sometimes 3=never

H58	Would you like to be living in the local community in 3 years time?		1=yes 2=no
H59	Are you proud to live in the local community?		1=yes 2=no
H60	Have you ever wanted to give something back to the group /community		
	a)-because you want to meet people and make friends?	1=yes 2=no	
	b)-because you have been forced to do it?	1=yes 2=no	
	c)-because friends were involved?	1=yes 2=no	
H61	Do you think that in a local major development extent, the local councillor/member of parliament/ chief/ headman/ kraal head would take local people's views into account		1=yes 2=sometimes 3=never

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Household Roster

	B1	B2	B3
Person Code	Who usually lives and eats in this household?	Is …male or female? **1**=male **2**=female	How old was … at last birthday? **(Enter age in completed years and '00' for children under 1 year)**
01		1 2	
02		1 2	
03		1 2	
04		1 2	
05		1 2	
06		1 2	
07		1 2	
08		1 2	
09		1 2	
10		1 2	

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Appendix 3 Guruve Rural District Poverty Assessment Study Survey: 2009 Community Questionnaire

FILL IN THE SPACES PROVIDED. ENSURE THE FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION CONSTITUTES BETWEEN 6 AND 10 PARTICIPANTS WITH A FAIR BALANCE OF MALES AND FEMALES. THE GROUP SHOULD COMPRISE AT LEAST ONE COUNCILOR; ONE VILLAGE HEAD; ONE AGRITEX OFFICER; ONE VERTIRINARY OFFICER AND ONE FACHIG OFFICER; WHILST THE REMAINDER MAY BE ORDINARY COMMUNITY MEMBERS.

C. Identification

GEOCODE

[A1] Province.....[A5] Language spoken in interview (maximum 2 options)

[A2] District ..... 1=Shona

[A3] Ward..... 2=Ndebele

[A4] Sector..... 3=English

4=Other,.....

Interviewer name ..... [A6] Interviewer Code .....

[A7] DATE ..... / 11 / 2009

Signature of Interviewer .....

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Section 1: Groups and Networks

(B). The community context: Availability and accessibility of resources and services

B1: What are the key resources (including natural resources, cultural and recreational facilities, markets, communications infrastructure, etc.) available in the community? How is access to these resources distributed among households and groups?

_____

_____

B2: How are assets such as wealth, land, immovable property, education, and reputation distributed in the community? In other words, what percentage of the population has access to such assets?

_____

_____

B3: What key services (social, municipal, government, etc.) are provided in the community? How is access to these services distributed among households and groups?

_____

_____

B4: What are the primary obstacles facing the community (environmental, geographic, ethnic tensions, poor trade routes, water or land rights, etc.)?

_____

_____

B5: Do poor or marginalized groups experience greater obstacles in accessing community resources and/or services?

_____

_____

(C). Access to groups and networks

C1: What formal and informal groups, associations, and networks exist in the community?

_____

_____

C2: Focus on several formal and informal groups and summarize their explicit and implicit functions. How often are the groups activated? Are informal groups based on occasions (e.g., weddings, births, or deaths)? What other triggers bring members of a group together?

_____

_____

C3: Who plays a leadership or mobilizing role in the groups or networks?

_____

_____

C4: What factors contribute to leadership within such groups (e.g., age, elections, education, socioeconomic status, gender)?

_____

_____

_____

C5: Describe the diversity of roles within the groups or networks.

_____

_____

C6: What networks or groups do people typically rely on to resolve issues of daily life?

_____

_____

C7: What is exchanged (e.g., goods, services, favors, information, goods, moral support, etc.) in community groups or networks?

_____

_____

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C8: What are the most important aims of the exchange (e.g., to meet basic needs, increase income, meet basic social obligations, maintain or expand potentially useful relationships, or some combination thereof)?

_____

_____

C9: Who do people tend to assist in their daily routine? How, in what circumstances, and how often does this assistance take place?

_____

_____

_____

C10: What groups, individuals, or networks do people feel morally or socially obligated to assist? Ask key respondents to identify the number of people in each of the various networks. At what different public or private settings or events do groups or networks come together?

_____

_____

_____

_____

C11: How many people do they bring together? How often do these meetings occur?

_____

_____

_____

C12: What characteristics are most valued among network members (e.g., trustworthiness reciprocity, cooperation, honesty, community respect, etc.)?

_____

_____

_____

C13: Who are the most socially or economically isolated people

_____

_____

C14: Does this isolation correlate with the kind or extent of networks to which these people belong?

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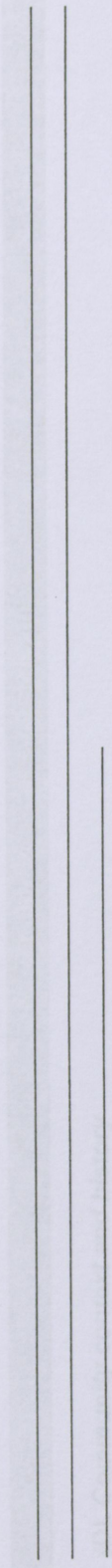

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Section 2: Trust and Solidarity

(D). Community context and history

D1: What is the population size and demographic composition of the community, including household type?

_____

_____

_____

D2: What is the history of the community? What important events, natural disasters, significant changes in the prosperity and/or level of well-being have affected (or are affecting) the community?

_____

_____

_____

D3: How familiar are members of the group or network with one another?

_____

_____

_____

D4: How long have people in a given neighborhood or community lived together? How well do they know one another?

_____

_____

_____

D5: What are the important social groups in the community (e.g., as identified by caste, religion, ethnicity, race, tribal affiliation, region, etc.)?

_____

_____

D6: How socially heterogeneous or homogeneous is the community?

_____

_____

_____

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D7: Have new groups recently entered the community (e.g., refugees or economic migrants)?

_____

_____

D8: What are the primary livelihoods of both men and women? Of different ethnic groups?

_____

_____

(E). Relationships between local norms, patterns of governance, and trust

E1: What are the cultural and social norms of interaction (e.g., within the building, block, neighborhood, larger community)?

_____

_____

E2: How do national and local governance affect trust among groups and between individuals?

_____

_____

_____

E3: To what institutions (formal or informal) do people turn when they have individual or family problems? On whom do people rely for different types of help such as finding employment, entering university, etc.)? How is trust distributed in the community (e.g. clans or through specific networks and/or localities)?

_____

_____

_____

_____

E4: Do patterns of mistrust and suspicion exist between households or among groups?

_____

_____

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E5: What are the relevant cleavages? What is the history of these cleavages?

Section 3: Collective Action and Cooperation

(F). Community context and history

F1: What do people consider the most pressing problems in the community? How do they rank them in terms of importance?

F2: To what extent do community members collaborate with one another in order to solve these problems?

F3: What cultural, social, or community traditions affect patterns of mutual assistance, cooperation, and collective action?

F4: How do national, regional, and/or local governance patterns affect collective action (are they constraints to organization or, alternatively, do they demand informal support when public funds are inadequate, such as for school maintenance)?

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F5: Describe recent examples of collective action that have taken place in the community (or a segment of the community). What was the course and outcome of these activities?

_____

_____

_____

F6: Who initiated the activities? How were people mobilized?

_____

_____

_____

F7: Do social, cultural, or legal constraints limit the participation of specific groups (e.g., women, young people, poor people, minorities, etc.)?

_____

_____

_____

F8: Are some groups, neighbourhoods, and/or households more likely than others to work together, and if so, why?

_____

_____

F9: Are some groups, neighborhoods, and/or households more likely to exclude themselves or be excluded from collective activity, and if so, why?

_____

_____

_____

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F10: What kinds of constraints limit peoples' ability or willingness to work together (e.g., lack of time, lack of trust or confidence in outcomes, suspicion toward the mobilizers, etc.)?

_____

_____

_____

F11: What are the social sanctions for violating expected norms of collective action in the community?

_____

_____

_____

Section 4: Information and Communication

(G). Community context and history

G1: What is the recent and historical context of access to information in the community? (Answering this query may require a review of applicable laws and judicial tradition regarding freedom of information.)

_____

_____

_____

G2: Inventory the existing communication sources and infrastructure, their actual and perceived reliability, veracity, availability, and the extent to which these sources are used in practice.

_____

_____

G3: What are the preferred local sources and channels of information?

_____

_____

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4: What informal sources of information exist in the community? Which members of the community are included or excluded from such sources?

_____

_____

_____

G5: What information is available through different networks? To different households and/or groups (i.e., is there differential distribution within the community)?

_____

_____

_____

G6: What information is not available to different households and/or groups (i.e., what are the limits of differential distribution within the community)?

_____

_____

Section 5: Social Cohesion and Inclusion

(K). Inclusion and/or exclusion from participation

H1: What factors support cohesion in the community?

_____

_____

H2: Are there recurring disagreements in networks and groups, or even demonstrated conflict?

_____

_____

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H3: What community patterns of differentiation and exclusion exist with respect to opportunities, markets, information, and services?

_____

_____

H4: What are the risks of social discrimination among beneficiaries of social or municipal services? What socioeconomic, political, or religious factors are at work in this discrimination?

_____

_____

H5: What prevents public services and expenditures from reaching the poorest and most vulnerable groups? Are the reasons related to ethnicity, gender, a political agenda, or geographic isolation?

_____

_____

_____

H6: What are the patterns of inclusion and/or exclusion in political participation?

_____

_____

_____

H7: How often do people from different social groups intermarry?

_____

_____

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(I). Patterns of conflict

I1: What are the patterns of conflict at the community and family level?

_____

_____

I2: When have conflicts escalated into violence?

_____

_____

I3: What kinds of conflicts have taken place in the community over the last five years? Ten years? Earlier?

_____

_____

I4: What are the triggers for everyday conflict among members of a network and/or group (e.g., resource competition, serious social cleavages, socio-economic inequities)?

_____

_____

I5: Who are the key actors involved in such conflicts?

_____

_____

_____

I6: What is the frequency, intensity, and duration of localized conflicts?

_____

_____

_____

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I7: What kinds of mediation have taken place to help the community resolve conflicts? Have these worked? Why? For how long?

I8: What kinds of retribution are common?

I9: What forms of justice are generally accepted?

Section 6: Empowerment and Political Action

(J). Governance

J1: What are the local legal traditions in the community and how do these traditions affect civic capacity?

J2: What patterns of state building and which state structures shape civic capacity?

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J3: How do customary laws constrain or facilitate the ability of citizens to exert influence over public institutions?

_____

_____

J4: How do formal laws constrain or facilitate the ability of citizens to exert influence over public institutions?

_____

_____

_____

J5: To what extent can members of a community hold public institutions and officials accountable for their actions?

_____

_____

_____

J6: What kinds of formal and informal mechanisms are available to individuals and groups to demand accountability of local leaders and officials?

_____

_____

_____

J7: Which groups or segments of the community have the greatest influence over public institutions?

_____

_____

_____

J8: What is the source of influence of these groups (e.g., group size, ability to mobilize members or expand member base, connections to power elite, economic importance)?

_____

_____

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J9: Which groups have the least influence over public institutions and why?

_____

_____

(K) Ask respondents

K1: What influence do community members have over institutions?

_____

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Appendix 4 Regression Equation

R, the multiple correlation coefficient, had a value of 0.167 indicating a weak positive correlation between the observed and predicted values of the dependent variable (household monthly expenditure per capita). A very small value of R squared (0.028) was observed showing the proportion of variation in the household monthly expenditure per capita explained by the regression model was very small, suggesting the model did not fit the data well.

Model Summary

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate	Change Statistics				
					R Square Change	F Change	df1	df2	Sig. F Change
1	.167[a]	.028	.018	$14.15637	.028	2.722	4	380	.029

a. Predictors: (Constant), Formal Norms, Formal Structures, Informal Structures, Informal Norms

The ANOVA table summarizes the results of an analysis of variance. The sum of squares, degrees of freedom, and mean square are displayed for two sources of variation, regression and residual. Very high

residual sum of squares indicated the model failed to explain a lot of the variation in the dependent variable. However, a small significance value of the F statistic (smaller than 0.05) showed the independent variables did a good job explaining the variation in the household monthly expenditure per capita.

ANOVA [b]

Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	2181.820	4	545.455	2.722	.029[a]
	Residual	76153.11	380	200.403		
	Total	78334.93	384			

a. Predictors: (Constant), Formal Norms, Formal Structures, Informal Structures, Informal Norms

b. Dependent Variable: Total mean monthly expenditure per capita

Using the t-statistic, the Informal Structures variable was observed to be relatively more important than the rest of the predictors in the regression model estimated as follows:

$$Poverty = \alpha + ß_1IS + ß_2FS + ß_3IN + ß_4FN + \infty$$

Household monthly expenditure per capita = US$13.64 + US$18.39IS + US$5.88FS +US$1.95IN – US$7.50FN + ∞

Where,

IS Informal structures component of social networks

FS Formal structure component of Social capital

IN Informal norms component

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FN Formal norms component

α Constant

ß Coefficient

Coefficients [a]

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	13.635	5.582		2.443	.015
	Informal Structures	18.389	6.130	.153	3.000	.003
	Formal Structures	5.883	5.993	.050	.982	.327
	Informal Norms	1.946	4.468	.023	.435	.663
	Formal Norms	-7.502	6.374	-.063	-1.177	.240

a. Dependent Variable: Total mean monthly expenditure per capita

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