

ASSESSMENT OF SUSTAINABILITY OF LIVELIHOODS OF HOUSEHOLDS IN “FAST TRACK” RESETTLEMENT AREAS OF SHAMVA DISTRICT IN ZIMBABWE

By

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DECLARATION

I, HOPE LUKE VHIGA, hereby declare that this dissertation for Masters in Rural Development Degree (MRDV) submitted to the Institute for Rural Development, School of Agriculture at the University of Venda, has not been submitted previously for any degree at this or another university. It is original in design and in execution, and all reference material contained therein has been duly acknowledged.

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To my wife, Perseverance and lovely daughter, Nadine Taropafadzwa

ABSTRACT

Two decades after the “Fast Track” land resettlement in Zimbabwe, little is known about the sustainability of livelihoods of households that benefited from the programme. “Fast Track” refers to the accelerated land resettlement which started in 2000 in Zimbabwe. The government of Zimbabwe argues that it introduced it as an intervention strategy to enhance the livelihoods of marginalised indigenous people. However, the nature of the fast track land resettlement has been met with considerable criticism. An exploratory study that sought to assess the sustainability of livelihoods through obtaining the perspectives of men, women and youth in fast track resettlement areas of Shamva District was carried out. Focus group discussions and semi-structured interview guides were used to obtain the perceptions. The attempt to understand the sustainability of livelihoods involved determining the perceived (a) major features of sustainable livelihoods, (b) criteria for assessing sustainability of livelihoods, and (c) livelihood strategies adopted. Data were coded and analysed using Atlas-it version 7.5 software. Dependability of livelihoods, ability to recover from stress, extent to which livelihoods conserved the environment, ease with which livelihoods were interchanged and ability to close the gap between rich and poor members of society were the perceived features of sustainable livelihoods. Criteria for assessing the sustainability of livelihoods included the ability of livelihoods to contribute to development, provide a stable flow of income, promotion of social development, potential for growth and ability to conserve the environment. Petty trading, agricultural intensification, self-employment and community savings were the main livelihood strategies pursued in the fast track resettlement areas of Shamva District. Inherent challenges that inhibited the sustainability of livelihoods were cited as lack of infrastructure, poor markets for agricultural products and poor communication. The use of participatory research was crucial in co-creation of knowledge with the resettled farmers. The information generated is useful for crafting empowerment strategies in the fast track resettled farming communities.

Key words: Fast Track Resettlement Areas, Shamva District, sustainable livelihoods, community voices

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ABBREVIATIONS

A2	Small-scale commercial farms since the advent of the “Fast track resettlement” programme
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organisation
FDGs	Focus Group Discussions
FTLRP	Fast Track Land Reform Programme
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GoZ	Government of Zimbabwe
IDS	Institute of Development Studies
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development
INCORA	Instituto Nacional Colombiano de Reforma Agraria
LRRP	Land Reform and Redistribution Programme
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organisations
SD	Standard Deviation
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SLA	Sustainable Livelihood Approach
UK DFID	United Kingdom Department for International Development
UN	United Nations
UNCHR	United Nations Commission for Human Rights
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

During colonial times, indigenous people in African communities were forcibly displaced from fertile land where high rainfall was often received. Discovery of minerals also resulted in forced removals. This is one of the major reasons why today, indigenous people are concentrated in marginal areas, which receive unreliable rainfall and soils are so poor that they do not support viable crop farming (Moyo, 2013; Sachikonye, 2017). Population pressure led to uprisings that triggered land redistribution through various resettlement programmes (Bourne, 2011; Chan & Gallagher, 2017). Land resettlement involves moving people to different places to live and eke out a living for example through farming. Various governments across the world have institutionalized this process in order to eliminate the colonial legacies whereby white minority groups control large tracts of land.

According to Wittman (2009), land resettlement began as early as 1900. Countries such as Brazil, China, Taiwan and Venezuela pioneered land resettlement programmes meant to improve rural livelihoods (Jolly, 2008). The Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO, 2014) report that about 75 % of the world's population resides in rural areas and about 85 % depend on land-based livelihood activities. Such disparities need in-depth understanding of the nature of livelihood sustainability particularly in rural areas. Francis (2000) define a livelihood as a means of making a living.

Livelihoods comprise capabilities, assets (including both material and social resources) and activities required for a means of living (Conway & Chambers, 1992; Ellis, 2000; Campbell *et al.*, 2002). According to Conway & Chambers (1992), Scoones (1998; 2009) and Scoones *et al.* (2015), a livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stress. Livelihoods of households are converted into outcomes through various strategies (Ellis, 2000). The portfolio of livelihood capitals simultaneously affects the household strategies and the outcomes (Babulo *et al.*, 2008; Cai, 2012; Xu *et al.*, 2015).

In an attempt to promote viable land reform, the World Bank (2002) developed a framework for resettlement programmes which it recommended to many countries for adoption. It was hoped that this would improve the livelihoods of the rural poor. However, the sustainability of livelihoods in most resettlement areas led to mixed results (World Bank, 2004; Makunike, 2014). Such evidence is mainly drawn from unsuccessful resettlement programmes in Brazil, Colombia and Venezuela (Albertus *et al.*, 2013; Cottyn & Vanhaute, 2016; Faguet *et al.*, 2016). Contrasting results were obtained in China where livelihoods were reported to have been sustainably improved in resettlement areas (Xu *et al.*, 2015). These results suggest that there are spatial

differences of sustainability of livelihoods. It is crucial to build a deeper understanding of why the differences exist because the results might highlight what needs to be addressed in order to enhance the chances of achieving positive results.

Land resettlement evolved as a policy issue in Brazil. Wittman (2009); Deree (2017) and Saur & Mészáros (2017) argue that the land resettlement policies adopted fail to improve the lives of the poor. However, some scholars (Bazezew *et al.*, 2013; Hairong & Yiyuan, 2016) contend that resettlement programmes have the potential to transform livelihoods of the poor regardless of the approach used. As reported above, there is empirical evidence China's resettlement areas showing significant improvement in the livelihoods of people resettled in mountainous areas. Therefore there is appetite to study the sustainability of livelihoods even in contested areas.

In sub-Saharan Africa, decolonisation resulted in many countries introducing resettlement programmes through applying both market systems and state-led land redistribution approaches (Mutopo *et al.*, 2014; Scoones *et al.*, 2015; Boone, 2017). In South Africa, De Villars (2003) point out that land resettlement plays a crucial role in improving livelihoods, which is why various programmes have been introduced despite notable systematic delays. Alemu (2014) asserts that livelihoods of resettled farmers in South Africa have been successful and are sustainable. Furthermore, according to Alemu (2016) land resettlement is a potent tool that can help transform livelihoods of the poor in Ethiopia. Studies in northern Kenya have revealed that resettled farmers have recorded improved outputs and standard of living (Schade, 2017). However, there is still paucity of information regarding sustainability of livelihoods in other resettlement areas, for example the much-maligned "Fast Track" programme that Zimbabwe rolled out in 2000.

Between 1980 and 2000, Zimbabwe underwent three phases of land resettlement (Mabhena, 2010; Makunike, 2014). From 1980-1990, the Land Reform and Redistribution Programme (LRRP) was implemented. This gave way to the second phase of the same LRRP that was actively pursued from 1990-1999. The latter was implemented following the willing buyer willing seller market system (Mapiye, 2016; Hove & Nyamandi, 2016). From 1980 to the mid-1990s, about 70 000 households only were resettled yet the target was 300 000 households (Kinsey, 2009; Makunike, 2014; Mapiye, 2016). Insufficient land for resettlement and resistance from the mainly White large-scale commercial farming sector, the government of Zimbabwe introduced the accelerated resettlement programme, which was coined "Fast Track" in 2000. The Fast Track Land Resettlement Programme (FTLRP) followed the same system as previous phases wherein large commercial farms were redistributed as model A1 and Model A2.

The A1 model exhibited a villagised farmland system in which smallholder farmers were allocated 3-6 hectares for cropping but had access to a communal grazing area. Through the A2 model, beneficiaries were allocated more than 6 hectares per household. The aim was to create a critical

mass of Black commercial farmers. However, socio-economic and climatic challenges threatened the success of the FTLRP. Despite a myriad of challenges faced, Kinsey (2009); Moyo (2013); Murisa (2017); Sachikonye (2017) and Scoones (2017) argue that access to land helped transform the livelihoods of the beneficiaries. Rutherford (2017) counters this argument, opining that the livelihoods of the resettled farmers are from the same as those of communal areas. Thus, he concludes that no significant improvement in livelihoods has been realised as result of introducing the FTLRP. Given the lack of consensus with respect to the impact of the programme, it is crucial to conduct empirical studies that would unlock the views of those who benefitted directly.

1.2 Livelihoods in Fast Track resettlement areas of Shamva District

Shamva District harbours the majority of resettlement areas in Mashonaland central province. ZIMSTATS (2012) reported that about 85 % of Shamva's population live in resettlement areas and 79 % of the resettled farmers are poor. The distribution of statistics raises concerns because land based livelihood activities remain the major source of income for resettled farmers across the country (ZimVac, 2014; 2016). However, studies that assess the sustainability of household livelihoods are limited particularly in resettlement areas of Shamva District. In this study, the sustainable livelihood framework was used to explain the relationship between livelihood capitals, household strategies and livelihood outcomes.

Shamva District is situated north-east of the capital city of Harare in Mashonaland Central Province. The district harbours fast-track farms, old resettlement areas (dating back to 1980), black commercial farms, remaining white farmers and communal areas (Madziwa and Bushu). Moyo (2000) and Matondi (2001) note that Shamva District endured enormous pressure especially in the late 1990s as the demand for land reached its peak. Matondi (2001) points that population pressure led to growing trend of squatting in marginal areas of the Shamva District. Farmlands were excessively cut while grazing lands were wiped away. The localised conflicts and evictions from marginal areas and grazing lands exacerbated the land hunger in Shamva District before the land reform (Bhatasara & Helliker, 2018). Matondi (2001) aver that such contestations from the year 2000 were "an epitome of a long gestation period of conflict building up". However, the causal relationship between the land occupations before 2000 and the successive land invasions is debatable.

Shamva District had 74 commercial farms before the fast track which were mainly owned by whites. ZIMSTATS (2012) indicate that there are now 12 400 communal farmers, 1737 small scale farmers on about 34 fast track farms), 1406 old resettlement farmers, 92 commercial farmers occupying about 13 fast track farms, 15 black and 4 white commercial farmers. The

former white commercial farms (now fast track farms) are largely concentrated in Shamva South while communal areas and old resettlements are located in Shamva North (Bhatasara & Helliker, 2018; Sukume *et al.*, 2003). Thus, the land occupations of 2000 took place in Shamva South with settlers coming from within and outside the district. Bhatasara & Helliker (2018) contend that the largest population constituting two-thirds of settlers were from both communal areas and old resettlement schemes from within Shamva District. Another 25 % came from other districts such as Bindura, Uzumba-Maramba-Pfungwe and Mount Darwin while the remainder came from far districts such as Murewa, Kwekwe and Kadoma. Sukume (2003) contend that for those emanating from within Shamva District, 30 % came from old resettlement areas (in Mupfufuruzi Valley) and 50 % from Madziwa and Bushu communal areas. The remaining White-owned farms were downsized and are now operating on a smaller scale compared to period prior to the 2000 land invasions (Sukume *et al.*, 2003; Kinsey, 2009). Moyo & Yeros (2005), Dekker & Kinsey (2010) tend to expect a long-term expansion of land-based livelihoods and more intensive land use, similar to what happened after the 'Old' Resettlement of the 1980s. Cliff *et al.* (2011), Raftopoulos (2015) argue that logical views on possible combination of views on processes and outcomes are not clear. It is argued that the repressive means of land invasions expected improvements in food security and expansion of livelihoods or helped to correct the skewed land ownership but the level of production neither improved (Cliff *et al.*, 2011). However, initiatives that seek to understand the sustainability of livelihoods in resettlement areas should embrace the views of resettled farmers themselves. Thus, the study sought to assess the perceptions of resettled farmers in Shamva's fast track resettlement areas on sustainability of livelihoods.

1.3 Statement of the Research Problem

Two decades after the Fast Track Land Resettlement Programme, little is known about the sustainability of livelihoods of resettled farmers in Shamva District of Zimbabwe (Dekker, 2017; Njaya, 2015; Scoones *et al.*, 2015). Inadequate understanding of the prevailing reality poses challenges for local and national development because livelihood enhancement was perceived to be based on improving access to land. Livelihoods seem not to be sustainable. Indications of unsustainability include under-development, poor nutrition, seasonally fluctuating incomes, environmental degradation and the predomination of disorganised informal markets for both agricultural and non-agricultural produce (Musemwa *et al.*, 2014; Scoones, 2017). There are numerous challenges that put the sustainability of livelihoods to question particularly in fast track resettlement areas of Shamva district. Like any other part of the country, Fast track resettlement areas suffered the effects of drought, economic instability, political violence and market uncertainty. All these contributed to considerable shifts in livelihood activities and strategies of resettled farmers. For example, poor methods of farming such as the use conventional agriculture

systems including the use artificial fertilisers threaten the sustainability of land resources (Musemwa *et al.*, 2014, Malik *et al.*, 2017). Given this situation there is need to assess the sustainability of livelihoods of households in this area considering that farmers have their own perceptions about sustainability of livelihoods. Hitherto, resettlement areas are controlled by top-down policies which lack participatory measures of addressing the challenges faced by farmers. Hence, having realised that farmers have the potential to improve their lives, the purpose of the study was to assess the sustainability of household livelihoods in resettlement areas of Shamva District in Zimbabwe using a participatory approach. The study results paved way for the creation of an enabling environment for community-led development in resettlement areas through promulgation of rural development policies informed by peoples' needs.

1.4 Justification/Rationale of the Study

This study contributes to policy formulation through highlighting the need for change in government approach from predominantly top-down to a participatory approach. This creates space for development initiatives that are informed by people's needs. For resettlement farmers, the study will help them to find ways in which they can improve their livelihoods. Such attempts help to reduce vulnerability and improve the status of the farmer. By so doing, undertaking this current study assists to understand the factors influencing household livelihoods. These in turn elucidated factors inhibiting development initiatives in resettlement areas. This study adds to the body of knowledge a unique literature and empirical insights in the livelihoods discourse.

1.5 Research Objectives

The aim of the study was to explore the sustainability of livelihoods of households in fast track resettlement areas of Shamva District in Zimbabwe. This was achieved through the research addressing the following specific objectives:

- a) To identify the perceived major features of sustainable livelihoods;
- b) To determine the household-perceived major criteria for assessing sustainable livelihoods; and
- c) To assess livelihood strategies used to cope with seasonal variations in livelihoods of resettled farmers in Shamva District.

1.7 Theoretical Framework of the Study

The evolution of sustainable livelihoods as a concept is mainly accredited to Robert Chambers and Gordon Conway who played a midwifery role to its existence at the Institute of Development

Studies in 1992. This paved way for the UK Department for International Development (DFID) to adopt a working definition of livelihoods which stemmed from the 1997 White Paper for International development (DFID, 1999). According to Carney *et al.* (1998), the main aim of the DIFD is to eliminate poverty in poor countries. Although the application of the livelihoods approach is flexible and adaptable to specific local settings and to objectives defined in participatory manner, it underlies a couple of core principles. Firstly, it is people centred, thus it prioritises people rather than the resources they use in the livelihoods approach since problems associated to development often root in adverse institutional structures impossible to be overcome through simple asset creation.

The Sustainable Livelihood Framework (Figure 1.1) portrays a holistic view which is aspired in understanding the stakeholders' livelihoods as a whole, with all its facets, by a manageable model that helps to identify the most pressing constraints people face (DFID, 2000). Third, it is dynamic just as peoples' livelihoods and the institutions that shape their life. The dynamic nature of the approach enables people to learn from changes and help mitigating negative impacts, whilst supporting positive effects. Fourthly, it builds on strengths, which is a central issue of the approach. It recognises everyone's inherent potential for his/her removal of constraints and realisation of potentials (Serrati, 2008). Identifying these strengths rather than the needs and problems is the starting point of this approach, in order to contribute to the stakeholders' robustness and ability to achieve their own objectives.

The framework facilitates macro-micro links. It is recognised that development activity tends to focus at either the macro or the micro level whereas the SLA tries to bridge this gap in stressing the links between the two levels. As people are often affected from decisions at the macro policy level and vice-versa, this relation needs to be considered in order to achieve sustainable development. Lastly, a livelihood can be classified as sustainable if it is resilient in the face of external shocks and stresses, if it is independent from external support, if it is a bale to maintain the long term productivity of natural resources and if it does not undermine the livelihood options of others (DFID, 2000; Serrati, 2017). Therefore, adopting this framework is central to this study because it provides a comprehensive picture of the untold stories of livelihood activities in resettlement areas of Zimbabwe.

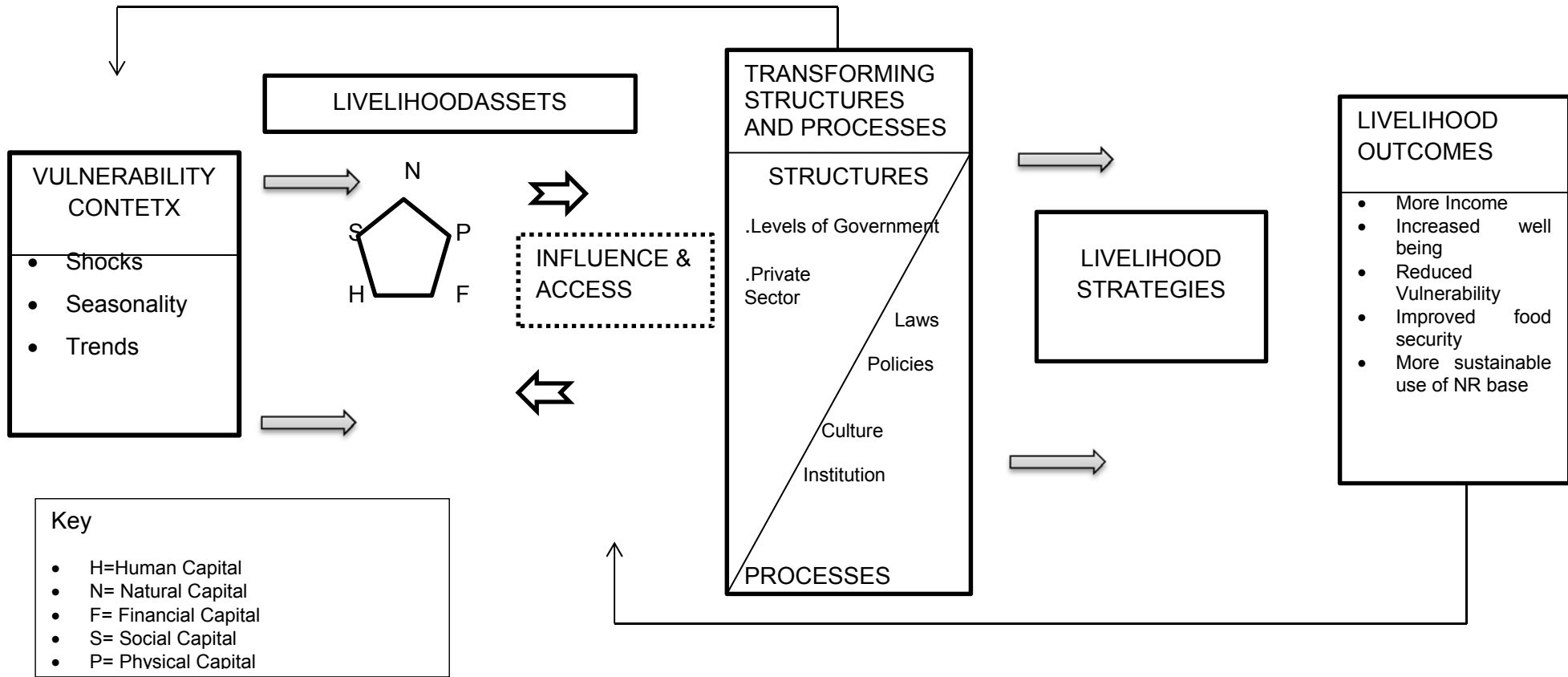


Figure 1.1 Sustainable Livelihood Framework, adopted from DFID (2000)

As shown in Figure 1.1, the sustainable livelihoods framework integrates three essential aspects of capability, equity and sustainability. It identifies five major capitals which are predominantly owned by households' namely natural capital, physical capital, financial capital, human capital and social capital (DFID, 2000; Clark & Carney, 2008). Access to these capitals is influenced by policies and institutions. The desired livelihood outcomes are dependent on livelihood strategies employed to achieve or improve the wellbeing of households in the vulnerability context. The concept is practically applicable to the study as it involves the views and interests of the concerned communities. For resettlement areas, it links people with the overall enabling environment that influences the outcomes of livelihood strategies while facilitating rural development policy and practice (Serrati, 2017).

1.8 Operational Definitions of Key Terms and Concepts

A livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets and activities required for a means of living (DFID, 2000).

A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stress and shocks and maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets both now and in the future, while not undermining the natural resource base (Conway & Chambers, 1992).

Household livelihood strategies refer to the means with which livelihood outcomes are achieved. decisions on livelihood strategies (Serrati, 2017) may invoke natural- resource based activities, non-natural resource based and off-farm activities, migration and remittances, pensions and grants, intensification versus diversification, and short-term versus long-term outcomes, some of which may compete.

Livelihood outcomes are the expected achievements gained from the use of resources.

Resettlement areas are previously white-owned commercial farms that have been acquired and redistributed to black small-scale farmers the Fast Track Land Reform Program (FTLRP).

1.9 Outline of the Dissertation

The dissertation is made up of six chapters. In the first chapter, the topic of the study namely “An assessment of sustainability of household livelihoods in Fast Track resettlement areas of Shamva District in Zimbabwe” is spelt out. The background of the study, statement of the research problem, justification of the study, research questions, research objectives, the theoretical framework and definitions of operational concepts .

In the second chapter a review of literature which shows previous scholarly views and theories put forward in similar field of study is given. This will provide readers with in-depth understanding and the direction of the proposed discourse. Contained in chapter three is the methodology, results and discussion of findings of the first objective. The study findings and discussion of the second specific objective are contained in chapter four. Chapter five contains the discussion and analysis of the study findings of the third objective and chapter six contains the synthesis of the study. Each chapter ends with an annotated list of references.

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CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, an expose of the literature review of the study is provided. This entails a rigorous process of examining views of scholars relevant to the current study. The review of literature assists readers to understand the subject under discussion and provide a point of departure for the research discourse. Reviewing literature is also necessary for identifying theoretical convergence of ideas in the creation of sustainable livelihoods for resettlement areas. Randolph (2009) state that literature review involves the selection of documents (published and unpublished) on a particular topic so that a list of information, ideas and evidence can be compiled for evaluation purposes. A funnel approach of reviewing literature which begins with a global context melting it down to the proposed study area under relevant themes was used. A detailed review of literature on sustainable livelihoods in resettlement areas following the sustainable livelihoods framework is done thereafter. A summary of crucial ideas that informs the study objectives found in the literature is presented as a conclusion of issues underpinning the research.

2.2 Land Resettlement in the Global Context

There is a widespread argument that land resettlement is used as a political tool to garner support from the peasantry, nevertheless, the international community recognises its importance in addressing poverty and social injustice. Land resettlement interventions have become major strategic drivers of economic and rural development tools aimed at supporting small-scale farmers across the globe (Food and Agriculture Organization: FAO, 2016). The aftermath of the Second World War has seen Asian countries which include China, Japan, South Korea and Taiwan rolling out land resettlement programmes aimed at improving the livelihoods of the poor. According to Zhao *et al.* (2014), the Chinese Communist party adopted a resettlement initiative which followed a gradual transition in the transfer of land. Wong (2014) note that the process of land redistribution undertaken in China supported a collectivisation strategy which mainly targeted to increasing agricultural production. In Japan, the US occupation authorities initiated a reform programme with some variability on land ownership terms (Dore, 2013). Gyupan (2016) contend that the land resettlement in Japan succeeded politically but the economic repercussions gave dismal consequences despite expropriation to the landlords.

In Colombia, the market-led land resettlement programme was entirely dependent on the will of the land owners to sell their land (Fague *et al.*, 2016). In a bid to accelerate the process, the Colombian government passed laws which introduced tax incentives, land markets and rentals

as well as livestock farming which discouraged crop production (Barthel *et al.*, 2016). As a result, the land owners voluntarily underutilised the land, hence people advocated for occupation for such land for crop growing. According to Amnesty International (2014) the government, through the National Land Reform Institute (*Instituto Nacional Colombiano de Reforma Agraria* or INCORA) intervened for the negotiation of the land ownership and tenure issues. The intervention successfully redistributed the land but it was faced with financial support shortage for its beneficiaries. Similar to many land redistribution practices, farmers ended up diversifying their livelihoods by renting out their land to gain income. However, the general lesson picked from the case of Colombia is that the grant approach of land redistribution enhanced land ownership, rural livelihoods, food production and rural development per se (Barthel *et al.*, 2016).

According to Sauer and Mészáros (2017), there have been a lot of tensions between the ruling governments and social movements with regard to land redistribution processes in Brazil over the years. The peasants who are often marginalised organised themselves to form political movements to advocate equal redistribution of land. Scholars Deree (2017) and Harbour (2017) contend that land ownership and control in Brazil is skewed to a few capitalist classes which deny any form of land redistribution to the peasants. Fernandez *et al.* (2012) argue that the land occupations are justified by the fact that small holder farmers are able to produce more efficiently compared to large scale land owners. A recent study carried out by Boone *et al.* (2017) emphasise that land reform in Kenya has evolved with many disputes which are mainly rooted in the colonial period. However, transparency in the execution is hindered by corruption and poor land reform legal frameworks that segregate the rural poor. Boone *et al.* (2017) further noted that, the land reform in Kenya is also characterised by violence with the rural poor advancing the land reform initiatives as measures to address inequality and poverty. In South Africa, the land reform process has been very weak and slow moving (Aliber & Cousins, 2013). A lot of forces are apparently at play in influencing the attempt to redress the legacy of apartheid.

Policy makers are usually on the forefront in advancing equitable measures that can enhance effective control over land. Scholars, Njaya (2015); Scoones (2015); Rukuni (2012); Moyo and Chambati (2013) believe that improved access to land can help farmers to construct rural livelihood diversification strategies based on their daily activities of farming. Hence, government agents and other NGO's support the idea that land should be transferred to small holder farmers as way of reducing poverty especially in developing countries.

Scholars, Zikhali (2010); Sachikonye (2003; 2016) and Moyo (2011; 2013) opine that a strong relationship exists between farm size and land productivity and smallholder farmers are said to produce more output per unit area compared to large farms. Despite diverging views on the topic

especially from the landlords and capitalistic machinations, these scholars successfully demonstrated that smallholder farmers are able intensify the use of land, labour and capital which enables them to alternate production levels at any time in a sustainable manner. In this study, the various contexts in which land resettlement policies, strategies and approaches put in place to address the land shortage crisis and the plight of small-scale land holding is discussed in line with the relevant literature.

2.3 The Fast Track Land Reform Programme in Zimbabwe

Moyo and Chambati (2014) argue that Zimbabwe's Fast Track Land Reform Programme in its unique form of social and political dynamics is naturally comparable to other famous land redistribution programmes that have occurred in the twentieth century worldwide. The fast track land reform emerged as counter measure of the failed previous land reform phases from the initial twenty years into independence of Zimbabwe (Scanerccchia, 2016). Matondi (2012) note that the land hunger which was the central cause of the liberation struggle later to be addressed at the Lancaster house agreement leading to independence had not been fulfilled. Murisa (2017) points that prior to the infamous land occupations of 2000 the land-needy rural poor households initiated gradual land occupations tactics such as squatting, natural resource poaching and fence cutting. According to Alexander (2003) the tactics employed by the land hungry poor varied with natural regions in which the people lived. For instance, in wetter parts of the country (NR I-III), land occupations were much popular while poaching was most practised in drier parts of the country found in natural regions V and VI (Matondi, 2012). Although, the incumbent government had a system of land redistribution at hand, its impact to solving the escalating demand for land by the hungry poor was too slow and rarely felt (Shumba, 2017). Laurie and Chan (2016); Rutherford (2017) argue that the violent farm invasions occurred in manner that was unjustified culminated to a myriad of economic, social and political challenges one of which was the sustainability of livelihoods of the newly resettled farmers.

Laurie & Chan (2016) and Rutherford (2017) further argue that the fast track land reform in Zimbabwe unfairly targeted white farmers and farm workers who lacked support of the government or the law. Despite such criticism, Pilosoff (2014) attest that the reality of what is on the ground is that 245,000 new farmers are now using the land more productively than their white predecessors and that production is returning to levels witnessed before 2000 implying that livelihoods were sustainable. Sachikonye (2016) add that about 10 million hectares of largely prime land owned by the former white farmers were distributed amongst the black communal farmers in a reform process that generated domestic and external controversies over its rationale and methodology. Kirkman (2016) allude that the complexity of challenges that occurred in

Zimbabwe during the Fast Track Land Reform Programme emanated from the Land, Indigenous and development policies steered by former President Mugabe. To date, the extent to which the fast track land reform contributed to disinvestment and socio-economic meltdown has been loudly debated (Sachikonye, 2016).

Scholars such as Moyo (2011; 2013); Scoones, (2010; 2015) and Njaya (2015) gather empirical evidence on the impact of Zimbabwe's Fast Track land reform and concluded that it was the panacea for escalating hunger, poverty and underdevelopment. Scoones *et al.* (2014) analysed households over 20 years and concluded that some significant improvements had occurred in household economic status after the Fast Track Land Reform Programme. This resonates with the views of Moyo (2013). Similar conclusions were arrived at in Brazil, which experienced intense controversies relating to land reform (Deree, 2017; Sauer & Mészáros, 2017). Therefore, although the approaches to land reform are normally criticised the benefits associated with it are enormous.

2.4 Land Reform and Social Justice

Social justice is a generic term which embraces the aspects of fairness and equity in the distribution of a wide spectrum of attributes (Makunike, 2016). The concept is rooted in the codes of morality embedded in every culture. It is that moral philosophy which is important to provide the foundations of social justice. Meanwhile, the concept of justice covers many areas of human life and it includes all socially desirable objectives. The achievement of social justice is mainly driven by factors which have a direct bearing on well-being of the people (Muzorewa, 2013). This entails a rudimentary aspect which focuses on the way people are treated in certain circumstances, by the government or other people.

Tobor and Muzorewa (2016) contend that the notions of equity and fairness are equally important when considering the land issues in Southern Africa. Therefore, access to land through equitable distribution is regarded as a potent tool in addressing social injustices and it is the bedrock of building democratic societies. With this view, the land reform process emerged as necessary move by the government since the main challenges facing the rural poor were mainly related to use, control and ownership of land (Moyo & Chambati, 2013). Such challenges are widely responsible for the lagging development, deteriorating livelihoods and poor governance in the region (Scoones *et al.*, 2015). This explains why many countries across Southern Africa are more concerned about the fundamental aspects of justice and fairness in land use and ownership to include the marginalised blacks who suffered under the minority white colonial rule (Scanerchia, 2016). For instance, the inequitable distribution of land and land tenure which was racial in nature

exacerbated the liberation discourse in Zimbabwe. As a result, the government undertook both persuasive and aggressive methods of land redistribution as a means to redress the socio-economic imbalances created during the settler period.

In Southern Africa, the concept of equity and fairness is directly related to the legacy of the oppressive white settler colonial rule (Makunike, 2016). After disposing the fertile land and best livestock breeds belonging to blacks, the minority white settler group drove the majority indigenous black people to unproductive and overpopulated communal reserves (De Villiers, 2003). Due to lack of proper livelihood activities, blacks were systematically forced to provide labour which was poorly remunerated while they were supposed to pay rent to settlers (Mapiye, 2016). The land issue became a mandatory act of the post-independence government to correct the social injustices set forth. With the extended attempts to readdress the land tenure systems, the land reform issue became a topical issue attracting public interests, commercial expectations, international law and politics on matters of feasibility and sustainability (De Villars, 2003). This is so because at certain times, the process of land reform favoured individuals who were politically inclined to the ruling party while undermining the principle of social justice and equity. The danger of such a pattern lies in the creation of social classes demarcated by the ability to have access to resources such as land and other capitals. In the Zimbabwean case, the land reform gave birth to a certain group referred to as the black elite which comprised of loyal urbanites aligned to the ruling party (Laurie & Chan, 2017). Therefore, research in such areas is necessary.

Despite, identifiable gaps and controversies emerging from the infamous land reform in Zimbabwe especially the “Fast track” programme commencing the year 2000, the international community remains adamant to recognise the positive results (Rutherford, 2016). This is mainly due to the fact that, researchers concentrated much on the disposed white settlers while undermining the capabilities of the black farmers for example (Laurie & Chan, 2016). Scoones *et al.* (2015) argue that resettled farmers benefited much from the land reform and their livelihoods have actually improved. Therefore, the study gains its thrust in the argument that landlessness is the main driver of poverty in marginalised communities.

2.5 Explanation of the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework

The sustainable livelihood framework is an analytical approach which depicts various aspects which are necessary for the eradication of poverty (Carney *et al.*, 1999; Krantz, 2001; Scoones, 2009). The framework highlights the various relationships which shape sustainable livelihoods. A diagrammatic representation of the framework is shown in Figure 1.1. The key elements of the framework are discussed below:

2.5.1 Key elements of the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework

Vulnerability context is the external environment which the households exist in such as economic trends, shocks and seasonality (Scoones, 1998; DFID, 2000). While trends, shocks and seasonality bring changes to household livelihoods, the impact may not be always negative. Since the vulnerability is purely influenced by on external forces, people have limited control over them. Livelihood capitals form the basis on which households construct their livelihood strategies (DFID, 2000). Livelihood strategies constitute the various alternatives or options taken by people to strengthen their livelihood outcomes. This means that a household can choose to have diversified livelihood strategies. Asset ownership, policies, institutions, and policies determine the livelihood strategies which are opted for by households (Carney, 1998). Additionally, livelihood strategy for one household may affect the strategy for other households. This is common in rural livelihood strategies which commonly base on natural resources which are common property. Livelihood outcomes are results or achievements derived from livelihood strategy opted for by a household. For instance households may execute a certain livelihood strategy to improve food security and enhance nutritional requirements for the family.

2.5.2 Social capital

Social capital is a resource consisting of social relations shaped by norms of trust and reciprocity. It is a collective action resource which enables achievement of a livelihood outcome. According to Haan and Zoomers (2005), social capital has the ability to enhance economic wellbeing, democracy, and human capital. Social capital can be assessed on various levels such as individual, community and organisational levels. Studies that concentrate on social capital contend that collecting data about an individual can simultaneously provide a snapshot of community level relations without necessarily involving the entire group. Asking community related questions to an individual on social capital issues brings out better picture social relations in a society. According to Stone (2001) social capital can be indicated as distal or proximal. Stone (2001) further argues that proximal indicators are outcomes of the components of networks, trust and reciprocity while distal indicators are the outcomes not directly related to key components of social capital. However, the distal category is classified as other components of livelihood capitals and thus repetition of the same measures. Therefore, it is more convenient to use proximal indicators of social capital.

Social capital contains attributes that indicate that it is true capital. For example, to be created, social capital requires investment especially time and effort (Kirori, 2015; Loison, 2015). Social capital is also an accumulated stock of capital from which flows a stream of benefits (de Haan & Zoomers, 2005). There are several arguments for social capital as an important factor in the

development agenda and as source of livelihood construction. It is argued that social capital is augments the missing link in the effective formulation of the process for sustainable economic growth and development (Serrati, 2010; 2017). Zoomers (2005) argue that the emergent theory of social capital enriches policies of grassroots participation, community development and empowerment. Social capital is regarded as a model of new innovation that incorporates the social dimension into the development equation of capital. It is important to consider that the emergent theory of social capital is a key factor in understanding and promoting rural development through ability to finding solutions towards local economy competitiveness. It also takes into account changing structures of production systems that demand more flexibility and networking, creativity and social skills.

There are two main distinctive forms of social capital which are general and distinct forms. The general forms of social capital include information channels, effective sanctions, horizontal social capital, scaled-up horizontal and vertical social capital links, inter-sectoral social capital and meso-micro-macro levels of social capital (Kirori, 2015). Distinct forms of social capital constitute the structural social capital and the cognitive social capital. Social capital plays a crucial role in improving livelihoods. This is because social capital helps households in their microeconomic activities to come together easily to produce, consume and exchange. An abundant stock of social capital is also a necessary condition for modern liberal democracy, which is the art of balancing the power of the State and the protection of the individual from State's power.

Social capital includes both formal and informal connections created to strengthen social relations. According to Serrati (2010) it is created via linkages across families and communities. Connections and networks of this nature are vital for their ability to promote joint action and building trust among the people concerned. Social capital can be constructed through membership to formal groups such as workers unions and clubs. Scoones (1998) reiterates that social networks may also develop through trust, reciprocity and interaction which in turn increase cooperation and bargaining power among social groups. While social capital is a useful vehicle for the creation of sustainable livelihoods, it can be equally detrimental if handled otherwise. For example, exploitative connections which are based on superior- subordinate relationships are likely to hinder opportunities of growth for the subordinate.

Kirori (2015) avers that social capital has profound impact, positive or negative, in many different areas of human life and development. Empirical evidence reveals that the contribution of social capital to livelihoods of households is quite immense across many parts of the world. For example, social capital results in indirect income gains and more widespread and efficient services delivery; affects the provision of services in both urban and rural areas; transforms the

prospects for agricultural development; influences the expansion of private enterprises; improves the management of common resources; helps improve education; and can prevent conflict (Aker, 2007). Aker (2007) further argue that social capital enhances welfare and helps to alleviate poverty for individuals, households, communities, and even countries as a whole.

Reid and Salmen (2001) view social capital as an asset that can be accumulated and yield a flow of benefits directly as it increasing income and indirectly through improving access to services. The nature of social capital benefits is categorised into organizational benefits (i.e., collective action-based benefits); reduction of transaction costs and income security. In a similar study that used both quantitative and qualitative analytical approaches it was revealed that social capital can have major impact on income and welfare of the poor by improving the outcome of activities that affect them (Kirori, 2015). Thus, social capital enhances access of poor households to water, sanitation, credit, and education. For example, Krishna and Uphoff (1999) analyse watersheds in Rajasthan, India. They develop a social capital index combining structural factors (informal networks and established roles) with an equal number of cognitive factors (solidarity and mutual trust). The authors investigate the influence of the index on livelihood outcomes including water management outcomes and household incomes. They show that social capital has a significant direct impact on livelihoods and conclude that social capital enhances main sources of rural livelihood directly. It is also argued that the benefit of social capital enhances collective action in managing a common resource effectively.

In Madagascar, an analysis of traders showed that social capital reduces transaction costs and acts as an informal channel for acquiring insurance against liquidity (Kirori, 2015). A similar study of water projects in Indonesia investigated the impact of several social capital variables (the density of membership in water users' associations; the extent of meetings attendance and participation in decision-making; and number of collective village activities) on water supply systems management (Isham and Kahkonen, 1999). A positive relationship was found to exist and concluded that social capital increases organizational benefits of the villagers.

In a study on associational activities of individuals in Tanzania, a measure of social capital and related the measure to data on household incomes were obtained (Narayan & Pritchett, 1999). The results showed that village-level social capital raises household incomes. Social capital constitutes both positive and negative externalities. Empirical evidence shows that social capital, like human capital, can be used for purposes that hinder rather than help people's welfare (Adler and Kwon, 2002). For instance, when group membership norms grant obligations to share rather than accumulate wealth or deny members access to services, for example preventing girls from going to school, or when, without control and accountability, linking social capital can become

nepotistic or a mechanism for insider-trading and political favouritism (Kirori, 2015). The Productivity Commission (2003) pose a key policy question which denotes to the creation of institutional conditions or a combination of various dimensions of social capital that generate outcomes which advance public interest.

The economic contribution of social capital may produce negative outcomes which haunts the public interests. According to Fukuyama (1999) social capital differs from other forms of capital because it leads to bad results like hate groups or in-bred bureaucracies. It is argued that the main reason why social capital seems less obviously a capital good than physical and human capital is because it tends to produce more in the way of negative externalities than either of the other two forms. This is because group solidarity in human communities is often purchased at the price of hostility towards out-group members (Kirori, 2015). In such instances it appears to be a natural human tendency for dividing the world into friends and enemies, which is the basis for all politics (Fukuyama, 1999). Therefore, it is virtually important when measuring social capital to consider its true utility net of its externalities. However, issue of social capital externality does not constitute the subject under investigation despite its importance to rural livelihoods construction.

Yiran (2016) opine that there are three distinct classifications of social capital which are bonding, linking and bridging. Social capital developed through linking involves connections that are present across different societal levels. Social capital developed through bridging involves networks that arise among people who are not of the same level but residing in the same community. Societal bonding is related to the connections and networks that develop within a group or individuals who share some common characteristics in the same area. Shackleton *et al.* (2001) commend that some farmers donated or sold a small proportion of the crops to family, friends and neighbours in acknowledgment of kinship and community ties. The latter can be very important in times of crisis.

The determinants of social capital include household characteristics such as geographic location, demographic characteristics, and socio-economic characteristics. However, it is difficult to directly measure social capital. The main contestation against measurement of social capital is that social capital eludes measurement and where it is measured, imperfect proxies are used (Kirori, 2015). The challenges in the measurement of social capital are due to the multidimensional nature of the social capital resource. There is the counter-argument based on the human capital analogy. The theory developed two measures of this activity, that is, years of schooling and years of work experience. These proxy indicators should not be confused with human capital per se. The counter-argument emphasizes that the measurement exercise of social capital is valid. Several

useful proxies of social capital have been identified. Three proxies of social capital that are most commonly used for empirical purposes and policy include membership in local associations and networks, trust and adherence to norms, and collective action (Grootaert & Bastelar, 2002a; 2002b). However, there are no clear cut measurement methods that can apply in the determination of social capital in practice. Therefore, proxy indicators are used to determine the existence of variables that represent social capital (Allison & Horemans, 2006). Even though proxies are used, there is still no agreed upon set of indicators. Indicators used in the measurement of social capital depend on the geographic and sectoral context of the study (Allison & Horemans, 2006). The scope and depth of the unit under analysis also determines the proxy indicators used of measurement of social capital. However, the role of social capital in Fats Track Resettlement Areas is not known.

2.5.3 Physical capital

Physical capital includes infrastructure and basic production resources required to support a livelihood (Scoones, 1998). This includes roads, transport, housing and telecommunications. Infrastructure usually is owned by the government and are accessed free of charge with a few exceptions where a service fee is expected. Production resources are owned by individuals or groups and it is the owner's responsibility for their upkeep and maintenance. Inefficient or poor production resources affect the quality of the produce; result in gross inefficiencies and reduction of the productive capacity of individuals (DFID, 2000). For many rural areas, limited access to physical capital, specifically infrastructure hinders the creation of sustainable livelihoods. Serrati (2010) noted that many organisation measure poverty using the availability of infrastructural assets as the major indicator of well-being.

Considering the role of infrastructure in facilitating rural development, issues of access and external support are crucial when analysing physical capital. Scholars, Xu *et al.* (2015); Scoones (2015); Wang (2015) measured physical capital through assessing the productive equipment and basic infrastructure of households. The method used classified all the variables for physical capital as basic infrastructure and productive equipment. Mazur (2010) mention that physical capital as toolkits, planting materials, new brick houses, water pumps and nursery beds in Uganda. Such collection of physical capital enables farmers to perform tasks and advance livelihoods strategies at local level. In resettlement areas of Zimbabwe, physical capital plays a crucial role especially during the time of settling when resources and alternative are limited. Njaya (2015) avers that farmers were able to accumulate physical capital over a certain period after the fast track resettlement programme. Ndlovu (2018) add that some farmers acquired cell phones for communication. Other assets included water pumps for irrigation, brick and mortar houses, cars

and other farm equipment. However, there is a thin line between physical and natural capital. Quandt *et al.* (2017) aver that physical capital include schools, clinics, irrigation equipment, roads and farm implements. Su *et al.* (2018) commend that physical capital include assets used in the economic production process such as agricultural machinery. It is argued that physical capital is affected with financial risks. Hence there sustainability depends on the financial stability of farmers.

2.5.4 Financial capital

Serrati (2017) highlights that financial capital include all cash and cash equivalent resources that can be used to sustain livelihoods of households. The list encompasses saving at home or in financial houses, all forms of financial credits, remittances, cash and pensions. There are mainly two categories financial capital namely financial stocks and regular inflow income. Available stocks includes liquid assets cash in hand, bank, cheques and near cash assets such as livestock and grain stores which can be easily converted into cash. Financial capital plays an important role as an enabler or lubricant to other forms of capital. It allows the acquisition of capitals as well strengthening the capabilities of households. Households with a financially stable background are likely to obtain institutional support and develop productive social networks. For rural households, lack of financial capital is regarded as the main obstacle hindering development initiatives and is also the major driver of unsustainability. It is also vital to consider that having access to financial capital in isolation from other capitals is not a panacea to poverty reduction in rural areas. While financial is an abler of development, it cannot be directly substituted for some intrinsic aspects like lack of knowledge. Therefore, a well-balanced combination of livelihoods is likely to bring more sustainable livelihood outcomes and is the most preferred condition in a society.

Alemu (2015) commend that interventions spearheaded to expanding financial capital accumulation requires a deep understanding of the types of financial services available to the targeted group. This includes an analysis of the nature of services they provide and how they are accessed. Other scholars such as Yussof (2016) and Bhandari (2013) categorise financial capital as household income, savings and investments and access to other financial services and aid. This classification is relevant for operational purposes. Resettled farmers in Zimbabwe suffered major drawbacks in accumulating financial capital. The cash crisis drained the little reserves they accumulated after selling their produce. Dekker (2018) argue that the economic crisis in Zimbabwe contributed to the downfall of agricultural activities and it mostly affected farmers who depend on seasonal income.

Gamundani (2018) expound that the resettled farmers lack access to credit and loans due to the liquidity crisis. Bhatasara & Helliker (2018) argue that banks in Zimbabwe were reluctant to open lines of credit to farmers because of lack of collateral. However, Scoones *et al.* (2016), Scoones (2017) commend that farmers depended on selling other physical capitals such as cattle and goats to raise finances for reinvesting in the fields. Su *et al.* (2018) contented that farmers have their own strategies of accumulating financial capital when the financial institutions are not ready to advance credit. Mapiye (2016) aver that the situation in fast track resettlement areas regarding financial capital accumulation is different from the previous resettlement programmes which enjoyed financial support from the government and donor institutions such as Farmers' World and DAPP.

Su *et al.* (2018) commend that savings constitute a good source of capital. However, the fast track resettlement farmers could not save due to the unstable financial crisis. Dekker (2018) argue that life savings such as pension funds were all eroded during the period of hyperinflation and deflation respectively. Farmers were involved in batter trading and were possible converted their small incomes to physical assets which could store value (Gamundani, 2018). Rotating savings were now involving goods rather than rotating cash. However, the contribution of financial capital remains vital for resettled farmers because it allows them to acquire equipment, machinery and other agricultural inputs. Besides its use for agricultural purposes, financial capital lubricates other capital assets such as paying school fees, health services and hiring farm labour. Kirori (2015) argue that most social networks are created during efforts to acquire financial capital. Thus, there is a closer link between financial capital and social capital. In this instance relatives or friends are able to borrow from each other during the time of stress. Local borrowing strengthens relationships between friends and it contributes to the development of the community. Liu *et al.* (2018) argue that creating access to credit, loans and other financial aid contributed to the improvement of sustainable livelihoods in China. However, the failure to repay poses adverse effects such as quarrels and groupings against kinships. Sustainability of livelihoods is therefore depended on efficient acquisition of financial capital in fast track resettlement areas.

2.5.5 Human capital

Human capital encompasses the skills, knowledge, capabilities and health conditions which enable one to take up various livelihood strategies (Serrati, 2010). While other forms of capital offer some plausible degree of importance, human capital seems to be at the centre of all capitals. This is so because the amount and quality of human capital available to household have a direct bearing on livelihood outcomes. According to Provo (2002) human capital there are two forms in which human capital can be accumulated which are direct or indirect. The direct way of

accumulating human capital involves attending schools, workshops or some form of training which can enhance a person's intellectual capacity. Investing in human capital requires a great amount of sacrifice and willingness to improve one's personal capacity.

There are numerous indicators which can be used to assess human capacity. These encompass education attainment indicators such as years spent at school, quality of education received and other trainings received. It also goes to include leadership potential, life expectancy and available local knowledge. The World Economic Forum (2013) try to eliminate the challenges of measuring human capital by subdividing human capital into education, health and wellness, workforce and employment and enabling environment. However, such subclasses are likely to change with time and innovation.

Unruh (2008) argue that human capital in terms of education and awareness of formal and customary land tenure structures (rights, laws, norms, authority structures, procedures) will be particularly hard hit by conflict scenarios, and further debilitated during the post-conflict period. In-place customary communities that experienced limited or no dislocation, and did not receive high concentrations of dislocatees during the war are likely to have retained greater human capital in terms of land access. Thus, livelihoods are expected to improve. It is argued that human capital is haunted with effects of war as dislocation and emigration of family members and other relatives. Fragmented families at local level suffer considerable lack of human capital especially when there is limited access to assets such as land. With regard to the latter, the result can be attempts at replacing the necessary human capital with more easily accessed political– financial capital in the form of light weapons (also a variant of power) in order to defend or (re)acquire rights to land (Unruh, 2008). The importance of smallholders knowing about the imminent changes that are underway in both formal and informal livelihood systems help them to pursue opportunities for livelihood expansion. However, the main challenge in human capital formation is the rapid change in customary norms especially with regard to livelihood generation. For example lack of empowerment of youth and women constrain the vast development potential in many areas.

Huai (2016) argue that the concept of human capital encompasses all the farmer's indigenous knowledge, education, age, labour skills, health and women's empowerment and determines the assets and labour return for farmers, which increase labour productivity and land management. Hence, the manager's age and the labour used per week on the farm are crucial elements of human capital. It is argued that older managers are vulnerable because they generally have low strategic skills and low interest in changing behaviour, while younger managers have a stronger psychological and financial buffer (Wong *et al.*, 2015). For example, younger managers are likely to have less experience and special skills on farms, while older managers have accumulated

amounts (Sarmer *et al.*, 2013). Therefore, age of the household is equally important in determining the sustainability of livelihoods in resettlement areas. Huai (2016) asserts that high qualities and quantities of labour inputs on the farms add there salience of crops (e.g., rice and maize) in extreme events, and thus a higher number of labourers working on the farm can assist to improve sustainability of livelihoods.

2.5.6 Natural capital

In sub Saharan Africa, rural households use a wide range of natural resources to sustain their livelihoods. The natural resources used include medicinal plants, edible herbs, firewood, pools for fencing and construction and curing tobacco (Kabala *et al.*, 2013, Chilongo 2014). Such benefits from the natural environment and their endowment help farmers to sustain their livelihoods either as alternative sources or as the mainstream activities. Mbereko (2007) opine that determinants of natural resource use at household level vary greatly from household socio-economic characteristics, resource availability, accessibility, institutional controls, population densities, employment levels, availability of alternatives, to personal and cultural preferences, and social connectedness. Numerous studies across geographical locations have been conducted to quantify natural resource use or trade by rural households in southern Africa, for example in South Africa (Shackleton & Shackleton, 2004), Zimbabwe (Nyamwanza, 2012), Malawi (Kamanga *et al.*, 2009) and Mozambique (Hegde & Bull 2008).

A common and widely accepted method for measuring resource use is through the direct use values of resources, achieved by assigning local prices to the types of resources and multiplying by the quantities reported by household members (Mbiba, 2018). However, there are challenges with this methodology on assigning values to those natural resources that are not traded on the market in particular. An alternative approach comprises of a compound measurement through the use of households' willingness to pay for such non-traded resources or the use of prices from the closest areas or markets where the resource was traded (Dovie *et al.*, 2002). Various methods are used to quantify the resource amounts and they include weight, volume, bundles, individuals or whatsoever units the household was familiar with and these would standardized through weight or volume calibrations (Shackleton & Shackleton 2000). Besides household direct consumption of natural resources, studies have shown that households living in areas with easy access to forests tend not only to use forest resources but also trade in them to diversify their sources of income in anticipation of income variability (Shackleton & Shackleton, 2012; Debela *et al.*, 2012). It is imperative for further studies to consider the determinants of dependence on natural resources at household level, as these are important for household food security and livelihood sustainability.

Natural capital encompasses the stock of natural resources that are available within the environment that are used for deriving livelihoods. The main components of the natural resource base are water, soil, air, forests and genetic resources. For households residing in rural areas Scoones (1998) comments that natural resources are form the basis of livelihoods. The livelihood activities generated from natural resources include agriculture, fishing, land, mining and fruit gathering. Natural capital is relevant to the study for its ability to foster livelihood activities to resettled farmers in the chosen study area. In addition, natural capital is susceptible to seasonal variations which affect its quality and availability in some parts of the year.

Natural capital is the premise which enables the functioning of other forms of capitals. Natural capital can be analysed through availability, access, quality and variations of these attributes over time. Meanwhile, environmental economists use the direct use, indirect use and non-use values when evaluating natural capital. However, measuring natural capital involves focusing flora and fauna, land, water, air and environmental services accessed by a household (Bhandari, 2013). This style of classification views natural capital in the form of access and stocks available to the household.

In addition to the capitals underpinning in the DFID (2000) sustainable livelihoods framework, intellectual, environmental, cultural, political and spiritual domains have been identified. However, despite some distinct characteristics of such capitals they can closely fit into the DFID (2000) capital categories. For instance, intellectual capital can be classified as a human capital component while environmental capital fits in the natural capital category. Political capital comes in the form of rights embedded in citizenship and affiliation to a political movement (Haan & Zoomers, 2005). Due to a web of networks created as the organisation endeavours to garner support of the masses, social connections manifest into social capital. Spiritual capital encompasses imagination, intuition and persistence which are core capabilities within an individual (Chu, 2007; Kabiti, 2017). While spiritual capital can be classified as human capital, the main challenge of determining a distinctive measurement method still prevails. As a result political capital and spiritual capital fall out of interest of the study.

2.6 Application of the Sustainable livelihoods Framework in “Fast Track” Resettlement Areas of Shamva District

Many studies and programmes have been carried out using the sustainable livelihood framework in a bid to obtain an understanding of household livelihoods activities. While the framework is

relevant and applauded for its capabilities to mirror the reality of experiences of the poor, it possesses some inherent weaknesses that are mainly based on methodologies. The main danger is that people who lack a sound analytical background of the model may totally fail to understand and interpret its context. Many scholars have recommended the use of a set of methodologies that are directly linked to the framework and better explain the relationships residing therein. Regardless of the inherent weakness the study still finds space and inclines on the strengths of the model.

While the sustainable livelihoods framework has been used in various areas of study such as rural livelihood change, livelihood ownership, livelihood diversification, entrepreneurship, planned resettlements, migration and fisheries, the sustainability of household livelihoods for fast track resettlement areas has been met with limited attention. In Zimbabwe, most studies focused the negative impacts of land reform with little attention given to livelihood shifts that occurred after the process. Particularly, the study of sustainable livelihoods in fast track resettlement areas received limited attention for unclear reasons (Scoones, 2017; Ndlovu, 2018). Since 2000, the economy of Zimbabwe experienced a huge crisis which posed disastrous effects on rural farmers especially newly resettled farmers who relied on government support to strengthen farming activities. The government initiated many economic blueprints earmarked for economic recovery and tackling the deep rooted poverty in rural areas. Unfortunately, inflation, unemployment, the rise of the informal sector and currency crisis dampened such efforts. Robinson (2006) argue that hyperinflation that characterized the Zimbabwean economy pushed the cost of living beyond the reach of most households, particularly among the poor. After 2013, the country continued to grapple with deflation, whose consequences are just as bad as inflation. The country's currency was replaced by a multicurrency regime and the worst affected have been the rural communities where not much economic activities are taking place (Gamundani, 2016; Dekker, 2017).

Moyo (2013) commend that many of Zimbabwe's communal farmers including the fast track farmers equally suffered due to the serious economic decline. Both large and small farmers could not easily secure farming inputs; neither could they access loans for farming and transport. When finance is available, it was expensive. Government farmers support schemes such as 'Operation Maguta', and Agribank loans were charged with corruption and such support failed. Infrastructures in previously white owned farms were grounded during the violent invasions (Zikhali, 2010; Bhatasara & Helliker, 2018). The quality of roads has continued to deteriorate. Meanwhile, communal farmers lacked the capacity to save money to purchase inputs. Challenges such as limits for withdrawals, even when they sell their products are still present in the economic circles. There are workers who have one foot in farming and the other in some other type of employment. They are simply not very efficient farmers. Such individuals also used to supplement their farming

activities with income from the jobs they have since lost (Scoones *et al.*, 2015). A closer analysis of this nature unfolds the complexity of livelihoods even in fast track resettlement areas of Shamva District.

The high levels of unemployment and a weak economy pointed to increasing levels of vulnerability and an attack on the livelihoods of the communal area inhabitants. Tom (2015) expounds that lack of social services and facilities haunted on the human capital as many people could not afford the far located clinics and schools. However, the most critical resource for communal farmers is a regular income, especially received from paid or self-employment in land based activities. Murisa (2017) commend that others relied on remittances whilst very few had access to pension funds. Thus, other resources potentially act as substitutes or alternatives. Beside land based activities, none of other sources of livelihood options are secure. Moyo (2013) contend that farmers increasingly face severe environmental risks in resettlement areas. Land reform does not distinguish or differentiate livelihoods. Fast track resettled farmers in Shamva District survive with the reality of fluctuating crop and livestock prices and they have no control over the input prices like any other people in Zimbabwe. Hence, the sustainability discourse remains key in understanding the livelihood activities and patterns in such areas.

Chambers & Conway (1992) explains that livelihood systems are made up of the capabilities, assets (made up of both material and social resources), and activities to be carried out for a survival. Assets and other activities carried out in the household constitute that livelihood strategy for the household. Ellis (2000) explain that livelihood strategies constitute the income generation and other activities in the form of cultural and social choices. Livelihoods approaches show the diverse framework of sustainable livelihoods. The differences in livelihood assets in the form of the social, natural, financial, physical and human capital is utilised for livelihoods. In a sustainable livelihoods framework, Scoones (2009) argue that the context is framed in the vulnerability context that takes into account other issues such as seasonality, trends, and outside shocks.

Rural development is also shaped through other structures that govern access to resources and the manner in which they are exploited they are exploited (Gamundani, 2016). However, there has been system of discriminatory practices that were a function of the patronage system and other power differentials (Bhatasara & Helliker, 2018). In Zimbabwe, the power dynamics shape the interface between the state and the rural political economy (Cliffe *et al.*, 2003; Moyo, 2005). Sachikonye (2003) maintain that in the communal countryside, the formal and informal institutions serve to maintain the status quo with the majority of the population in perpetual fear. It is further argued that the governing framework for the management of natural resource in the form of grazing and farming lands and conservation efforts have not achieved much to enhance the

capacity of resettled farmers to respond effectively to droughts or floods as driven by climate change. Njaya and Mazuru (2014), Musemwa *et al.* (2014) argue that maize cropping year after year is still a common practice, despite the demonstrated unsuitability for the areas with average to below average rainfall patterns. Degradation, poor farming methods farming, expanding population, and lack of proper training are present in resettlement areas and they contributed massively to unsustainability of livelihoods (Scoones, 2017). Other relevant institutions act in ways that generate or promote risk vulnerability. Selections of the key institutions that define livelihoods in this area include those that relate to access land and enforcement of property rights and contracts. Access to capital and the commodity markets is also important in addressing the vulnerability of smallholder farmers.

The colonial legacy invariably lies not only at the very heart of the glaring inequalities in the means to livelihoods and but also in access to information, welfare provisioning, to law enforcement measures and mechanisms for fair settlement of disputes (Sadomba, 2011; Scoones *et al.*, 2015). In rural areas of Zimbabwe, the inequalities still prevail. Gamundani (2016) avers that local government institutions worsen the challenges that newcomers or those on the wrong side of the political divide face in gaining access to land and other farming resources. Importantly, in resettlement areas, many of the residing in the same community came from different places and this makes the construction of social networks a very difficult process. When people are not very much aware of the origin of their neighbours, naturally there are high levels of mistrust. Sachikonye (2003, 2017) argue that other available livelihoods sources are normally risky and they rely on illegal activities such as cross-border (illegal emigration) into neighbouring countries. On the other hand commodity markets have their own organization and farmers are often at the mercy of middle men or even vulnerable to theft. Access to social welfare resources in Zimbabwe's rural areas is also at times dependent on the successful negotiation of patronage relations. Most of the local paid employment is in the agricultural sector and this amplifies the effects on poor. Ndlovu (2018) argue that the fast track resettlement farmers particularly in A1 smallholders are sustainable because they are able to produce for consumption and sell the surpluses. Scoones (2018) concur with the notion that livelihoods in fast track resettlement areas are sustainable. However, Moser (1998) expound that contemporary argument on livelihoods rests on the shared assumption that people follow livelihood strategies using and disposing their assets in ways which are determined within their particular context.

2.7 Livelihood Strategies in Fast Track Resettlement Areas

Rural household engage in diversified set of income generating activities in an effort to diversify the income base in order to reduce risk exposure, maintain consumption requirements in the

event of shocks or to effectively accumulate wealth (Ellis, 2000; Babulo *et al.*, 2008; Waleign *et al.*, 2017). Ellis (2000) and Scoones (2009) point that households adopt and adapt their livelihood strategies over time according to the asset endowment, external factors, contextual factors and internal stress to construct resilience and maintain sustainability of their livelihoods. Livelihood strategies are crucial in determining livelihood outcomes of households. Ellis (2000); Scoones (2009) and Serrati, (2017) define livelihood strategies as a collection of activities that generate the means of household survival. Livelihood strategies can be classified into distinct groups to identify key livelihood strategies that are eligible for external support to lift people's livelihoods (Jiao *et al.*, 2017; Waleign *et al.*, 2017).

Carney & Ashley (1999), Ellis (2000a) and Yaro (2006) argue that the livelihood approach takes a more people-centred view on the study of rural livelihoods in various contexts. Unlike other livelihood models, the livelihoods approach has been applied at global and local levels in studies of livelihood strategies and adaptation (Chambers & Conway, 1992; Bebbington, 1999; Scoones, 2009). While a couple of non-governmental organisations adopted the sustainable frameworks, the UK DFID is specifically concerned with the Sustainable Livelihood Approach as a tool to monitor and transform the livelihood status in different areas of operation (Carney *et al.*, 1998; DFID, 2000; Serrati, 2008). De Haan & Zoomers (2005), Scoones (2009) contend that the sustainable livelihoods framework is a potent tool of assessing people's livelihood assets and how the external environment of social relations, institutions, organisations, policies, seasonality, trends and shocks influence access to ability to convert livelihood assets into livelihood outcomes (Takahashi, 2008; Loisons, 2015). The approach is strong for its ability to recognise the multiple and diverse character of livelihoods (Ellis & Freeman, 2004; Ellis, 2009). Therefore, the approach is useful in examining and diversity of farming system (Scoones *et al.*, 2016). It takes into account the influence of institutions on livelihoods together with social and economic character of livelihood strategies (Ashley & Carney, 1999; Ellis, 2000a; Loisons, 2015). The approach is also useful in understanding the costs and benefits of various livelihood strategies and decisions (DFID, 2000; GLOPP, 2008). However, it has been criticised because a large number of its components are immeasurable and they require the use of proxy indicators, which are not easily available (Sourisseau *et al.*, 2012).

Ellis (2000) and Barrett *et al.* (2001), indicate that asset, activity and income diversification characterise the livelihood strategies of rural smallholders in African countries. Ellis (2000) identified three distinct livelihood strategies which are livelihood diversification, farm intensification and migration. Livelihood strategies can be on-farm or off-farm strategies. With the increasing risk and uncertainty associated with the external environment, off-farm activities constitute the largest income contribution household income in Asia and Latin America

(Haggblade *et al.*, 2010). Ellis (2000b) argue that diversification at household level is viewed as an outcome of dynamic livelihoods adaptation to changing constraints, and opportunities faced by smallholder farmers. Rural households construct strong and secure living standards through diversifying livelihoods across available opportunities. Niehof (2004) contend that diversification is directly associated with both livelihood survival and distress under plummeting conditions as well as livelihood security and increasing wealth. Therefore it is aimed at strengthening living standards by reducing vulnerability, risk and poverty as well as increasing wealth.

Ellis and Freeman (2004) emphasise that livelihood diversification should enable rural households to generate cash, improve the standard of living and build assets which are diversified across farm and non-farm activities. Livelihood diversification is a cumulative process of reducing risk that entails building of investment assets to improve both farm and non-farm activities. World Bank (2007) state that when there is limited access to feasible opportunities to diversify income activities, households migrate to urban areas and remit income to rural areas to sustain rural livelihoods. Empirical evidence shows that some households are sustained by multiple livelihood activities (Anderson & Djurfelt, 2014; Pour *et al.*, 2018). World Bank (2007) argues that migration often complements agricultural entrepreneurship in rural areas. Ha *et al.* (2017) and Jiao *et al.* (2017) acknowledge that nonfarm income plays a vital role in concretising the potential of smallholder pathways out of poverty.

However, the farm income remains crucial in improving the capital base required to invest in nonfarm employment and migration (Jiao *et al.*, 2017). Diversification is plays an important role as a strategy for survival and coping with risk especially when farm activities fails to provide sufficient means of livelihood (Larson, 2005; Loisons, 2015; Ha *et al.*, 2017). Xi *et al.* (2016) note that during difficult times, poor smallholders with limited assets are pushed to seek alternative incomes by engaging in low return and often risky nonfarm activities. However, livelihoods for richer households or those who are located in areas that receive enough rainfall are mainly motivated by the desire to raise income or accumulate wealth (Haggblade *et al.*, 2007). Mohmound & M'Mukaria (2008) and Lienert & Burger (2015) argue that diversification may not be the sole livelihood strategy employed by rural households despite it being common.

Jayne *et al.* (2010) aver that majority of rural households have limited possibilities for remunerative nonfarm work. Mashizha *et al.* (2017) argue that the constraints and opportunities for rural households are not evenly distributed geographically and socially, therefore households with relatively better asset endowments are more likely to access better opportunities for diversification (Berret *et al.*, 2001). Ellis (1999) commend that the common pattern follows a range of activities that contribute to increase in income and wealth. These activities are more fruitful in

areas with favourable agro-ecology and good market access (Losch *et al.*, 2012). Loisons (2015) and Mashizha *et al.* (2017) argue that there are differences between households in rural areas despite favourable endowments or opportunities available to them. Some households have better standards of living and improved welfare while others remain trapped in structures of perennial poverty

Changes in land ownership structures following resettlement schemes often attract changes in livelihoods strategies of rural households (Liu & Liu, 2016). Studies regarding the possible impacts of influencing factors and diversification of livelihood strategies in rural resettlement areas have been dealt with, for example in (Fang *et al.*, 2014; Huber *et al.*, 2014, Xu *et al.*, 2015). While considerable progress occurred, so far insights into rural livelihood strategies changes are not clear and they fail to capture livelihood dynamics. Ellis (2000) and Scoones (2009) acknowledge that rural livelihoods are dynamic such that transitions between different strategies are inevitable (Dube & Phiri, 2015; Scoones *et al.*, 2015). Hence, the array of livelihood strategies including on and off-farm activities, social relationships, financial capacity, income sources and resource bases require empirical research (Chambers & Conway, 1992; Scoones, 2000). Efforts to obtain insights into livelihood dynamics and relative transitions in livelihood strategies include (Dekker & Kinsey, 2010; Matondi, 2012; Scoones *et al.*, 2015). Matondi (2012) and Moyo (2013) focus their studies on livelihoods changes that occurred in fast track resettlement areas north-eastern Zimbabwe while Mushonga and Scoones (2012) used household surveys to examine livelihood changes in southern parts of Zimbabwe over 20 years.

Ndi (2017) examine the changes in livelihoods of households settled in large scale farms in south-western Cameroon. Ulrich *et al.* (2012) study the portfolio composition of assets using a bi-temporal and inter-intra household comparison covering 13 years in Kenya. Radel *et al.* (2010) present a comparative assessment of the agricultural livelihood transitions and the relative land changes in southern Yucatan region of Mexico. While these studies used a comparative bi- or multi-temporal perspective to assess changes in livelihood assets and strategies of rural households, they tend to provide limited insights into the continuously changing livelihood processes (Liu & Liu, 2016). Noting the transient nature of livelihood strategies employed by farmers, it remains naturally imperative to analyse them from a dynamic process perspective.

2.8 Livelihood Perspective of the Fast Track Land Resettlement Areas

While the Fast Track Land Reform attracted the world's attention with much criticism on the nature of violent land grabs, the general objectives of ending poverty among the poor marginalised black populace was equally important. Studies by Scoones *et al.* (2012; 2017) revealed that, resettled

farmers who benefited access to land enjoyed some noticeable transformations in their livelihoods. However, Matondi (2012) reiterate that the expectations of both farmers and the government were hampered by the coincidental occurrence of drought and economic meltdown. Njaya (2015) dispute the notion that smallholder farmers failed to produce and argued that the livelihoods of resettled farmers indeed transformed after the FRLRP. Despite noticeable improvements in livelihoods of resettled farmers, the sustainability aspect is yet to be unravelled.

Studies that examined the changes that occurred after smallholder farmers have been given access to land ownership stipulate that livelihood improvements occur overtime (Kinsey, 2009). In addition, Kinsey (2009) show that resettled farmers needed further support from the government in the form farm inputs, marketing and extension services. Scoones *et al.* (2012) demonstrate that while agrarian based activities constitute rudimentary patterns of making a living, some farmers have diversified their sources of income through migration, trade, gold mining and remittances. These distinctions are more visible at household level. In Zimbabwe, most fast track smallholder farming is rain-fed and seasonal. Operating this form of farming therefore represents a source of vulnerability for the households that depend on it for survival. Understanding ways with which smallholder farm households thrive or fall short in the sustenance of livelihoods in the face of rain-fed farming practices may need to be the starting point of designing any interventions focusing on fast track resettlement farming development (Ndlovu, 2018). Such interventions need to go beyond the mere provision of inputs such as seeds and fertilisers; it should focus on ensuring that resettled households are equipped with requisite skills. Coupled with the aforementioned interventions is the need to foster a politically stable environment farming operations. Through capital assets, households can construct livelihood strategies that comprise various activities, some of which may have a direct link with farming. Some of the strategies may also relate to the households' individual or collective choices with regard to expenditure (e.g. the sale of assets). Therefore, other sources of income should be considered in such way to uphold all the livelihood activities. The SLA points to the consequences of the strategies of livelihoods. A livelihood is sustainable when the households concerned can sustain or advance their standards of living (with regard to contentment), decrease their exposure to outside disturbances, and ensure that their activities are well matched with the maintenance of their natural resource base (land fertility).

2.8 Summary

The foregoing literature review demonstrated that the livelihoods in resettlement areas depend on agriculture as a means of generating a living. It is emphasised that the sustenance of small-scale farmers coupled with the ability to increase productivity reduces poverty in the whole

country. Understanding livelihood perspectives starts with the deceptively simple exploration of the different ways and places in which people live. The foregoing literature established that the livelihood capitals such as financial, physical, social, natural and human capital determine the nature of activities undertaken in fast track resettlement areas. They play a crucial and most of them can be interchanged in use to augment shortages of other capitals. Rural households use various livelihood strategies to achieve the desired livelihood outcomes. The most common livelihood strategies include on-farm and off-farm strategies. Institutional policies and processes affect the use of certain livelihood strategies. Livelihood diversification is prominent in many areas and it has helped many people to bridge poverty gaps. The choice of livelihood strategies also depend on the risks and vulnerabilities faced in various locations. Fast track resettlement farmers are vulnerable to shocks such as drought, floods and economic crisis. Therefore, sustainability of livelihoods is crucial as it strengthens efforts to alleviate poverty. Using the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach (SLA) provides enough ground to understand livelihood perspectives in the area. The criteria for assessing sustainability of livelihoods are also embedded in livelihood perspectives. While land reform practices are encountered elsewhere, the major forces which lead to reforms relate to social injustice and poverty reduction in Zimbabwe. This concurs with the view that small-scale farmers have the potential to increase productivity and production compared to large scale farmers. Land reform offers better opportunities for farmers to enhance their livelihood outcomes. It has been revealed in this chapter that while Zimbabwe implemented controversial land reform in the post 2000 era, beneficiary households managed to sustain their livelihoods. However, sustainability was identified and concluded from the perspectives of researchers. The researchers did not have the orientation of the concept from households' perspectives.

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CHAPTER 3: PERCEIVED MAJOR FEATURES OF SUSTAINABLE LIVELIHOODS IN FAST TRACK RESETTLEMENT AREAS OF SHAMVA DISTRICT

3.1 ABSTRACT

The aim of the study was to identify the perceived major features of sustainable livelihoods in fast track resettlement areas of Shamva District. Focus group discussions and key informant interviews were conducted to harness the community perspectives on major features of sustainable livelihoods. Respondents were conveniently selected. All of them were beneficiaries of the fast track land reform programme. Data were analysed using Atlas ti. Version 7 software. It was found that recovery from stress (drought, floods, cold weather), conservation of the environment, reducing dependency and dependability were the main features of sustainable livelihoods. Sustainability of livelihoods was associated with the ability to bridge the gap between the rich and the poor. The value of community voices has disappeared in the sustainable livelihoods discourse in favour of quantitative techniques. Therefore using a participatory approach was more appropriate in this study.

Key words: Community perspectives, Sustainable livelihoods, Shamva District

3.2 Introduction

Various objectives underpin resettlement programmes implemented throughout the world. One such objective is livelihood restoration and enhancement. The ramifications of livelihood sustainability in resettlement areas continue to challenge the general understanding of the scope, context and nature of livelihoods (International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRCRCS), 2014; Gou & Kapucu, 2017). Yet, people's livelihoods are woven within these areas. Chistoplos *et al.* (2001) argue that studies that focus on livelihood sustainability in resettlement areas are rare and they tend to fall into technocratic ruts. Hence, a prolonged inquiry is necessary for creating a reliable knowledge base. In Zimbabwe, land resettlement occurred following incessant land ownership and control disputes (Matondi, 2001; Moyo, 2000; Kinsey, 2009). The latest phase named the Fast Track Land Resettlement occurred in early 2000. However, advancements in studies on livelihood, concepts, and features of livelihood sustainability in FTLR areas are seldom realistic mainly due to diversity of motives for carrying out such studies (Scoones *et al.*, 2015). Despite widespread attempts to construct pillars of livelihood understanding from various settings, the study is premised on the notion that livelihood sustainability is better understood from the context of affected people thus, resettled farmers.

3.3 Description of the Study Area

Shamva is one of the seven Districts that make up Mashonaland Central Province of Zimbabwe. It shares borders with Goromonzi and Murewa Districts on the southern side. To the east lies Uzumba-Maramba-Pfungwe District. Rushinga and Mt Darwin Districts are Shamva's northern neighbours. On the western side is Bindura District, in which the provincial town with the same name is located. The area where the current study was conducted (Figure 3.1) is located about 96km north-east of Harare, the capital city of Zimbabwe. Umfuludzi Safari Reserve, a centre for tourist attraction is adjacent to the study area. Most parts of Shamva District lie in Natural region II, which receives relatively average rainfall of about 750mm-1000mm with a few areas in agro ecological region III, receiving an average rainfall of 600mm-850mm (Vincent & Thomas, 1959; Utete, 2003). Agriculture and mining are rudimentary livelihood activities in the area. Agriculture is practiced for subsistence primarily, with any surplus sold to boost household income (Njaya & Mazuru, 2014).

There were 74 white owned commercial farms before the fast track resettlement in Shamva District. After 2000 (ZIMSTATS, 2012) reported that 34 fast track farms were occupied during fast track resettlement and they constitute smallholder farmers. The former white commercial farms (now fast track farms) are largely concentrated in Shamva South while communal areas and old resettlements are located in Shamva North (Sukume *et al.*, 2003; Bhatasara & Helliker, 2018). The main livelihood activities include crop production, animal rearing, small scale gold panning. Soils in Shamva south are sandy loamy soils which are favourable for agriculture and animal rearing. Major crops grown include cotton, maize, soya bean, sunflower and tobacco. The choice of crops is mainly influenced by religion. There is a dam adjacent to the Umfuludzi valley. It provides water for irrigation during the dry season while occasional tourist visits are present. Umfuludzi valley demarcates fast track resettlement areas to the south and communal areas of Nyamaropa and Madziwa to the north. The gold rich Mazowe River passes through the district near Shamva Township in the south. It also supplies water for irrigation to areas in the proximity. Bhatasara and Helliker (2018) content that people in fast track resettlement areas come from different areas and they have varying asset endowments.

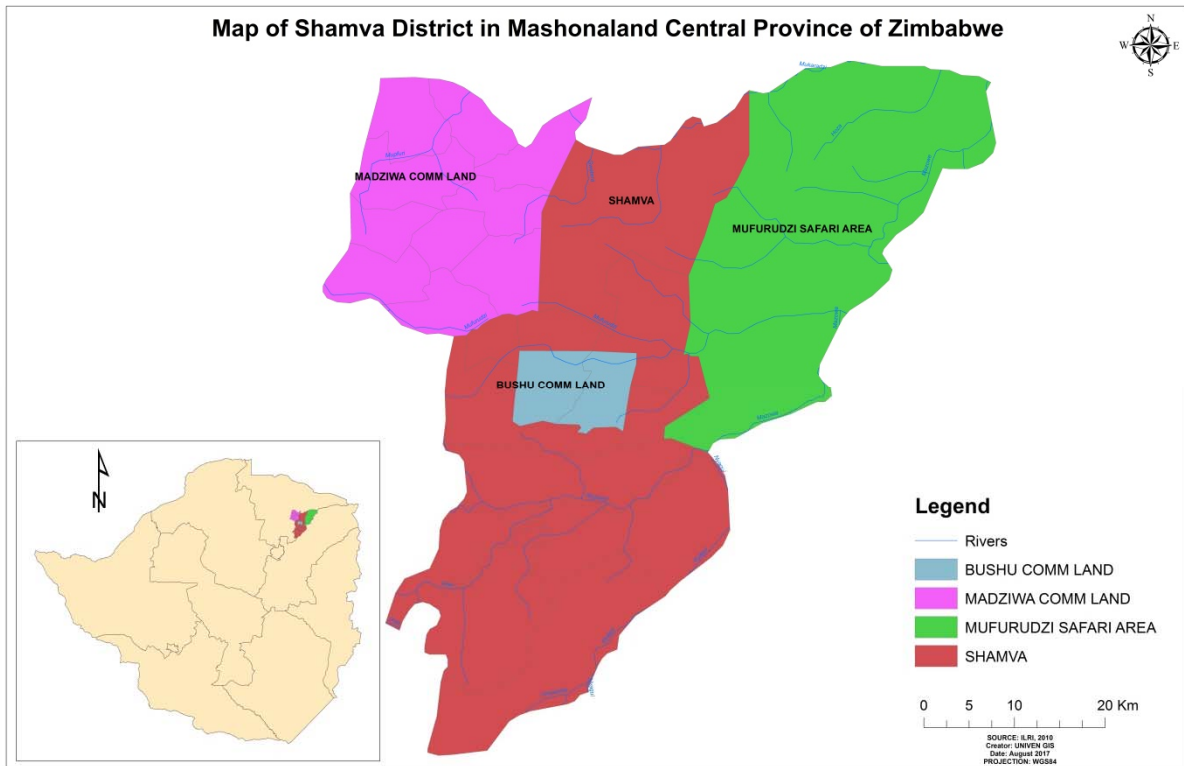


Figure3.1: Map of Shamva District, Source: International Livestock Research Institute (ILRI, 2010)

3.4.1 Research design

An exploratory and descriptive research design was applied in the process of obtaining an understanding of households' perceived major features of sustainable livelihoods. Respondents were asked to express their views regarding the major perceived features of sustainable livelihoods. An exploratory study was appropriate because this was the first time this kind of research was carried out in the area. It also brought new insights about features of sustainability. A descriptive research design provides detailed outlook of a phenomena understudy. It is useful in providing specific answers on research questions. With the nature of the study, it was crucial to explore and describe data to gain a deeper understanding of the topic from a community perspective. Therefore, the first step involved selecting participants in the study area. Only participants in fast track resettlement areas were selected. Data were collected using focus group discussions and key informant interviews.

3.4.2 Population and sampling

The targeted population of study was farmers in fast track resettlement areas of Shamva District. The 34 farms are seldom normally distributed but they are located between the Umfuludzi valley to the north and Mazowe valley to south. This study was undertaken in the Eben Dam area adjacent to Umfuludzi valley. Although the area harbours old resettlements and fast track resettlements the population was specifically targeted for the later. Each farm has approximately 300 households' residing in three sub- areas. Convenience sampling was used during focus group discussions. The sample was estimated using the number of focus groups multiplied by the estimated average number (12) of participants per each group. Five focus groups were constituted according to age and gender while a separate group of community leaders was present. Key informants were purposively selected to participate in the study. These included village chairman, Agriculture and Research Extension Officers (AREX), secondary school headmasters, ward chancellor and the Development Aid from People to People (DAPP) officers.

3.4.3 Preparations for field work

The process of collecting data followed a systematic procedure. Ethical clearance was sort from the University Higher Degrees Ethics Committee (UHDEC), a detailed plan for carrying out the data collection was developed thereafter. In planning the field trip, the first step was to determine the purpose of the study. The purpose of the field trip was to gather data on sustainability of livelihood of households in resettlement areas of Shamva District. The method selected included focus group discussions and key informant interviews. Focus group discussions were the main

data collection process while key informant interviews served as supplementary and confirmatory methods, respectively. Five focus groups were constituted based on gender and age as well as leadership position. Each group constituted an average of 12 participants. Krueger & Casey (2014) and Collucci (2007) confirm that four to five groups of focus groups are enough to reach data saturation.

A written communication was sent to the village chairperson informing him about the intentions to carry out a research in the area. Communicating with the traditional leadership provided a gateway into the community. Prospective research assistants were also informed prior to the actual date of data collection. The data collection process was scheduled for a maximum of seven days. Upon arrival phone calls to prospective research assistants were made to confirm availability and a date was set for training. There was ample financial reserve for all the activities as planned. The tools were kept in separate files while additional materials such as pens, diaries and blank papers were also purchased. Before the actual session, it was estimated that focus group discussions together with presentations should not exceed three hours. In this instance no provision for food was made. Other consultations concerning data collection techniques were made through literature review and consultations.

3. 4. 4 Recruitment and training/ Orientation of Research Assistants (RA'S)

One research assistant was recruited and trained. The main purpose of recruiting a research assistant was to ensure that all the information was captured and all the groups were immensely covered. A male assistant was chosen because female graduates were not available. Training of the research assistant lasted for two hours. This was so because of the need to ensure a thorough understanding of sustainable livelihoods and orientation to a qualitative approach. Facilities of the nearest secondary school were used to conduct the training and English was used as a medium of communication during the training. The training or orientation involved introducing the RA to the topic, a brief background of the study, questions to be asked and the delimitation of the study area. Thereafter, the main focus was to align the objectives of the study and the focus group questions so that accurate data could be extracted. A goal oriented training approach was used as the main purpose was to gather data according to the study objectives. According to Salas *et al.* (2017) goal oriented approach motivates the trainees to execute their tasks effectively.

Upon revising the data collection tools, corrections were made on interview guides. But there were no major changes that emerged to that effect. The role of the Research assistant was to monitor the activities and to capture all data. Soon after an engagement the assistant was supposed to carry out a reflection meeting with the researcher and assist to consolidate data. Other skills needed were listening, observatory and data capturing skills. It was further

emphasised that the assistant was supposed act as a moderator and not to influence the responses of participants but they could give clarity when necessary.

3.4.5 Community Entry

As a prelude to participation, community entry was the foremost step in the research process. Community entry involves the first action needed to bring people together and prepare them to work together. Tareen & Omar (1997) echo that community participation is a social process in which everybody living in an area pursue, jointly with others in system which provides them the mechanism to identify their needs and take decisions. While the main purpose of the study was to assess the sustainability of the study, there was no influence on decision making concerning livelihoods of the participants. However, a participatory approach was followed with a view to understand the sustainability of livelihoods from a local community perspective.

The first step was to meet with the chairperson of the committee of seven which controls the running of resettlement areas. The committee of seven was introduced after the aspect village heads were disbanded in resettlement areas. This committee is renewed after two years through elections. The chairperson of the committee performs similar functions to that of a village head. While several possible ways of community entry such as obtaining consent from the traditional council and village heads exist, a study done by Kengne-Oufao *et al.* (2014) reveal that obtaining consent from the village head was more plausible and comfortable for community leaders, researchers and community members. In African communities, the village head is believed to be the respectable authority to approach when planning to carry out research that involves people. It is further believed that everything that is accorded by the village head is good for the community so they will fully participate (Hennink, 2014; Kengne-Oufao *et al.*, 2014). The authority of the village head does not supersede the individual consent (USNBA, 2001).

Meeting with the chairperson was arranged on special visit to his homestead. The meeting which lasted for an hour started at 0700hrs. This was necessary as it forms part of the protocol for community entry and it also worked as platform to cement relationships with the chairperson so that the aim could get appreciation and affirmation. The meeting was attended by the researcher, the village chairperson and research assistant. The main purpose of this meeting was to brief the chairperson about conducting research on assessing the sustainability of livelihoods of households in the area. Therefore, there was need for permission to interface with community members and their participation was of paramount importance to our study. It was further highlighted that the study took two forms which was key informant interviews and focus group discussions.

During the meeting the importance of doing research in the area and the advantages that accrue to having authentic information about practical activities carried out in resettlement areas were outlined. The chairperson reiterated that research activities have been ongoing albeit at primary and secondary level following the advent of the new curriculum. In the discussion both English and Shona were used. The chairperson exhibited an understanding of sustainable livelihoods and the numerous ways they are using to ensure that village members engage in sustainable livelihoods. One example was the banning of alluvial gold panning in streams and riverbanks. It was noted that the activity contributed heavily to the siltation of the weir and the dam, which was not sustainable. In the end of the meeting, there was an assurance that village members would participate as the call coincided with an ordinary village meeting.

3.5 Data collection techniques

Focus groups and key informant interviews were used to collect data. During focus group discussions, participants were presented with semi-structured interview guide with questions regarding the perceived major features of sustainable livelihoods. The focus groups transpired in the presents of the researcher for the purpose of moderation. As the study was exploratory, data gathered during focus group discussions were qualitative. Flip charts were used to record the views of each group. Consolidation of responses and preliminary data cleaning followed thereafter. Verbatim were also recorded during the session. The same was achieved during key informant interviews. The entire process of data collection amounted to the accumulation of primary data. The questions constituted in semi-structured interview guide are presented in Table 3.1.

Besides primary data, literature was consulted. These included books, electronic journals, research publications, government documents and reports. These were essential for providing background information (literature review), and validating the emerging arguments found in the sustainable livelihood discourse. Reviewing literature was influential in selecting the appropriate research design and data collection techniques.

3.6 Data analysis

Data were analysed using specialised qualitative data analysis software called ATLAS ti version 7. The software permits coding and it systematically synthesise themes emerging from responses. It helps to uncover and systematically analyse complicated information hidden in text and media data (Morse & Richard, 2002). It contains tools that assist to code, locate and present results in the form of networks that shows linkages of the phenomena under study. Verbatim were transcribed to maintain relevance of responses. Direct quotes were extracted as output from the

output window of ATLAS ti version 7.. However, the major analysis took place in field wherein the asked probing questions to obtain a deeper understanding of responses as well as ensuring that there was limited prevalence of biased responses.

3.7 Ethical considerations

Prior to execution of the data collection process, ethical clearance certificate was sought from the University of Venda Ethics Committee. Permission to enter the study area was obtained from the Mashonaland Central Province State Security authorities. This was so because studies concerning fast track resettlement areas are politically sensitive due to the negative criticism it attracted during and after the land grabs. At village level, a letter was sent to the village chairman for permission to carry out a study and to have access to participants. Open invitations were sent to village members through the chairman to ensure that everyone willing would participate. Participants consented that their participation was voluntary and they were free to withdraw freely. They were also assured that the information collected was only to be used for the purpose of the study and not used for other purposes without their approval.

Risks involved during data collection involved strategic bias. This refers to a situation wherein participants deliberately provide responses that sway the outcome of the study in their favour. However, the researcher minimised the risk through moderation of discussions. Also probing more questions validated the authenticity of responses. A uniform set of semi-structured interview guide questions were used to guide the focus group discussions. The questions were:

- a) From your opinion what are the major features of sustainable livelihoods in this area?
- b) What do the livelihood activities contribute?
- c) Who is mainly involved in livelihood activities at your home?
- d) What are the livelihood activities at your home?

3.8 Results

Results for focus group discussions were summarised in line with the respective specific research question. The questions aimed at obtaining background information about perceived major features of sustainable livelihoods. The first specific question required participants to list various livelihood activities they are involved in. All groups provided a list of livelihood activities. Thus men, women, male and female youth and community leaders responded well to the question. The most common livelihood activities included animal rearing, seasonal crop production, gardening, gold panning, fishing and small trading. The group of male youth added beekeeping and carpentry

on the list while the group of men identified nursery and blacksmithing as other livelihood activities despite being talent specific.

Table 3.1 shows livelihood activities identified by each focus group in fast track resettlement areas of Shamva District. Activity based descriptions were used to identify a livelihood activity that may not be easily identified. The group of community leaders also identified fishing as livelihood activity carried out in the nearby Eben dam.

As illustrated in Table 3.1, the major livelihood activities were the ones which were mentioned by all groups and they constitute rudimentary activities which contribute to household wellbeing. When asked about the types of crops grown, it was found that crop variation depended on factors such as the demand for income, food and their ability to revitalise the soil.

Participants pointed out domestic animals including cattle, goats, chicken and guinea fowl were kept for various livelihood purposes. Besides being a source of wealth, cattle are kept as a source of drought power and nutrition in the form of both meat and milk. They are sold to relieve financial stress during needy times. While the youth concurred with the advantages of keeping livestock, they mentioned that:

“We like to keep livestock but we don’t have big families which help in keeping them. Again we are still young we have to go to the cities to find jobs so it will not be good because we are rarely at home”.

They cited that their involvement in light duty livelihood activities is mainly attributed to lack of livelihood assets such as land (natural capital) and the appetite to explore other non-farm activities such as small trading and other formal work. Despite adverse effects of drought and lack of financial support through loans were cited as the main obstacles hindering the expansion of agricultural production. The group of community leader singled out the current currency crisis as a threat to some running of household activities in resettlement areas.

Male youth mentioned beekeeping as one of the livelihood activities thriving in the area. They said beekeeping projects are spearheaded by non-governmental organisations to promote self-reliance and improve the standard of living. However, they pointed on the risks involved with beekeeping in resettlement areas. In addition, participants gave details of two fatalities that were related to beekeeping. Amid risks involved, processed honey attract rewarding proceeds. Men focus group added blacksmithing among livelihood activities. This activity involves burning iron rods and other metals at high temperatures so that they are malleable into different shapes. Products of blacksmithing include hoes, axes, and rejuvenated shares for ploughing and

mattocks. The tools made from such materials are crucial in agricultural work hence they believed it was equally important.

All categories mentioned that women are involved in all livelihood activities identified. About four out of five groups mentioned that men are involved in certain livelihoods activities, while only three categories mentioned the involvement of youth in livelihood activities. The information presented is a true reflection of reality regarding the involvement of women in livelihood activities. They are normally regarded as helpers in instances where men champion the performance of masculine tasks. Table 3.3 shows that all groups agreed that women are involved in almost every livelihood activities including muscular work. This is true for female household headed families and those with husbands who are not always present. Men focus group indicated that there are some feminine activities which they are not willing to take despite their valuable contribution to livelihoods at household level. One participant mentioned that:

“It is difficult to engage in selling tomatoes around the village even if I am the one producing them from the garden; it is the duty of women”.

Common cultural inclinations makes men to believe that their activities are limited to planning and doing hard work for the family but the evolving changes in gender balance require a different perspective. As women are increasingly occupying previously male dominated fields, men should also embrace it by moving towards a balanced workload for the benefit of the family. Three groups mentioned that children are involved in some livelihood activities. These groups are mainly elderly groups which included community leaders, women and men. *“Involving the youth in carrying out some livelihood activities is more of training than being the mainstay of labour”* commented a community leader. Participants noted that the youth are a source of future human capital so they spent little time in the fields so that they are able to concentrate on their school work. One of the women commented that:

“We teach our youth step by step. They start with light duty activities and the intensity increases as they grow up so that they will be able to take care for themselves in future.”

Table 3.1:1 Livelihood activities carried out in fast track resettlement areas of Shamva District

Livelihood activities	Male Youth	Women	Female Youth	Men	Community Leaders	Total
a) Animal rearing	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	5
b) Crop production	✓	✓	✓		✓	5
c) Gardening	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	5
d) Carpentry	✓			✓		2
e) Beekeeping	✓					1
f) Fishing					✓	1
g) Blacksmithing				✓		1

Key: ✓ means the focus groups identified livelihood activities in the area

Table 3.2 Presents the contribution of livelihood activities in fast track resettlement areas of Shamva District.

All five groups mentioned that the livelihood activities contribute to their income and provision of food. Participants revealed that during rainy season, they grow cash crops and food crops. They often sell surplus produce of food crops.

“This year we grew large quantities of maize because we want to reserve for food and the excess we sell to informal traders (millers) or to the Grain Marketing Board (GMB).”

Participants mentioned that the choice of crops especially income generation is determined by market demands. They also said having something to sell help them to cope with the pressing challenges of cash scarcity. Cash crops vary but the major ones are soya beans, maize, tobacco, groundnuts and cotton. However, cotton was abandoned recently due to low market price and excess labour demand.

Community leaders, men and women focus groups mentioned that some livelihood activities are crucial for improving the standard of living. However, this aspect was familiar with the youth groups. The same was also noticed on environmental conservation. Community leaders were much more concerned about the deteriorating environmental outlook as one puts it:

“Our activities should conserve the environment and we encourage members from every area to consider practicing conservative farming methods. If we do not do this, it will be difficult to accommodate increasing number of youth. They will not have anywhere to stay and our animals will suffer due to lack of enough grazing land”.

Participants were aware of the need to do activities that enhance the environment than contributing to its damage. Bi-laws that inhibit gold panning and deforestation were gazetted and the local neighbourhood-watch enforces them but the demand for cash tend to thwart such efforts. For example there is an assurance of getting cash from gold panning than selling tomatoes. Flue cured tobacco requires firewood to dry it thus promoting deforestation. It is difficult to stop village members from cutting down trees as the law enforcers are also involved in growing tobacco.

Table 3.3 shows that resettled farmers have substantial knowledge about features of sustainable livelihoods. All five groups mentioned that sustainable livelihoods are the ones which are able to recover from stress. Only the female youth group could not identify the ability to conserve the environment as another feature of sustainable livelihoods. A sustainable livelihood must be able to reduce dependency as one participant put it:

Table3.2: Contribution of livelihood activities in fast track resettlement areas of Shamva District

Contribution of livelihood activities	Male Youth	Women	Female Youth	Men	Community Leaders	Total
1) Income	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	5
2) Food	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	5
3) Improve the standard of living	✓	✓		✓	✓	4
4) Conserve the environment		✓		✓	✓	3

Key: ✓ means focus group identified contribution of livelihood activities in Shamva District

Table3.3: Community perceived major features of Sustainable livelihoods in fast track resettlement areas of Shamva District

Features of sustainable livelihoods	Male Youth	Women	Female Youth	Men	Community Leaders	Total
1) Recover from stress	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	5
2) Reduce dependency	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	5
3) It is dependable	✓	✓		✓	✓	4
4) Conserve the environment	✓	✓		✓	✓	4
5) Contribute to community development	✓	✓		✓	✓	4
6) Easy to interchange	✓	✓		✓	✓	4
7) Bridge the gap between the rich and poor	✓	✓		✓	✓	4

Key: ✓ means focus groups identified major features of sustainable livelihoods

“we are proud to have land which we freely decide to grow crops of our choice.....we no longer depend on food handouts and credit input schemes like before..... I can safely say our livelihoods are sustainable in that way”. Community leaders highlighted that dependability signifies sustainability. This showed that community leaders are aware of activities that should prevail in their area of jurisdiction so that programmes that enhance livelihoods are advanced. However, the youth were not aware of this feature due to make shift tendencies and the desire to explore new ways of living elsewhere. Community leaders and men also highlighted that sustainable livelihoods should be able to bridge the gap between the rich and poor citizens. This aspect stretches to national level wherein inequality threatens economic and social stability. Therefore, sustainable livelihoods should be able to level the ground so that all members of the community are exposed to the same conditions of access and ownership, albeit being unattainable in economic sense.

3.9 Discussion

This study revealed that livelihood activities of resettled populations in Shamva District are primarily agrarian and that was how they made a living and earned income. This resonates with understandings from many other resettled farmers across sub Saharan Africa where livelihoods are diversified primarily to cater for the needs to increase both cash and non-cash income, spread risk and reduce vulnerability (Little *et al.*, 2001; Campbell *et al.*, 2002; Glosing *et al.*, 2017). It was indicated that a considerable majority of income and food is derived from land –based activities thus, cropping and livestock husbandry. Scoones *et al.* (2016), Matondi (2001) point similar observations after assessing the livelihood activities of resettled farmers. In addition, other livelihood activities such as fishing, entrepreneurial activities, gardening, beekeeping and blacksmithing were mentioned. Makino (2017) comment on importance of fishing in Japan and emphasizes the enriching nutritional gains obtained in sea food. In the current study, participants were not sure about the magnitude of fishing as a dependable livelihood activity, lest it supplements the mainstream activities on the farm. Participants indicated that beekeeping was not common in the area despite being aware of the benefits honey. Loss of life due to bee attack and wild fires were cited as two major reasons that discouraged households from engaging in beekeeping. Choga & Nyamadzawo (2017) concur with the current findings in a study carried out in Makoni District on the effect of wildfires on beekeeping.

Phan *et al.* (2018) use focus groups to inquire about livelihood systems in Sri Lanka. The findings indicated that resettled populations require access to employment and livelihood opportunities that generate enough income to provide for basic needs. It is noteworthy that while cropping and livestock husbandry constituted the rudimentary activities some resettled farmers are involved in

small scale entrepreneurial activities because farms are located in secluded areas. The need for such services in the proximity cannot be underestimated in achieving a balanced social and economic life in resettlement areas (Tom, 2015). The entrepreneurial activities identified include small grocer shops, welding, Ecocash booth and fuel dealerships. The results were consistent with (Choga & Nyamadzawo, 2017) in their findings of livelihood activities in resettlement areas in Makoni District of Zimbabwe.

The results revealed the gendered nature of distribution livelihood activities in resettlement areas. While crop production and livestock husbandry are mainly male dominated, women were also involved and they were considered as helpers. Murisa (2017), Phan *et al.* (2018) support the current findings where in the gendered livelihood systems are inclined to African tradition in nature. Gladwin *et al.* (2001) use a multiple livelihood system of individual households in Malawi and found that engagement in various livelihood activities varied depending on gender of the household head. Glosing *et al.* (2017) argue that female headed households were likely to take up all of the activities including muscular duties. Thus, they are obliged to integrate cropping and livestock production together with other livelihood activities. Djurfelt *et al.* (2018) argue that female household headed families tend to be less productive compared to male headed families. Wambugu *et al.* (2013) share the same notion based on empirical findings of a study carried out in Zambia. Gendered livelihood studies are crucial for they are cornerstones for poverty eradication. Goeble (2015) concur that livelihood options for women dwindled in Zimbabwean resettlement areas. The gender gap in agriculture exists across a range of assets and resources. Women have less access to financial capital and key resources such as water, livestock, grazing and fisheries. They have less capacity to capture beneficial environmental services; less participation in decision-making; and lower levels of access to labour, technology, training, information and agricultural advisory service (Campbell *et al.*, 2016). Despite the existence of initiatives towards achieving gender balance in access and opportunities for women, it is argued that the magnitude of such transformation is very small (Harcourt, 2018).

Both on farm and off –farm activities contributed to income for resettled farmers. Similar studies concur with the findings despite spatial and contextual differences (Gosling *et al.*, 2017). Anglesen *et al.* (2014) report a contribution of more than 50 % of total household income in the form of National Tropical forest Projects (NTFPs) in global comparative study. Lamsal *et al.* (2015) contend that a wetland in western Nepal provided 13 % of gross household income, and one in northeast South Africa where it was estimated the wetland provided approximately 15 % of household income (Adekola *et al.*, 2012). The focus group for women realised lower incomes from crops and livelihood activities and higher contribution of food. Female-headed households were prone to receive lower incomes from crops and livestock activities and lesser contribution to food than male-headed households. Female household-heads are more vulnerable because they

frequently have lower education, less labour available and a greater number of household responsibilities (Gosling *et al.*, 2017). In addition, most male-headed households can rely on their spouse for many of the domestic duties.

Community leaders mentioned that non-income livelihood contribution included environmental conservation and improvement in the standard of living. Female groups could not identify non-income contributions of livelihoods. Similar observations were in (Anglesen *et al.*, 2014) that households failed to identify non-income contributions of livelihoods in Wetlands. Non-income contributions are vital for preserving the capital base and they provide safety nets for the poor. Davidova *et al.* (2011) echo similar observations in a study carried out in small agricultural countries in the European Union. They argued that purely agricultural cash incomes is too narrow; farm households may have multiple sources of income, and non-marketed agricultural production may provide a substantial share of the food needs of poor agricultural households. Adekola *et al.* (2012) note that collecting firewood as a source of fuel and income proved helpful to rural households in South African wetlands. Other benefits include natural medicine and soil revitalisation.

Perceived major features of sustainable livelihoods as indicated in the results included the ability of a livelihood to recover from stress. This resonates with Chambers & Conway (1992); Chambers (1995) and Scoones (2009). The later authors pointed out that the ability of livelihoods to recover from stress signifies sustainability. Sources of stress included climate variability in the form of drought, floods and heat waves, diseases and economic crisis. Carney *et al.* (1998), Krantz (2001), Petersen & Pedersen (2010) opine that in addition to recovery, sustainable livelihoods must be able to cope and adapt to prevailing changes. In the current study, respondents noted that sustainable livelihoods are able to reduce dependence from external sources. This is true when livelihood outcomes are realised as a result of locally constructed initiatives. Chambers & Conway (1992), Scoones (2009) argue that community based solutions are key to maintaining livelihood sustainability. This articulates the genesis of the sustainable livelihoods discourse as community participation (Bebbington, 1999, Haan & Zoomers, 2005).

Participants mentioned that livelihoods should be able to bridge the gap between the rich and poor communities. DFID (2000), GLOPP (2008), Scoones (2009) state that the sustainable livelihoods approach is targeted on eradicating poverty across rural communities. Glosing *et al.* (2017) concurs that poverty eradication occurs when livelihoods are sustainable. Anglesen *et al.* (2014) argue that female headed households are vulnerable and they fail to emancipate themselves from poverty circles even if livelihoods are sustainable. Ndi (2017) argue that land investments in the form of agro plantations, if not properly conceived, negotiated, and implemented, pose a series of threats to the ecological, cultural, and economic stability among

peasant farming communities, who depend on land and forest resources for their livelihood. Similar observations were made in the current study and they apply in resettlement areas. When sustainable livelihoods are dependable, they are able to eradicate poverty and improve the standard of living in vulnerable communities.

The results of the present study indicated that sustainable livelihoods should contribute to community development. This follows the use of conservative farming methods to protect the environment. Muchenje *et al.* (2015) concur that conservative farming methods are essential for maintaining soil fertility and it reduces the formation of gullies in farmlands. Maikhuri *et al.* (2011) concurs that the use agro-technology is reliable and it helped female farmers to improve their livelihoods in India. The later scholars further attest that the experience of the training programmes indicated the need to develop location-specific agro-ecotechnologies so as to maximize the use of locally available bio-resources, which will reduce the cost of external inputs. The use environmentally friendly input is encouraged to preserve both human and natural resources (Schoel & Binder, 2009). Thus, the maintenance of sustainable smallholder farming systems in various settings represents a key condition for sustainable land management and to safeguard the livelihoods of rural households (Cardova *et al.*, 2018).

3.10 Conclusion

This study provides qualitative evidence about major features of sustainable livelihoods from a community perspective. Data were collected during focus group discussions. Participants identified the ability to recover from shocks, adaptability, and ability to eradicate poverty as the main features of sustainable livelihoods. The results of the present study revealed that farmers in fast track resettlement areas are small holders and their main livelihood activities constituted on-farm and off-farm activities. On-farm activities contributed both income and food and off-farm activities are mainly carried out to generate income. Community perspectives on livelihood activities and perception of features varied with age and gender. Youth groups seemed to be less concerned about sustainability of livelihoods. Yet they are entitled to inherit sustainable livelihoods. In all, the study provided valuable insights which calls for further participatory research to obtain with concrete evidence about sustainable livelihoods in resettlement areas.

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CHAPTER 4: DETERMINING HOUSEHOLD-PERCEIVED MAJOR CRITERIA FOR ASSESSING SUSTAINABLE LIVELIHOODS IN FAST TRACK RESETTLEMENT AREAS OF SHAMVA DISTRICT

4.1 ABSTRACT

In Zimbabwe, there is an increasing realization that the fast track resettlement farmers are able to produce more food to the level of self-sufficiency. Livelihoods have considerably improved. However, current studies fail to reflect perceptions of farmers with regards to assessment criteria for sustainable livelihoods because they lack proper participatory methods of engaging them. An exploratory and descriptive research design was applied in the process of obtaining an understanding of household perceived major criteria for assessing sustainable livelihoods in fast track resettlement areas of Shamva District. Focus group discussions and key informant interviews were used to obtain perceptions of participants. Key informants included the ward councilor, village chairman, and Agriculture and Research Extension (AREX) officers. Participants identified contribution to income, improvement of standard, multidimensionality and conservation of environment as the major criteria for assessing sustainability of livelihoods. The study provided rich insights from community voices which seem to disappear in recent literature. The study was important in providing entry points of intervention whenever the government seeks to implement interventions meant to support farmers in fast track resettlement areas.

Key words: Community Voices, Fast Track Resettlement Areas, Sustainable Livelihoods

4.2 Introduction

Previous studies followed different approaches that employed general principles of involving criteria and indicators (C&I) that can be used for the assessment of agro-forests (FSC, 1994; SGS Forestry, 1994). Recently, many studies shifted focus to examine various assessment criteria for sustainable livelihoods (Goswami *et al.*, 2017). However, some studies are diverging from a qualitative, philosophical and rhetorical state to rigorous, scientific quantifiable measurements (Mendoza & Prabhu, 2000a-d). Majority of sustainability assessments are concentrated in forest management and community based resource management schemes (Mendoza & Prabhu, 2003). Hani *et al.* (2007) and Bechini & Castoldi (2009), argue that the demand for evaluation for agriculture sustainability has increased over the years and several sustainability assessment tools have been developed (Giupponi & Carpani, 2006; Van Ittersum *et al.*, 2008; Goswami *et al.*, 2017). The rise of sustainable farming emerged in response to the challenges of achieving optimum resource management to maximise output. Long-term benefits of sustainable farming to communities include economic, environmental and social wellbeing (Pretty, 1995a).

Management of small farms is an important focus for addressing hunger and malnutrition among rural populations (IFAD, 2012). This is so because the density of small farms and their critical importance to rural populations and investing in these areas ensures that growth is inclusive, pro-poor and environmentally sustainable (Altieri, 2012). Some small farms may not be ecologically sound but they have inherent capacity to make use of scarce resources, combine farm components through diversification of resource use and lead to higher sustainability of farming systems (Altieri, 2008). Scientific approaches of sustainability assessments have been also applied in numerous studies including farming systems (Bockstaller *et al.*, 1997), agro forestry (Mbow *et al.*, 2014; Thorenz *et al.*, 2018), fisheries (van Hood & Steins, 2017), ecosystems analysis (Pascual *et al.*, 2017), animal production (Kapa *et al.*, 2018), mining (Antwi *et al.*, 2017) and food production (Velasco *et al.*, 2018; Veltmen *et al.*, 2018). There is scarcity of community voices in determining assessment criteria for sustainable livelihoods. Hence, this study is aimed at deriving sustainable livelihood assessment criteria as perceived by resettled farmers in fast track resettlement areas of Shamva District in Zimbabwe.

4.3 Methodology and Design

The research methodology and design used in this chapter was similar to the one in the preceding chapter. Focus group discussions and key informant interviews were used to obtain the perception of farmers regarding the criteria for assessing the sustainability of livelihoods in fast track resettlement areas of Shamva District. Key informants were crucial in the study because they were knowledgeable of the situation on the ground. However, data obtained from focus group discussions were also equally valuable. Another distinguishing aspect is on the type of data collected is that it was rich in qualitative insights which were useful for distilling the community perceived major criteria for assessing sustainability of livelihoods. Data were presented in both tables and diagrams. Direct quotations were also included and were crucial in extracting pertinent aspects raised during the study. Although the research questions were not systematic, it was necessary to derive some logic to keep the discussion on track and avoid bias. The questions were:

- a) When someone mentions the word “sustainability”, what does it mean to you?
- b) Why do we need to assess the sustainability of livelihoods?
- c) What criteria do you use to assess the sustainability of livelihoods?
- d) What challenges do you face when assessing the sustainability of livelihoods?

4.4 Results

This section presents the research findings on livelihood sustainability criteria as perceived by farmers. Table 4.1 indicate that participants were able to define sustainability as the development that meets current needs without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. Other aspects of sustainability included economic and social sustainability. As one interviewee put it:

“When we talk of sustainability, we refer to development that meets current needs without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. We need to focus on all sides of sustainability, thus economic and social sustainability. Our future generations must enjoy the way we did and sustainability must be continuously exhibited in each generation”. Source KI 5.

However, the concept of sustainability seemed new and unpopular from perspectives of the youth. This could have emanated from lack of education and experience in resources use. Furthermore, youth are seldom included in rudimentary activities that enhance sustainability. A youth participant echoed:

“Yes we need to be educated we don’t have enough information about what is happening. What we do is basically informed by the need to survive and the types of activities we do, do not give us opportunities to learn about sustainability. Surely we would want to preserve the future of the successive generations and we need also to make sure that even our future is safe.” Source FGD, Youth.

In determining criteria for assessing sustainable livelihoods, participants indicated that their methods are informed by various things. Figure 4.1 indicates the various criteria used to assess livelihoods in the area. The figure present responses on a network diagram as obtained from Atlas ti. Version 7 software. It shows major criteria by density and groundedness. Density counts direct links to other nodes.

The major criteria mentioned included the level of development a livelihood, the ability to conserve the environment, the ability to earn a stable income and improved access to resources. Other criteria identified were improved livelihoods and standard of living, multidimensionality, improved social development, employment creation and potential for growth. Amongst the major criteria, the level of development brought out of a certain livelihood was mentioned 7 times. The stable income generation criterion was mentioned 8 times and improved access to resources was mentioned 4 times:

Table 4.1: Community perceived definition of sustainability in fast track resettlement areas of Shamva District

Definition of sustainability	Male Youth	Female Youth	Men	Women	Community Leaders	Total
a) Sustainability should means being able to meet current needs without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	5
b) Sustainability must be in terms of resources use	✓		✓	✓	✓	5
c) Sustainability in terms of social and economic development	✓		✓	✓	✓	5

Key: ✓ means participants mentioned the perceived definition of sustainability

“Yes there are so many criteria for assessing sustainability but I can mention that we assess sustainability through ways with which our livelihoods interact with the environment..... If a livelihood is sustainable, we see the environment not being depleted instead it flourishes.” Source KI 3.

The multidimensionality criterion was singled out during Key informant interviews. Although it seems vague it is very important and reliable indicator of sustainability. The criterion is comprehensive as it incorporates many features of sustainability thus the interconnectedness of economic, social and environmental sustainability of a livelihood. Participants perceived that the potential for growth criterion was emphatically important as it expands the scope of sustainable livelihoods:

“My view with regard to assessment of a criterion is that.....the inherent potential of growth of a sustainable livelihood creates more livelihood alternatives and more importantly they bring diversity...In resettlement areas, we tend to rely on one or two livelihood activities and we remain stagnant.” Source KI 4

Table 4.2 shows the challenges associated with determining the criteria for assessing livelihood sustainability. All groups identified lack of capital assets as one of challenges hindering the determination of assessment criteria for livelihood sustainability in the area. Youth groups were mute on lack of standard criteria for assessing livelihood sustainability although other groups mentioning it. The main challenge was a lack of standard criteria for assessing sustainability of livelihoods for rural communities. The complex nature of sustainable livelihoods poses many challenges in deriving a common tool that can be used as basis for assessment. Other difficulties included the dynamic nature of poverty. People move in and out poverty at different times hence it is difficult to come up with feasible criteria to assess the sustainability of livelihoods. All groups identified variation of the vulnerability context among the rural households make it difficult to establish common assessment criteria for sustainable livelihoods. The focus group of men, women and community leaders mentioned differences in capital endowments at household level as a challenge for determining criteria for assessing sustainability of livelihoods. Participants mentioned lack of social networks as challenge associated with determining criteria for assessing livelihoods. Community leaders differed with other groups on participation in decision making. They argue that:

“When we are planning for our livelihoods, everyone is supposed to attend the meetings regardless of age. Our youth are problematic because they are reluctant to attend meeting for development in our area.” Lack of participation in decision making stalls development initiatives in the community.

Table 4.2: Challenges associated with determining the criteria for assessing sustainability of livelihoods in fast track resettlement areas

Challenges	Male Youth	Female Youth	Women	Men	Community Leaders	Tally
a) Lack of capital assets	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	5
b) Variations in the vulnerability context faced at household	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	5
c) Lack of social networks	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	5
d) Lack of participation in decision making	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	5
e) Lack of institutional support	✓		✓	✓	✓	4
f) Differences in capital endowment			✓	✓	✓	3
g) Lack of a standard assessment criteria			✓	✓	✓	3

Key: ✓ means community mentioned challenges of determining criteria for assessing sustainability of livelihoods

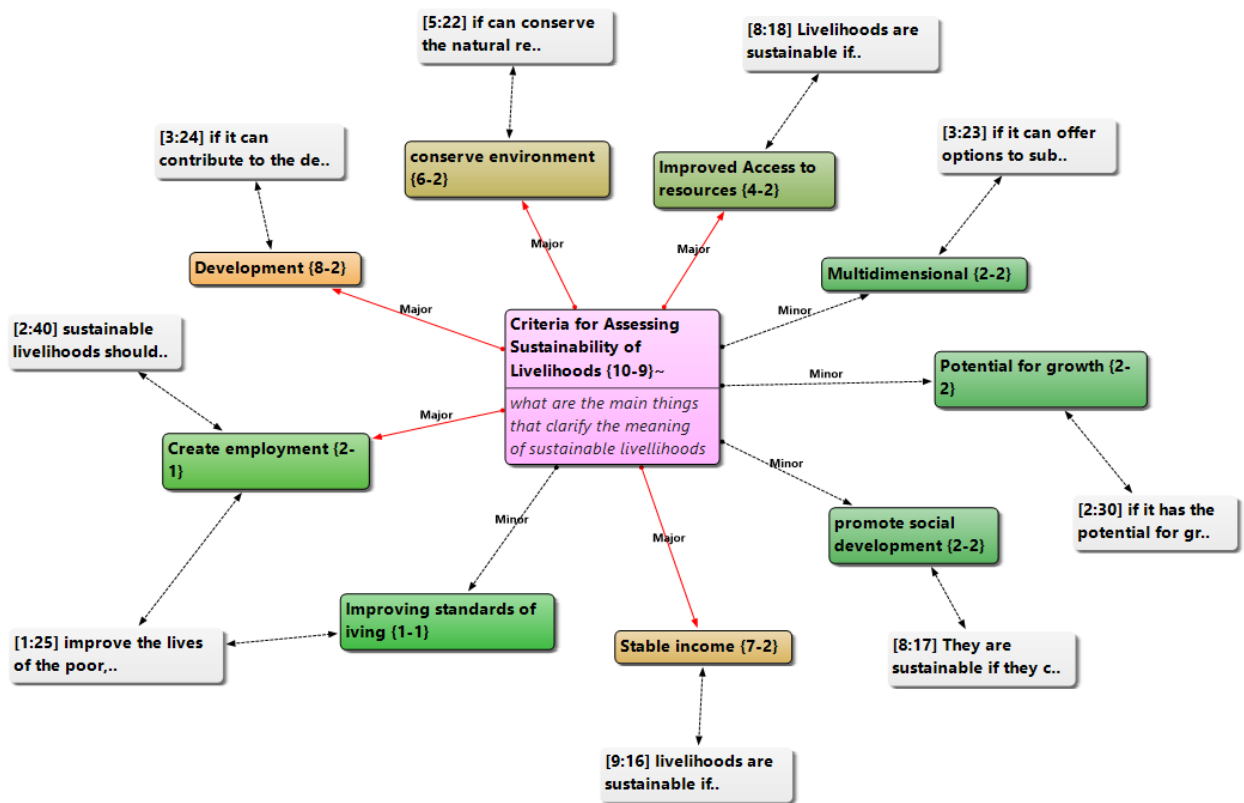


Figure 4.2 Perceived Criteria for Assessing Sustainability of livelihoods

Key: numbers = frequency, colours=density

4.5 Discussion

It was observed that criteria for assessing livelihood sustainability vary among social groupings. Chinangwa *et al.* (2017) concur that households have their own criteria for assessing sustainability. A major criterion was the level of development in the area. Rural households assess sustainability of livelihoods using the level of infrastructure development, technological advancement and improvement in livelihoods (Parkinson & Ramirez, 2006). A developed society enjoys improved standards of living as become the epitome of development initiatives. Improved access to affordable health and education facilities signifies a sustainable level of development in rural areas. Lui *et al.* (2018) concur with the current findings as the study carried out in China's ethnic rural folks showed that the level of economic development is essential because it translates to food and nutrition security. Interwoven in the development criteria is the generation of a stable income. Stable income leads to improved access to resources, improved standard of living and social well-being (Lui *et al.*, 2017). Gibson (2006) opine that determining assessment criteria constitutes a difficult task because the sustainability varies hence sustainability can be social, environmental and economic (Bahigwa *et al.*, 2001). Scoones (2009) emphasise the essence of striking a balance across these criteria. The multidimensionality criterion entails the wide spectrum of livelihood options available for a household. Sheghozzo *et al.* (2016) use a participatory approach in determining multi-criteria for assessing sustainability of livelihoods in Argentina. The results indicate that the incumbent criteria included multidimensionality of sustainable livelihoods.

Communities assess sustainability according to the extent to which the environment is preserved. Stork *et al.* (1997), Downie *et al.* (2018), Cobera *et al.* (2017) concur that environmental sustainability is crucial in forest and land based livelihoods. Gibson *et al.* (2013) avers that development of criteria for assessing sustainability is also prominent in mining activities. Lui *et al.* (2017) argue that the level of economic development and social interconnectedness formulate the pillars for criteria for assessing livelihood sustainability. Luederizt *et al.* (2017) commend that transitions towards sustainability are urgently needed to address the interconnected challenges of economic development, ecological integrity, and social justice, from local to global scales. However, inherent variation with social grouping is worrisome. This is so because the youth are not actively involved in strata of sustainable livelihoods. Chinangwa *et al.* (2017) echo the similar observations in a study carried out in Malawi. It is argued that perceived criteria were influenced by household socio-economic characteristics including gender, age, wealth status and level of education. Francis *et al.* (2011) argue that youth voices are often silent in development initiatives yet they are the primary beneficiaries.

Many challenges evolve on the determination of criteria for assessing livelihood sustainability. Pandey *et al.* (2017) and Downie *et al.* (2018), concur that developing criteria for assessing livelihood sustainability is context specific, therefore no standard measure exist. This resonates with findings in this study wherein lack of standard criteria for sustainability assessment is a challenge even for rural communities. Another criteria mentioned included the improved standard of living, multidimensionality of livelihoods, potential for growth and improved social development. The social development aspect entails an improved interconnectedness of households at individual, community and other external actors. Inherent challenges embedded in determining the criteria included a lack of standard criteria and variations in capital endowment and exposure to risks.

4.6 Conclusion

The study was carried out to determine the households perceived criteria for assessing sustainability of livelihoods in fast track resettlement areas of Shamva District of Zimbabwe. Numerous studies employed quantitative mechanism including the use of indices in developing the criteria for assessing the sustainability of livelihoods. This study drifts to participatory methods of capturing peoples' voice through focus group discussions and key informant interviews. The major findings revealed that community members have their own criteria for assessing the sustainability of livelihoods. Community members perceive the level of development, stable income and improved access to resources as the major criteria for assessing the sustainability of livelihoods. This study provides a basis for assessing the sustainability of livelihoods in the contested fast track resettlement areas. Further participatory research need to consider the challenges and opportunities of developing inclusive criteria that is applicable in various land based livelihoods.

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CHARTER 5: LIVELIHOOD STRATEGIES USED TO COPE WITH SEASONAL VARIATIONS IN FAST TRACK RESETTLEMENT AREAS OF SHAMVA DISTRICT

5.1 ABSTRACT

The aim of the study was to assess the livelihood strategies pursued in resettlement areas of Shamva District of Zimbabwe. A participatory approach was used to gain community insights. The exploratory research design made use of focus group discussion and key informant interviews. The target population composed of farmers in fast track resettlement areas in the selected study area. The findings revealed that, farmers employ multiple strategies to cope and adapt to changes such as seasonal variations. It was discovered that capital endowment of households determines the choice of livelihood strategies. Youth groups are faced with limited options so they diversify towards off-farm strategies such as petty trade to increase income. Market imperfection of agricultural products, lack of infrastructure and resistance were among the major challenges identified as inhibiting the implementation of livelihood strategies. The study of livelihood strategies contributes to the resuscitation of the inadequate empirical evidence of fast track resettlement areas in the body of knowledge.

Key words: Livelihood strategies, Resettlement Areas, Participatory approach

5.2 Introduction

Rural households in developing countries engage in diverse set of income-generating activities in an attempt to diversify the income base to maintain certain consumption requirements, accumulate wealth and reduce risk (Bebbington, 1999, Ellis 2000; Babulo *et al.*, 2008). Rural livelihoods are heterogeneous and dynamic such that households are able to adapt and adopt their livelihood strategies over time to maintain sustainability of their livelihoods and build resilience (Soltani *et al.*, 2012). Ellis (2000), Scoones (2009), Serrati (2017) argue that the extent to which households engage in livelihood strategies depend on asset endowment, exposure to shocks and institutional propositions. Livelihood strategies have been classified as on farm and off-farm activities (Berre *et al.*, 2017). Ellis (1999) and Peng *et al.* (2017) define livelihood strategies as a term that comprises the range and combination of activities and choices that people make in order to achieve their livelihood goals, including production activities, reproduction arrangements and investment strategies.

Previous studies on rural livelihood strategies classified livelihood strategies as on farm and off-farm activities on the basis of income derived from asset use and labour distribution (Alemu, 2012; Makunike, 2010). Loisons (2015) argue that the importance of livelihood diversification among rural populations can be traced according their livelihood activities. Peng *et al.* (2017) argue that

income is not only ascribed to assets and labour, the diversity of household's assets (tangible resources like physical, financial, or natural capital and intangible ones like human and social capital), institutions that govern the access to assets are equally important. However, the concept of livelihood strategies remains elusive as different methods are used to determine livelihood strategy contribution (Jiao *et al.*, 2017). This situation is more complex in resettlement areas wherein the perceived main source of living is agrarian based. The contribution of agricultural income considerably fluctuates due to seasonal and climatic variations. Seasonality refers to any regular pattern or variation that is correlated with the seasons (Devereux *et al.*, 2013). 'Adverse seasonality' describes the potentially damaging consequences for human wellbeing of seasonal fluctuations in the weather, and the full range of its associated impacts on lives and livelihoods. Inevitably, farmers are bound to switch livelihood strategies in the face of seasonality variations. Melleson *et al.* (2008) argue that low income seasons do not necessarily translate to less importance of a livelihood strategy. A participatory approach is applied in this study to assess livelihood strategies employed in fast track resettlement areas.

5.3 Research Methodology

In this study a similar research methodology to the one used in chapter three was used to obtain qualitative information on livelihood strategies in fast track resettlement areas of Shamva District. Data were collected from focus group discussions and key informant interviews. The major difference from the preceding chapters is that data for this chapter was targeted at household livelihood strategies. Participatory mapping technique was used in the process of understanding household livelihood strategies. Atlas ti. Version 7 software was used to process and analyse data. Data were presented using tables and diagrams accordingly.

5.4 Results

Figure 5.1 shows a sketch map of the distribution of community perceived livelihood strategies in the study area. The study area is located in Southern part adjacent the Umfuludzi River. It is approximately 10km east of the Mt Darwin road (P1). The main features include a river which supplies water for irrigation during the dry spell. The dam in the lower course of the river provides water fishing activities which are carried out throughout the year. However, the quantities decrease in winter. Participants argued that fishing is selectively done and they are seldom prepared to risk their lives through crocodile attacks. Main seasonal crops grown include maize, soya beans, tobacco and cotton. Food gardens are functional throughout the year but they dwindle during the onset of summer season. Livestock are kept for drought power, consumption and they backup when there is demand for income.

Communities have their own definition of livelihood strategies which are not different from the conventional meaning derived from literature. They were aware that livelihood strategies are ever shifting in response to climate change and other risks. Participants noted that the importance of a livelihood is related to income received by households. Livelihood strategies also differ with asset endowment among households. Participants agreed that households with a sound capital base are able to diversify their livelihoods:

“Here in resettlement areas people came from different backgrounds so the extent to which they diversify their livelihoods is different.... Educated families stand a better chance to survive and they have many alternatives at their disposal. Poor families have few options available to them. They are only active during the rainy season, after harvesting, they have nothing to do” (Source: KI 5).

Figure 5.2 shows the responses from both techniques in relation to livelihood strategies pursued in the study area. All key informants mentioned sustainable livestock production as a livelihood strategy. However, four one out of five groups did not mention livestock production. Two focus groups and two informants mentioned the use of rotating savings as way of enhancing incomes. The groups of women and youth revealed that rotating savings works like a community bank wherein members share cash contributions in a circle. One participant reiterated that (*“Rotating savings help us to keep our money and when your turn comes you can be able to purchase goods for use in the house”*). Precisely, rotating savings is a female dominated livelihood strategy in the area.

Participants reiterated that forming partnerships both at community level and externally helps to augment individual household challenges. Communities pool resources together to enhance production capacity during times of drought or when attempting a new project. External partnerships help community members to obtain support and information about new development initiatives. At market level, community members were negotiating prices with one voice, hence it's a potent tool for collective bargaining:

“We have registered with the community savings union and we encourage our members to affiliate with other associations such as the Farmers Union so that they are able to negotiate for producer prices”. Source KI 3.

Participants mentioned revealed that intensive crop production is the mainstay livelihood strategy. One participant highlighted that.....*“There is no doubt that every household engaged in crop production because it the main reason we were given the land”*. As supported in Figure 5.1, intensive farming dominates both food and cash crops. Successful farmers produce massive output and they are able to access credit in the form inputs and equipment. This directly impacts

on the standard of living of farmers. Other techniques used include growing drought resistant crops and high return labour intensive crops. Farmers have recently mastered the importance of reducing costs in the farm. They use herbicides instead of labour. Farmers also use natural ways of preventing diseases in crops and animals. This is crucial considering the outbreak of pandemic diseases such as Newcastle in chicken and lump skin for cattle:

“We encourage our farmers to use low cost high return techniques and output has been increasing the moment a farmer realises that farming is a business. As AREX officers we ensure that farmers are equipped with correct information about a particular crop”. Source KI1&2.

Participants mentioned migration as a one of the livelihoods activities. However, it was not popular within focus groups. Three focus groups identified self-job as livelihood strategies pursued in the area. They included carpentry, welding, small retail markets and beekeeping. Two out of five focus groups mentioned petty trading as a livelihood strategy. This involves buying goods from the capital city and sells them to locals with for a certain margin. However, the activity thrives during harvesting season

Participants stressed that not all is good in fast track resettlement areas. There are serious challenges hindering the attainment of sustainable livelihoods in the area. As indicated in table 5.1, communities identified lack of support from the government as a stumbling block. Bureaucracy and lack of infrastructure were the main drawbacks singled out. One participant state that:

.... “Fast track resettlement areas lag behind in infrastructure development because white designed them for agriculture business and not for mass human settlements. Schools, health facilities and veterinary services are not located anywhere in the proximity”.

This is a genuine concern given that it's the aspects mentioned are related to human capital development. Participants mentioned that, farmers are faced with the problem of market imperfection and bias. In numerous instances they sold their produce with give-away prices as they are pressure by makoronyeras (illegal middlemen). The middlemen seem to be occupying every space in business and they are the sources of market bias.

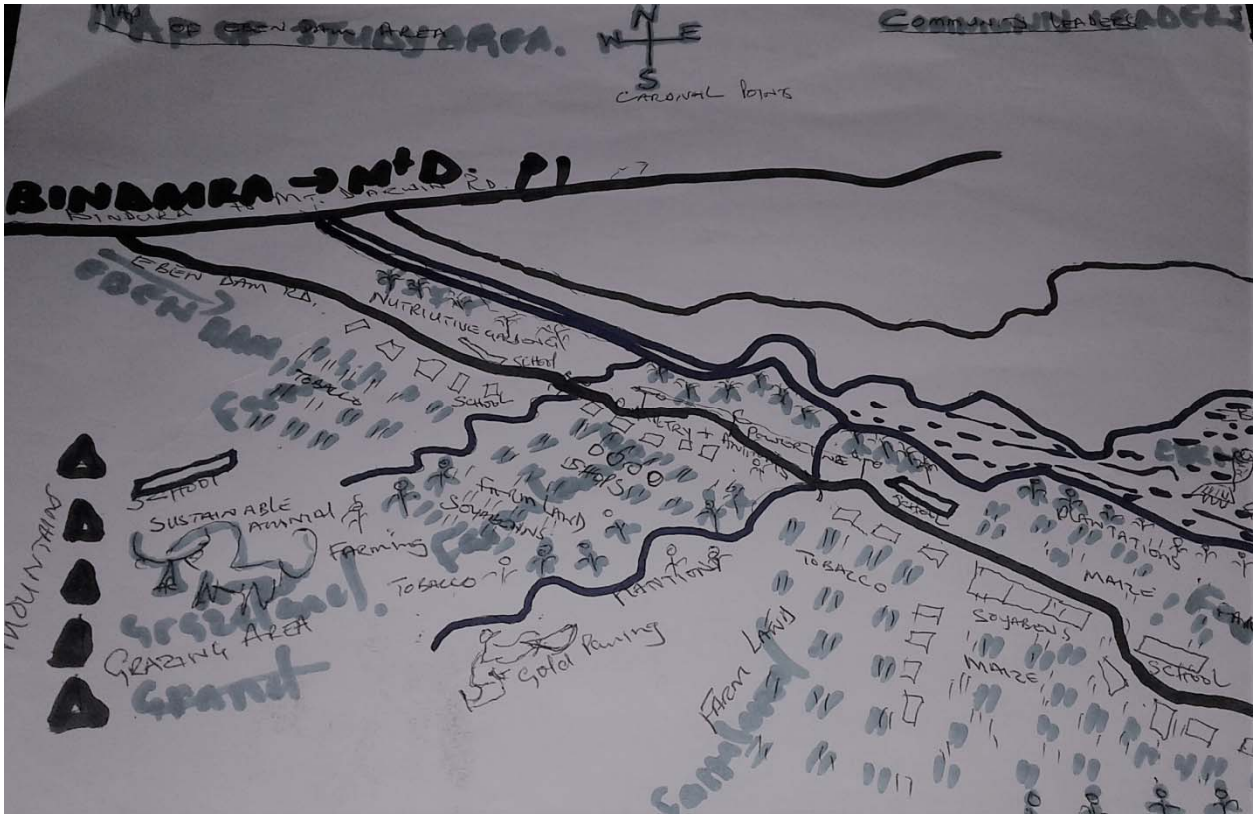


Figure 5. 1 Sketch map of the study drawn by community leaders of fast track resettlement areas in Shamva District

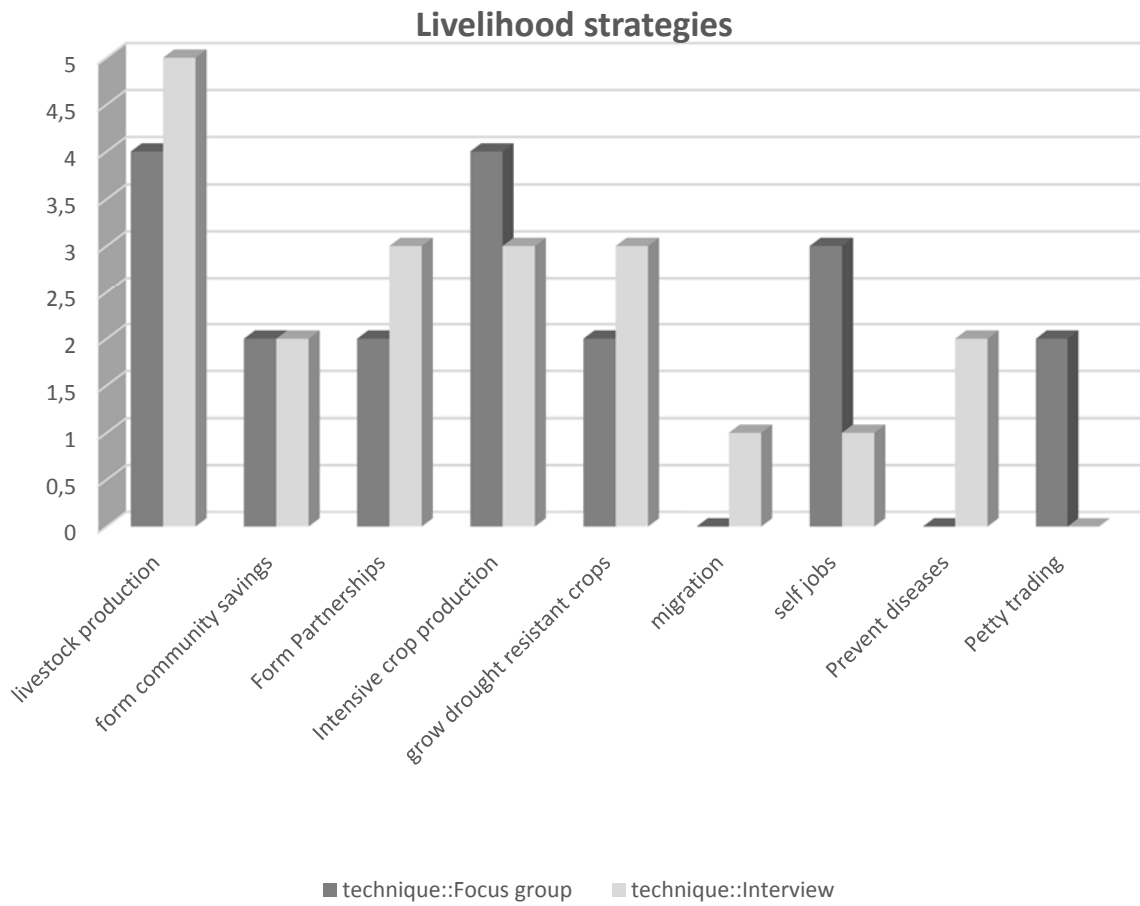


Figure5. 1. Community livelihood strategies pursued in the study area.

Table5. 1 Challenges inhibiting successful implementation of livelihood strategies in fast track resettlement areas of Shamva District

Response	Male Youth	Female Youth	Men	Women	Community Leaders	Tally
Lack of infrastructure	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	5
Resistance of community members	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	5
Lack of education/ignorance	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	5
Use of political influence on business issues	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	5
Poor methods of farming	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	5
Poor markets for agricultural produce	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	5
Outbreak of diseases	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	5

Key: ✓ means communities mentioned the challenges inhibiting successful implementation of livelihood strategies

“Going to the market is the most tormenting stage of farming; the makoronyeras do not have respect. Maybe they take advantage because they are ahead in this cash crisis”, Lamented a community leader. Agricultural markets are very fragile but the middlemen seem to paint a different picture. Community members resist development initiatives in the area. This is also linked to lack of information and education. Climate change was also mentioned as one of impediments to successful implementation of livelihood strategies. Participants mentioned that community members are ignorant hence they have limited options to improve their livelihoods. Key informants further added external factors such as cash shortages and use of politics in local business activities as impediments to successful implementation of livelihood activities. Participants also noted the poor methods of farming and outbreak of disease in animals. Consequences of resistance include exposure to health hazards, reduced participation and poor environmental management. However, community leaders encourage members to observe by-laws through neighborhood watch and to participate in joint development initiatives.

5. 5 Discussion

The results indicated that farmers pursue diversified livelihood strategies as a means of raising household income (Ansom & Mac Kay, 2010; Fang *et al.*, 2013; Loisons *et al.*, 2015). Farmers in resettlement areas engage in both on-farm and off-farm livelihood strategies as indicated in the results. Martin & Lorenzen (2016) aver that in many rural areas, agriculture predominate other livelihood activities. However, rural livelihoods remain complex and they are often pluriactive, thus maintaining a diverse portfolio of activities among which crop production and livestock production feature among other contributions to household well-being. Kasei *et al.* (2017) argue that instead of singlehandedly supporting on- farm agricultural development, government policies should not neglect the rich opportunities for non-agricultural livelihood strategies. It is further argued that livelihood diversification is equally capable of boosting farmer’s income and promotes sustainable land management.

Gautan & Andersen (2016) contemplate that engaging in livelihood diversification alone does not necessarily improve the well-being of farmers, rather high return sectors such as trade and formal employment do. In this study farmers mentioned trade but the issue of formal employment was silent. Welkin *et al.* (2017) is of the view that apart from other livelihood strategies such as specialisation and intensification, diversification as an extension of on-farm and off-farm business activities represent an important adaptation strategy for farmers. The business activities provide the means with which famers are able to cope with market pressures, changing political frameworks, changing climatic conditions and to reduce economic risk. Similar to findings of this study, (Welkin *et al.*, 2017) contend that the young were willing to take on multiple strategies and

the main motives are based on climate variability, optimal use of resources, relative attractiveness of food production and entrepreneurial reactions to changes in external demand.

Scoones *et al.* (2011; 2017) allude that youth in resettlement areas focusing on on-farm livelihood strategies start on irrigation projects for maize and vegetables. Engagement with agriculture may be across the value chain, and involve intensive production. Other options are running small poultry projects, selling inputs at an agro-dealer shop and providing marketing services. Some youth are involved in tobacco production and they realise a fair share that outstrips income from other informal engagements. However, getting land independently is challenging. The resettlement areas are full and getting access to new plots requires connections and reliance on patronage from local leaders and party officials. The youth groups rely on their parents' land clearing new areas, extending plots illegally into grazing areas or intensifying through irrigation in river banks and buying pumps. The allocated land is subdivided to meet demand at household level. In so doing land inheritance is also contested in resettlement areas (Bhatasara & Helliker, 2017; Thebe, 2018). Consequently, families end up in endless wrangles as they expect to inherit and benefit from the small piece of land.

Scoones (2018) and Thebe (2018) argue that the youth in resettlement areas in Zimbabwe are faced with persistent challenges. The standard support mechanisms are clearly insufficient and interventions need to take account of the wider process of agrarian transitions, thus attending to issues of land access and agricultural support. The study revealed that implementing other livelihood strategies such as migration to other cities and other neighbouring countries is not common in the study area. The findings are contrary to Scoones *et al.* (2012) wherein the youth in Masvingo and Chiredzi were mobile and involved in cross border migration to neighbouring South Africa. In resettlement areas of Shamva District migration takes place to cities such as Bindura and Harare but they are temporal. In essence, migration is a seasonal livelihood strategy. Activities in towns are linked to agriculture while some are absorbed in touting and selling cell phone accessories. Unlike in Masvingo, the youth in the study area were unwilling to advance educational qualifications, an obstacle limiting the livelihood options.

Moyo (2013) and Murisa (2017) posit that resettlement areas generated local economic growth and possibilities for accumulation, not only among farmers as producers, but in small towns and among entrepreneurs of different sorts. However, a few have seized the opportunities. Thebe (2018) opine that despite benefits realised in resettlement areas, achieving sustainability in land based livelihood strategies is a mixed bag of challenges in southern Matabeleland parts of Zimbabwe. Therefore, land resettlement cannot be relied upon to provide ultimate solutions to achieving sustainable livelihoods and transformation of resettled households (Murisa & Mutasa, 2017). Njaya (2015) provide contrasting evidence in a study carried out in resettlement areas in

Goromonzi District. It is argued that farmers employ multiple livelihood strategies and the net effect rest on improved livelihoods and transformation.

The study revealed that livelihood strategies fit in similar categories exhibited in Scoones (2011). Resettled farmers in Shamva District are hanging in livelihood strategies such as poor farming, local labour and gold panning. Stepping out and stepping up strategies included survival diversification among farmers. The findings revealed that livelihood capitals and outcomes determine livelihood strategies pursued. Through a similar lens it was shown that involvement in mixed livelihood strategies differ among farmers in resettlement areas. Scoones *et al.* (2012) share similar observations in a longitudinal study carried out over a 20 year period in Masvingo Province of Zimbabwe.

In a nut shell, the study findings reveals that involvement in multiple livelihood strategies depend on factors such as human resources, access to natural resources, economic and social background of households. The mentioned factors play a critical role in confronting challenges faced in implementing livelihood strategies. Kassie *et al.* (2017), Scoones *et al.* (2017) aver that the challenges faced in the agricultural sector are related to volatility of agricultural markets. Resettlement farmers are haunted with market bias and inefficiency. Njaya (2017) share similar observations in a study carried out to determine coping strategies of the youth in Zimbabwe.

5.6 Conclusion

The qualitative analysis revealed that farmers engage in multiple livelihood strategies to accumulate wealth, improve the income base and cope with or adapt to external vulnerabilities. Resettled farmers basically blend on-farm activities and off-farm activities to enhance their wellbeing. On-farm livelihood strategies tend be vulnerable to variability such as seasonality changes, human capital endowment and market uncertainty. Results of the study shows that the youth are willing to take on multiple livelihood strategies, however, lack of assets and opportunities thwart such effort. Lack of infrastructural facilities, poor farming methods and resistance to initiatives dampen efforts to improve livelihood outcomes. While arguments in the discussion supported the local economic growth to be present in resettlement areas, the government needs to ensure that opportunities continue to expand to maintain sustainability in resettlement areas. This can be achieved through developing structures that identify and promote involvement in off-farm activities to ease the pressure already mounting on limited natural resources in resettlement areas.

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CHAPTER 6: MAJOR FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 ABSTRACT

The main aim of the study was to assess the sustainability of livelihoods in Fast Track Resettlement areas of Shamva District. Specific objectives were a) to identify the perceived major features of sustainable livelihoods, b) to determine the household perceived major criteria for assessing sustainable livelihoods and c) to assess livelihood strategies used to cope with seasonal variations in resettlement areas of Shamva District. A participatory approach was used to obtain community perspectives on the sustainability of livelihoods. A semi-structured interview guide was used in focus group discussions and key informant interviews to collect data. Convenience sampling technique was used to constitute five focus groups. The focus groups were community leaders, male youth, female youth, adult males and adult females. Community voices have disappeared in the sustainable livelihoods research, yet they are important in shaping and crafting rural development policies. It was observed that resettled farmers perceive the contribution of income, interchangeability and the ability to conserve the environment as the major criteria for assessing the sustainability of livelihoods. Livelihood strategies used included migration and diversification of livelihood activities.

Key words: Fast Track Resettlement Areas, Livelihoods, Shamva District, Sustainability

6.1 Introduction

In Zimbabwe, smallholder farming contributes a larger proportion of food to both rural and urban populace. Since independence the government unrolled several agrarian policies aimed at supporting and improving livelihoods of smallholder farmers. Major policies include land resettlement and livestock development. Land resettlement evolved in three distinct phases which are the Land Resettlement Programme phase 1 and phase 2 and the fast track land resettlement as alluded in earlier chapters. In early 2000, the government adopted the fast track land resettlement programme as a means to achieve equal distribution of land particularly for disadvantaged blacks concentrated in infertile communal areas. Controversies emerged following the violent nature of processes and invasion of white owned farms. Commentators argue that while the invasion of farms followed an improper channel, giving people access to land provided a better solution in solving the crippling poverty and underdevelopment in communal areas. Matondi (2001) and Moyo & Yeros (2005) aver that the pressure for demand for land in overcrowded communal areas was taking its toll in many parts of the country. Hence, the government endorsed the war vet led violent invasions (Sadomba, 2012). The main aim was to improve livelihoods of the poor. In contrast, Raftopoulos (2013), Cliff *et al.* (2011) and Dekker

(2016) argue that the newly resettled farmers lack the qualities, equipment and knowledge of farming; hence they are not capable of producing enough food and the livelihoods are not sustainable. The diverging commentaries provide an appetite to inquire the state of sustainable livelihoods from farmers' perspectives.

Scoones (2017), Ndlovu (2018) contend that changes which occurred in fast track resettlement areas received limited scholarly attention particularly the sustainability of livelihoods. Yet, land resettlement is regarded as the mainstay of livelihood improvement. Scoones *et al.* (2012) and Njaya (2015) reiterate that livelihoods of beneficiaries of fast track resettlement programmes improved over time. While such studies were carried out in south western and eastern Zimbabwe respectively, little is known about the sustainability of livelihoods in fast track resettlement areas of Shamva District, the foundation of violent farm invasions (Matondi, 2012; Bhatasara and Helliker, 2018). Bhatasara and Helliker (2018) commend that research in this area stalled because fast track resettlement is highly sensitive and heavily politicised such that attempts to obtain information were thwarted under suspicion of donor and opposition machinations. However, farmers possess traditional perspectives about the sustainability of livelihoods therefore tapping into this knowledge is critical for developing tailor-made initiatives for rural development. Thus this study sought to assess the sustainability of livelihoods in fast track resettlement areas of Shamva District targeting the smallholder farmers. The main objectives of the study were: a) To determine the perceived major criteria for assessing the sustainability of livelihoods; b) To assess the perceived major features of sustainable livelihoods and c) To determine the livelihood strategies employed in fast track resettlement areas. Each objective constituted tailored questions that sought to obtain farmers' perceptions and views on the specific subject in under investigation.

Data obtained from focus group discussions and key informant interviews were analysed qualitatively. Results indicate that perceptions of the fast track resettled farmers are well ahead regarding the sustainability of livelihoods. The criteria used to assess the sustainability of livelihoods were not different from conversational criteria for assessing the sustainability of livelihoods. However, a clear distinction exists between scientific criteria (Banu and Fazal, 2017; Cardova *et al.*, 2018) and socioeconomic criteria. Considering these differences, seeking farmers' perspectives on criteria for assessing the sustainability of livelihoods cemented the relevance of this study. Furthermore, farmers often rely on traditional knowledge to maintain and achieve sustainable livelihoods. For example, while extension officers were present in the area, farmers realised a dearth of ample support from them. Schoel and Binder (2009) support the notion that perceptions of experts and farmers are quite divergent particularly in assessing the sustainability of livelihoods. The honors to interrogate such loopholes remain critical in mainstream studies of sustainable livelihoods particularly in resettlement areas where expert knowledge is much needed. Agriculture is the mainstay livelihood activity in fast track resettlement areas however;

qualitative results indicate that farmers engage in diversified livelihood strategies to enhance livelihood sustainability. Lucas *et al.* (2017) are adamant that the present dynamics in agriculture are deeply responsive to external forces therefore farmers are bound to diversify their livelihoods. Therefore the study sought to assess the sustainability of livelihoods in fast track resettlement areas of Shamva District.

6.2 Methodological Issues

The study was qualitative and exploratory in nature. It was qualitative because it sought to distill in-depth understanding of such human behaviour and the reasons that control it as noted in Francis *et al.* (2011). The study was exploratory also, because this was the first time that research of this nature was carried out in fast track resettlement areas of Shamva District. Again, the exploratory research design was proper because the researcher knew little about the opportunities and issues surrounding the sustainability of livelihoods in fast track resettlement areas from farmers' perspectives. The design followed principles of participatory research which aims to explore and interpret the views, concerns and experiences of people from their own perspectives and allows them to undertake measures to improve their situations as noted in (Chambers, 1995). Thus justly making it appropriate approach for this study.

Chambers (1995) emphasised on the use of participatory approach in research that sought perceptions of communities particularly on sustainable livelihoods. As noted in Jerg and Stefan (2012), participatory research methods are geared towards planning and conducting the research process with those people whose life-world and meaningful actions are under study. In this study, participants constituted men, women and youth of fast track resettlement farmers in Shamva District. Singh (2006) commend that the aim of the participatory inquiry and the research questions develop out of the convergence of two perspectives of science and practice. Consequently, both sides benefit from the research process. The everyday practices, which have long since established themselves as a subject of inquiry, introduce their own perspective, namely, the way people deal with the existential challenges of everyday life (Jerg & Stefan, 2012). Such perspectives can be distilled using informal unstructured methods such as the one employed in this study.

The participatory research process enabled co-researchers to step back cognitively from familiar routines, forms of interaction, and power relationships in order to fundamentally question and rethink established interpretations of situations and strategies as noted in (Singh, 2006; Jerg and Stefan, 2012). In this participatory research, focus group discussions and key informants were used to gain perspectives of farmers on sustainability. Such setting enabled farmers to narrate everyday experiences and real life issues concerning the sustainability of livelihoods. It empowers

people, especially socially marginalized ones, by involving them in the knowledge creation process (Swain and French, 2004; Pant, 2005). The first step involved obtaining permission from village Chairman coupled with a briefing of the purpose of engagement. This was crucial because leaders have adequate knowledge of what is happening in the area so they were better placed to call for members to participate in the study. Moyo *et al.* (2017) contend that involving community leaders is crucial for smooth execution of research activities even when they do not constitute the target population. This realization is based on the virtue of being custodians of their communities on issues such as tradition, culture, land and day to day activities. Again it was not proper to dictate the composition of community participants as this would have disregarded the spirit and principles of participatory community development (Walsh *et al.* 2008; Francis *et al.*, 2011).

The arrangement was important because it allowed participants to understand the flow of the research and the researcher was able to seek clarity on certain issues about the phenomenon. The study was undertaken in using focus group discussions and semi-structured interview guides. Participants included youth and adults grouped according to gender except the one for community leaders. Key informants included AREX officers, school headmasters and the ward councilor. The information obtained is useful for developing initiatives that support farmers in fast track resettlement areas. In addition, understanding the opinions and perspectives of the fast track resettled farmers could provide a more balanced understanding of the range of effects of other community-based projects. It was envisaged that community participation may allow for the sharing of accurate information between researchers and the participating communities. Moyo *et al.* (2017) contend that this exchange of information could serve as a valuable empowerment tool for both researchers and communities. Exchanging ideas in such manner imperatively precipitate a sense of belonging for the study participants if they see themselves as active participants and joint owners of the research process.

It is argued that participatory research generates limited statistical data. Although some of the participatory methods can produce quantitative data, a flexible and open-ended nature of participatory research requires a more qualitative approach to research, because it aims to provide in depth analysis of locally identified contexts (Neiland *et al.*, 2006). However, it is argued that in some cases the quantitative methods provide insights to guide the collection and disaggregation of broader nationally and regionally generated statistical data. Therefore, participatory research is also considered for use in quantitative approaches. Chambers and Mayoux (2003) argue that when used well, participatory approaches and methods can generate both qualitative insights and usually more accurate quantitative data than more conventional approaches and methods.

Table 6.1: Major findings of the study and their implications

Research Objectives	Major Findings	Implications
1. To identify the perceived major features of sustainable livelihoods	<p>Farmers in resettlement areas were aware of the need for sustainable livelihoods.</p> <p>The major perceived features identified and they included the ability to conserve the environment, eliminate poverty and provide a stable income and improve family well-being in general.</p>	<p>Being able to define sustainability of livelihoods constitute the initial step in understanding livelihood dynamics</p> <p>Identifying features of sustainability help to find ways of assessing sustainability.</p> <p>Features are signposts of success or failure.</p>
2. To determine the household perceived major criteria for assessing sustainable livelihoods and	<p>Resettled farmers were able to denote the perceived major criteria for assessing sustainability of livelihoods.</p> <p>These included multidimensionality, ineterchangeability and promotion of the standard of living.</p>	<p>Respondents need to agree on criteria of assessment considering that criteria are context specific.</p> <p>Standard criteria may be used to determine the standard measurement of the phenomenon under investigation.</p>
3. To assess livelihood strategies used to cope with seasonal variations in resettlement areas of Shamva district	<p>Respondents identified both on-farm and off-farm livelihood strategies</p> <p>There was evidence that livelihood strategies pursued largely depended on asset ownership and perceived livelihood outcomes</p> <p>The youth are subjected to limited opportunities hence limited options.</p>	<p>Communities are able to identify strength and weakness as well relevance of livelihood strategies.</p> <p>It informs the type of assets that should be acquired and investments decisions to be made.</p> <p>It helps to identify policy gaps on intervention measures.</p>

6.3 Recommendations for Development Practice

- a) There is need for creating enabling environment for community participation so that both communities in fast track resettlement areas and development practitioners can find a common ground in tackling issues of maintaining sustainability.
- b) The variation and diversity of populations in fast track resettlement areas require genuine partnerships based on collective interest of communities rather than patronage systems which currently dominate relationship. This is so because sustainability of livelihoods is the fulcrum of community led development.

6.4 Recommendations for Policy Makers

- a) There should be a proper policy planning committed to accommodate community voices so that implementation of such policies is not met with resistance. Government policies usually fall in the technical ruts and they end up being disputed at grassroots level.
- b) Policy planning should be integrated and comprehensive so that harmony prevails. This holds true because disarray of policies have led to unpleasant contestations in resettlement areas. Thus, participation should be regarded as the mainstay of planning and implementation of processes rather than an event which people part with sooner or later.
- c) There is need for sustainable livelihoods education especially among the youth, empirical evidence has shown that land does not expand so there is need to develop and implement policies targeted to improve understanding of sustainable livelihoods in resettlement areas.
- d) Policies should be tailored to suite the development needs of fast track resettlement areas. They should address the gender and age disparities which are currently skewed towards men.

6.5 Recommendations for further Research

- a) More area specific studies on assessing the sustainability of household livelihoods need to be carried out in fast track resettlement areas of Zimbabwe. The studies should include community voice to avoid inherent bias of research results. This information is very important in informing policy development and tailor made interventions.
- b) Further research will help to uncover possible alternatives and initiatives which are crucial in providing solutions to challenges in fast track resettlement areas.

C) Research should provide answers to world considering the interest attracted during and after the fast track land resettlement programmes.

6.6 Conclusions

The foregoing study reveals the need for a paradigm shift in assessing the sustainability of livelihoods in resettlement areas. Participatory research is useful for this kind of research particularly because it allows for an understanding of social reality for ordinary peoples' perspectives. People's own analysis of their situation provides a deeper understanding of such dimensions, which usually are not identified through the conventional approaches. Thus the use of participatory sustainable livelihoods assessment methodology, where livelihoods are defined and analysed from the perspectives and experiences of poor people is critical. This enables decision makers to recognise real needs of the poor and elaborate needs-based and right-based policies. It also helps to disclose potential leakages between experts and grassroots communities.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Ethical Clearance letter

**RESEARCH AND INNOVATION
OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR**

NAME OF RESEARCHER/INVESTIGATOR:

Mr. HL Vhiga Student No: 11605768

PROJECT TITLE: Assessment of sustainability of livelihoods of households in 'fast track' resettlement areas of Shamva District in Zimbabwe.

PROJECT NO: SARDF/18/IRD/02/0502

SUPERVISORS/ CO-RESEARCHERS/ CO-INVESTIGATORS

NAME	INSTITUTION & DEPARTMENT	ROLE
Prof J Francis	University of Venda	Supervisor
Mrs MA Mathaulula	University of Venda	Co - Supervisor
Mr HL Vhiga	University of Venda	Investigator – Student

ISSUED BY:

UNIVERSITY OF VENDA, RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

Date Considered: February 2018

Decision by Ethical Clearance Committee Granted

Signature of Chairperson of the Committee:

Name of the Chairperson of the Committee: Senior Prof. G.E. Ekosse



University of Venda

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Appendix 2: Consent Form for “Assessing the sustainability of the livelihoods of households in “Fast Track” Resettlement areas of Shamva District in Zimbabwe”

Introduction

My name is Vhiga Hope Luke. I am a student at University of Venda registered for the Masters in Rural Development degree within the Institute for Rural Development. I am conducting research which aims to: **Assess the sustainability of the livelihoods of households in “Fast Track” Resettlement areas of Shamva District in Zimbabwe.**

Through this communication, I am requesting you to participate in this study. Any information you will provide will be used solely for academic purposes. Please note that your participation is strictly voluntary. This means you can opt to pull out any time should you feel uncomfortable. I would also like to request permission to take photographs that will be used as evidence solely for the purpose of the study.

Signature of Researcher _____ **Date** _____

I.....have read and understood the contents of this invitation to participate in the study. Thus, I hereby voluntarily consent to participate in the research.

Respondent signature _____ **Date** _____

Appendix 3: Interview Guide for “Assessment of sustainability of the livelihoods of households in “Fast Track” Resettlement areas of Shamva District in Zimbabwe: Interview Guide”

The purpose of this study is to assess the sustainability of livelihoods of households in “Fast Track” Resettlement areas of Shamva District in Zimbabwe. This is an opportunity for you to reflect on your perceptions about sustainability of livelihoods in this area.

Section 1: Determine the perceived major features of sustainable livelihoods

- 1.1 What livelihood activities are you involved in?
- 1.2 Who is involved in the livelihood activities mentioned in a) above at your home?
- 1.3 What contribution does the livelihood activities make to your household?
- 1.4 From your opinion, what are the major features of a sustainable livelihood?

Section 2: Determining the perceived major criteria for assessing sustainability of livelihoods.

- 2.1 When someone mentions the word “sustainability”, what does it mean to you?
- 2.2 Why do we need to assess the sustainability of livelihoods?
- 2.3 What criteria do you use to assess the sustainability of livelihoods?
- 2.4 What challenges do you face in assessing the sustainability of livelihoods?

Section 3: Identify livelihood strategies pursued in resettlement areas of Shamva District.

- 3.1 What do you understand when someone says (livelihood strategies)?
- 3.2 What livelihood strategies do you pursue to enhance livelihood outcomes?
- 3.3 Do you get any support from outside (e.g. relatives or other institution)?
- 3.4 What might make it difficult to implement the livelihood strategies mentioned above?
- 3.5 What can be done to overcome the difficulties

Thank you for valued contribution and time